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**Makahiki – Nā Maka o Lono**  
**Utilizing the Papakū Makawalu Method to Analyze**  
**Mele and Pule of Lono and the Makahiki**

A thesis  
submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the Degree  
of  
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at the University of Waikato  
by

**Kalei Nu‘uhiwa**



THE UNIVERSITY OF  
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## Abstract

This paper seeks to affirm Papakū Makawalu as a Hawaiian methodology that can be utilized to understand mo‘olelo, mele and pule. Papakū makawalu is a name given to the process of deconstructing, analyzing, and reconstructing Hawaiian genres of discourse for the purpose of separating the embedded layers of metaphor to reveal the many possibilities of interpretation. The topics of choice that will be subjected to the papakū makawalu process are Lono and his role in the Makahiki festivities as recorded in mele and pule.

This paper specifically examines the processes of time keeping, as Lonoikamakahiki is the akua of establishing the annual calendar by feeding the stars and aligning the calendar with the star constellation Makali‘i. Lonomakua is the akua of ritual fire and all the geological activities that occur during the Makahiki. Lononuiākea is the akua for the celestial and atmospheric activities that transpire during the Makahiki season. The rituals, mele and pule that have been composed for these environmental expectations are rooted in generational observations to which layers upon layers of metaphor are added to describe Lono and his kino lau akua (manifestations). Papakū makawalu will establish that the environmental indicators that are affiliated with the season of Lono are in fact the kino lau akua of Lono.

Papakū makawalu allows modern Hawaiians the means to expose the many layers and to understand Lono, which in turn allows the kānaka to better understand the ritual rules of engagement between the kānaka Hawai‘i and the natural environment.

**Keywords:** Kaulana Mahina, Malama Pili a ‘Ukali; Makahiki; Makahiki Ceremonies; Papakū Makawalu Method; Hawaiian Methodologies; Mele; Pule; ‘Ōlelo No‘eau; Mo‘okū‘auhau; Kaona; Lono; Lonomakua; Lononuiākea; Lonoikamakahiki; Hawaiian Ontological Mapping.

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*\*Unless otherwise noted, all the photos were done by the author.*

## Glossary

### Glossary of Hawaiian Terms

‘A‘aho kau	A solidified pudding made of coconut and pia arrowroot cooked with a hot rock on a ti leaf.
‘Aha	A prayer or ceremony that connected the ali‘i to his/her lineage, to the celestial marker noted on the heiau dedicated to him/her, and gave the ali‘i the right to rule. Also, means assembly for political or religious purposes.
‘Aha ‘aina	Feast. To feast collectively.
‘Aha lanalana	Ceremonies held for the ali‘i during the rededication of a luakini heiau.
‘Aha luakini	Ceremonies conducted on the luakini heiau, typically held to open the Kū and Kāne season.
Ahi	Fire, lightning. To burn.
‘Ahi	Thunnus albacares, a type of tuna when chasing after bait will flash colors of red and orange like fire while moving through the water.
Ahialele	Meteor, comet, asteroid, shooting star.
Ahupua‘a	Name of one of the smaller divisions of an island, made up of several ‘ili districts, and under the care of a konohiki.
‘Aikapu	The observance of a system that used kapu, which were basically laws and codes of conduct for everyone to follow.
‘Ainoa	To eat freely, without regarding the kapu. Opposite of ‘aikapu.
‘Āina	Land, environment, a place that sustains or feeds. Also geology.
‘Āko‘ako‘a	Coral, seaweed.
Akua	Natural phenomena associated with the action of specific gods. Nature or processes of nature, cycles, immortal element, high ranking ali‘i, wondrous beings, things that provide life or death to humans.
Akua hālō	Wind sheer and anvil clouds

Akua Hawai‘i	Akua specific to Hawai‘i.
Akua wahine	Female akua.
Akua hōkio	Whistling winds.
Akua hulu	Feathered gods made of woven wicker, fashioned with millions of endemic bird feathers.
Akua hulumanu	Feathered gods made of woven wicker, fashioned with millions of endemic bird feathers.
Akua ki‘ei	Peering storm clouds
Akua ki‘i	Carved idols that symbolized various akua.
Akua lā‘au	Wooden gods.
Akualele	Fireball, falling star, shooting star, meteor shower.
Akua loa	A symbol of Lono made with a staff of 8 to 15 feet tall joined by a cross piece at the top to which long pieces of what kapa were hung. Also, akua loa is a common term for long wind clouds.
Akua mūki	Whirlwinds that make indistinctive sucking sounds.
Akua poko	A symbol of Lono fashioned similarly as the akua loa, but much smaller. Also, akua poko is a common term for short mackerel clouds.
Akua pā‘ani	A symbol of Lono that also looked similarly to the akua loa that presided over the games, sports, and gambling.
Aku	Bonito, skipjack, <i>Katsuwonus pelamis</i> .
Akule	Scad variety, <i>Trachurus crumenophthalmus</i> .
‘Alana	A free-will offering, meaning that the offering is not prescribed by a priest.
Ala Polohiwa a	
Kanaloa	Tropic of Capricorn.
Ala Polohiwa a Kāne	Tropic of Cancer.
‘Alemanaka	Hawaiian transliteration of the word almanac.
Ālia	Boundary markers made of hardwood staffs, demarking a designated sacred space.
Ali‘i	Chief, chiefess.
‘Ali‘i ‘ai aupuni	Ruling chief, war god.

Ali'i kalakū ho'okupu	A chief with a loud booming voice who announced when the tribute was enough.
Ali'i nui	High-ranking chief or chiefess.
Ali'i 'okana	Landlords of the moku 'okana district.
Ali'i wahine	Chiefess, queen.
Alo ali'i	Royal retinue, courtier. Attendant to the chiefs.
Anahulu	A count of ten, generally a ten day week. Can also be tens as in a count of ten weeks, ten months, ten years, or ten cycles.
Anahulu Ho'ēmi	The ten-day week of waning moons phases.
Anahulu Ho'onui	The ten-day week of waxing moon phases.
Anahulu Piha Poepoe	The ten-day week of the gibbous moon phases.
Ao	Clouds, rain, rainbows, weather.
Ao honua	Universe
A'o hōkū	Expert astronomers, astrologers.
Ao Kuewa	Land sections designated as locations where spirits wander aimlessly.
Aotearoa	Traditional Māori name for New Zealand.
Au	General term for a period of time, era, epoch, or cycle.
'Auhau	Obligatory tribute or offering. Similar to a tax.
'Aulima	Name of the fire stick that is held in the hand. Also the name of the tall staff used in the akua loa.
'Aunaki	Name of the fire stick that is rubbed to create the hot ash to start a fire. Also the cross piece of wood tied to the staff of the akua loa.
'Awa	Piper methysticum, a plant made into a narcotic drink of the same name used in ceremonies. Traditionally accepted as one of the offerings for the akua.
'Awa hiwa	A variety of 'awa with black branches and nodes.
'Awalau	'Awa plants that grow so tall, their nodes start new plants in the crook of trees.
'Awa mahakea	A variety of 'awa.
'Ena	Burn, glow.
Ha'a	A form of low, boisterous dance that challenge opponents.

Hā'ena	The first and last breath of the sun. Sunrise/sunset. The green flashes before or after the appearance of the sun.
Hainaki	A ritual that formally accepts the Makahiki tribute.
Haku 'ai mo' o'āina	Landlords of larger land lots inclusive of other natural resources.
Haku 'āina	Landlords over several ahupua'a.
Haku kīhāpai	Manager of cultivated fields.
Halalū	Young growth stage of the akule, <i>Trachurops crumenophthalmus</i> .
Hālau	An A-framed house that protected the canoes on the beach. Also the traditional term for a school.
Hālau hula	Traditional term for a hula school.
Hālāwai	Horizon.
Hale koko	A temporary shelter for Kahoali'i built on the luakini fronting the Wai'ea.
Halemua	Men's gathering house.
Haleopapa	Generally a heiau that housed the female akua.
Hale pili	A traditional house made of pili or other variety of grass.
Hālu'a	To assemble. A heiau ritual where the akua are fed pork, coconut and bananas.
Hana	Work, labor, effort.
Hānai	To feed, to adopt, to foster to sustain, to provide, and to raise.
Hānai pū	A Makahiki ritual reserved for the household of the chief where the akua loa visits his or her compound
Hānau	To birth, to give birth, to reproduce, to become.
Hā'ule	To fall, to drop, to tumble down.
Haumea	One of the primary female akua. Associated with the earth, female ceremonies, and reproduction and growth processes.
Haumia	Unclean, sordid, degraded. A state of being while menstrating.
He haku nui	Primary akua.
Heiau	Hawaiian place of ceremony and worship.
Helele'i	To drip, cascade, scatter.

Hiki	Arrive, come upon, rise, appear.
Hina	To lean, fall back, or lay flat.
Hina	Akua wahine, often opposite or partnered with the akua Kū.
Hi‘uwai	Ceremonial bath in an ocean or stream.
Hō‘ā	To spark or ignite.
Hō‘ailona	Sign, omen, representation or token from the akua.
Hōkū	Stars, planets, asteroids, comets, etc.
Ho‘oku‘i	Zenith
Ho‘okupu	A tribute to one in higher standing; a present; a gift; a gratification with expectations that something will "sprout" from the gift. Part of the taxation process.
Holoholona	General term for animals.
Hōlua	The name of the sport where a sled was ridden by a skilled rider down treacherous hills built up by stones. Hōlua was an ancient pastime among Hawaiians.
Ho‘okupu	Offering with expectations. Tribute, gift.
Ho‘omana	Worship, spirituality, religion. To authorize; to empower.
Ho‘omana kahiko	Ancient worship, Hawaiian religion.
Ho‘opa‘apa‘a	To dispute pertinaciously; to debate; to have a mental contest of wit and poetry.
Honua	Earth, foundation, ground, world.
Hua	Egg, seed, fruit. 13th phase of the lunar cycle.
Huaka‘i	Procession, march, circuit, to take a trip.
Huaka‘i akua loa	Procession, circuit of the akua Makahiki.
Hua‘ōlelo	Words, terms.
Hue	Water gourd.
Huihuimakali‘i	A cluster of several constellations connected to the Pleiades constellation.
Hula	Traditional dance that was choreographed to words in song or chant.
Hula Kōlani	Sitting hula in honor of a chief.
Hula kuahu	An alter dedicated to hula practices.
Huli	To turn, to cycle, revolve, switch, flip, and search.

Hulihia	A complete chaotic change, whether political, physical, or environmental.
Hulili	Blaze, undulation, and sparkle.
I‘a	Fish, all marine creatures.
I‘a ‘ula	Red fish.
‘Ie‘ie	<i>Freycinetia arborea</i> , an endemic densely woody climbing plant used in several ceremonies. Aerial roots were used to fashion wicker baskets.
Iheihe	Spear throwing
Iholena	A variety of banana that has a creamy yellow fruit.
Ikaika	Strength, to be strong. Also, another name for Jupiter.
‘Ike	Knowledge, to know, to see, to perceive, to experience.
‘Ikuā	Lunar month that generally corresponds with September/October.
Imu	A traditional underground oven similar to a Maori <i>hangi</i> or Samoan <i>umu</i> .
Iwi	Bones, skeletal remains.
Iwi kūpuna	Native Hawaiian bones, skeletal remains.
ka‘a ‘ākau	Travel northward or possible older term for clockwise.
ka‘a hema	Travel southward or possible older term for counterclockwise.
Ka‘apola	Also called <i>kaupola</i> . It is the second ritual affiliated with the <i>Makahiki</i> ceremonies.
Kā‘elo	A star and Hawaiian lunar month that generally corresponds to January/February.
Kahiki	Vertical divisions of the sky based on the location of the sun.
Kahikikapuiholani- keku‘ina	The zone where the sun reaches its zenith.
Kahikikepapalani	The stratum above the refraction zone up to zenith.
Kahikikepapanu‘u	The stratum where the sun reaches the refraction zone that starts above the horizon to 20 degrees above the horizon.
Kahikikū	The eastern and western strata just above the horizon, marked by the sun.

Kahikimoe	The horizon where the sun rises and sets.
Kahoali'i	A deified man who played the role of an akua Makahiki.
Kahu	Attendants.
Kahuna	Priest, expert in any profession.
Kāhuna	Priests, experts, plural of kahuna.
Kāhuna kilolani	Priests, experts in atmospheric event, cycles, and trends to predict weather or to keep time through the sun, moon and stars. One who looks to the stars for answers; an astrologer.
Kāhuna nui	Highest elevation of priestly status. Proficient in every kahuna sect.
Kāhuna pele	Priests, experts in volcanism and Pele ceremonies.
Kai	Ocean, sea, salted water.
Ka'i akua	Processions of the ki'i akua, godly idols.
Ka'iu	A ceremonial isolation of ali'i or kāhuna away from the rest of the society.
Kākā'ōlelo	Orator, person skilled in use of language; counselor, adviser; storyteller.
Kākū'ai	Ceremony to deify ali'i through their bones and a ten-day ceremony.
Kalahu'a	One of the rituals conducted to end the Makahiki ceremonies removing the kapu from harvesting.
Kālai 'Āina	Districts, political divisions, one in charge of land distribution.
Kālaimoku	Counselor, prime minister, high official; to perform such office.
Kalakū	A rite to release one from his or her own burdens.
Kalenekalio	Hawaiian transliteration of the word calendar.
Kāli'i	To hurl spears at an ali'i while landing onshore, to exhibit his dexterity and courage in dodging them and proving his right to ruler.
Kalo	Various varieties of Colocasia. Taro.
Kāmauli 'ai	Food plant offerings to the akua for abundant crops.
Kāmauli i'a	Fish or meat offerings to the akua for abundant harvests.

Kānaenaena	A supplicating prayer to akua while making an offering or sacrifice; a chant of eulogy or praise.
Kanaka	Human, man/woman, specifically Hawaiian person.
Kānaka	Humans, men/women, specifically Hawaiian people. Plural of kanaka.
Kanaka maoli	Native Hawaiian, native or indigenous person.
Kānaka maoli	Native Hawaiians, native or indigenous people.
Kanaka 'ole	Godlike, not human.
Kanaloa	One of the primary akua usually associated with the ocean, subterranean fresh water, the sun, and the southern hemisphere. Kanaloa maintains wisdom or ancestral memories.
Kānāwai	Laws, edicts, pertaining to expectations between kānaka and nature.
Kanawao	A wild variety of taro. Considered one of the primary pioneering kalo varieties.
kāne	Male of any species, generally refers to a male human.
Kāne	One of the primary akua usually associated with the sun, water, growth processes, and the northern hemisphere. Kāne acquires knowledge.
Kāneakupua	Mock battle with spears between expert warriors.
Kanikau	A poetic dirge, lamentation, or chant of mourning eulogizing the passing of a person, place, or object.
Kaona	Hidden or multiple meanings in Hawaiian poetry. Metaphorical speech.
Kapa	Material made from the bark of processed fibers of the wauke (paper mulberry) or other like plants.
Kapa 'oloa	Long pieces of white kapa cloth draped on the akua loa.
Kapu	Sacred, consecrated, to separate, a form of rules and codes of behavior.
Kapu 'iu	A ceremonial isolation of ali'i or kāhuna away from the rest of the society.
Kapu kauila	Rituals to consecrate an ali'i's heiau or sacred space conducted at night during specific time intervals.

Ka Pu‘u o Kuapola	The final and smaller collection of offerings that was given directly to the ali‘i nui.
Kau	General term for seasons and cycles. In the kauila nocturnal time division, kau is equated midnight or zenith.
Kaua	To go to war. Battle. Conflict. Rebellion.
Kauā	Slaves, outcasts, a class of people reserved for human sacrifice.
Kauila	Nocturnal time marks. To offer special sacrifices during the dedication ceremonies of a heiau. It also means electricity or lightning, and is an endemic tree ( <i>Alphitonia ponderosa</i> ).
Kau ka lā i ka lolo	When the sun is directly above the head. Zenith.
Kaulana mahina	Lunar calculation, lunar calendar.
Kaulua	A star and Hawaiian lunar month that generally corresponds to February/Mar.
Kauluwela	Ceremony to close the season of Kū.
Kapu kai	Cleansing ceremony, bathing ritual.
Kauō	First rite done with loud prayer in the Kauluwela ceremony.
Kaupola	Also called ka‘apola. It is the second ritual affiliated with the Makahiki ceremonies.
Ka‘upu	Either the <i>Phoebastria nigripes</i> , black albatross or <i>Phoebastria immutabilis</i> , Laysan albatross.
Ka‘upukea	A law or edict decreeing that the white ka‘upu bird must be used during the Makahiki as a symbol of the akua Kohoali‘i.
Kawaū	Moss, mildew, slime, microbes.
Ke ala i ka Piko o	
Wākea	One of the names for the earth’s equator.
Ke ala ‘ula a ke	
Ku‘uku‘u	One of the names for the celestial equator.
Ke alanui mā‘awe‘ula	
a Kanaloa	Southern hemisphere of the earth.
Keala‘ula a Kāne	Northern hemisphere of the earth.
Kēpolo, Kiapolo	Hawaiian transliteration of the Spanish word Diabolo, devil.
Kī	The tī plant, <i>Cordyline terminalis</i> .

Kihawahine	A deified woman who became a guardian of water sources, played the role of an akua Makahiki.
Kihi	Corner, point. In the kauila nocturnal time division, kihi is equated to sunset or 6 pm.
Kihipuka	In the kauila nocturnal time division, kihipuka is equated sunrise or 6 am.
Ki'i	Idol, image, carved statues.
Kilo hōkū	Star prognosticators, astrologer, astronomer, one who studies the stars for omens and can make accurate predictions based on the observations.
Kilokilo	Trained experts in reading the weather, keeping time through stars, as well as predicting future events through the actions of the atmosphere.
Kilo lani	Atmospheric and celestial prognosticators, astrologer, astronomer, one who studies everything in the atmosphere for omens and predictions. Weather forecaster.
Kini	Traditional term for forty thousand.
Kino	Body, person, individual, physique, receptacle; form; fully formed, material, entity.
Kino lau	Manifestations, body forms, or attributes.
Kipa ali'i	A Makahiki ritual reserved for the household of the chief where the akua loa visits his or her compound.
Ko'i	Stone adze. or axe.
Ko'ihonua	Genealogical chant or poetry.
Kōkō Maoloha	Large-meshed net used at makahiki ceremonies filled with food and held at each of the four corners by kāhuna that prayed, and the net was shaken. If the food did not fall out, famine was predicted.
Kona	Generally, the southwestern side of the islands.
Kōnane	Ancient game played with black and white pebbles resembling a combination of chess and checkers.
Konohiki	District chiefs assigned to manage the resources, rights and privileges of the maka'āinana (citizens). Landlords that managed various resources within an ahupua'a.

Ko‘olau	Generally, the northeastern side of the islands.
Kū	One of the primary male akua. Established, stop, rise, appear, foundation, core, nucleus.
Kuahu	A constructed altar made of stone where offerings are left.
Kuana ‘ike	Worldview.
Kuapola	A ceremony dedicated to the opening of the Makahiki ceremonies.
Kuhikuhi pu‘uone	Kahuna, class of priests who advised concerning building temples, homes, fishponds, engineer, or architect.
Ku‘iku‘ipapa	Final prayer uttered to close the Makahiki festivities.
Kula Kaiapuni	Hawaiian language immersion school.
Kūlolo	A pudding made with kalo, coconut milk and sugar.
Kumu	Teacher, source, origin.
Kumu hula	Contemporary term for master hula expert.
Kumulipo	Traditional Hawaiian cosmogony prayer.
Kumu niu	Coconut tree, trunk of a coconut tree.
Kumu ‘ole	Elemental or natural phenomena.
Kūpapa‘u	Corpse, human remains.
Kupuna	Elder, ancestor.
Kūpuna	Elders, ancestors. Plural of kupuna.
Lā	Sun, sunlight, day.
Lā‘au	Plants, trees, forests.
Lā‘amake	Die back of foliage.
Lā‘aulu	First season of active plant growth.
Lā‘au make	Die back of foliage.
Lā‘au ‘ulu	First season of active plant growth.
Lā‘ī	A contraction of lau kī, tī leaves, <i>Cordyline terminalis</i> .
Laka	One of the akua for hula practitioners.
Lama	<i>Diospyros sandwicensis</i> . The plant represents enlightenment.
Lani	Sky, atmosphere, firmament, spiritual; high chief.
Lapa	Boil, flames.
Lapu	Ghosts, wild apparitions.

Lauhala	Pandanus leaves plaited and woven into mats and other things.
Lauloa	A variety of taro with long stems and leaves. Considered a primary pioneering kalo variety.
Lehu	The number 400,000; numerous, very many. Ashes.
Lehua	Blossoms of the 'ōhi'a, <i>Metrosideros</i> species.
Lehuakona	One of the traditional names of Antares.
Lehulehu	Innumerable, myriad.
Lei	Garland, wreath.
Lei hulu	Feather garland, feather wreath.
Lei niho palaoa	A lei decorated with a whale tooth highly prized by ali'i.
Lele	A Maui land district that is detached from a larger land district. A wooden frame in which offerings are placed.
Leo	Voice, to use the voice in speech or song.
Lepa	Strips of newly fashioned kapa cloth tied to the top of a pole or stick.
Lepo	Dirt.
Lewa	Atmospheric strata, space.
Loea hula	Hula master, hula expert.
Lolopua	The zenith; the point directly over head.
Lono	News, remembrance, rumor, sound. To hear, as a sound; to hear, as the voice of one calling. To regard, as a command; to keep; to observe; to obey. One of the four major gods brought from Kahiki.
Lonoikamakahiki	Lono of the calendar/year. Name of four significant chiefs.
Lonomakua	Lono who produces/lowers clouds. Family member of the Pele clan. Important member of volcanism.
Lononuiākea	Great, expansive Lono.
Luakini	Large heiau, or temple where ali'i conducted religious and government ceremonies; to perform temple work. Highest classification of heiau temples where human sacrifices were offered.
Mahina	Moon, Gregorian month, calendar.
Mai'a	General term for bananas. Also a variety of a sugarcane.

Maka‘āinana	Commoners. Citizens.
Ma kai	Generally a directional used to describe seaward or downslope.
Makali‘i	The Pleiades and the planet Saturn in the winter. Hawaiian lunar month that generally corresponds to November/December. Also the name of a double-hulled canoe from Kawaihae, Hawai‘i Island.
Makahiki	Year, annual ceremony to celebrate the end of one year and the beginning of a new year which includes a procession around the island to collect tribute owed to the ali‘i, a period or season roughly four lunar months dedicated to the akua Lono.
Makana	Gift, present, reward, award.
Makani	Wind, wind storms, hurricanes.
Makawalu	Deconstruct, many perspectives, multiplicity.
Malae	Same as marae, a low-lying flat platform constructed with stone.
Malama	Hawaiian lunar month, moon, moonlight.
Malama kelekolia	Gregorian months.
Malama maoli	Customary months.
Malama pili	Thirteenth lunar month associated with the customary months.
Malama pili a ‘ukali	Thirteenth lunar month.
Malama ‘ukali.	Thirteenth lunar month.
Malo	Loin cloth.
Mana	Spiritual power, political authority, to hold power and privilege.
Mano	Many, numerous, four thousand; thick.
Manō	General term for shark.
Manu	Birds.
Manu kahakai	Shoreline birds.
Manu kai	Marine birds.
Manu nāhele	Forest birds.
Manu uka	Upland birds.

Maoli	Authentic, real, native.
Ma uka	Generally a directional used to describe upland or inland.
Mele	Poem, chant, song.
Mele ‘aha	‘Aha prayers and incantations.
Mele ho‘oipoipo	Love making chant or poem.
Mele ho‘onaikola	Boasting or contemptuous chants.
Mele inoa	A poem or name chant. Poem or song composed in honor of someone.
Mele kāhoahoa	Prayers or incantations that entreat akua.
Mele kānaenae	Entreating akua incantations.
Mele kanikau	Funerary dirges.
Mele kaua	Battle chants.
Mele ko‘ihonua	A genealogical chant or poem.
Mele lei	Lei gifting chant or poem.
Mele mahalo	Chants that express gratitude or appreciation.
Mele ma‘i	A chant or song in honor of genitals to encourage procreation. Often composed for chiefs at his or her birth.
Mele mānewanewa	Grief and lamentation chants.
Melemele	A star affiliated with the Makali‘i constellation clusters. Also a 13th malama. Also means the color yellow.
Mele ‘uhane	Chants that lament the dead or the spirits.
Melemele	A star affiliated with the Makali‘i constellation clusters. Also a 13th malama. Also means the color yellow.
Moa	Chicken, either hen or rooster.
Moa pāhe‘e	Javelin or dart sliding
Moa‘ulahiwa	Dark red and black rooster.
Mōhai	Sacrifice, to offer as sacrifice, a sacrificial offering.
Mō‘ī	The king or queen of the entire archipelago. An ali‘i nui.
Mokomoko	A form of mixed martial arts dedicated to the Makahiki.
Moku	Island, large district, mountain, ship, individual.
Moku ‘okana	Large land district consisting of several ahupua‘a.
Moku o Keawe	One of Hawai‘i Island’s traditional names, preferred by
Native	Hawaiians over the common name, The Big Island.

Mōlia	To be sanctified. To be dedicated to a god, to be made sacred.
Mōlī	Phoebastria immutabilis, Laysan albatross.
Mo‘o	A serpentine lizard-like creature, a lizard, a sequence, an offspring.
Mo‘okū‘auhau	Genealogy, a genealogist.
Mo‘olele	Double hulled sailing canoe from Lahaina, Maui.
Mo‘olelo	Story, sequential narrative.
Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i	Hawaiian stories, Hawaiian history.
Mo‘olono	Attendants of Lono during the Makahiki ceremonies. Priests of the lineage of Lono are called mo‘o Lono.
Mua	Move forward, first, prime. A sanctified structure for rituals. A structure reserved for the men of a Hawaiian community. Currently, an organization for Native Hawaiian men.
Mū	Insects, bugs.
Mūkī	Kissing sounds made with lips to call dogs, whistling, and calling/chanting.
Na‘au	Internal organs. Ancestral instinct that sits at the pit of your guts.
Nāhui	A collection of constellations in close proximity to one another.
NāhuihuioMakali‘i	A cluster of star constellations prominent during the Makahiki season. Includes Auriga, Gemini, Procyon, Sirius, Canopus, Fomalhaut, Orion, Taurus, Pleiades, Jupiter, Saturn, Venus, and Mars.
Nākao/Nākau	One of the traditional names for the three stars in Orion’s Belt.
Nana	A star and Hawaiian lunar month that generally corresponds to March/April.
Nāwao	Same as Kanawao. A wild variety of taro considered one of primary pioneering kalo varieties.
Ne‘epapa	Trek of the sun across the horizon or the sky.
Nī‘aupi‘o	An ali‘i of the highest status.

Niu	Coconut.
Niu hiwa	Black or green coconut.
Noa	To be released or free from restrictions or rules.
No‘a	A game: a stone or piece of wood called no‘a was hidden on the person of a player, and the other players tried to guess on whom it was hidden.
Nūpepa	Newspaper.
‘Ohana	Family, relative, kin group.
‘Ōhi‘a kō	Temporary structure that houses the idols representing the gods.
‘Ōiwi	Native. A reference to one’s bones or core of being. A modern term used to indigenous and endemic living creatures.
‘Okia ka piko	To cut the umbilical cord of a chief’s child, to cut the thatching for a doorway of a new home.
Ōla‘i	Earthquake. Seismology.
‘Ōlelo	Language, to speak.
‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i	Hawaiian language.
‘Ōlelo no‘eau	Proverbs, axioms, and epigrams.
‘Olena	Turmeric plant. Roots are used for cleansing ceremonies and to make a yellow dye.
Oli	Chant that was traditionally not danced.
‘Ōlohe hula	Master hula expert.
Olonā	An endemic plant, <i>Touchardia latifolia</i> . The bark was valued highly as the source of strong, durable fiber for rope, fishing nets, for nets (kōkō) to carry, containers, and as a base for ti-leaf raincoats and feather capes.
‘Olū‘au	The new tender leaf shoots from kalo, bundled, roasted or steamed. Also a ceremony done during the Makahiki where the tender leaves were roasted and inserted into the walls to symbolically feed the home.
One	Sand.
‘Ōpelu	Mackerel scad, <i>Decapterus pinnulatus</i> and <i>D. maruadsi</i> .

Paepae	Same as malae, a low-lying platform constructed with stone. The plate of a house on which the rafters rest; a pavement of stones.
Pa‘i ‘ai	The first pounding of kalo into poi with little water added.
Pa‘imalau	Portuguese Man of War, marine hydrozoan. A fleet of canoes.
Pala	Endemic ferns, <i>Sphenomeris chinensis</i> , <i>Microlepia strigosa</i> , or <i>Marattia douglasii</i> .
Papa	Platforms, stratification, levels, strata, stratigraphy, flat surface, classification. Deified ancestress of Hawaiians.
Papahānaumoku	Study of all living organisms, their reproduction, growth processes and death, which in turn creates regeneration.
Papahola	The courtyard or elevated platform within the luakini heiau.
Papahulihonua	Study of all natural earth phenomena, processes and cycles.
Papahulilani	Study of all the natural atmospheric phenomena and cycles.
Papakū	Entity, subject, component.
Papakū Makawalu	A Hawaiian methodology and process of analyzing mele and pule.
Papalehu	Four hundred thousand "Papa."
Papamano	Four thousand "Papa."
Papanuihānaumoku	Study of all living organisms, their reproduction, growth processes and death, which in turn creates regeneration.
Papawalu	Many "Papa."
Pāpio ‘ia	Furled and tucked in.
Pā uma	Standing wrist wrestling
Pele	One of the main noted akua for volcanism.
Pele	Lava. Magma. Also volcanism.
Pī‘āpā	Hawaiian phonetic alphabet.
Pīkai	To purify by sprinkling ocean water or salted water.
Piko o Wākea	Equinoxes, poetically called noon.
Pili	Associated with, together, to cling, to adhere, and to join. In the kauila nocturnal time division, pili is equated to 9 pm.
Pilipuka	In the kauila nocturnal time division, Pilipuka is equated to 3 am.

Pō	Night, nights, phase darkness, Hawaiian concept of day. Antiquity, past.
Pō‘ai helu malama	Circulating around the counted months.
Pohaku	Stone, rock.
Pōhaku	Stones, rocks, plural of pohaku.
Poi	A staple made by pounding kalo into a thick, smooth consistency.
Polohiwa	Solstices. Also, dark blue, black clouds.
Pō mahina	Moon phase, lunar phase.
Pū	Conch or other type of shell used as a trumpet.
Pua	Flower, to issue, emerge, appear, progeny, offspring, growth stage of fish, dart.
Pua‘a	Hogs, pigs, and metaphor for heavy rain clouds.
Pua‘ahiwa	A hog that is entirely black from snout to tail.
Puali koa	Warriors, military.
Puea	An evening fire ritual that started with the kāhuna setting up the firewood for the large fires that were lit on pō Kāne after the akua poko had returned. Also an akua.
Puka	Emerge, push through.
Pule	Prayer, incantation, and petition.
Pule Ho‘ola‘a Ali‘i	Prayer, incantation, petition to sanctify chiefs.
Pūnana Leo	Hawaiian language immersion preschool
Ua	Rain.
‘Uala	All varieties of sweet potato.
‘Uhane	Spirit, essence, and life force.
‘Uhau	A pudding made with coconut milk.
‘Ukali	To follow after, to succeed, attend.
Uliuli	A star affiliated with the Makali‘i constellation clusters. Also a 13th malama. Also means a healthy blue of the ocean, black of the night sky, or green of the forest.
‘Ulu	The breadfruit tree ( <i>Artocarpus altilis</i> ).
‘Ulumaika	A game where stones are rolled for a distance, to bowl between two stakes at the far end of the field.
‘Umikūmāhā	Fourteen, fourteenth.

‘Umikūmākolu	Thirteen, thirteenth.
Wā	Time, era, epoch, time keeping.
Wa‘a	Traditional Hawaiian canoe. Also moving rock masses on a hot liquid lava flow.
Wa‘a ākea	A canoe that was coursed back and forth in the sea to symbolize the closing of the Makahiki ceremonies, which allowed everyone to return to fishing and farming.
Wa‘a ‘auhau	Also known as Wa‘a o Lono or Lono’s canoe. It was released into the deep ocean with the belief that it would return on its own to Kahiki.
Wa‘a kaulua	Double-hulled canoe.
Wai	Fresh water, sap, liquid.
Wai niu	Coconut water.
Waiwai ma loko	Collection stayed within the haku ‘āina’s responsibility and was redistributed to the ali‘i households within that
haku	‘āina’s district.
Wahi	Location, geography.
Wāhi	To break open.
Wahine	Woman, girl, female.
Wāhine	Women, girls, plural of wahine.
Wai	Water, sap, liquid, blood.
Wai‘ea	A section of the luakini heiau where the kāhuna and the ali‘i performed the ‘aha rituals unobserved.
Waihona ‘āina	Topography.
Wai niu	Coconut water.
Waiwai	Goods, valuables.
Wākea	Deified ancestor of Hawaiians.
Walu	Eight, eighth, other multiples of four, numerous.
Wao	Natural land divisions determined by vegetation & micro climate.
Welehu	Hawaiian lunar month that generally corresponds to November/December.
Welo	A star and Hawaiian lunar month that generally corresponds to April/May.

Welu

Old tattered and frayed pieces of kapa tied to the top of a pole or stick and placed in front of the entrance of the luakini heiau at the closing of the Kū season.

## Chapter 1

### Makahiki – Introduction

#### 1.1 Ho‘olauna: Introduction

##### *Ho‘olauna: Mo‘okū‘auhau*

*A ka wai o Waimea,*

*He mea aha nō lā ho‘i ia ke ‘ole,*

*‘O wai lā ke make ana iā ia,*

*‘Ole loa ihola ho‘i wahi a i ala e.*

*He ala— ala—e—*

*E Loe, e Huamalona, e Huamakua,*

*E Huanuiikalalailai, e Kalau,*

*E Kalau o Kuaiwa paha ‘oe,*

*‘O Kamuleilani, e Kaho‘okapu nā ali‘i,*

*No ka mano kuhawai o Hukulani,*

*Ka ‘ena kau ma ka lae o Kalani,*

*Ahohia Manauea,*

*Mai loko o ka ‘a‘a ho‘okahi lākou,*

*Mai ka manawa mai ‘o Halolena,*

*‘O Kalena‘ula,*

*‘O Owa, ‘o Kaululena,*

*Ke apiapi o Kuhimakaukona,*

*Na halo, hiu, ‘o Kamaio o ka i‘a nui,*

*‘O Luaehu i holo a mio, puhe kiki ke kai,*

*Kōlili ke kui o ka i‘a ‘o Pimoe,*

*I ku‘uku‘u, ua ‘ai ‘ia e Manaiakalani,*

*Ea i luna malanahikiea i ka ili kai,*

*‘O Ka‘ika‘iluamakua paha ‘oe,*

*O'ahu kā i Kaka'e, 'o ke ka'u'u ka manu,  
Nāna ho'i ka ulu kamani i Olowalu,  
He olowalu hānau ali'i na lua,  
He nahae ali'i kēia mai Kapa'ahu,  
He lani, he ali'i no ke one momona,  
No ke one wai o Niu'a'ala,  
No Kaheku i 'Olopio, 'o Lowa ke ali'i,  
'O La'akapu a Ahukai, a Kamilo ke ali'i,  
Nona ka uka o Hukakua'ohu'ohu,  
Komo i loko o nā kūpuna nui,  
Komo ke po'o hala loa i loko o Keaka,  
I ka manawa kapu o Manawaiuli,  
Hala komo i ka hāiki 'o Pi'ilani,  
I kāna manawa ho'i 'o Kapa'ahu,  
Komo i ka paia mānoa kipu 'o Kauhewa,  
Hului mai mano ka upena,  
Ma ka mole, ka hano,  
Nana e moe ke kai loa,  
'Eli'eli 'ele'ele i oloolo ka 'eke i ka papa,  
E! he i'a i halakou ka i'a o Kaluhaipo,  
A Kalani Kalaniikauleleiaiwi,  
Nāna ho'i Kalaninuike'eaumoku,  
'O ko lāua 'i'o haki koko nei 'o Kalua,  
'O Kaluaikonahale, 'o Kaluaiahuena,  
'O Kalua Ahuena e—  
'O ka 'e'ena pua i ka wai Kamanu'ena,  
'O Keakahilo wā wēlau o Hema,  
'O ka hemahema i ka pō 'a'ole ia,  
'A'ole 'oe ka lau o Makali'i,  
E ki'ina nei ke kanaka e mana'o e—*

*Mana 'o nō, no 'ono 'o iho a loko,  
Hā 'upu kā i ke aloha kulipaia,  
Pau nā maha o ke kanaka,  
Pau ke 'a 'a hui, ke 'a 'a koni o loko,  
Hele ka mana 'o lilo i laila,  
'A 'ohe lono i ka ha 'i 'ōlelo,  
Pu 'upā hiolo wale nō ia leo,  
He leoleoā ia i ka 'u mana 'o,  
E uwalā 'au, wala 'au nei,  
E wala 'au nei, a mama 'e wale ka waha,  
He waha lele 'oe e ka lelo e,  
'O ke kuhihewa ho 'i kekahi,  
A o 'īnana iho ka maka 'ike,  
He makamaka hewa kēnā,  
He lauwili, e hili a 'ela,  
Hili papo ke kauno 'a, lena ke kī,  
Lena 'ohu ke kukui o Kaho 'iwai,  
Me he hō 'ole ui halakau lā ka lā 'au,  
Ka lena 'ula i ka wai o Waikalua,  
Ua kāhihi ho 'ohihi i ke kukui,  
Me he maku 'u halu 'ula lā nō,  
Ka pala loa o ka i 'a hele o Ko 'olau,  
Pala ka hala ke kūka 'i o Halele 'a-e-  
Le 'ale 'a iho ia ka noho me ke aloha.  
Ho 'iho 'i loko i ke kokoke 'ana mai.  
Ma laila a 'e nō ma loko  
A o i piha—e—he piha 'ole—e—  
Piha nenelu māku i nā ali 'i nui.  
Māku mānoanoa me he pali mako lā,  
Ka pali mako i hāne 'e i hānu 'u,*

*I ha 'iha 'i lele holomoku,  
I ke kaulu o ka pali,  
'O ka nali momole, i ki 'eki 'e 'imo 'imo,  
Nāna ho 'i ka 'ai,  
Ha 'ina ka lau mua o Lono.  
'O Lono ho 'i ia o Keakealani.  
Nāna ho 'i Kalanikauleleiaiwi,  
'O ka lamakū a i ke awakea.  
'O ke kukui a 'o Iwikauikaua,  
No lākou ia hō 'ailona.  
No ua poe ali 'i nei a Kalani.  
A Kalanikauleleiaiwi i hānau.  
Hānau nāholo me he 'ohana moa lā,  
Ka moa lākea 'ulahiwa o Kalani,  
I kani kāpo 'o i ka houpo o kona nui,  
'O Kona nui moku a 'Umi 'ino 'ai,  
I noho a kūkapao i ka 'āina,  
He 'āina no 'Umi he au no Mahi,  
He au he ewe kahiko mai nō lākou,  
Ia Kalani aku nei,  
Piha pa 'apū nenelu,  
Pa 'apū kai o Kamakahonu,  
Ia Kalani inoa kaikamahine,  
I nā Kalani kaikua 'ana 'elua,  
'O Kalola ke kia 'i o ia wahi,  
'O kona kaikaina pōki 'i nō,  
'O Kekupuakaukololani o Haka,*

*‘O Kauluhukalani o Hakanileo lā,<sup>1</sup>*  
*‘O Lonolananu ‘uhiwa ke kahu o Nu ‘uanu ka wahine.*  
*‘O John Lono ka makasila, he kāpena o nā kai ‘ewalu.*  
*He ‘eu a nu ‘u ‘o Elizabeth Kāhele ka hiwahiwa.*  
*Puka mai ‘o James Jacob Nu ‘uhiwa Lono.*  
*He me ‘e ‘o ia iā Lili ‘u*  
*I Lāhaina i hui ai ‘o ia me ka wahine ‘ai ka lā o Lele*  
*He Nāpaepae ‘o ia.*  
*Puka mai ‘o Frances Ludwina Leimamo Nu ‘uhiwa.*  
*‘O ka mākuahine nō ia o ko ‘u mākuakāne nō.*  
*E ola ka hāloa o ko ‘u ‘ohana, e ola!*

I am a descendant of Lono. Lonoikamakahiki is my ancestor. The kino lau of Lono are my akua. Therefore, it is not by chance that this papahana, this work, is of interest to me. I stake my claim in what is rightfully mine. I am here to claim my inheritance.

It has been three generations since my ‘ohana, my family, has practiced Lono rituals. During my childhood, we fished to sustain ourselves. Fishing was perhaps the one Hawaiian practice that managed to continue through the generations. Hula, a Hawaiian form of dance, was another practice that my father, my siblings and I also participated in. For my father, hula was a means of income for his growing family. For us kids, hula was a Saturday chore that did not seem to have much value to us during our formative years. We were more interested in Saturday morning cartoons and playtime.

In the evening, my ‘ohana, family, often sat in the backyard to watch and sing to the stars. The songs we sang were not the traditional navigational or celestial songs once sung by kāhuna kilokilo of the past. Though we were compelled to sing contemporary songs, we loved them. Fishing, hula and evening sing alongs were some of the small things that we did as a family, which have profoundly shaped my learning as a young child and have certainly left an indelible mark on me as an adult.

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<sup>1</sup> J.A. Kuakini, a renown genealogist of ali‘i, published this first section of the genealogy in the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* in 18 Iulai 1868.

It was not until my years as a parent that a sense of yearning to learn Hawaiian things began. The Hawaiian language immersion movement erupted and a sense of duty to enroll my children into the school also pushed me to learn the Hawaiian language as well. The very first person to teach me the Hawaiian language was Kekuhi Kanahale. She started my journey towards unlocking those doors into Hawaiian cultural practices that had been shut to my family for three generations. The Hawaiian Immersion movement was what fueled my passion to learn Hawaiian and to learn the language well. Due to the lack of qualified Hawaiian language teachers during those fundamental years, my journey led me to becoming an assistant teacher at the Hawaiian immersion schools Pūnana Leo and then eventually Kula Kaiapuni o Pā‘ia on Maui out of necessity. In all honesty, I was not a good teacher at that time, nevertheless my language skills grew exponentially and my fluency in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, Hawaiian language, became quite proficient.

Hula re-entered my life, which gave me a Hawaiian practice. Hōkūlani Holt came from a long genealogy of hula masters from Kaua‘i and Maui. Aunty Hōkū was the Headmaster at the Pūnana Leo o Maui Hawaiian language preschool and one of the founding supporters for the Hawaiian Immersion programs on Maui. Through Aunty Hōkū’s tutelage, my chant training commenced. One of Aunty Hōkū’s methods to learn chants and hula was to go and visit the places being talked about within the mele (song, chant). To her, Hawaiian language was best when being utilized in many aspects of your daily life, which included my hula practice. She also encouraged researching the ancient stories that brought life to the people and places spoken about and brought us into the world of our ancestors. Aunty Hōkū often sent her students to other hula and chanting experts such as Keali‘i Reichel from Maui, John Ka‘imikaua from Moloka‘i and Aunty Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahale from Moku o Keawe to learn hula or chanting. These various loea hula, hula experts, developed my chanting skills and hula practice.

During these hula years, interest in other traditional practices also began. My husband at that time and I were learning the art of rock building done in a Hawaiian style of traditional dry stack masonry. We were helping to build a pā hula, traditional dance platform, at the Maui Arts and Cultural Center. My sister invited us to visit the island of Kaho‘olawe with her because the Protect

Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana (PKO) needed rock builders to help build a wall on the island. We agreed to go not fully understanding to what we had consented. When we got there a large gathering of rock builders from across the archipelago of Hawai‘i had amassed on the island to assist with building a mua. A mua is a traditional large elevated rock platform. This particular mua was being built to house the iwi kūpuna, ancestral bones, being returned to the island of Kaho‘olawe. The Kanaka‘ole family who is one of only a few Hawaiian families who managed to maintain Hawaiian rituals and ceremonies of various Hawaiian practices led the activity. The matriarch of the family, Edith Kanaka‘ole, assisted in the revitalization of the Hawaiian language, hula and chanting arts. Edith Kanaka‘ole’s husband, Luka Kanaka‘ole, maintained the forest and logging ceremonies, fishing, imu/fire rituals and other rituals associated with various arts.

The Kanaka‘ole family was assisting the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana with the revitalization of various ceremonies and rituals. The Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana is a grassroots organization that began in the 1970s. Their mission was to stop the U.S. Military from utilizing the island as an ordnance target site. They reinstated the Aloha ‘Āina movement into the contemporary world through peaceful demonstrations, which was an active protest and resistance to the United States of America and other RIMPAC nations who were bombing the island of Kaho‘olawe. The PKO’s method was to revitalize Hawaiian spiritual practices and to use the Hawaiian culture as a catalyst to bring about change, give Hawaiians a pathway towards self-identity and to stop the bombing. In 1981 the akua Lono was cognitively reintroduced back into Hawaiian community via the Makahiki ceremony on Kaho‘olawe. These early years of protest and the return of the Makahiki ceremonies were the reasons why my sister and I were able to visit Kaho‘olawe with the PKO. There on Kaho‘olawe, my sister and I were standing with our kūpuna, our ancestors, and all those who fought for us to be there on the abused island. We assisted wherever we could to build the mua and through this experience I participated in my first ceremony with Hawaiian akua and consciously with my Hawaiian kūpuna, ancestors. Driven by our na‘au, our ancestral instinct that sits at the pit of your guts, we rose to the challenge of making the return and restoration of Kaho‘olawe back to the Hawaiian people our own family mission. In 1991, the opportunity to participate in a Makahiki ceremony on the island of Kaho‘olawe happened and my first ceremonial

exchange with Lono transpired. Lono became the navigator of my ceremonial journey. Soon after that, the art of hand-to-hand combat called Lua entered into my learning. It was a physical and mental health training that was led by the Native Hawaiian Culture and Arts Program. We got involved with ceremonies at heiau, temple sites, such as Pu'u Koholā and Moku'ula on Maui. We protested when our rights were ignored. We made our voices heard. We were a young Hawaiian family that hungered for Hawaiian things and enrolled into everything we could find to satisfy that Hawaiian taste of life.

The Kanaka'ole 'ohana came into my life again this time in the form of training practitioners to learn the rituals and prayers for the various ceremonies needed for the omnibus ordnance clearance project that would remove live and spent ordnance, metal and other military trash from the island of Kaho'olawe. Ten people were chosen. These ten individuals were going to be involved in various positions with the ordnance clearance project on Kaho'olawe. I was fortunate to be one of the ten people. We learned basic ceremonies to heal, protect, remove negativity, wrap and reinter exposed iwi kūpuna (ancestral bones), give or receive offerings, creating sacred space, removal of sacred space, greetings and release rituals. Named after a land district on Kaho'olawe, we were called Nā'alapa. We invited the PKO to learn the ceremonies as well. Eventually an opportunity to work for the Kaho'olawe Island Reserve Commission (KIRC) arose which allowed me to learn real time practices from so many different disciplines. Kaho'olawe was my university and eventually directed me towards pursuing my educational degrees in the western system.

There were three significant kūpuna, elders of the community, who would come to see us off whenever we went to Kaho'olawe. Their names were Uncle Harry Mitchell, Uncle David Ka'alakea and Auntie Alice Kuloloio. 'Ōlelo Hawai'i was their first language and they were gracious and patient enough to speak with me whenever an exchange presented itself. It was on one of those occasions that both Uncle Harry and Uncle David included me on a discussion about the kaulana mahina, Hawaiian moon calendar. My language skills at that time were not the greatest in comparison to their fluency. Not wanting to waste their time by asking them to repeat themselves often, I chose to go home and seek all the Hawaiian literature there was available to be prepared for the next time a chance exchange might occur.

On a PKO visit to Kaho‘olawe a hand game with all the lunar phases was taught to us by a youth group and for some reason that exercise opened a new door for me to walk through. Studying the Hawaiian moon calendar practices seemed effortless to me. Teaching people about the lunar calendar was how the door for traditional Hawaiian navigation and access to the stars opened for me to walk through as well.

My training and sailing began on traditional double-hulled canoes with a man named Al Nip who was a crewmember on the double-hulled canoe called Mo‘olele from Maui. He introduced me to Captain Clay Bertelmann who was an integral sailor and lead member of the double-hulled canoe Makali‘i from Hawai‘i Island, Nainoa Thompson a cofounder of the Polynesian Voyaging Society on the Wa‘a Hōkūle‘a from O‘ahu and eventually Grand Master Pius Mau Pailug, the father of ocean navigation for Polynesia. Al Nip brought my family and I to so many wa‘a kaulua, double-hulled canoe, and training events on the shores of Lāhaina, Maui. Those coastal trainings eventually expanded to sailing to other islands on the archipelago of Hawai‘i. Learning the cycles and placements of the stars seemed effortless to me too. Perhaps this ease and familiarity with atmospheric knowledge was an indication that someone in my ancestry had known the Hawaiian skies thoroughly. This notion would be a traditional explanation and acceptance in the Hawaiian culture.

In 2007, an opportunity to be a part of an expedition to the Northwest Hawaiian Islands arose. Dr. Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahahele invited me to go with them knowing that my background in celestial understandings would be useful to the expedition. We learned all the rituals necessary during the voyage from Kaua‘i to Mokumanamana. When we landed on Mokumanamana, all my various trainings came together. It was the summer solstice and the first time that I used terrestrial to celestial alignments. My realization at that moment was that my kūpuna understood their universe. As Johnson (2000) has explained and my epiphany revealed, the ancestors replicated the universe and pulled it down onto the earth. I finally saw with my eyes that the kūpuna pulled that universal knowledge right out of the atmosphere and focused it straight into the ancient sites on Mokumanamana. My life and focus changed at that instant.

At this point Hōkūlani Holt reappeared in my life and she invited me to a two-year study project that was being led by Dr. Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahahele.

Practitioners were chosen from almost all of the islands to study heiau (temples) sites from Kauaʻi, Oʻahu, Maui, Kahoʻolawe and Hawaiʻi. We were tasked to research about the sites from chants and prayers composed for the heiau, and to have discussion and debates about what we had discovered. We went to the sites, studied the rituals, studied the celestial to terrestrial alignments, and sought the commonalities between all the sites to understand why that the kūpuna, ancestors, chose those landmarks to build heiau. We also deconstructed chants to consider all their possible meanings and committed everything we learned to memory. It was a project that would guide me towards understanding the Hawaiian akua and the Hawaiian religion.

After the two-year study, Kanakaʻole Kanahale intentionally sought out Hawaiian women who were already working in the educational field, were practitioners in different Hawaiian practices, were fluent in conversational Hawaiian and poetic Hawaiian, and had a propensity towards one of three houses of knowledge described within the Hawaiian cosmogonic chant called the Kumulipo. After thoughtful consideration, trial and experimentation, four women were chosen to assist in the project. Kuʻulei Higashi Kanahale was tasked to study Papahulihonua, I was tasked to study Papahulilani, and Kehaulani Kekua and Mehanaokalā Hind were both tasked to study Papanuihānaumoku. Each of us committed to learning our chosen house of knowledge called papa. Due to my years of studying the Kaulana Mahina, the stars and terrestrial to celestial alignments on heiau, I was given the first choice to become the Papahulilani researcher. The research team was formed and it continues to be guided and directed by Dr. Pualani Kanakaʻole Kanahale. Our process is simple. Open, candid discussion is encouraged between the team members to understand a subject or a verse within a chant. Research is done within the compositions of mele, traditional songs and chants or pule, prayers and incantations. Our candid discussions include the discoveries found within the mele and pule, information from our life experiences gleaned from our practices, and understanding from the environmental natural processes from the point of view of the papa we were studying. These mechanisms are essential to interpreting the information hidden in the metaphor and poetic imagery. Our process is called Papakū Makawalu. Papakū Makawalu affords the team the ability to gain a deeper grasp of the studied content. As Kanakaʻole Kanahale explains (2009, p. 32):

Papakū Makawalu is designed to convey intelligence and knowledge of the Hawaiian universe and everything within it, to the attention of Hawaiian practitioners, educators and eventually to the greater public whose interest lies in studying and maintaining Hawaiian dogma.

With the studied content, the Papakū Makawalu team then trains and guides practitioners through the process to glean meaningful insight into a spiritual rediscovery. It is through the Papakū Makawalu method that I will analyze a few of the pule, incantations, of Lono done during the Makahiki ceremonies. This paper returns me to the beginning of my spiritual journey through the introduction to Lono and the religious ceremonies that shaped the livelihood of my kūpuna in the past, which was reawakened during the restoration of a desolately abused island.

## **1.2 Papakū Makawalu**

Papakū Makawalu is a traditional Hawaiian practice that is evident in many mele and mo‘olelo (stories). It is a paradigm that comes from the Kumulipo. The Kumulipo systematically organizes knowledge of living beings and their relationships to one another (Johnson, 2000, p. 29). The information attained through observation was then compiled over many generations and embedded into the Kumulipo. Papakū Makawalu is a process that recognizes the connectivity and interrelationships between the environment and living organisms. Connections are not just made linearly but cyclically as well. Nogelmeier distinguishes this process as an *epistemological overlay* by which multiple meanings are conveyed in a word (2010). Other Hawaiian scholars utilize the traditional term kaona (Arista, 2010, p. 664; Brown, 2014, p. 3; McDougall, 2014, p. 3), to describe a method of intentionally choosing words that have multiple meanings. Kaona is a form of metaphorical speech. The metaphors are embedded within Hawaiian words and compositional use so that interpretations can be revealed. It was Kanaka‘ole Kanahale who was able to extrapolate the Papakū Makawalu method out of the Kumulipo. Kanaka‘ole Kanahale identified Papakū Makawalu as a method to deconstruct Hawaiian knowledge to ascertain the interrelationships and deeper meanings. Kanaka‘ole Kanahale deduced that the Hawaiian experts who

composed the Kumulipo categorized the natural world of parallel forms, growth processes, and all the systems of known existence into the Kumulipo (2009, pp. 31-2). Three distinct houses of knowledge were noted. They were: Papahulihonua, Papahulilani and Papanuihānaumoku.

Papahulihonua covers all natural earth phenomena and cycles e.g. oceanography, hydrology, topography, geology, volcanology, etc; Papahulilani covers all natural atmospheric phenomena and cycles e.g. astronomy, astrology, meteorology, climatology, time, seasons, etc; and Papanuihānaumoku covers all living organisms, their growth cycles and any practices and relationships necessary to survive e.g. birds, fish, coral, insects, moss, plants, people, etc. A thorough examination of the Papakū Makawalu method will be described in *Chapter 2: Papakū Makuwalu Methodology*.

### **1.3 Makahiki**

Makahiki begins forty days following after the fall equinox in the Hawaiian month of 'Ikuā. The kāhuna kilo, atmospheric experts, would begin looking for the simultaneous rising of the star constellation Makali'i, Pleiades, with the setting of the sun in the west that officially began the Makahiki ceremonies. The kapu associated with the god Kū ends at the breaking of a cleanly husked coconut, which released all the strict kapu, regulations, between the ali'i, chiefs, and the maka'āinana, commoners. People of all ranks and statuses mingled amongst one another free of kapu or restrictions. Generally, there is a belief that the cessation of war over the land occurred during the season of Lono. There are exceptions to this rule, but generally war did not occur during the Makahiki season.

It is also generally believed that the facilitators of the Makahiki ceremonies were Lono priests called mo'olono who made a circuit around the island with a staff called the akua loa. The akua loa was a representation of the god Lono. It was basically a staff, 8 to 15 feet tall, with a cross piece at the top. Two long pieces of kapa bark cloth are draped on both sides of the crosspiece. Two ka'upu, black albatross birds, are also hung from each end of the crosspiece. A lei made of pala or other types of native fern garlands would also drape the cross piece at the top. The akua loa was the symbol of Lono that moved from one district to the next, collecting tribute of kapa, food, plaited mats and other

necessities needed for the survival of a community. The collected tribute were redistributed or stored as directed by the ali‘i of that particular district. Upon completion of the main ceremonies, another symbol of Lono called the akua poko, or short god, would accompany the akua loa to the end of the ali‘i nui’s district.

At the time that the akua loa and akua poko departed, a third symbol called the akua pā‘ani, a female symbol of Lono dedicated to the Makahiki sports named Makawahine would take up the position to oversee the sports, games and gambling that followed after the ceremonies. It is stated that these games lasted for four months (Malo, 1840, p. 152). Currently, the general belief is that the Makahiki was closed after a four-month respite.

It is largely believed that Davida Malo wrote the most detailed treatise that exists to date regarding the Makahiki ceremonies in 1844 and 1847 as part of a history book for the Lahainaluna Seminary called *Moolelo Hawaii* (Emerson, 1903, p. 11). J.F. Pogue later published the book with the same name in 1858. In 1903, Emerson translated the book into English and subsequently sold his translation to the Bishop Museum for \$1,000 (Malo, 1951, xix). Kelou Kamakau writes a detailed section of his personal experience with the Makahiki that was published in the sixth volume of Abraham Fornander’s *Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore: The Hawaiian Account of the Formation of Their Islands and Origin of Their Race, with the Traditions of Their Migrations, Etc.*, in 1916 by the Bishop Museum. In 1869 John Papa ‘Ī‘Ī dedicates three publications in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* to a Makahiki discussion, which includes pule and his personal accounts of participation in the huaka‘i on O‘ahu. Samuel M. Kamakau published a long article in *Ke Au Okoa* in 1870 that described the maka‘āinana perspective of the Makahiki on O‘ahu. Other Hawaiian literature mentions the Makahiki. Some authors do not go into detail about the rituals and ceremonies, few authors do spend some time repeating what others have published, and then the other authors focused mainly on the Makahiki games (Desha, 1921; Kamakau, 1865; Manuokekula, 1861; Poepoe, 1906 and 1909).

In more contemporary times, Valerio Valeri tried to amalgamate all the information he found from various literary resources regarding the Makahiki into one concise narrative. Valeri reiterates what had been reported by the various Hawaiian scholars even when some narratives were conflicting or confusing. The end result, in my opinion, is that his amalgamation created a good resource and

finding aid that directs researchers to the original sources or to other materials to study, especially if others are interested in pursuing the foreign point of view of Hawaiian history.

There are several personal eyewitness accounts of the Makahiki from foreigners who ventured to Hawai‘i during the Makahiki season, Captain James Cook being the first and most infamous. Several of his crew members' journals have been published to which other scholars such as John C. Beaglehole and Marshall Sahlins have both amalgamated the journal entries of foreign ships who visited Hawai‘i into single narratives to present their research. There are also missionary accounts though these are often hard to read as they are filled with misconceived notions and heavily biased attitudes.

### 1.3.1. Malo’s Makahiki Rituals

The following charts are brief descriptions of the Makahiki rituals that were prescribed to occur during the Makahiki season. According to Malo, the rituals span across three lunar months during specified moon phases. To get a better grasp on when the rituals and ceremonies occurred the following charts are included to illustrate Malo’s narration.

The first ceremony occurred on the month of ‘Ikuā, on the moon phase of Hua. The ceremony is called Kuapola. A coconut of the niu hiwa variety or condition is cracked in half and its coconut water within was used for a purification rite. This ceremony was done for the ali‘i of the district by the kāhuna nui.

*Table 1.1: Rituals and Ceremonies for the lunar month of ‘Ikuā*

‘Ikuā									
Hilo	Hoaka	Kūkahī	Kūlua	Kūkolu	Kūpau	‘Ōlekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olekūkolu	‘Olepau
Huna	Mōhalu	Hua Kuapola ritual for ali‘i. Breaking of niu.	Akua	Hoku	Māhealani	Kulu	Lā‘aukūkahi	Lā‘aukūlua	Lā‘aupau
‘Olekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olepau	Kāloakūkahi	Kāloakūlua	Kāloapau	Kāne	Lono	Mauli	Muku

The second lunar month is called Welehu. The star constellation of Makali'i (Pleiades) rules the eastern sky after sunset during this lunar month. The second Kuapola ceremony occurred. This particular ceremony was conducted for the maka'āinana, the community by the kāhuna nui.

*Table 1.2: Rituals and Ceremonies for the lunar month of Welehu*

Welehu									
Hilo	Hoaka	Kūkahi	Kūlua	Kūkolu	Kūpau	‘Ōlekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olekūkolu	‘Olepau
Huna	Mōhalu	Hua Kuapola ritual for maka‘āinan a. Breaking of niu.	Akua	Hoku	Māhealani	Kulu	Lā‘aukūkahi	Lā‘aukūlua	Lā‘aupau
‘Olekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olepau	Kāloakūkahi	Kāloakūlua	Kāloapau	Kāne	Lono	Mauli	Muku

As referenced in the table below, the final Makahiki rituals are conducted on the lunar month of Makali‘i. This is the transitional time when the Lono rituals are closed and the Kū rituals are reinstated.

*Table 1.3: Rituals and Ceremonies for the lunar month of Makali‘i*

Makali‘i									
Hilo	Hoaka	Kūkahi	Kūlua	Kūkolu	Kūpau	‘Ōlekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olekūkolu	‘Olepau
Huna Kalahua for women. Ali‘ihine and women eat the fresh fish caught.	Mōhalu Fishing prohibited for the next four months.	Hua Fishing kapu, prohibition, continued.	Akua Fishing kapu ‘ia, prohibited.	Hoku Fishing kapu ‘ia, prohibited.	Māhealani Akualoa returns from procession. Kaili ritual occurs. Swimming kapu released. Pig offered in luakini.	Kulu Kahoali‘i returns to Hale Lama. Fed pua‘a and kulolo. Koko net is fashioned.	Lā‘aukūkahi Lonomakua dismantled and stored. Maoloha ceremony of Uli with koko net. Wa‘akea made. Noa i kai, ‘āina and kānaka.	Lā‘aukūlua Everything and everyone is made noa, free from ceremonial prohibition.	Lā‘aupau
‘Olekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olepau	Kāloakūkahi	Kāloakūlua	Kāloapau Various hale for luakini built. Upon completion of hale, makahiki is completed for ali‘i.	Kāne Kapu Kūkoa‘e declared. Opening ritual of Kū begins	Lono	Mauli	Muku

**1.3.2. What were the environmental indicators that were applied to the Makahiki ceremonies?**

Handy and Handy (1998) have explained that the Makahiki was an annual harvest festival where the chiefs get to "play the role of Lono." However, Hawaiian scholars such as Malo, Kepelino, ‘Ī‘Ī, K. Kamakau, S.M. Kamakau and the informants of Fornander (Fornander Collection, 1919; Kahoali‘i, 1932; Kamaka, 1865; Malo, 1951), described a very elaborate and intentional ceremony

that was executed properly on the right lunar month, lunar phases, and during explicit climate activity to maintain the wellbeing and livelihood of the community. It is my theory that the season of Lono was about recognizing the environmental activities whereby kānaka, specifically Hawaiian people, took a break to maintain what they had accumulated over the year and to allow for the natural weather cycles to take place. As the traditional incantations state, Lono arrives – *i ka hiki 'ana o Lono*, descends – *i ka helele 'i* and *hā'ule ihola*, pacifies the acts of kānaka during ceremony – *i mū* and *e nā*, and allows for nature to be boisterous and loud - *'ikuā, pōhā, and hiu*. In contrast, the akua Kū and affiliated ceremonies are done for the ascension of ali'i, the elevation of kānaka, and the productivity of political governance as the natural resources are gathered to build up and develop a healthy society.

This paper will analyze the mele and pule specifically to the Makahiki. My interest is to learn more about the natural indicators that were attributed to Lono. Lono, as George H.S. Kanahale explains, was regarded as the god of clouds, winds, rain, sea, agriculture, and fertility (1986, p. 89). What kinds of clouds, winds, rain, and sea is he referring to in his statement? Are they seasonal? Do they occur all year round in Hawai'i? Do these environmental activities enhance the political strategies of the ali'i nui and kāhuna? Analysis of the mele and pule will reveal specific natural indicators that are specific to the season of Lono. These are some of the questions my research will seek to answer.

#### **1.4 Rationale**

Noelani Arista explains, until now most scholars have depended on a slim number of texts translated from Hawaiian into English (Arista 2010, p. 15). M. Puakea Nogelmeier uses the phrase a "discourse of sufficiency" to describe this long-standing recognition and acceptance that a small selection of Hawaiian writings from the 19th century is sufficient enough to embody nearly a hundred years of extensive Hawaiian auto-representation (Nogelmeier, 2010, pp. 1-2).

The objective for this thesis is to build upon the primary resources found in archival literature regarding the Makahiki ceremonies so that modern Lono practitioners may find deeper understanding for the traditional practices for the Makahiki.

Historically, the Makahiki ceremonies were pertinent to the religious and political governance of the Hawaiian society. However, anthropologists and foreign researchers working primarily with the Bishop Museum relied upon translations of Hawaiian literature done mostly by Nathaniel B. Emerson and W. Alexander who translated *Hawaiian Antiquities* (Malo, 1951). Thomas Thrum, Lahilahi Webb, Emma Davidson Taylor, John Wise and finally by Mary Kawena Pukui collected and translated Samuel Kamakau's articles published in various Hawaiian newspapers between the 1860s to 1880s. From these translated publications four separate books were subsequently published: *Ruling Chiefs* (Kamakau, 1961), *Ka Po'e Kahiko: The People of Old* (Kamakau, 1964), *The Works of the People of Old: Nā Hana a ka Po'e Kahiko* (Kamakau, 1976), and *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old: Nā Mo'olelo o ka Po'e Kahiko* (Kamakau, 1991). Thomas Thrum translated the Fornander collection printed in 1916 and 1920 (Fornander & Thrum, 1916). Martha Warren Beckwith translated Kepelino's writings and published a book in 1932 (Kepelino & Beckwith, 1932). In the 1930s, Mary K. Pukui began collecting and translating the writings of John Papa 'Ī'ī from *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. Dorothy Barrère edited Pukui's translations, which was subsequently published as *Fragments of Hawaiian History* ('Ī'ī, Pukui, & Barrère, 1963). Without seeing Kamakau's articles alongside 'Ī'ī's responses, the compilation is mostly taken out of context and difficult to follow at times. M. Alohalani Brown, noted Hawaiian scholar and leading expert on the life of John Papa 'Ī'ī, explained that it is not only the fact that without reading Kamakau's works side-by-side, 'Ī'ī's work seems confusing (2016, pp. 4-5). Brown also notes that the Bishop Museum rearranged the order of the information in the columns, which essentially created a new order of 'Ī'ī's content, then further decided to exclude certain passages. Thus the book *Fragments of Hawaiian History* does not reflect 'Ī'ī's original intention as he continued his account of Hawaiian history (2016, pp. 4-5). Brown's book, *Facing The Spears of Change: The Life and Legacy of John Papa 'Ī'ī*, reveals that the editorial production of *Fragments of Hawaiian History* "can stand as a representative of the problematic results...for any ensuing research and publications that supposedly rely on Kanaka Maoli intellectual and historical contributions but just as often appropriate, misrepresent, and decontextualize them" (2016, pp. 4-5). All of these foreign "scholars" took it upon themselves to collect and translate the Hawaiian literature and as kuualoha

hoomanawanui points out, publishes the Hawaiian material under their own names, which I might also add is still happening today as in the case of the Ulumahie version of the Pele saga. hoomanawanui writes (2014, p.45):

Haole settlers such as Nathaniel B. Emerson, Abraham Fornander, William D. Westervelt, and Thomas G. Thrum also collected and published mo'olelo ku'una (under the rubric of folklore) with the aid of Native "informants." Publishing Hawaiian legends, myths, and folklore under their own names, they claimed an authority (kuleana) over the mo'olelo they did not have, and reframed the mo'olelo to forward settler agendas.

Most of these translations often miss the cultural nuances embedded within the practices, pule and mele choosing to concentrate mainly on the narratives of the Makahiki procedures. Additionally, other researchers have chosen to use these secondary translated resources as the main source for their research with little to no regard of the original Hawaiian scholars who wrote the literary pieces in the first place. The focus on the busy rituals and procedures primarily listed in Davida Malo's writings is what shapes our current understanding of the Makahiki today.<sup>2</sup>

Other early scholars such as Sheldon Dibble in 1843 and J.F. Pogue in 1858 were contemporaries of Davida Malo who all essentially published the same content in their authored books. G.W.K. Manuokekula wrote small snippets of information from his personal experience as an alo ali'i (attendant to the chief) in 1861. Joseph M. Poepoe's articles about the Makahiki cite many of the scholars already mentioned previously. Dibble, Pokuea (Pogue), Malo, Kamakau, Komo'ula and Fornander were noted sources in his newspaper publications of 1906. For pre-contact Makahiki information, Poepoe was not speaking as a participant or an eyewitness who experienced the ceremonies because he was born approximately 32 years after the 'aikapu was abolished.

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<sup>2</sup> Davida Malo, a renowned Native Hawaiian Scholar who was active in the recordation of Hawaiian lifestyles, philosophies, and genealogies in 1840s – 1850s.

Valeri tries to amalgamate the various writings into one cohesive book, but does not include the island and district differences within his compilation (1985). Again, anthropologists and researchers continue to use just a few Hawaiian scholars that have been translated from Hawaiian texts to English. It is not nearly an adequate representation of Hawaiian history at all (Nogelmeier, 2010, pp. 1-2). Conversely, there has been no consideration of the information found in the mele and pule specifically done during the Makahiki season. These mele and pule are footnotes in Hawaiian Antiquities, are listed in the Fornander Collection with little explanation, or are located in obscure side stories as in the case of the mele *'O Lono 'Oe*. The story about the mele *'O Lono 'Oe* included a small blurb in a hula book collected by Emerson regarding a famous *'ōlohe hula* (hula master) in Waimānalo who danced and chanted this ancient mele to Kauikeaouli, King Kamehameha III. Kauikeaouli and his retinue had been on an island-wide trip visiting all the districts on O'ahu. The *'ōlohe hula* personally danced and chanted this ancient ritual at a time when public display of these kinds of rituals had been banned. One could surmise that this kind of display had not been seen since Kamehameha I, Kauikeaouli's father's time. This *'ōlohe hula* was likening the King's procession around O'ahu and the King himself to the akua Lono, which would have happened annually during the Makahiki processions of days gone by (1990, pp. 216-7). Sadly, Emerson fails to acknowledge or record the *'ōlohe hula master's* name in this short blurb and that information is currently lost to us.

Both Davida Malo and the Abraham Fornander collection recorded several pule that provides insight into the Makahiki rituals pointing out environmental indicators that are specific to the Makahiki season. These pule and mele are dedicated to the god Lono and possess deeper knowledge specific to weather phenomena, lunar phases, months and season associated with the Makahiki.

In 1980 with the guidance of a Hawaiian cultural elder and Kumu Hula Edith Kanaka'ole, her daughter Nālani Kanaka'ole, and Rubellite Johnson, the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana reintroduced Lono ceremonies back into modern times with the intention of assisting the resistance movement and to spiritually begin the healing of the island of Kaho'olawe through traditional ceremonies (Aluli, 2019). In 1990, the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana was ready to expand their Makahiki practices. The Kanaka'ole family was once again sought to assist the

development and expansion of rituals to the annual ceremonies. Dr. Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahale, another daughter of Kumu Hula Edith Kanaka'ole obliged and added other perspectives and rituals to the Makahiki ceremony (Davianna McGregor, personal communication, 13 January 2019). The Makahiki ceremony brought a cultural solution to an abused island and people during the time when Kaho'olawe was being utilized as a target practice site for the U.S. Military and its allies (N. Kanaka'ole, 2016). The annual Makahiki ceremonies continue today and have spread to other islands and districts as well. My belief is that the Makahiki ceremony, which includes games and frolicking, was easily spread to the other islands because Lono has been promoted as a *safe* god to revere. Lono is often seen as the god of peace, healing, fertility and Makahiki games. On Kaho'olawe, the Makahiki has consistently been a spiritual and religious movement with sincere intentions for healing the island and the Hawaiian people. The modern mo'olono have made the ceremonies a way of life for themselves and are expected to commit seven years of themselves to the continuation and upkeep of the Makahiki ceremonies. I will further expound upon this trend in **Chapter 4: 'Aha Makahiki**.

Personally, my real introduction to Lono came in 1991 through the Makahiki ceremonies on the island of Kaho'olawe. The Makahiki was one of the first impactful experiences I have had in my life. Lono shaped the Hawaiian practitioner I became by giving me a sense of identity that fed my spiritual need for religion outside of the western religious constructs and institutions. For me the religious institutions I was familiar with did not provide any personal connection or familial ties to something greater than mankind.

As time went on in my learning, my connection to the Makahiki ceremonies changed after fifteen years of collecting and working with the Kaulana Mahina - Hawaiian lunar research. During these years and up until the current time, mo'olono contact me to inquire information for the designated moon phases associated with the opening and closing Makahiki ceremonies. There was a general interest amongst the modern Hawaiian practitioners to conduct the Makahiki rituals on the right moon phases as reported by Malo's writings. My hope is that this thesis will also teach Hawaiian practitioners how to calculate and plan their own Makahiki rituals and ceremonies and that the most important practice of recognizing the pertinent environmental indicators associated with

Lono and the Makahiki season is an integral part for the modern mo‘olono of today.

My thesis is that the environmental phenomena that are associated within the Makahiki season were pertinent to the mana, or authority, of the ali‘inui and that those same environmental phenomena determined whether the society that s/he ruled would be prosperous. This paper will examine the primary resources, mele and pule specific to the Makahiki season.

### **1.5 Research questions and theory**

The primary research question is:

How can the Papakū Makawalu method be utilized to deconstruct mele, chants, and pule, prayers to acquire a deeper understanding of the annual Makahiki ceremonies?

The subsidiary research questions are:

- (i) What were the environmental indicators that were applied to the Makahiki?
- (ii) Can the information gleaned from the mele and pule be used today for the modern Lono practitioner?

The primary body of research will come from the information attained from Hawaiian scholars who wrote in the mid 1800s, from the digitized archive of various Hawaiian language newspapers, and from traditional Hawaiian pule, and mele.

### **1.6 Ethics**

The primary body of research will come from the information attained from Hawaiian scholars who wrote in the mid 1800s, from the digitized archive of various Hawaiian language newspapers, and from traditional Hawaiian pule, and mele.

In the Hawaiian context of ethics, protocols such as pule, requesting permission to access resource materials, and presenting personal mo‘okū‘auhau to attain knowledge will be practiced and incorporated into the methodology of

research. Essential to Hawaiian culture is acknowledgement that not all ancestral wisdom is granted to anyone at any moment, but can be made available to the right person, at the right time, for the right reasons upon the simple act of asking.

There is no indication that any ethical issues will be raised by this research at this time.

### **1.7 A Note to the Reader About Hawaiian Words and Terms**

Unless otherwise noted, all Hawaiian word and term definitions are from Pukui and Elbert (1986), *Hawaiian Dictionary* or Andrews (1865), *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*. Unless otherwise noted, all interpretations and paraphrases are mine of the content. This paper utilizes many Hawaiian words and terms. A glossary of Hawaiian words and terms will be provided. Hawaiian words are both singular and plural. When Hawaiian words are written in an English sentence it is grammatically incorrect to add an s at the end of it in an attempt to pluralize the words to suit the English grammar. Conversely, there will be times when Hawaiian words and phrases are difficult to translate properly in its entirety from Hawaiian to English as English is not always able to express the complete meaning and depth of the Hawaiian concept. This statement is especially true where Hawaiian ceremonies, rituals and science are concerned. In these cases the words and terms are left in their Hawaiian form rather than translated into English. A glossary of words and terms is included and can be found on page xv.

### **1.8 Chapter Outlines**

*Chapter 1: Introduction*

*Chapter 2: Introduction to Papakū Makawalu*

*Chapter 3: Kaulana Mahina and the Calculation of the Makahiki Season*

*Chapter 4: 'Aha Makahiki*

*Chapter 5: 'O Wai 'O Lono? Who is Lono?*

*Chapter 6: Conclusion.*

## Chapter 2

### Introduction to Papakū Makawalu

*‘O Lono ‘oe. He ua lā, he ua. He ua e pi‘i mai.*

*~Pule o Lono*

#### 2.1 Introduction

My intention for this chapter is to stay within the Hawaiian and Indigenous constructs of methodology instead of finding validity and confirmation of our foundational knowledge through Eurocentric academia. My stance is that there are enough well written academic papers, archived studies and other historical literature that have been produced from Native Hawaiians and Indigenous peoples within the last one hundred years to support our thoughts, epistemologies and practices. In my summation, Indigenous peoples’ methodologies are not theoretical approaches to idealized methods and processes, but instead are well established, tried and proven practices that have existed that were organically adapted for applicability and relevance from one generation to the next. The Hawaiian culture is a living culture, grounded in its origins, continuously evolving and creating new origins (P. K. Kanahale, 2009, p. 20). Creating new origins merely means that Hawaiians are still very much a part of contributing and initiating new designs in an evolving world. Hawaiians are still alive and well.

My aim in this chapter is to promote the value in utilizing Hawaiian methodologies to articulate our own epistemologies to one another. Let us determine for ourselves our own worldviews through our own processes and then transfer that knowledge to whomever we chose and by whatever means we chose to share it. Let us find value in our practices, mele and mo‘olelo to find our theories, frameworks and methods. As Pihama (2017) quoted Kathie Irwin in a webinar series, “we don’t need anyone else developing the tools, which will help us to come to terms with who we are.” Pihama continues to explain, “we don’t need to continue to use the tools of others as a way of understanding our world.” Hawaiians should be empowered enough to create the tools that work for us as we continue defining our own ao honua, universe. As more Kānaka Hawai‘i (Native

Hawaiian) academics continue to use the practices of our kūpuna (ancestors) to define how they understood their world, we will become available to Hawaiians to assist in articulating how we view the ao honua today.

Kanaka‘ole Kanahēle poignantly points out that Kānaka Hawai‘i have been painstakingly writing mo‘olelo; lyric, epic, and other forms of poetry; political and economic analyses of their times; interpretations of their ancestors' philosophies, histories, and oral literature since the arrival of the printing press (Kanaka‘ole Kanahēle qtd in Silva, 2017, p.1).

Hawaiian literature contains overarching principles that are interwoven throughout the entire discourse. These overarching principles are evidential characteristics that authenticate to the reader or audience that the subject within the literature is Hawaiian (Nu‘uhiwa, 2019, p. 40). These overarching principles includes:

- Mo‘okū‘auhau, a genealogical sequence;
- Mo‘olelo, origin stories;
- Mele, observational data recordation;
- Kaona, metaphorical speech or multi-layered possibilities; and
- Aloha ‘Āina, environmental connectivity whether it comes from political, economic, or nationalism, is practice driven, or religiously inclined with the akua in their natural, environmental forms.

Each of the overarching principles can take the lead as the main methodology, however they almost cannot stand alone as a means to convey Hawaiian theory. All of the overarching principles support and build upon each other. Mo‘okū‘auhau provides a beginning and a sequential emergence. ‘Umi Perkins explains that genealogy is the emerging body of Indigenous theoretical frameworks listing harmony in society, importance of place and history, experience, practice and process, indigeneity, and cyclical genealogical nature of time as five recurring components (Perkins, 2019, p. 69). Leilani Basham shares the importance of both mele and mo‘olelo citing that both are interconnected to ‘āina and fundamental to language, history, and place (Basham, 2013, p. 40). Kaona is a general phenomenon in the Hawaiian language, but implies more than just figurative multiplicity (Arista, 2010, p.666). Kaona is the key to revealing

multiple layers of interpretation and is generously sprinkled throughout all genres of narratives. No‘eau Peralto explains that aloha ‘āina is essentially a space in which ‘ōiwi (native Hawaiians) have maintained aloha for and kuleana (privilege) to the environment continuously from which ‘ōiwi culture can regenerate and revitalize (Peralto, 2018, p. 2). These five overarching principles are essential to Hawaiian theory.

The Papakū Makawalu methodology includes the same overarching principles for the transference of knowledge providing insight into what our kūpuna might have thought about Lono and the Makahiki. These shared principles make connections to origins of existence, observances or participation in events, or results or outcomes of influential consequences. Important events were recorded in the form of composed mele, mo‘olelo, or ‘ōlelo no‘eau, with the intent of transferring knowledge gleaned from those experiences.

This chapter will identify the components within these shared principles that will then help to establish Papakū Makawalu as a methodology. For this manuscript, Papakū Makawalu will be the methodology in which mele will be deconstructed, analyzed and reconstructed to glean a deeper understanding of what events were being recorded to inform us today about the Makahiki season. As an analytical methodology, Papakū Makawalu affords the modern Hawaiian researcher the ability to thoroughly investigate any subject or topic of Hawaiian epistemologies from multiple perspectives. The researcher can analyze the data within the mele to begin to see the timing, environmental events, and political reasons for conducting the rituals and ceremonies during the Makahiki season. Then, analysis acquired from other forms of data repositories, such as mo‘olelo and ‘ōlelo no‘eau, will help to provide relevance to the Makahiki rituals that can be utilized today.

<i>‘O Lono ‘Oe,</i>	You are Lono,
<i>He ua lā, he ua.</i>	Rain, rain.
<i>He ua e pi‘i mai.</i>	Rain that is increasing.

## 2.2 ‘O Lono ‘Oe - Mele: A Repository of Data

The history of the mele, ‘O Lono ‘Oe, has been lost save for a mention within Nathaniel B. Emerson’s collection that was published in a book called,

*Unwritten Literature of Hawaii: The Sacred Songs of the Hula* (1990). As mentioned previously in the Introduction, a famous ‘ōlohe hula whose name had not been recorded or given the proper credit by Emerson, chose to perform this ancient mele for Kauikeaouli, King Kamehameha III. My guess is that the ‘ōlohe hula had intended to honor Kauikeaouli’s arrival to Waimānalo, which is a district on the island of O‘ahu with a population of predominantly Kānaka Hawai‘i families. Kauikeaouli had gone on an island-wide trip through the districts of O‘ahu. Upon the king’s arrival to Waimānalo, the ‘ōlohe hula came out of the crowd and performed this arduous kōlani hula without any accompanying instruments or fellow hula dancers.



**Figure 2.1: ‘Ōlohe Hula, Dr. Taupouri Tangaro Performing ‘O Lono ‘Oe**

Emerson noted that the man was an ‘ōlohe, an adept and skilled expert in the art of hula. During his performance, the ‘ōlohe was clearly comparing the king to the god Lono and his circuit around O‘ahu to the Makahiki procession (1990, pp. 216-7). The annual Makahiki procession historically went from one district to the next with the purpose of collecting annual tribute, which were products grown or made that would be redistributed throughout the year for the survival of the communities (Kanahele, 1986, p. 89; Malo, 1906, p. 188; Poepoe 1906t). Emerson describes ‘O Lono ‘Oe as an important hula kōlani, a type of Hawaiian hula, dance, where the performer dances entirely in the sitting position. This

means that the performer has to be in extremely good physical condition to be able to rely solely on one's own upper body strength to maneuver through the sways, isolated leans and intense bends while smoothly chanting effortlessly (P. K. Kanahale, 2015). The hula kōlani was only performed by 'ōlohe hula and was only performed on special occasions. Emerson states (1990, p. 216):

The fact that this hula was among the number chosen for presentation before the king (Kamehameha III) while on a tour of Oahu in the year 1846 or 1847 is emphatic testimony as to the esteem in which it was held by the Hawaiians themselves.

What Emerson fails to recognize in his flowery footnotes and translations is that the 'ōlohe hula personally danced and chanted this ancient mele at a time when hula rituals were still outlawed and punishable by imprisonment. Public displays of hula had not been seen since the 1830 banishment of hula, were only preserved through small family functions or read within the stories that were printed in the Hawaiian language newspapers (Silva, 2000, pp. 29-31). This 'ōlohe hula was utilizing the form of mele and hula about Lono to convey his personal respect for Kauikeaouli Kamehameha III. The words in the chant describe the atmospheric activities experienced in the season of Lono not the arrival of the king to Waimānalo. Yet the rich kaona (metaphor) that is embedded in the mele expressed this hula master's profound recognition of Kamehameha III's lineage reminiscent of the days when the Makahiki was practiced. This public expression by the 'ōlohe hula would have been recognized by all who witnessed the performance adding a new mo'olelo (story) and function for the mele so eloquently woven into the experience.

I am grateful for this man's courage to publicly perform this specific hula on that day that caused it to then be recorded for us to know today. To my knowledge, this is the only printed source for the mele 'O Lono 'Oe. The mele and hula were both transferred from him to those who observed the performance and subsequently to Emerson and his fascination to collect pagan rituals and poetry. Did the 'ōlohe hula who courageously performed 'O Lono 'Oe hope that some 170 years after his initial presentation, someone would find value in his performance to utilize that same mele to glean information about Lono, the

Makahiki season and ceremonies for a paper? Perhaps, perhaps not, but I am grateful to the unnamed expert nonetheless. To me, the mele ‘O Lono ‘Oe is by far the most straightforward explanation of Lono, his season, and his attributes. There are no hidden metaphors or complexities save for the use of it to transmitting respect to Kauikeaouli. The mele simply states, you are Lono, and proceeds to list some of the significant natural phenomena, time markers and expectations of Lono.

The first time I heard ‘O Lono ‘Oe chanted was in 1990 on the island of Maui at an avant-garde performance called, *The Art of the Chanter*. In the dark, a single woman stood alone in middle of the ‘Iao Theater’s stage. Just a single spotlight shone upon her imposing frame. She wore traditional garments, bedecked with the fragrant lei maile and palapalai, garlands of endemic foliage from the Hawaiian forest. From the moment she began everyone in the audience became captivated by her leo (voice) as she adeptly chanted each line of the mele. This type of mele oli (poem that is chanted) is reserved for master chanters as it requires good lung capacity to hold and stretch out the sounds consistently and with the same intensity to mimic the resonances made during the onset of a storm. Her voice commanded our attention with every purposeful syllable, lilt and cadence she produced. The sounds she made resonated within my being and shook awake ancestral memories that were hidden behind subconscious cobwebs of forgotten practices. Everyone in the audience held their breath and hung on to every word she fashioned. Everyone admired her skill. The imagery that she was conjuring up as she performed was created purely through her leo (voice).

Everyone was invited into the world of Lono through her voice and through the words of the mele. She continued chanting, leading us through the winter stars, through the tops of mountains, through billowy clouds, through thunder, through electrifying lightning, through the tumultuous ocean waves and even through the sharp teeth of the man-eating shark. These are all natural phenomena that are attributed to Lono and specifically to his season. *A he leo wale nō*, it is purely through the voice. It was a sensory overload of sight, smell, sound and conceptual touch. That stunning performance by the master chanter was magical. ‘O Lono ‘Oe, was my first introduction to Lono. At this point, I had not participated in a Makahiki ceremony. However, through ‘O Lono ‘Oe, I was given an insight into the characteristics of the Makahiki season. As the chant

unfolded, everyone was allowed to be a part of the experience. We were permitted to formulate information through the imagery the chant created, but also were informed by personal experiences we had to fill in the gaps and take ownership of the mele too. Knowledge had been transferred from the original composer of the chant ‘O Lono ‘Oe, to the master chanter. Then, the master chanter used her voice to infuse her own experiences into the mele to simulate the sounds and energy of Lono. She transferred all of those experiences to us who were in the listening audience. The mele and the method in which it was performed had transferred information multi-generationally. Marie Alohalani Brown calls this, ‘ōiwi strategies for preserving and transmitting knowledge (2016, p. 15). Bagele Chilisa says, in most indigenous societies, knowledge is stored in songs, sayings, rituals, jokes, and stories surrounding an issue of community concern (2012, p. 61). If this is so, then what can we glean from the first six lines of ‘O Lono ‘Oe?

<i>‘O Lono ‘oe,</i>	You are Lono,
<i>He ua lā, he ua,</i>	It is raining, rain,
<i>He ua pi‘i mai,</i>	An increasing rain,

The opening line emphasizes who Lono is or more importantly how one can recognize Lono in the form of rain. What is also apparent in the mele is that the composer wanted to document his witnessed account in the mele. The chanter is now responsible for portraying that account as the original witness. Both the composer and the chanter are acknowledging and addressing the presence of Lono by stating, ‘O Lono ‘Oe, *you are Lono*. The mele places the chanter directly in the attendance of Lono and it becomes a shared experience.

<i>Noenoe hālau,</i>	Billowy increasing mist,
<i>Hālauloa o Lono,</i>	Extensive clouds of Lono,
<i>‘O Lono ‘oe.</i>	You are Lono.



*Figure 2.2: Hālauloa o Lono - Billowing storm clouds*

Again, the poetry explains that the thick mist and long thick clouds that resemble hālauloa<sup>3</sup> (longhouses) are recognized forms of Lono. In the first stanza of the chant it ends with the recognition and acknowledgement of the entity that is being addressed, *you are Lono*. Within these first six lines, we are informed poetically and illustratively of the acclaimed forms of Lono. These first lines of the mele depict the wet season when kānaka (people) relinquish their political systems and daily functions to allow for the natural phenomena to take the forefront (Malo, 1906, p. 186). The mele continues:

<i>Pā‘ā‘ā nā pali,</i>	The cliffs are silenced
<i>I ka hana a ‘Ikuā,</i>	Ikuā is the month of tumultuous sounds
<i>Pōhākō‘ele‘ele,</i>	Dark storms burst forth
<i>A Welehu ka malama,</i>	During the lunar month of Welehu
<i>Noho i Makali‘i.</i>	When Makali‘i presides in the sky.

The imagery now turns to the animation of the atmosphere and the natural sounds that are made during the season. The word lono also means to listen, hear

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<sup>3</sup> Hālauloa: A poetic term describing long, heavy cumulus clouds.

(Pukui & Elbert, 1985, p. 212). Lono means sound whether it is silent, quiet, loud or boisterous. There is an 'ōlelo no'eau (proverb) that says, "'O 'Ikuā i pohā kō'ele'ele, 'ikuā ke kai, 'ikuā ka hekili, 'ikuā ka manu." Paraphrase: 'Ikuā is the month when dark storms arise, ocean roars, thunder roars, birds roar. 'Ikuā is the lunar month when storms and rough seas occur in Hawai'i (Pukui & Elbert, 1985, p. 97). Within this stanza the term 'ikuā is used to describe the sounds made by storms that bring loud winter swells and rumblings from the flooding rivers and streams. 'Ikuā is also the name of the first lunar month when ceremonies dedicated to Lono called the Makahiki begin. Pōhā kō'ele'ele, as mentioned in the 'ōlelo no'eau, is a descriptive phrase for a storm cell. Welehu is the lunar month that follows after 'Ikuā and is the time when the festivities of the Makahiki are in full swing. It is also the time when the star constellation known as Makali'i (Pleiades) is in Hawai'i's skies from sunset to sunrise. In this section of the mele we learn about the environmental expectations that coincide with the lunar months and Makali'i that begin the wet season of Lono. The chant continues:

<i>Li'ili'i i ka hana,</i>	There is very little work
<i>Aia a he 'eu,</i>	There is anticipation
<i>He 'eu no ka lā hiki,</i>	The anticipation of the arrival day
<i>Hiki mai ka lani,</i>	When the atmosphere arrives
<i>Nāueue ka honua.</i>	Agitating the earth.

Lono is also understood as the senses one feels, sees, hears, touches, and smells. The anticipation or anxiety one feels at the onset of a storm is Lono. The shaking earth whether from the storm, earthquakes, floods, or heavy surf that are prevalent during these months are all attributes of Lono. Work and stringent laws are relaxed during the Makahiki as the weather does not provide opportunities for large projects to occur, and time is filled with the preparation and participation of the Makahiki rituals and ceremonies (Malo, 1906, p. 186).

<i>I ka hana ke ōla'i nui,</i>	While the lightning flashes constantly,
<i>Moe pono 'ole ko'u pō,</i>	My nights are sleepless,
<i>Nā niho 'ai kalakala,</i>	The sharp jagged teeth,
<i>A ka hana a ka niuhi,</i>	Are the toils of the man-eating shark,

*A mau i ke kai loa.*

And the restless ocean continues.

This section describes active storms with flashes of lightning and booming sounds of thunder. The composer chose to insert him or her self back into the chant by saying "my nights" are sleepless making the chant a personal experience and invites the audience to insert their own experiences of restless nights due to storms into the performance. The mention of the man-eating shark is a reference to the tiger shark and the season when they come into shore to give birth to live pups. This is also the time when the streams and rivers are swollen due to the heavy rain, which flush out debris into the ocean bringing easy food to the baby tigers (Tsuha, 2006, p.3). Storms bring rain and heavy surf. The last two lines of 'O Lono 'Oe end with:

*He loa ka hikina.*

The arrival is drawn-out.

*A ua noa, a ua noa ē.*

It is free, it is free.

It has been recorded that Lono's season lasts for four months (Handy, Handy & Pukui, 1972, p. 346; Malo, 1906, p. 186). During this time a cessation of stringent laws, or kapu were released and the chiefs could walk freely among the commoners. In this direct mele about the attributes of Lono, we are introduced to the consistent experiences and observations of the Makahiki season. As this mele demonstrates, detailed information about the weather expectations, seasonal time frame, and birthing cycles were accurately preserved. It has only been within the last ten years that mele have been actively included as repositories of knowledge. Often the focus is on the narratives found in the mo'olelo even if the narrative contains lengthy mele throughout the story. Mo'olelo are important sources for recording history, providing step-by-step processes for ritual and ceremonies, conveying advice for codes of conduct and behavior, and imparting lessons learned. When mele are inserted into the mo'olelo the story is infused with detailed imagery through the poetry, which then adds a sense of authenticity to the content, and also transmits a large amount of data through the multi-layered poetry (Arista, 2010, p.17; Basham, 2013. p. 41; Saffery, 2016, p. 118). Hawaiian scholar, Kaiwipunikauikawēkiu Lipe, identifies mele and 'ōlelo no'ēau (proverbs) as modes of mo'olelo to which she learned about academic subjects, life lessons,

histories, genealogies and identity (2016, p. 54). Like mele, 'ōlelo no'eau are composed intentionally with kaona (metaphorical terms). The kaona convey multiple meanings to which a whole mo'olelo can be succinctly mentioned within a single line of an 'ōlelo no'eau. Mele are equally composed with kaona to convey multiple meanings as well. Both 'ōlelo no'eau and mele are pertinent to the transmittal of knowledge. More will be discussed about kaona in the following sections of this chapter.

As illustrated in the mele, 'O Lono 'Oe, detailed observations were recorded and preserved within the composition. M. Alohalani Brown, expert in Mo'o and Hawaiian Folklore, notes the importance of the different genre of mele as sources for information (2016, p. 16). Brown classifies mele as forms of Kanaka Maoli life-writing genres (2016, p. 15):

... noting mele ko'ihonua that are genealogical chants celebrating the connection between gods, humans, and place; mo'okū'auhau that is genealogy; mele inoa that are chants commemorating names; mele ma'i that are chants commemorating the sacred procreative potential of genitals; kānaenae that are poetic chants eulogizing gods, people, places, or thing; and kanikau that are poetic laments referencing gods, people, place and nature.

I would also like to add pule that are prayers and incantations to the genre of mele as well. Noelani Arista also points out that pule and productions which typically includes hula are forms of the mele genre (2010, p 17). Kanaka'ole Kanahale explains that the genre of mele is the purest form of recording information.<sup>4</sup> A counter argument to this point is that mele are too metaphorical and difficult to interpret, which is true for the untrained person. My point here is that mele are intentionally multi-layered and therefore speak to different levels of a person's understanding depending upon the listener's language acquisition, cultural platform, practice or experience. Mele can provide foundational information for some people while equally providing details specific to a cultural

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<sup>4</sup> Kanaka'ole Kanahale, Pualani. "Pagan Pride Chant & Ritual." Edith Kanaka'ole Foundation, Pana'ewa, Hawai'i. January 14, 1999.

practitioner's praxis. Mele imparts relevance. Kanaka'ole Kanahale states (2012), "Chants are timeless." Meaning that the process the composer witnessed and recorded in the mele form accurately describes the step-by-step manifestation of a natural event such as a volcanic eruption or the onset of a storm. These events could have possibly occurred two hundred years ago, nevertheless, those very same natural processes still continues to be experienced in the same manner presently, and will likely continue to happen in the future as well. When the mele is chanted in a mo'olelo, time transcends space and we are allowed to witness and become part of the original experience. Kanaka'ole Kanahale explains, [For us] now the poetic text is nice documentation, it's a nice reflection of the observations of kūpuna in the same space but at a different time (2012).

It is pertinent to me to focus on mele as the main source for obtaining multi-layered information utilizing the Papakū Makawalu process to deconstruct the layers, examine the information and reconstruct the mele to garner the multiple details incorporated into mele through the platform of a kahuna kilolani.

### **2.3 Oli - The Art of the Chanter**

Prior to the arrival of the first printing press in 1822, everything that historically mattered to Hawaiians was passed on orally from one keeper of knowledge to the next keeper of knowledge through mele, mo'olelo and 'ōlelo no'eau. Detailed descriptions of the environmental activities, smells, tastes, touches, feelings and sounds are intentionally added to the imagery. When the mele is chanted there is an expectation on the part of the listener to intake and to personally find a connection to the information that is being conveyed by incorporating one's own experiences into the information that is being transmitted. This process permits the listeners to essentially accept the experience. In other words, the listener's function is to hear the imagery and to experience the information in tandem with the chanter. This method adds authenticity to the information that is being transmitted.

The art of the listener is equally imperative to the transference of knowledge. Arista says (2017, p. 22) that part of the orality of information was originally an emphasis on "ear listening or ear witnessing" by Hawaiian intellectuals, through years of training, were able to secure the veracity of an orally reproduced text. Malcolm Naea Chun notes (2006, p. 2), "that the survival

of knowledge was contingent upon the trained memory of priests who needed to recite their mele and pule flawlessly to assure their desired outcome”. Kanaka‘ole Kanahale explains that the composers of mele intentionally used visually stimulating terminology as a technique to assist the chanter in memorizing the words.<sup>5</sup> Kanaka‘ole Kanahale explains, “Chants were composed to be chanted and committed to memory. Memory was the computer of years past. All chants have a purpose and are packed with information to be utilized as needed” (2011, p. xvi).

Individuals with a great propensity to listen, process, memorize and articulate information at a young age, would be chosen and trained to hone those skills into an art. An individual could train to become a professional in three possible orator professions of ho‘opa‘apa‘a, kākā‘ōlelo, or a kālaimoku (S.M. Kamakau, 1992, p. 153). A ho‘opa‘apa‘a is someone who is trained to dispute pertinaciously; to debate; to have mental contests of wit. A kākā‘ōlelo is someone who is trained in the art of oration, is a person skilled in use of language; counselor, adviser; storyteller. A kālaimoku is someone trained to counsel as a highly trusted official. Emphasis on accurate memorization of mele, mo‘olelo and ‘ōlelo no‘eau by an orator were deemed valuable. A trained orator was able to listen to information once, process it and immediately recant the information back without missing a single word or image (Chun, 2006, p. 2). Knowledge was archived and transferred by these skilled individuals who could choose the right words to convey the right imagery to any listening audience.

The master chanter who first introduced Lono to me through the mele ‘O Lono ‘Oe was Kanaka‘ole Kanahale, who to me epitomizes a modern day kahuna. A kahuna is formidably trained in specialized skills and technologies (G. Kanahale, 1986, p. 293). Defined by the Hawaiian dictionary, a kahuna is a priest, sorcerer, magician, wizard, minister, or expert in any profession (Pukui & Elbert, 1985, p. 119). Kāhuna were trained throughout their lives to speak with accuracy. They are trained to use their wit and charm for matters such as formally persuading a council, to addressing and advising the community. The training included ritual, ceremonies, riddles, poetry, kaona (metaphoric speech), mo‘olelo (stories), mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogies) and mele (poetry) (Fornander, 1911, p.

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<sup>5</sup> Kanaka‘ole Kanahale, Pualani. "Pagan Pride Chant & Ritual Training." Edith Kanaka‘ole Foundation, Pana‘ewa, Hawai‘i. Oct. 1998 - 5 Aug. 2005.

574). They also learned the art of chanting as a form of disseminating information and were trained to use many vocal techniques of chanting styles to convey emotions, environmental phenomena, and natural sounds.<sup>6</sup> Some of these skills and techniques have continued to be preserved through the art of chanting. As Keawe Lopes points out, “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” (2016, p. 37). In a modern day context, a master chanter’s skills include a vast knowledge of traditional and contemporary mele, the mo‘okū‘auhau that are connected to the entities within the mo‘olelo, and the ability to perform the mele in the numerous vocal, chanting styles.

To reiterate, a master chanter is intelligent, wise with traditional perspectives and practices, is persuasive, charming and witty. Through the voice, a master chanter can emulate the sounds of the environment and evoke feelings or memories that engage the listening audience to connect to the entities within the chant. These are the same qualities that were mastered by proficient kahunas of the past, who were trained to retain the archival databases of Hawaiian knowledge and be ready to accurately disseminate that knowledge upon request. They were also significant in counseling chiefs through the facilitation of making pertinent decisions. Reciting archived information was and still is an art, but more importantly was a method to pass learned wisdom on to the next generation of listeners. Individuals who specialized in these skills were greatly admired by Hawaiians as noted in stories such as *Kaao Hooniua Puuwai No Kamiki* (1914-17), *Kaipalaoa* (Fornander, 1919), and *Kalapana Keiki Ho‘opa‘a* (Nakuina, 1994). Each of these stories highlights young individuals who were able to outwit any kākā‘ōlelo. Kākā‘ōlelo were experts trained in storytelling, riddling, logic or debate. Pukui and Elbert state that the literal meaning of kākā‘ōlelo is “to fence using words” (1986, p. 119). In the stories mentioned, the young individuals defeated the kākā‘ōlelo who were much older in years and experience. These ancient bards of words challenged the young men thinking that victory was easily achievable, but the young challengers had been better accomplished in memorizing vast amounts of mo‘olelo and mele. The youth were also sharper with

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<sup>6</sup> Kanaka‘ole Kanahale, Pualani. "Pagan Pride Chant & Ritual Training." Edith Kanaka‘ole Foundation, Pana‘ewa, Hawai‘i. Oct. 1998 - 5 Aug. 2005.

the practice of kaona. Their skill in knowing how to use the various metaphors and multi-layered meanings to baffle the kākā‘ōlelo is what allowed them to win the riddling contest. In many cases, these challenges were done with listening crowds cheering on those who were much wittier or clever with the poetry. To me, these stories teach us a lesson on how to learn the multiple meanings of words that gains one access into obtaining information that is available. Experience also adds to the multiple perspectives that the challenger can use to his or her advantage. What is kaona and how can kaona be utilized to transmit knowledge for us today?

#### **2.4 Kaona - The Overarching Principle**

Mo‘olelo, mele and ‘ōlelo no‘eau are infused with kaona. Kaona is a technique that composers often use to convey knowledge to several levels of understanding. Pukui and Elbert translate the word kaona as, hidden meaning, as in Hawaiian poetry; concealed reference, as to a person, thing, or place (1983, p.130). The definition also goes on to say that those meanings, "might bring good or bad fortune" once uttered. The last definition in the dictionary alludes to the potential for kaona and its use of multiple meanings of words to bring about an outcome. The last statement about kaona reminds me of several ‘ōlelo no‘eau that are used to caution one to be mindful of the words one chooses to use due to the multi-layered meanings. The most famous ‘ōlelo no‘eau is, "I ka ‘ōlelo nō ke ola, i ka ‘ōlelo nō ka make." Simply stated, words can bring about life or death. Using words to bring about life does not necessarily mean a positive outcome and using words to bring about death does not necessarily mean a negative outcome either. The desired result is subject to how proficient the speaker is in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and kaona.

Composers use kaona by intentionally choosing words with multiple meanings to hide the actual purpose within several layers of potential meanings. Arista explains that kaona can contain metaphoric, allegorical, or symbolic meaning (2010, p. 665). Nālani McDougal writes that kaona is "an intellectual practice" where meanings of words are not just hidden but are clearly "hidden out in the open (2014, p. 3). Arista further expounds, "Kaona is something of a hidden package waiting to be unwrapped by the deserving, knowledgeable listener or reader" (2010, p. 666). As Arista poignantly explains, only those deserving and

knowledgeable can access kaona and its multiple layers. The practice of kaona uses symbols and imagery to communicate information. G. Kanahale says that language of the sacred needs symbols to convey meaning (1986, p. 44). The language of the sacred is fluent in “the poetic imagery, the allusions, metaphors, double meanings or kaona”, which convey significant representation of objects or natural phenomena. Through imagery, kaona can evoke emotions by poetically describing the activities or characteristics of natural phenomena. For example, humor can be expressed by comparing the clumsiness of a first time canoe paddler’s stroke to the clumsiness of a virgin’s love making attempts. Wrath can be expressed through the poetic description of thunder and lightning. Sorrow can be expressed by recounting the slow movement of heavy water-laden clouds. Each of these images can equally convey lessons learned for a novice canoe paddler; the details of a storm; or the daily convection process of the water cycle. The interpretation is contingent upon the listener’s personal experience or the foundational platform of the listener’s practice. McDougal says (2014, p. 3):

The practice of kaona creates a complex interactive and dynamic relationship between the composer and the audience. The audience is aware of the potential for kaona to be used, as it is also considered to be a hallmark of Hawaiian aesthetics.

In the Hawaiian dictionary, pule are defined as poetic recitations used for prayers, magic spells, incantations, blessings, grace, church services; to pray, to worship, to say grace, to ask a blessing, to cast a spell (Pukui & Elbert, 1983, p. 353). Both mele and pule are composed similarly utilizing the same techniques of kaona to record multiple layers of information. However, the composers who created mele had different intended outcomes than those composers who created pule. Mele are simply descriptions of experiences or occurrences. Saffery explains (2016, p. 117):

Mele are just one form of living narrative that our kūpuna used to remember significant events and people, honor and express our aloha ‘āina, document indigenous 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.

Mele are intended to convey information. In an article by A.K. Poepoe, Mele can be categorized into two divisions, Natural and Super-natural (1930, p. 43). Listed in the category of Natural are: genealogy, complimentary, mele inoa (name chants), mele lei (lei giving chants), mele kaua (battle chants), and topical mele. Topical mele includes mele ho‘oipoipo (love making chants), mele mahalo (expression of gratitude chants) and mele ho‘onaikola (boasting chants). Dirges include mele kanikau (funerary dirges), mele mānewanewa (grief chants), and mele ‘uhane (lamenting the spirits of those who have passed). Mele hula, which includes singing and dancing, is also included in this category (A.K. Poepoe, 1930, p. 43). These are all mele that are connected to kānaka and the activities of kānaka.

The super natural category of mele includes religious and ceremony that A.K. Poepoe explains are done in pleading or dynamic styles. These mele include, mele kānaena (entreating akua), mele ‘aha (‘aha prayers), and mele kāhoahoa (to appeal to akua) (A.K. Poepoe, 1930, p. 43). These mele are between kānaka and akua. I am inclined to agree with Poepoe about this second category, but would like to categorize these types of mele under pule for this paper.

In the case of pule; the prayers and incantations are composed so that a desired result is achieved (Chun, 2006, p.2). Pule are intended to be a communication between akua (gods) and kānaka (people) or nature and kānaka. Kanaka‘ole Kanahale teaches that the function of pule are to reach out to the universe with requests and to expect the universe to reach back with answers.<sup>7</sup> Pule are composed with kaona so that a listener may not always decipher the true intentions of the one who is performing or conducting pule for his or her akua, god. For pule, kaona is the language of the kāhuna for the purpose of performing rituals and ceremonies. Symbols are necessary in pule to focus and visualize a desired outcome at the completion of a ritual. G. Kanahale says, in primary

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<sup>7</sup> Kanaka‘ole Kanahale, Pualani. "Pagan Pride Chant & Ritual Training." Edith Kanaka‘ole Foundation, Pana‘ewa, Hawai‘i. Oct. 1998 - 5 Aug. 2005.

cultures where rationalism yields to spiritual forces, meaningful symbolism is characteristic of their art and religion (1986, p. 44).

Pule dedicated to Pele will use kaona laden with imagery of fire and all the terms such as hō‘ā, ‘ena, lapa, and hulili, which are spark, burn, boil and blaze. Each of these terms is describing the process of building a fire but can also be the same terms and imagery used to describe the process of a lava flow. In this case, the desired outcome for the pule is to initiate a volcanic eruption. The kāhuna Pele who is conducting the ceremony will focus on the imagery within the pule for the process of initiating a flow and intentionally willing the desired outcome to eventually manifest. The type of information gleaned from pule is a little different than the information found in mele. Yet, both were composed from eyewitness accounts and both transmit important epistemological information.



*Figure 2.3: ‘O Lono ‘Oe - Traditional Hula. Dr. Taupouri Tangaro, Master Hula Practitioner*

#### **2.4.1 Revealing the Layers of Kaona**

While attending Dr. Laiana Wong’s Kuana ‘Ike, World View, class for my master’s degree at the University of Hawai‘i - Mānoa, one of the key phases he would use to emphasize that Hawaiian words have many meanings was, “Pua does not equal flower” (Wong). Wong also states, metaphoric speech is rife in Hawaiian communicative events encompassing a wide array of genres (1999, p.

107). Noenoe Silva notes that, representational forms of speech or writing are less valued [by Hawaiians] than poetic utterances pointing out that play in language is highly valued (2017, p. 69). Employing kaona within mo‘olelo, mele, pule, and ‘ōlelo no‘eau allows the composer the poetic license to build multi-layered possibilities of engagement. Exact translation from Hawaiian to English or any other language is just not possible. However, multiple possibilities for interpretation are accepted. Kaona is what binds the method to transfer knowledge to many people at many levels of understanding.

Kaona is the over arching characteristic that mo‘olelo, mele, pule and ‘ōlelo no‘eau utilize to record and transmit knowledge. One of the first steps to unveiling knowledge is to realize that most Hawaiian words express images, experiences, feelings, mannerisms, natural cycles and natural phenomena. When translating Hawaiian into English the potential to lose the extended imagery often occurs if the person who is doing the translation lacks experience in the natural world or understands natural cycles and natural phenomena. Jamaica Heoli Osorio argues that translations are not to be trusted and replaces the source material (2018, p. 47). Osorio goes on to say that translations are actually paraphrases, which are interpretations and reductions of source materials (2018, p. 47).

In my experience as a former Hawaiian language teacher, it was common practice for students who were translating Hawaiian into English to accept the first explanation listed in the Hawaiian dictionary. English does not translate smoothly from Hawaiian terms. When kaona was utilized within the composition, especially where pule is concerned, the kaona is lost on the student who is just translating the text for the sake of translation and to complete an assignment. To understand imagery, interpretation needs to occur. Interpretation requires creative expression, understanding cultural epistemologies, and environmental experience.

Experience in the natural world is also part of understanding how interpretation functions. Experience can be acquired by going to see these natural events occurring in their natural state, or by learning and perfecting a Hawaiian practice that engages with the environment. Hula is one of the most recognizable forms of interpreting words within mele and expressing those images through dance. I will insert personal experience in this section because it is the easiest way for me to describe the difference between translation and interpretation of imagery.

In my younger years hula was an active part of my life. In the practice of hula, one learns to dance mele by following the instructions of the kumu hula (hula teacher). My Kumu Hula Hōkūlani Holt often assigned students to research the mele we were dancing or pule we were chanting. Aunty Hōkū, as we all called her, wanted us to know and understand our mele so that the proper expressions were transmitted while dancing. Research included looking over the mele, translating the easy terms, and locating unfamiliar terms in the dictionaries to completely interpret the entire compositions. We dutifully took our assignments home and then returned to hula with what we discovered. Collectively, we would all go over and discuss our translations and interpretations while Aunty Hōkū facilitated the learning. The imagery was collectively created by the facilitated discussions and then we would learn the hula that had been choreographed by Aunty Hōkū. At some point we would go on a huaka'i, trip, to see the lands or environments we were dancing about to further enhance our personal experience with the imagery in the hula, which successively gets transmuted into our hula performances. The dance is a physical form of interpreting the words and imagery in the mele.

It was during one of these assignments that I started realizing that the words in the mele often used terms with multiple meanings. For hula, poetry composed in mele and pule succinctly captures imagery so that different concepts could be applied to multiple practices or multiple truths. Many stories can be concisely composed in a few lines with key kaona terms to which multiple interpretations can be garnered. Subsequently, the hula is choreographed, which again adds a physical interpretation to the imagery. For chanting, the vocal techniques mimicking sounds heard in the environment or are emitting sounds of emotion are also a form of interpretation as well. The end result is to transfer the story from the chanter to the hula dancers and then to the audience. The audience is taken on a resonant journey filled with imagery heard through the chanting, seen through the hula and felt through personal experience. It becomes an owned experience by each of the listeners in the audience who is also interpreting their own feelings while the hula is transpiring. In some ways, I think of these multiple sensory experiences through poetic imagery as a form of kaona as well. Interpretation uses all of your senses, experiences, and command of language use.

Hula and chanting gave me my first practical tools to unwrap the layers of kaona. Reading much Hawaiian mo'olelo published in the Hawaiian language newspapers and other treasured literature gave me reference points to contextual the use of kaona in many narrative forms. Years later, after the culmination of my own personal mastery of 'ōlelo Hawai'i and cultural practices I personally experienced, kaona became a research project while working on the Papakū Makawalu project. Papakū Makawalu is a process that can be used to access the multiple layers within mele and pule. Papakū Makawalu is a technique that can assist Hawaiians in understanding the sacred symbolisms recorded in our mele. As G. Kanahēle states (2011, p. xv),

We, as Hawaiians, must continue to unveil the knowledge of our ancestors. Let us interpret for ourselves, who our ancestors are, how they thought, and why they made certain decisions.

## **2.5 Unwrapping the Packages - Papakū Makawalu**

Papakū Makawalu grants us another technique to unwrap the "hidden packages" within mele and pule to access the Hawaiian epistemological data. That data will assist Hawaiians today with learning what our ancestors thought and experienced in the past that can continue to inform our Hawaiian worldview today. Papakū Makawalu comes from the cosmogonic pule called the Kumulipo. The Kumulipo is a Pule Ho'ola'a Ali'i, meaning that it is a prayer to sanctify the chief and was composed in a genealogical format. There are several versions of the Kumulipo as noted by Johnson (1981, p. i).

For this paper, the Kumulipo version I am referencing is the Kalākāua version, which has been recorded to have 2,102 lines (Johnson, 2000). Generally, a male is born, coupled with a female and from this union a progeny is issued forth followed by another male coupled with another female and to them, another progeny is produced by that union; so on and so forth. In a genealogy form, origins are established to which progeny are issued forth (Johnson, 1981, p. 26). Johnson says, "when life appears ... it is the product of active natural forces" meaning that life begets life (1981, p. i). The composition is divided into wā, which can be understood as era. There are a total of sixteen wā in the Kumulipo. However, it is pertinent to note that although the wā progress from one wā to the

next wā in a linear fashion, the actual timeline is not necessarily a linear progression as noted by Johnson. The timeline is cyclic and is meant to convey that things are born, live, die, and cycle back into a system, which will evolve and go through the same process of birth, life, death. Certain characters or thematic species repeat or cycle back into the composition (Johnson, 2000). Most importantly, the Kumulipo not only happened eons ago, but also the Kumulipo is happening right now at this very moment, and the Kumulipo will continue to happen in the future. The Kumulipo is timeless.

What is pertinent to note about the Kumulipo is that it begins with primordial slime and progresses along to more complex beings noting parallel forms and isochronal growth processes in each wā. The evolution of creatures becomes secondary and makes way to the tumultuous arrival of humans. Once humans are mentioned, the evolutionary themes switch into a genealogy of the "Ancestors in the Sky" and their navigational explorations (Johnson, 2000, p. 105). The Kumulipo ends with the birth of a chief named Kalaninui‘āmaamao, who was also named Lonoikamakahiki by his grandmother Keakealani (Lili‘uokalani, 1897, p. 1; Johnson, 1986, p. i).

Kanaka‘ole Kanahale explained in her workshop that she began studying the Kumulipo in the 1970s (2006). While studying the wā in the Kumulipo, she noted that the genealogical formula switched in the thirteenth wā. As mentioned previously, the Kumulipo generally began with a male character coupled with a female character to which a progeny is issued. Then, during the thirteenth wā a switch occurs and an emphasis on female leadership takes the precedent. A female is born, followed by the intentional coupling with a male to which a progeny was issued. A female name was mentioned, then a male, "i noho," was selected to copulate with the female. The notable lines are:

Hanau o Haumea he wahine	Haumea a female is born
I noho ia Kanaloa akua,	Placed with Kanaloa akua,
Hanau o Kukauakahi he kane,	Kukauakahi a male is born,
I noho ia Kuaimehani he wahine,	Placed with Kuaimehani a female,
Hanau o Kauahulihonua,	Kauahulihonua is born,

Hanau o Hinamanouluae he wahine	Hinamanouluae a female is born,
Hanau o Huhune he wahine	Huhune a female is born,
Hanau o Haunuu he wahine	Haunuu a female is born,
Hanau o Haulani he wahine	Haulani a female is born,
Hanau o Hikapuaiaiea he wahine,	Hikapuaiaiea a female is born,
Ike ia Haumea,	Haumea is acknowledged,
O Haumea no ia,	It is indeed Haumea,
O Haumea kino pahaohao,	Haumea of the wondrous forms,
O Haumea kino papawalu,	Haumea of the multiple forms,
O Haumea kino papalehu,	Haumea of the numerous forms,
O Haumea kino papamano...	Haumea of the thousand forms...

Haumea is one of the primary female akua in the Hawaiian pantheon of akua though only the four male akua, Kāne, Kanaloa, Kū and Lono were mentioned which I find may be a product of the Christian influence to squelch any females with religious power. Haumea is often paired with other primary male akua such as, Kū, Kanaloa, and Wākea to which other akua are then born. In traditional Hawaiian genealogies Haumea is pertinent to the origins of religions, philosophies, divine children, sacred sites and the Hawaiian Islands in the main archipelago. When Haumea is paired with Kū, the akua who preside over the processes of volcanism are born (Kaawa, 1865a). When Haumea is paired with Wākea, religion is born (Kamakau, 1870b).

The Kumulipo clearly identifies that the various Papa are products of Haumea and her philosophies. In my summation, Haumea is the primary akua and the many Papa are her offspring that are given the title Papa to identify those females who would carry on the rituals of Haumea. Moreover, Poepoe asserts that Papa is Haumea (1906d).

### 2.5.1 Introduction to the Papa

Haumea in the Hawaiian pantheon is a female goddess who is affiliated with the earth, with female growth stages, childbirth and feminine politics. In Wā ‘Umikūmākolu of the Kumulipo, females were taking some kind of leadership or advisory role. Haumea was intentionally involved with partnering her female descendants with chosen males. Then in wā thirteen of the Kumulipo, Kanaka‘ole Kanahale noted the repetition of the term Papa in Haumea’s genealogy, papawalu, papalehu, and papamano. Kanaka‘ole Kanahale thought to herself, "What were these papa terms and who were the various papa?" The dictionary defines papas as, "flat surface, stratum, plain, reef, layer, level, foundation, story of a building, floor, class, rank, grade, order, table, sheet, plate; to be a great many (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 316). The word papa itself reflects multitudes. If Haumea has many forms, what are they? Scrolling along the lines of the Kumulipo, three individual terms are noted. They are (Beckwith, 1951, p. 232):

1792. O Papahulihonua

1793. O Papahulilani

1794. O Papanuihanaumoku

Kanaka‘ole Kanahale realized that each line was intended to be a single sentence on its own to deliberately capture the attention. At that time, Papanuihānaumoku was widely understood by the Hawaiian community. In stories, Papahānaumoku is portrayed, as the earth that is partnered with Wākea, portrayed as the atmosphere (Kamakau, 1964, p. 25 Malo, 1906, p. 2). They are credited for parenting the nine main islands of Hawai‘i. Papahānaumoku “gives birth” to the Hawaiian Islands (Malo, 1906, p. 2). The important term within the name of this Papa entity is hānau, which means to give birth or to reproduce. Papahānaumoku is also the deity connected to the progenerative capabilities of all living organisms. Kanaka‘ole Kanahale realized that the term papa could be understood as a classification or study of hānau – birthing, and another interpretation of moku is individual. She knew that Papahānaumoku practitioners were experts who were tasked with memorizing the genealogies of all living beings. It became clear to Kanaka‘ole Kanahale that the experts who studied

under the Papahānaumoku house of knowledge were concerned with all practices that involved birthing cycles.

Kanaka‘ole Kanahale then deducted that the other two papa names, Papahulihonua and Papahulilani, were likely experts and practitioners whose proficiencies were within their own fields of study. Breaking each name of the two papa down into sections, provided information on the probable type of expertise each performed.

The first papa is the classification or study of huli – turning/cycling, honua – earth. She quickly realized that Papahulihonua was a description of those experts who studied the earth and all its natural cycles. The second papa is the classification or study of huli – turning/cycling, lani – atmosphere. Papahulilani was a description of those experts who studied the atmosphere and all of its natural cycles. Kanaka‘ole Kanahale explains (2007, p.1), “Each word or line is a House of Knowledge. Each house of knowledge encompasses one third of their (the Hawaiians') universal knowledge, and together they envelop their universe”.

There are large numbers of Papahulihonua forms such as the oceans, water, waterways, the processes of water, geological activities, geological features, rocks, dirt, and sand. There are numerous forms of celestial and atmospheric entities such as the myriad amounts of wind names, rain names, weather phenomena, cloud forms, sun cycles, moon cycles, stars and other celestial beings affiliated with Papahulilani. There are unfathomable amounts of living biota upon this earth. The Papanuihānaumoku organisms are immeasurable. Humans are the last of the living forms that are recognized in Papanuihānaumoku. There are large numbers of Papahulihonua forms such as the oceans, water, waterways, the processes of water, geological activities, geological features, rocks, dirt, and sand.

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Kanaka‘ole Kanahale calls each of the *papa*, houses of knowledge to which three classes of kāhuna practitioners originated. The kāhuna are experts in

their field of knowledge, gnosis and profundity (2007, p.1). Kanaka‘ole Kanahele continues; this is a way of learning a diminutive component while having some perspective of the full extent of the whole. Today we investigate their system of knowledge and specialties to see through the eyes of our kūpuna, the universe in which they, as well as we, live (2007, p.1).

### **2.5.2 Papahulihonua**

Papahulihonua is the study of all natural earth phenomena, processes and cycles. Kamakau wrote in the Hawaiian language newspaper, Nupepa Kuokoa:

O ke kuhikuhi puuone—He Papahulihonua kekahi inoa. He oihana akamai loa keia i ka wa kahiko, a he poe akamai loa no hoi lakou i na mea huna ma ka aina. Ma ka aina wai ole, ua loa; ka wai, mai na wahi ike ole ia e kanaka, ua ike ia no e ka poe kuhikuhi puuone (28 Kekemapa 1867).

Paraphrase:

Regarding the civil engineers – Papahulihonua was another name. This was an extremely intelligent profession in the old days, and they were also extremely clever people regarding all the details of land. From arid land, they found water; water locations not known to people, it was known by these expert kuhikuhi pu‘uone.

The experts within this house of knowledge studied the natural divisions, cycles, and activities of the ocean, water, geology, geography, volcanology, and any other earth-related natural process void of man’s interference.

### **2.5.3 Papahulilani**

Papahulilani is the study of all the natural atmospheric phenomena, cycles, and practices for the kānaka that relate to the firmament. Kupahu, S.M. Kamakau and Joseph M. Poepoe wrote articles in the Hawaiian language newspapers about astronomy. They all use the terms kāhuna a‘ohōkū, kilo hōkū, and kilo lani to describe these learned experts. S.M. Kamakau explains:

Ua ao ia kekahi poe i ke Kilo Hoku ma ka lani ma Hawaii nei. 1. Eia ke kumu i ao ai ke Kilo Hoku. Ua ike i ka manawa e hiki mai ai ka pilikia, ke kaua, ke auhulihia o ke Aupuni, ka mai ahulau, ka wi, ka make; a me ke ola (1865a).

Paraphrase:

Certain people were trained in astronomy/astrology in Hawai'i. 1. Here are reasons for learning astronomy/astrology. Times when calamities, war, revolution of the Kingdom, plagues, famine, death and healing were predicted.

The experts within the Papahulilani house of knowledge studied the natural cycles, divisions and activities of the sun, moon, stars, clouds, wind, strata, climate, time tracking and all other meteorological-related natural process void of man's interference.

#### **2.5.4 Papanuihānaumoku**

Kanaka'ole Kanahale explains that Papanuihānaumoku is the study of all living organisms, their reproduction, growth processes and death, which in turn creates regeneration. This papa is the largest study due to the immensity of biota that falls within this house of knowledge (Kanaka'ole Kanahale, 2011, p. 5). In the Hawaiian pantheon of gods, Papahānaumoku is noted as the deity who navigated to Hawai'i, gave birth to islands, and established the race of Hawaiians with her mate Wākea (S.M. Kamakau, 1964, p. 25; Malo, 1906, p. 2).

The experts within this house of knowledge study the health and wellbeing-related practices, politics and social interrelationships between all living beings established for the necessity of continued survival. They also were expected to study and memorize the genealogies of notable individuals such as the ali'i and kāhuna. Both Papahulihonua and Papahulilani are basically the study of natural cycles and processes of the environment void of human interference. Papanuihānaumoku is mainly the reproduction processes that also include humans and human impact upon the natural environment. Experts belonging to each of these three houses of knowledge were responsible for the survival and continuation of pertinent information. For the Papakū Makawalu process, mele

are acknowledged as the mechanism by which data was stored. Thus, Papakū Makawalu researchers and scholars can access data from the ancestors in the chants that have survived the passage of time.

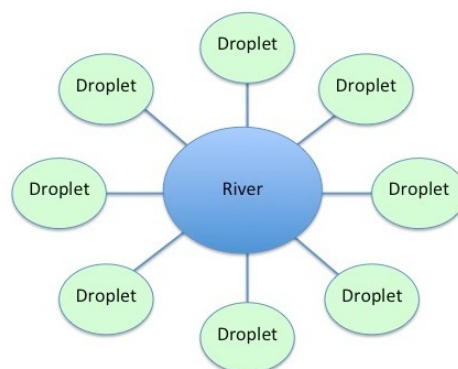
Following the realization of the three papa in wā thirteen during Haumea's era, the term Papakū Makawalu was created to note the process that was recognized by Hawaiian kūpuna and then, Papakū Makawalu was further developed as a Hawaiian methodology by Kanaka'ole Kanahale (2008, p. 1). Kanaka'ole Kanahale recognized that Papakū Makawalu was the process in which Hawaiian kūpuna were able to categorize and organize the natural world and all its systems of existence within the universe. Advancing in the development of the Papakū Makawalu method, Kanaka'ole Kanahale and her research team have deconstructed, analyzed and reconstructed mele and pule, which are the primary sources of information, to create visual lessons about the akua Hawai'i, deepening the understanding and perception of the Hawaiian universe. Generally, akua Hawai'i is translated as Hawaiian gods. The term akua means significantly more than just god. Akua Hawai'i can refer to the natural phenomena that occur in Hawai'i's environment. More information about akua Hawai'i is included in Chapter 5.

## **2.6 Papakū Makawalu – Deconstruction/Analyzing/Reconstruction**

Papakū means, foundation or surface, as of the earth; floor, as of ocean; bed, as of a stream; bottom. For the Papakū Makawalu process, the term papakū can be broken down into two main concepts. The first part, papa, can be understood as a foundation. The foundation can be a topic or a subject. The second part of the first word, kū, can be understood as something that is established. Kū can be a description for a core or a nucleus. Therefore, the term papakū can be interpreted as the core entity or main subject. A papakū can be any subject, topic, or entity that is going to be analyzed within the three Papa, the three houses of knowledge. The term makawalu can be understood as multiple perspectives. It also describes intentional turbulent movement. The word makawalu is more of an image of action, feeling or experience. Makawalu cannot be fully explained with a simple word, multiplicity. What does that mean, really? Here I use imagery to describe the term makawalu and like a chanter using mele

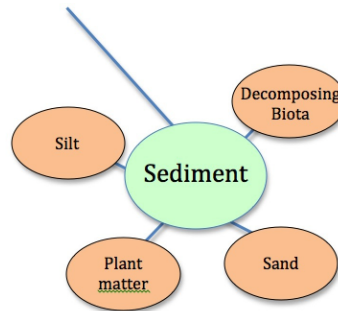
to transmit information, will require you the reader to utilize your person experience to receive the imagery and information.

Imagine a flowing river. The river itself is a papakū, a single entity. As we can imagine, the flowing river is a single body of water in motion. However, when it reaches a high drop over a cliff, that single flowing body of water will become a waterfall. At this point, the river tumultuously falls over the drop and while it is dropping breaks apart and becomes millions of individual droplets of water. Fundamentally, it is still the same river, but has now become separated into individual deconstructed principles of the original flowing body of water. That action or movement of deconstructing out of its original form into tiny individual drops is the imagery of makawalu. When the river is deconstructed, each water droplet can be analyzed. Each water droplet is a principle component of the whole. Kanaka‘ole Kanahale explains (2009, p. 1), “The knowledge of makawalu or the movement out provides the consciousness an accurately tracking cultural progression while knowing the source of its origin”. Each droplet is a component of the whole river. Each droplet represents the composition of the whole river. One droplet represents microelements, another represents main ions, another dissolved gasses, another pollutants, sediment, etc. You could generally list everything that makes a river, a river. By deconstructing it we can analyze every part of the whole. The river or the studied subject is the papakū. The deconstruction of it is the makawalu. The second pertinent part of the Papakū Makawalu method is the ability for each component to become a papakū on its own to which it can then be further deconstructed.



***Figure 2.4: River – Deconstructed each is a component of the whole***

For an example, we could choose to study the droplet that represents sediment. Sediment is now the papakū and can then be makawalu it into its own components such as plant matter, decomposing biota, silt, sand, etc. Another papakū can be chosen from this group to makawalu, deconstruct, further. Each component can be examined and analyzed to get a holistic understanding about the interrelationships of every component that is part of the original subject.



*Figure 2.5: Droplet that represents the components of sediment*

The final process is the reconstruction of all the principle components back to its original subject or topic. Reconstruction gives an opportunity to create relevancy, which updates traditional knowledge for modern praxis and ethos.

Let me go back to the imagery of the flowing river. While the river is flowing it is a single entity, once it falls over the cliff the deconstruction process is occurring, which allows the opportunity to examine its many principle components as individuals to garner specific information presented, and its contribution to the existence of the collective whole is also realized. Then, as the waterfall hits the bottom of the cliff the principles are reconstructed into a single flowing river again. Its original source or form as a river can be recognized and we now have a deeper understanding of all the parts of the whole. But, the reconstruction of that river affords opportunity for it to flow differently from its original source, to impact the land differently, or to function separately in a new way. Essentially, the deconstruction and reconstruction process can happen several times to understand everything about that flowing river.

### **2.6.1 Deconstructing the Papa**

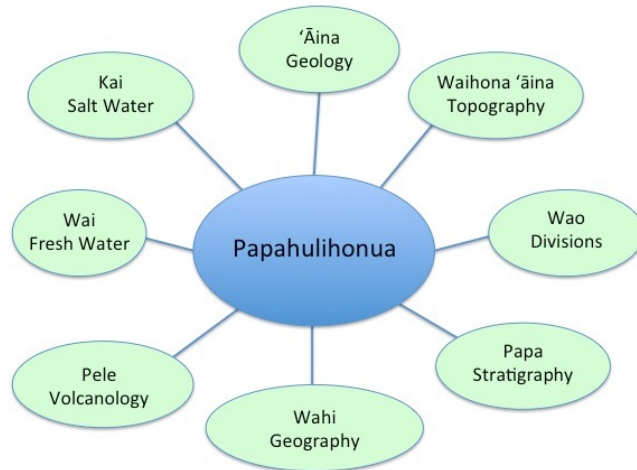
Each of the Papa, houses of knowledge, is a primary papakū, which basically means that the three papa can often converge on a single topic. Again,

Pukui and Elbert translates papakū as (1986, p. 365), "foundation or surface, as of the earth; floor, as of ocean." Papakū is the foundation or individual entity that is to be studied. An example would be wai, water. From the Papahūhūhū perspective, wai on the earth can be streams; springs, rivers, trans-evaporation, or subterranean water could be studied (K. Kanahēle, 2008). From the Papahūhūhū perspective, water in the form of rain, clouds, mist, falling snow, and precipitation could be studied. From the Papahūhūhū perspective, wai in sap, wai in reproduction, or growth processes can be studied. When wai is makawalu from each papa, analyzed, reconstructed, and then that collective information is combined together from each papa, a detailed comprehensive view is revealed potentially augmenting a deeper, holistic understanding of wai from the multiple perspectives. Consequently, learning all the multiple possibilities of the word "wai," will "unwrap the package" of kaona to reveal its many potential meanings.

Therefore, when the word wai is found in a pule or mele, all the implications of wai can be revealed and can allow insight for the multi-layered meanings to inform truth in one's own praxis.

Papakū Makawalu affords researchers a methodology for analyzing details and provides educators with a pedagogy that can be used to teach any Hawaiian topic, practice, or subject from many perspectives. Papakū Makawalu is also a pedagogical process for didactic learning. Unwrapping nuances, epistemologies, and socio-ecologies of their environment occurs. My use of the term socio-ecology here is to highlight that Hawaiians did not just notice the interactions between other species or natural phenomena around them, but also included their interactions between themselves and everything around them.

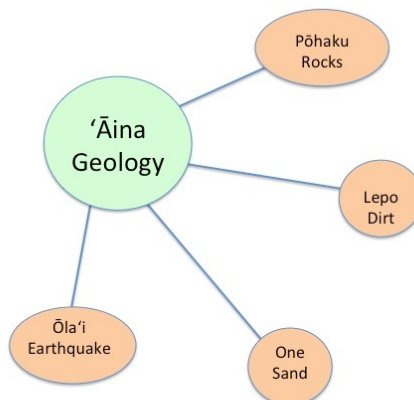
The following figures illustrate the principles within each Papa when the makawalu, deconstruction, process is applied. Essentially, every papakū can be deconstructed and reconstructed into several different papakū. Please note that not all of the possible principles are mentioned in the examples below. Just a few are being highlighted for the purpose of illustration.



**Figure 2.6: Papahulihonua**

In the example above, the first primary Papa is Papahulihonua. It is the original papakū. The makawalu process occurs when the principles of Papahulihonua are identified and extracted out of the original papakū. Each component is a part of the core of the Papahulihonua house of knowledge. As mentioned previously, each component can now become its own papakū. The makawalu process can happen again, further deconstructing the information to gain more understanding. The identified principles for this example are Wai, Kai, 'Āina, Waihona 'Āina, Wao, Papa, Wahi, and Pele.

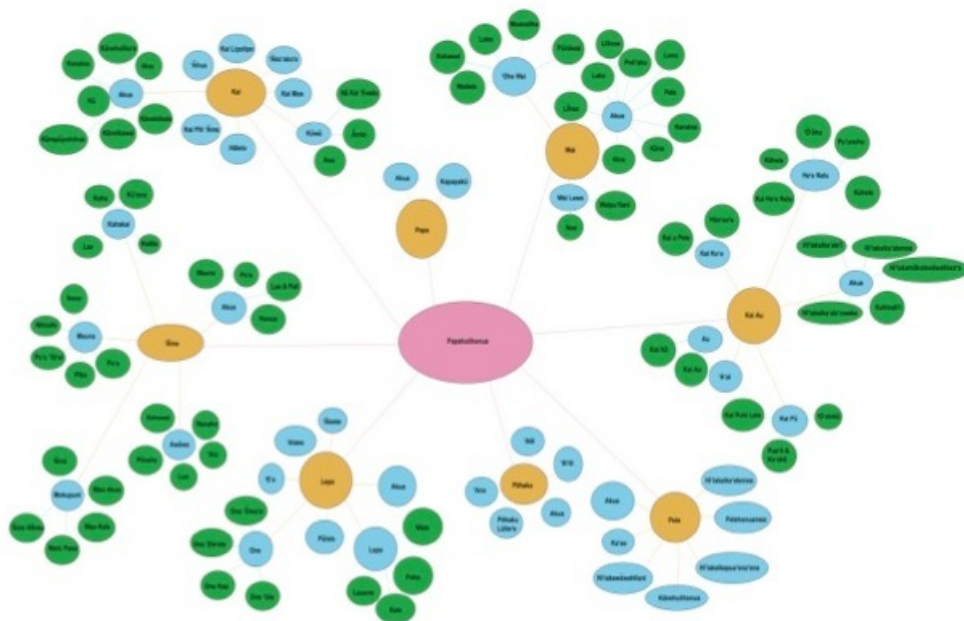
One of the principle components can then be chosen to become a new papakū. In this example, 'Āina is chosen. The principle components for 'āina are identified during the makawalu process and can be examined.



**Figure 2.7: Papakū 'Āina**

The components of ‘Āina can be pōhaku, lepo, one, ōla‘i. Each of the subsequent principles can become their own papakū and the makawalu process can continue on and on. The following page illustrates an example of the extent a single topic could potentially makawalu for analysis and reconstruction. An ontological map of Papahūlihōnua is created to which the kaona within the term Papahūlihōnua can now be revealed.

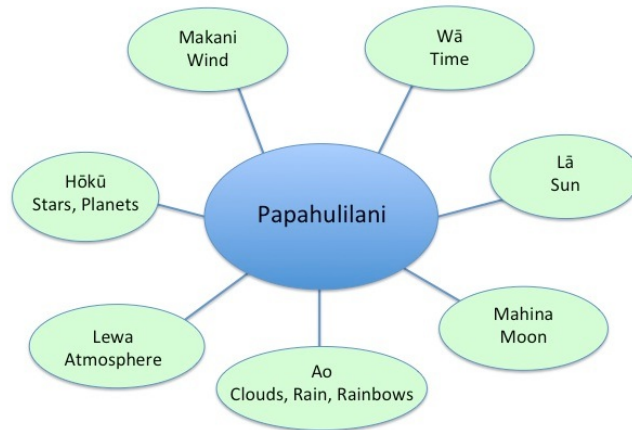
The final process is to reconstruct all the principles back into the original papakū. In essence, after reconstruction has occurred the researcher now has a deeper grasp when the term, Papahūlihōnua, is used. Similarly, one could imagine that the kāhuna who were trained under the Papa of Papahūlihōnua were expected to intimately know all the many principles that comprise the study of their profession in order to be seen as an expert by their leadership and community. The following illustration of the ontological map for Papahūlihōnua is just an example of the immeasurable components that could be eeked out of any topic. It is not meant to be decipherable.



***Figure 2.8: Papakū Makawalu of Papahūlihōnua created by Ku‘ulei Higashi-Kanahele. Used with permission from the Edith Kanaka‘ole Foundation***

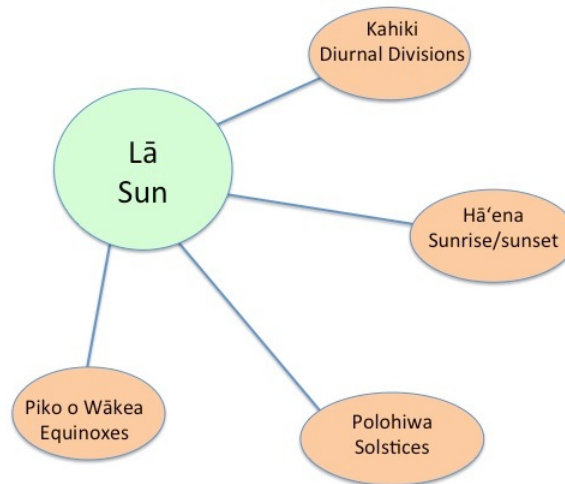
The second primary Papa is Papahūlilani. In the following illustration, Papahūlilani is the original papakū. The makawalu process occurs when the principles of Papahūlilani are identified and extracted out of the original papakū.

Each of these principles is part of the core of the Papahulilani house of knowledge.



**Figure 2.9: Papahulilani, Components Being Deconstructed**

The principles are Wā, Lā, Mahina, Ao, Lewa, Hōkū and Makani. Each of the principles is essential parts of Papahulilani. Again, each component can additionally become a new papakū to continue the makawalu process of deconstruction and analysis to collect more information.

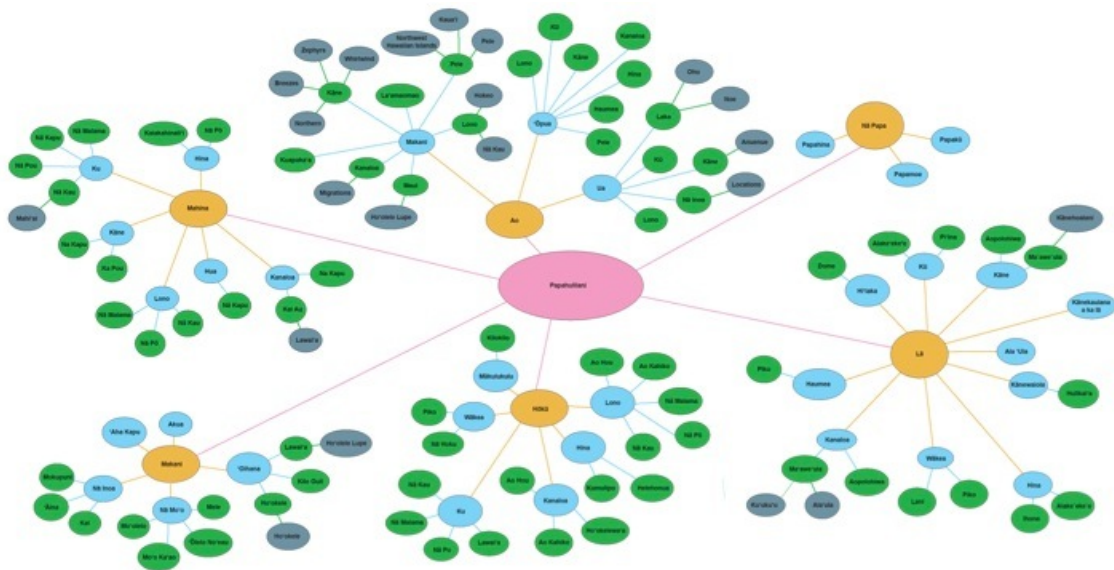


**Figure 2.10: Papakū Lā - Deconstructing the papakū of Lā, the Sun**

The papakū Lā is chosen to illustrate some of the identified principle components. Lā, sun, comprises of many more components. The components chosen to makawalu from Lā also illustrates that practices specific to the sun can

also be revealed. The components are Kahiki, Hā‘ena,<sup>8</sup> Polohiwa, and Piko o Wākea. Analysis of each practice can occur to understand sun ceremonies from a Hawaiian perspective. Upon reconstruction, the process can be reversed and traced back to its very beginnings or to the original papakū somewhat like a genealogy. A deeper grasp of Lā is accomplished.

An ontological map for Papahulilani is revealed. In my mind, the kāhuna who were trained under Papahulilani were expected to know every nuance and inter-relationship between the atmosphere, its natural phenomena, and its natural cycles to achieve expertise in their professions such as makani, mahina, kilokilo, kilo lani, kilo ‘ouli, ho‘okelewa‘a, kāhuna nui. The following illustration of the ontological map for Papahulilani is just an example of the immeasurable components that could be eeked out of any topic. It is not meant to be decipherable.

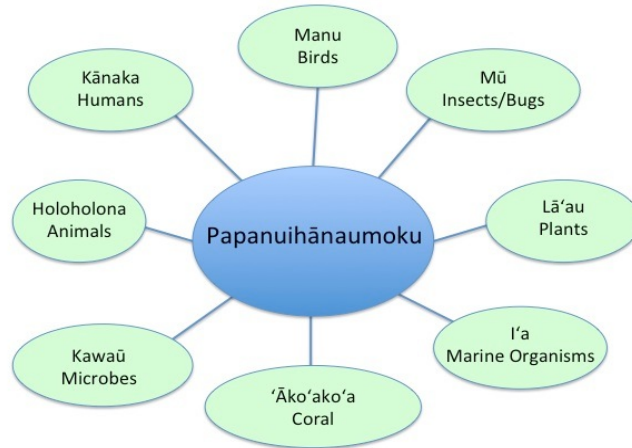


**Figure 2.11: Papakū Makawalu o Papahulilani created by Kalei Nu‘uhiwa. Used with permission from the Edith Kanaka‘ole Foundation.**

The third primary Papa is Papanuihānaumoku. Papanuihānaumoku is again the largest house of knowledge. Papanuihānaumoku contains vast amounts

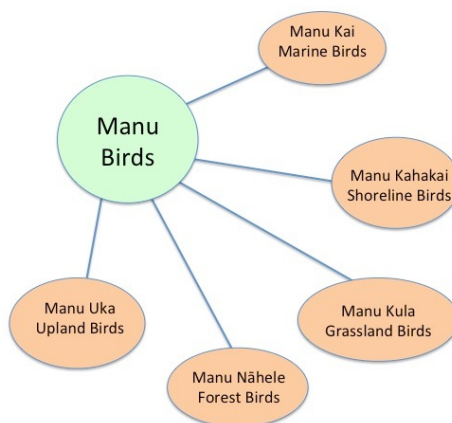
<sup>8</sup> Hā‘ena: A term referencing the sunrise and sunset in Pule o Pele and Kāne.

of living organisms that reside upon the planet. Kanaka‘ole Kanahele emphasizes that Hawaiians specifically studied the biota in Hawai‘i and were perhaps not so concerned with all the biota on the planet (P. K. Kanahele, 2010). The makawalu process occurs when the principles of Papanuihānaumoku are identified and pulled out of the original papakū.



**Figure 2.12: Papanuihānaumoku, Components Being Deconstructed**

The chosen principles listed are just a few of the core of the Papanuihānaumoku house of knowledge. The principles are Manu, Mū, Lā‘au, I‘a, ‘Āko‘ako‘a, Kawaū, Holoholona, and Kānaka. Each of these principles is the essential parts of Papanuihānaumoku.



**Figure 2.13: Papakū Manu - Deconstructing the Papakū of Manu, Birds.**

The papakū Manu is chosen to illustrate makawalu, deconstruction. Manu, birds, contains many more principles. Each of the principles mentioned are the

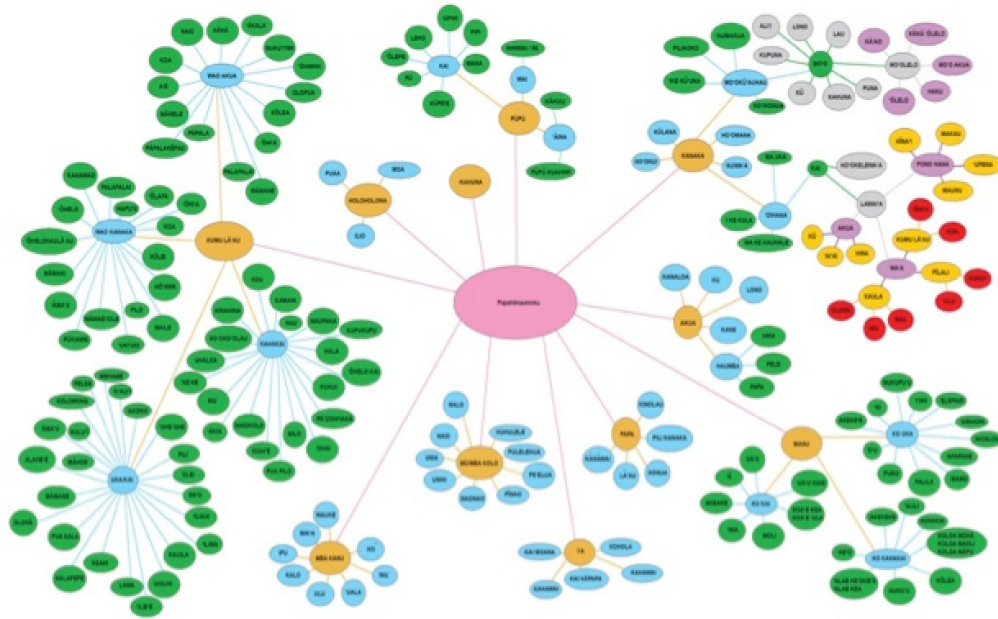
types of birds that frequent Hawai‘i. The chosen components are manu kai, manu kahakai, manu nāhele, and manu uka.

Marine birds that were specific to seasonal migrations were noted in one category, birds that are seen in the ocean can be noted in one category, shoreline birds might differ from the ones in the ocean and are placed in another category, forest birds can be in another category and birds that nested in the mountains can also be in their own category.

Papakū makawalu can be used to identify the known taxonomies of biota. A specific category can be chosen to study, which becomes a papakū and can be deconstructed further into specific birds. Each of these principles can become a new papakū and the makawalu process can continue on and on.

Upon reconstruction, returning back to the original papakū, a deeper grasp of Papanuihānaumoku is accomplished. Likewise as mentioned previously, the kāhuna who were trained under the Papanuihānaumoku were expected to know everything about the inter-relationships and connections between all the principle components that comprise the entire papa of study. My speculation is that due to the extent of the many papakū within Papanuihānaumoku, there would have been a larger consortium of kāhuna who studied different parts of this house of knowledge.

The following illustration of the ontological map for Papanuihānaumoku is just an example of the immeasurable components that could be eeked out of any topic. It is not meant to be decipherable.



*Figure 2.14: Papakū Makawalu o Papanuihānaumoku created by Mehana Hind and Kaumakaiwa Kanaka‘ole. Used with permission from the Edith Kanaka‘ole Foundation*

A holistic understanding of a single papakū can be achieved through Papakū Makawalu when its principles are deconstructed, examined and reconstructed. The result is an ontological map of the Hawaiian universe. The potential for expanding the information on a single topic, practice, or term is unlimited.

## 2.7 A Note to the #MooleloMatters Movement

Yes, absolutely. Mo‘olelo matters and is valued for kō mākou epistemology, ko mākou spirituality, and kō mākou collective identity. Papakū Makawalu is a methodology to study mele and pule for the purpose of gathering data and to understand the content within the poetry. Mo‘olelo are the niho that form the foundation of Hawaiian knowledge, however mele, pule and mo‘okū‘auhau are equally foundational for the transference of Hawaiian knowledge, in a Hawaiian method. Poepoe states (1906a):

Aia maloko o ko kakou Moolelo Kahiko na Mele ame na Pule Wanana, na

mele ha'i-kupuna a kuauhau hoi. Aia hoi maloko o na hana maa i ko kakou mau kupuna, he mau mahele ike i komo nui iloko o ke kupaianaha ame ke kamahao...

Paraphrase:

Within our Traditional Stories, Chants and Prophetic Prayers, are also the ancestral chants and genealogies. There also is within the customary deeds of our ancestors, wondrous and remarkable elements of knowledge profusely embedded within...

Mele offer the poetic possibilities of interpretations that enhance the mo'olelo for various listening or reading audiences. Mo'olelo provide the framework for the storyteller to choose to modernize the original content or to update the embedded 'ike (knowledge). The audience is then able to contextualize the mele within the mo'olelo and the mo'olelo within the mele. This is a form of intellectual prowess on the part of the storyteller and also on the part of the listener. Both mele and mo'olelo compliment one another and are highly valued by Hawaiians as a means to transfer knowledge.

Story composers in the Hawaiian language newspapers employ techniques of weaving mele from different stories or sources into another mo'olelo to validate the authenticity of the content, as in the case of S.M. Kamakau when he begins his mo'olelo series about Kamehameha I using mo'okū'auhau. Moke Manu weaves snippets of pule from kuahu ceremonies or mele from other mo'olelo like Lā'ieikawai, Pele and Hi'iaka sagas into his story *Keaomelemele* to convey specific feelings or to incite similar recollections. *Keaomelemele* is essentially a story about hula and various water sources. The ability to see the multiple layers of kaona that are encapsulated within the mele can strengthen the skill of the storyteller or can also grant one access into deeper learning. This is a statement to support the movement that mo'olelo matters and conversely, it is also a statement to support a movement that also says mele and pule matter too. One does not supersede the other, but are lananu'u to the 'anu'u tower for Hawaiian edification.

Papakū Makawalu provides another method for practitioners or researchers to find as many possibilities of interpretations. The broad possibilities of interpretations allow us, as modern Hawaiians, to access the kaona embedded

within the mele, pule, 'ōlelo no'eau, mo'okū'auhau and thusly mo'olelo.

Papakū Makawalu is not the only method that can be used to discover kūpuna knowledge and Papakū Makawalu does not intend to remove or lessen the importance of mo'olelo, but seeks to equalize the importance of mele and pule woven within mo'olelo.

## **2.8 The Papakū Makawalu Team - My Personal Experience As A Team Member**

As mentioned previously, the term Papakū Makawalu was coined by Dr. Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahale to describe the process of uncovering the multiple layers of understanding embedded in mele and pule. In 2005, she began seeking a team to begin mentoring with the intention of creating a process to which Hawaiians could see their surroundings with the same eyes as the kūpuna. She initially chose four individuals each from different islands, possessed a good command of the Hawaiian language, had been a practitioner of Hawaiian traditions for many years, conducted rituals and ceremonies to Hawaiian akua and could chant. I was chosen to conduct the research in Papahulilani. In the beginning years we would be assigned a topic to collectively research from our respective papa. We would enthusiastically begin research in Hawaiian books, Hawaiian language newspapers, pule/mele books, and the Hawaiian dictionary. We would formulate our theories about the various things we found and then go out into the environment with our cameras in hand to witness the events that may have been recorded in the mo'olelo, mele or pule. For me, my kilo lani practices evolved into a bigger understanding of Papahulilani. I first started viewing the research from a lunar calendar perspective and as more knowledge was acquired through the Papakū Makawalu process, my practice grew to also include the sun, stars, clouds, rain, wind and whatever other principle components that comprised the Papahulilani house of knowledge. Now, my practice has become Papahulilani. The same thing happened to my fellow researchers who started with their own practices that consequently grew into understanding their Papa thoroughly. Papahulihonua is Ku'ulei Kanahale's practice.

Currently, Papahānaumoku is Huihui Kanahale-Mossman's practice. This complete understanding of our perspective Papa is what we utilize to deconstruct, analyze and reconstruct any topic. Under the facilitation of Kanaka'ole Kanahale,

a topic is chosen. Then, each of us will conduct research about that topic from our Papa practices which assists in the deconstruction process. Afterwards, we reconvene to collectively analyze our discoveries together. From the analysis, themes emerge and we collectively agree upon the theses that are formulated. Once an agreement is reached, we collectively reconstruct our findings together to create new understanding of the topic collectively.

From the reconstruction, curriculum is produced and eventually shared at our annual trainings.<sup>9</sup> We have used this process to create instructional manuals, curricula, resource management books and also cultural guides for practitioners who seek to increase their own rituals and ceremonies. I will be utilizing this same process to analyze the annual Makahiki ceremonies conducted during the Lono season, that is part of this thesis. Therefore the method that I am following to comprehend the Makahiki ceremonies as they apply to the akua Lono is the Papakū Makawalu methodology.

## **2.9 Pehea I Hana Ai? How Was It Done?**

The chosen research topic for this paper is Lono. To assure that I am able to complete my thesis in a timely manner, three akua Lono who have been mentioned in the Makahiki narratives were chosen. For Papahulihonua, Lonomakua was chosen. For Papahulilani, Lononuiākea was chosen. For Papanuihānaumoku, two Lono were chosen to demonstrate Lono's role in farming and Lono's role in the Makahiki. Lonoikamakahiki, the deified chief was chosen for the Makahiki.

Various mele and pule were utilized to extract components. Some pule were performed during the Makahiki ceremonies and others are pule specific to Lono, or Pele. Each of the pule were deconstructed, analyzed, and reconstructed into the associated papa. Research in Hawaiian mo'olelo, language newspapers, pule/mele books, and the Hawaiian dictionary provided the information to understand the kaona in the composition from my own perspective and experiences. During the analysis and reconstruction processes, themes and theories about the various cycles, natural processes, inter-relationships and human

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<sup>9</sup> Website: *Resources*. <https://www.edithkanakaolefoundation.org/shop/> accessed on February 2, 2018.

interpretations were discovered which the expansive kino lau of the akua Lono emerged clearly. Other akua Lono surfaced as well and were added to the maps to enhance the understanding of Lononuiākea who is the overarching akua, encompassing all of the akua Lono. A comprehensive illustration of Lono's pertinent role in the Hawaiian pantheon of gods emerged at the end of the analysis.

Ontological maps of Lono from Papahūhōnua, Papahūlilani and Papanuihānaumoku were created to identify the natural indicators in the environment that illustrated Lono's season, Lono's arrival, Lono's weather patterns and geological events, and Lono's departure. New knowledge about how to identify Lono during his season and throughout the year was also accomplished. A comprehensive interpretation of Lono was established and will be used to inform me in my own practice as a Papahūlilani specialist. I will become a Lono befitting my ancestor Lonoikamakahiki through this process.

The purpose of this thesis is to establish Papakū Makawalu as a Hawaiian methodology of research. Just to be clear again, the knowledge within this paper does not have to justify the knowledge and practices of my ancestors from a western lens. This chapter provided a synopsis of how mele and pule are valuable databases that are purposefully composed with terms that have multiple layers of understanding called kaona. Kaona is the overarching principle that allows for the transference of knowledge to occur to those who are able to find meaning within the compositions of mele and pule. The composer intentionally chose to use certain words within the composition that are multi-layered and are delivered through oli, chanting or hula, dance.

The pule ho'ola'a ali'i called the Kumulipo is where the process of Papakū Makawalu unfolds using kaona to transfer the knowledge of how an ali'i attains the right to rule. Dedicated to Lonoikamakahiki, it is an appropriate source to demonstrate how the layers of kaona can be unwrapped and revealed. Papakū Makawalu is a contemporary name for an ancient process of interrelationships and connections. Papakū Makawalu affords the researchers a method to deconstruct words to find all the multiple meanings hidden within the kaona. In *Chapter 5*, Papakū Makawalu will be the method that is utilized to understand the many facets of the akua Lono as recorded in chosen mele and pule.

## Chapter 3

### Kaulana Mahina and the Calculation of the Makahiki Season

*‘O ia mea he MAKAHIKI, he wā ‘ano nui loa ia i nā kānaka o ka wā kahiko.*

*~ J.M. Poepoe, No ka Makahiki, Ka Na‘i Aupuni, Nowemapa 19, 1906.*

#### 3.1 Introduction

Poepoe explains, "This thing called Makahiki, it was an extremely important time to the people of the old." The original literary resources about the Makahiki were all written in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, and nearly all of the literature that has been written, analyzed and studied regarding the Makahiki comes from researchers who have studied primarily five main sources written from 1847 to 1877.

- Davida Malo
- Kelou Kamakau (K. Kamakau)
- John Papa ‘Ī‘Ī
- Keauokalani Kepelino
- Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau (S.M. Kamakau)

Malcolm N. Chun surmises that the handwritten manuscript written by Davida Malo was penned sometime in 1847 (1990, xv). Nathaniel B. Emerson translated the Malo manuscript and sold his translations and notes to the Bishop Museum for \$1,000 (Christian as cited in Malo, 1951, p. xix). Dr. William D. Alexander was brought in by the Bishop Museum to edit the manuscript and notes to which Alexander also added his own writings to Emerson’s translations (Malo, 1951, p. xix). There are two handwritten manuscripts that are attributed to Malo (Tsuha, 2007, p. 11). The first handwritten copy is called the *Carter Copy* and the second copy is called the *Alexander Copy*. On the cover of the *Carter Copy* a handwritten note states, "Probably penned by Malo for Rev. Lorrin Andrews." It is likely that Malo and his fellow students from the Lahainaluna seminary contributed information to create a history book for the school, though Malcolm N. Chun notes that Malo and another individual were the authors of the *Carter*

*Copy* (Chun, 1990, p. iii). The *Carter Copy* is the version that Nathaniel B Emerson translated from Hawaiian into English (Langlas, 2001, p. iii). It is unclear who wrote the *Alexander Copy*, but Charles "Kale" Langlas says that the *Alexander Copy* of Malo's Hoomana Kahiko was not penned by Malo (Langlas, 2001, p. iii). It is unclear how this conclusion was made aside from comparing handwriting differences between the manuscripts.

Abraham Fornander published his collection of historical literature written by various Hawaiian informants in 1877. A substantial section about ancient religious ceremonies was written in volume six of the collection. Alexander of the Bishop Museum cited Kelou Kamakau as the source (Thrum, qtd. in Fornander, 1919, p. 1). Kelou Kamakau was from Ka'awaloa, South Kona, Hawai'i Island and was a chief and chanter in the Kamehameha court (Thrum as cited in Fornander, 1919, p. 1). In my opinion, Kelou Kamakau was one of Fornander's leading informants and contributed to the record pertaining to Hawaiian practices, religion, rituals, and gods. Kelou Kamakau was noted by William Ellis to be a chief with considerable rank and influence, was intelligent, could read and write legibly, had great regard for his people and knew his history well (Ellis, 2004, pp. 48-52). If Kelou was a chanter for the court of Kamehameha, then it stands to reason that he would have been a participant in the Makahiki ceremonies and rituals. Like Davida Malo, Kelou Kamakau's narrative of the Makahiki rituals appears to be from personal eyewitness accounts. John Papa 'Ī'ī,<sup>10</sup> and Samuel M. Kamakau<sup>11</sup> both published information about the Makahiki in 'ōlelo Hawai'i i nūpepa Hawai'i (Hawaiian language newspapers) *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (Kamakau, 1869) and *Ke Au Okoa* (Kamakau, 1870). S. M. Kamakau occasionally cited Davida Malo in his publication. Through 'Ī'ī's historical narration of the chiefs of Hawai'i, he adds his own personal experiences and observations throughout the publications. Kepelino writes about the Makahiki in the Makali'i star constellation section and the offerings section but does not go into too much detail about the ceremonies (Keauokalani, 1932). Kepelino Keauokalani, known as

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<sup>10</sup> A Hawaiian scholar and councilor who lived in the household of the Kamehameha dynasty from the age of eight and often added or countered the historical information published by S.M. Kamakau.

<sup>11</sup> A Hawaiian scholar who published generously about the Kamehameha dynasty in various Hawaiian language newspapers between the 1860s-1880s.

Kepelino, wrote somewhat cryptic information about the Makahiki. Kepelino did not deliberately talk about the Makahiki rituals themselves but reported on components of the Makahiki in small sections of his lunar month narrative. Joseph Mokuohai Poepoe republished information regarding the Makahiki in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Na‘i Aupuni* in 1906. Poepoe amalgamated the information he had collected out of older published articles found in the Hawaiian language newspapers, archived original handwritten notes, and manuscripts housed in the Lāhainaluna Seminary and Bishop Museum archives. Poepoe credits Davida Malo, Kamakau, Fornander, Dibble<sup>12</sup> and Pokuea<sup>13</sup> as the main sources for his information.

Presumably Davida Malo, Kelou Kamakau and John Papa ‘Ī‘Ī wrote from personal experience as they were all part of the *alo ali‘i* (royal retinue) residing in the various Kamehameha households. Another historian named Gideon La‘anui was also raised as an *alo ali‘i* in the household of Kamehameha I. In 1838, La‘anui publishes brief accounts of his participation in the Makahiki ceremonies. He notes that the royal retinue went to Kahalu‘u, Kona ‘Ākau and Kaiakeakua (Kealakekua) for the purpose of Makahiki activities, but does not add details to their Makahiki activities (La‘anui, 1838). Foreign eyewitness accounts come from the journals of Captain James King who sailed on the third and final voyage of Captain James Cook to Hawai‘i, and was present at the various Lono ceremonies at Hikiau heiau. William Ellis who toured through Hawai‘i in 1823 witnessed several games, hōlua<sup>14</sup> competitions and gambling. He comments that the amount of effort dedicated to the games was arduous, yet Hawaiians were leisure at their plantations or houses (Ellis, 2004, p. 187). Noting that the foreign descriptions were swayed by religious and racial overtones, there is some value in recording what they had observed to glean insight on Makahiki ceremonial attire, symbolism and sequences of events.

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<sup>12</sup> Revered Sheldon Dibble was a tutor at the Lahainaluna Seminary and member of the first Hawaiian Historical Society.

<sup>13</sup> Pokuea. Reverend John F. Pogue was a tutor at the Lahainaluna Seminary. He and his students collected Hawaiian historical stories for school history books, which were printed and published in 1841.

<sup>14</sup> Hōlua is the name of a sport where skilled riders rode a narrow sled down treacherously constructed stone ramps. Hōlua was an ancient pastime among Hawaiians.

From 1951 to 1990, there was an increase in the amount of literature written about the Makahiki. This followed the release of Hawaiian publications that had been translated from ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, Hawaiian language, to English. John Papa ‘Ī‘Ī’s articles were collected into a single publication by Dorothy Barrère called *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, translated by Mary Kawena Pukui. Abraham Fornander’s collection was translated by Thomas G. Thrum. Kamakau’s articles were collected and separated into four publications, which had been translated by various individuals.<sup>15</sup> Once these key manuscripts were translated, the information became accessible to non-Hawaiian language speakers, mainly anthropologists, who then began publishing their own work. This was the era of embellished writings from secondary researchers who based their information on translations of the original texts including Martha Beckwith, E.S. Craighill Handy and Elizabeth Green Handy, Dorothy Barrère, Valerio Valeri, and George H. S. Kanahele just to name a few.

To date, the most elaborate and detailed narrative that has been cited more than any other literature regarding the Makahiki is the translated version of Davida Malo’s manuscript called *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*. It is pertinent to note that it is the translations and footnotes of Nathaniel B. Emerson and William D. Alexander that most researchers and practitioners have been citing. These footnotes were not part of Davida Malo’s original work. As mentioned earlier, it is also pertinent to note that Davida Malo was not the only contributor to the manuscript *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*. Alexander explains that the first *Ka Moolelo Hawaii* was written at Lahainaluna between 1835-36 by some of the older students. Davida Malo was one of these students and went on to help form a Hawaiian Historical Society (1903, p. 18). The book was then revised and published again by Rev. Sheldon Dibble (1903, p. 18). A second edition was written by Rev. J. F. Pogue (Pokuea) to which extensive amounts of information from another manuscript written for Rev. Lorrin Andrews was added to this version of *Ka Moolelo Hawaii* and published in 1858 (1903, p. 18). In Pogue’s version of *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*, aside from chapter titles and rearranged

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<sup>15</sup> The translators were Mary Kawena Pukui, Thomas G. Thrum, Lahilahi Webb, Emma Davidson Taylor, and John Wise. It is also noted that Mary Kawena Pukui was added later to proof read the translations.

paragraphs, the writing is not that much different from Malo's version. Nathaniel B. Emerson translated the *Carter Copy* of the handwritten manuscript of *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*. He credits Malo as the author and also took the liberty of inserting his own footnotes into the manuscript. These footnotes included additional descriptions, added rituals and even pule without crediting or citing the sources of his information. It is hard to perceive whether or not the information Emerson writes is actually connected to the content in his version of *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*. Emerson sold his translated copy to the Bishop Museum to which the director, William D. Alexander, also added more of his own information to Emerson's footnotes. Unfortunately, one cannot discern where Alexander inserted his comments and additions to Emerson's footnotes, although there is a stark difference between the original handwritten Hawaiian text and Emerson's translations (Christian as cited in Malo, 1951, p. xix). Truthfully speaking, it is Emerson's translations and Alexander's notes that provide the most detailed information about the Makahiki. Unfortunately, it is hard to say where or from whom the information was acquired, and if the details were in fact part of the original Makahiki narrative. Marshall Sahlins supports that Malo's Makahiki narrative is more elaborate than what eyewitness accounts of visiting seamen to Hawai'i had reported in ship's logs (1989, p. 397). More about Sahlins' findings will be added in the latter part of this chapter.

Secondary researchers who have been writing about the Makahiki utilized the translated *Ka Moolelo Hawaii* without citing whether they were extracting their information and analysis from Malo's original Hawaiian text, Emerson's translated text or from the footnotes of either Emerson or Alexander. This is problematic and therefore, throughout this paper a distinction will be made between the varying manuscripts. The Alexander handwritten copy will be noted as Malo, 1847, the unpublished Carter Copy that has been retyped with diacritical markings by Dr. Charles Kale Langlas in 2001 will be noted as Malo, 2001, Nathaniel B. Emerson's translations and footnotes will be noted as Malo, 1903, and finally the additional insertion of text and footnotes added by both Alexander and Emerson will be noted as Malo, 1951 to correctly identify the source materials.

### 3.2 **makahiki vs. Makahiki**

For the purposes of understanding the Makahiki festivities, a portion of this paper be dedicated to the methods in which kānaka Hawai‘i kept time. Pukui and Elbert explain that the word makahiki means “year, age; annual, yearly and also an ancient festival beginning about the middle of October and lasting about four months, with sports and religious festivities and taboo on war” (1986, p. 225). To differentiate between the two meanings of makahiki in this paper the term, when referring to the Makahiki festivities, will be capitalized. The term that references makahiki as a year will not be capitalized.

Rubellite K. Johnson explains that one of the main functions for the Makahiki was to set the calendar (2000, p. 46). Johnson also notes that Lonoikamakahiki is the god of the agricultural calendar (2000, p. 33). As mentioned previously, the kāhuna kilo were the priests and experts in calculating time by utilizing the celestial cycles of the sun, moon and stars. The kāhuna kilo were tasked to keep track of time for the purpose of marking the seasons of the political governance, resource management and to perform the proper religious protocol (K Kamakau, 1919, p. 10; S. M. Kamakau, 1992, p. 181; Malo, 1903, p. 210). Johnson explains that in pre-contact times, the calendar was set to start on the evening of the first new moon called Hilo, after the first viewing of the star constellation named Makali‘i, Pleiades, as it rose above the eastern horizon (2000, p. 33). The image here is the rising of Makali‘i shortly after sunset as seen from atop Hikiau Heiau, on October 20, 2018 for the Kuapola ceremony conducted on the Hua moon phase of the lunar month of ‘Ikuā.



*Figure 3.1: Makali'i rising in the east at sunset from Hikiau Heiau in Kealakekua Bay, Hawai'i Island.*

In the lunar month of Welehu, the star constellation Makali'i (Pleiades) can be viewed ascending in the eastern evening sky shortly after sunset. When Makali'i is spotted above the eastern horizon following the setting of both the sun and the moon, the year has begun. The first five lines of the Kumulipo also describe the celestial markers for the beginning or recalibration of time annually. The lines start:

*O ke au i kahuli wela ka honua. O ke au i kahuli lolé ka lani.*

These lines can be interpreted as laying the foundation for the beginning of time with a huluhia (complete change), from one existence or reality to another. Perhaps an interpretation could be the recognition that the end of the dry hot season has transpired and will then cycle into the wet season. Another interpretation could describe the rolling/cycling out of the old year into a brand new one.

*O ke au i kukaiaka ka la.*

This next line describes the sun as it sets in the west causing shadows to lengthen.

*E hoomalamalama i ka malama.*

The next line could be interpreted as a time when the moon is illuminated and visible.

In my summation, these lines describe the appearance of the moon and its luminosity without specifying any particular moon phase. Perhaps not specifying a particular moon phase for the calendar calibration differences amongst different islands and districts. Though literally, this line may be describing the first moon phase that can be seen with the eye after the new moon. In this second case the moon phase referenced may be Hilo.

*O ke au o Makalii ka po.*

The last line can be interpreted that the time when the star constellation Makali'i is seen in conjunction with the sun or other celestial activities in the evening (Johnson, 2000, p. 32).

This line names the star constellation Makali'i (Pleiades) as it is observed in the east near the time that the sun is setting in the west. This line specifically mentions that the timeframe for viewing Makali'i is during the evening, "Makali'i ka pō," as opposed to the Gregorian months of March through April when Makali'i is in the sky during the daylight and unseen.

The Kumulipo poetically describes the timely process of a celestial conjunction of the sunset, the appearance of Hilo and the rising of Makali'i to mark time. Johnson reports that through the Kumulipo the kāhuna tried to understand Cosmic time (cyclical, precession), Annual time (makahiki, sidereal) through the evening rise of the Pleiades, Lunar time (sidereal lunations, synodic lunations), Solar time, Diurnal time (daily rotation), Decan time (anahulu, 10 day weeks), and Ritual time (pule, kapu kauila) (2000, p. 243).

The understanding of celestial cycles was crucial to the annual calibration of the calendar. John Papa 'Ī'ī also described the timely importance of the rising of the Makali'i constellation by stating that if the kāhuna noticed that if it had risen too high in the evening sky where it required the lifting of the eyes to see them, then the appropriate time for the utterance of a certain pule to begin the Makahiki had to be changed ('Ī'ī, 1869a). The moon and various star constellations established the timing, commencement, and completion of the

Makahiki observances. To assist the readers, Malo notes both the Hawaiian lunar months and the Gregorian months together to clarify which time of the year the Makahiki occurred. Malo explains (1847, p. 148):

Ma ka malama hope o kekau, ma Ikuwa, e like ia me Okakopa, oia ka malama e hoomaka ai ka makahiki; a hiki aku i na malama mua ekolu o ka hooilo, oia o Welehu, o Makalii, o Kaelo, e like me Nowemaba, Dekemaba, Ianuari...

Paraphrase:

From the final month of summer, in ‘Ikuā, it coincides with October, that is the month that the Makahiki starts; following after are the three months of winter, they are Welehu, Makali‘i, Kā‘elo, which coincide with November, December and January...

In ‘Ī‘ī’s published article about the Makahiki, he counts the start of Makahiki a whole lunar month prior to Malo’s timeframe. ‘Ī‘ī chooses to count the final ceremonies conducted in the luakini heiau as a transitional period into the Makahiki. ‘Ī‘ī states, ua hoomakaia na hana ma ka malama o Augate, oia hoi o Hilinehu ma ka olelo Hawaii (1869a). Paraphrase: The festivities started in the month of August, called Hilinehu in the Hawaiian language.

A section regarding the Kaulana Mahina is included to assist with the understanding of the traditional practice of keeping time. Nearly all of the Makahiki rituals and ceremonies were performed at specific time periods within the four-month season (Kepelino, 1932, p. 85; Malo, 1847, p. 146; Malo, 1951, p. 141). Much of the Makahiki ceremonies relied on the observations of the stars, moon phases, and meteor showers to keep track of time. Resource management, political decisions and kaulana mahina (Hawaiian lunar calendar) were set for the upcoming makahiki during the Makahiki.

### **3.2.1 Kaulana Mahina - Hawaiian Lunar Calendar**

It is interesting to note that a traditional Hawaiian term for calendar has not been passed on through the generations or that the modern Hawaiian does not recognize a traditional term for calendar today. Within the Kumulipo themes of

time are noted through words such as wā (general time), au (eras), and kau (seasons and cycles). The first six lines of the Kumulipo established time by noting the location and time in relation to the sun, the visibility of the moon, and the evening appearance of the star constellation Makali‘i. Therefore, these are the natural entities that calibrate time annually. Johnson explains that these three celestial entities introduce the concept of a cycle of time, meaning a calendar (2001, p. 32). However, there is no traditional term for the word calendar in the Kumulipo. In the dictionary Pukui and Elbert translates the word calendar as ‘alemanaka or kalenekalio (1986, p. 409). These terms are transliterations of the words almanac and calendar. Kepelino uses kaulana mahina when he describes the practice of time keeping (1932, p. 101). Kaulana mahina was a system to track a period of time or to note what practices, such as fishing or farming, could happen with productive or unproductive results from one moon phase to the next. In the Hawaiian dictionary, Pukui and Elbert list kaulana mahina simply as the position of the moon (1986, p. 136). Perhaps this term refers to the placement or appearance of the moon as it treks across the sky from the eastern horizon to the western horizon.

It is Joseph Mokuohai Poepoe’s 1906 publications in the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ka Nai Aupuni*, that the term kaulana mahina is used the most to describe the lunar calendar calculations. Poepoe says (Poepoe, 1906):

Maanei, e hoike hou aku ka mea kakau i keia hoonohonoho kaulana mahina ma ka hoohalike ana me ka helu malama Roma.

Paraphrase:

Here, the author will again demonstrate this kaulana mahina calculation comparing it with the Roman month calculations.

Poepoe devotes three months of his publications to the Hawaiian lunar calendar practice while expounding upon his analysis of the star section in wā ‘Umikūmāhā (14) of the Kumulipo. Combining Kepelino, Poepoe, and Pukui and Elbert’s usage of kaulana mahina reveals that it was a system that tracked time and the associated practices based on the moon’s position in the sky, the appearance or characteristics of the moon, and the cycle of the moon from one

phase to the next (Tsuha, 2007, p. 23). It was a very pertinent tool in the daily life of the kūpuna (Kapelino, 1932, p. 81).

### 3.2.2 Poepoe and the Kumulipo

Joseph M. Poepoe described the Hawaiian lunar calendar process in detail and used the term kaulana mahina for calculating the Hawaiian lunar calendar. Noenoe K. Silva explains that Poepoe was one of the prominent intellectuals that saw himself as a teacher and wrote narratives within various Hawaiian language newspapers to provide information on traditional practices (2017, p. 6). It is through Poepoe's publication called *Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko* that the readers are introduced to his research style filled with his in depth elucidations of kaona and traditional epistemologies found in Hawaiian origin chants. One of the origin chants that Poepoe chooses to analyse is the Kumulipo. Poepoe begins to deconstruct the Kumulipo chant by going over each line pointing out the contextual mo'olelo that each line symbolically depicts. Poepoe's publications are a mix of storytelling, historical narratives, academic cited sources, and philosophical epistemologies. He begins his teachings of the kaulana mahina in wā 'umikūmāhā, the fourteenth epoch, which is the portion of the Kumulipo that describes the stars that Hawaiians noted were important to ocean navigation and keeping time. Poepoe takes the opportunity to share some of his astronomical research he located in the Lahainaluna Seminary library.

Poepoe cites the writings as his sources and interweaves other information from several other documents penned by esteemed kāhuna kilohōkū such as Kamoho'ula, Kūpahu, and Kanalu throughout his narratives. Subsequently publishing his analysis of the star lore information noted in the Kumulipo, Poepoe moved on to study the kaulana mahina that included some traditional practices that were reliant upon the lunation of the moon. Poepoe adds farming, fishing and birth omens to the successive publications as well. The kaulana mahina assisted practitioners in understanding weather patterns and monthly climate expectations. Poepoe explains (1906m):

E hoomaopopoia nohoi, o ka ike o ke kanaka Hawaii oia mau la, o na kaulana mahina he mau hana e ae e pono ai ka nohona o ke kane ame ka

wahine a me ka ohana; he wa no ka holo moana ana, he wa no ke kaula a pela aku...

Paraphrase:

Let's also remember, this was the knowledge of Hawaiians at that time, the lunar calendars were what guided the right tasks of living by men, women and the family; when to go fishing, when to war etc.

The most important instance deduced from all the literature regarding the kaulana mahina is that the moon directly affects the ebb and flow of liquid (Burr as cited in Handy, Handy & Pukui, 1991, p. 40), the growth processes of living biota, and the seasonal weather patterns of the environment (Manuokekula, 1861).

Practitioners such as fishermen, hunters, gatherers, carvers, and craftsmen learned to observe plant, animal and fish activities then successively correlated them with the seasons, lunar months, and lunar phases to be efficient and attain productive outcomes. The basic motivation for the maka'āinana (commoner) to master the kaulana mahina was frankly to survive efficiently. Ali'i and kāhuna mastered the kaulana mahina for religious and political governance. Ali'i and kāhuna followed the kaulana mahina to assure spiritual and political efficacy to which the greater community benefitted. Similarly with 'Ī'i and Kamakau's narratives, the Makahiki narrative begins immediately the kaulana mahina discussion. Poepoe's Makahiki discussion begins on November 19th and ends on November 27, 1906. My inference is that a direct correlation between understanding the skill of keeping track of time through the moon, stars, and sun is pertinent to the Makahiki ceremonies.

### **3.3 Nā Pō a me Nā Anahulu - Phases and Weeks**

Regarding time, time periods and months were separated into a single year. Hawaiians calculated time through the cycle of the moon, the prominent stars ruling the sky and the natural seasons occurring in the environment. Time was divided into pō (phases), anahulu (weeks), malama (months), kau (seasons) and makahiki (years). (Fornander, 1919, p. 331; Kepelino, 1932, p. 32; Malo, 2001, p. 41).

For the kaulana mahina both terms pō or pō mahina are used to describe the phases of the moon. Though, Hawaiians recognized thirty distinct shapes of

the moon's cycle from one phase to the next. Each pō has its own name. Both Malo and Poepoe note that there are 17 pō that are grouped together and 13 individual pō (2001, p. 30). The groupings of phases are, Kū (4 pō), 'Ole (7 pō), Lā'au (3 pō), and Kāloa (3 pō). The names of the thirty pō in the lunar cycle are Hilo, Hoaka, Kūkahi, Kūlua, Kūkolu, Kūpau, 'Olekūkahi, 'Olekūlua, 'Olekūkolu, 'Olepau, Huna, Mōhalu, Hua, Akua, Hoku, Māhealani, Kulu, Lā'aukūkahi, Lā'aukūlua, Lā'aukau, 'Olekūkahi, 'Olekūlua, 'Olepau, Kāloakūkahi, Kāloakūlua, Kāloapau, Kāne, Lono, Maui, and Muku. Each pō had associated practices connected to them, established by years of observation, practice and repetition of desired outcomes.



**Figure 3.2:** *Nā Pō o ka malama – Phases of the Month*

The thirty pō are then organized into ten-phase weeks called anahulu. There are three anahulu within a single lunar month. The first ten-phase week is called the anahulu ho'onui. Ho'onui means to increase or grow in size. These pō are the first ten waxing phases in the kaulana mahina. See figure 3.3.



*Figure 3.3: Anahulu Ho'onui (Waxing)*



*Figure 3.4: Anahulu Piha Poepoe (Gibbous)*

The second ten-phase week is called anahulu piha poepoe. See figure 3.4 above. Piha poepoe means full and round. These phases are the roundest and the brightest. These ten pō are the gibbous phases in the kaulana mahina. The final ten-phase week is called anahulu ho'ēmi. Ho'ēmi means to decrease or to diminish. These ten pō are the waning phases in the kaulana mahina. See figure 3.5. The three anahulu create a single month called a malama.

In the various Hawaiian dictionaries, there are other time periods called anahulu. Pukui and Elbert support that anahulu means a ten-day period or to arrive at or after the interval of ten days (1986, p. 24). In the Andrews dictionary, anahulu can also mean a decade.<sup>16</sup> Johnson also explains that the Kumulipo uses the term anahulu that can suggest the passing of time in ten days, ten weeks, ten months or even ten years (1981, p.11). The number ten is important to rituals and ceremonies and is mentioned in Fornander as a number of days that can be intercalated into the kaulana mahina during the Makahiki. More will be discussed about this practice in 3.4.1. *Malama Pili and Malama 'Ukali - Thirteenth Lunar Month.*



*Figure 3.5: Anahulu Ho'ēmi (Waning)*

<sup>16</sup> Wehewehe wikiwiki, Retireved February 21, 2018, from <https://hilo.hawaii.edu/wehe/?q=anahulu>.

### 3.4 Nā Malama - Lunar Months

The entire lunation process of the moon equates to a single lunar month called a malama. There are two Hawaiian terms for month, which are mahina and malama. In the Hawaiian language newspapers both terms, mahina and malama, are used interchangeably. Generally though, the term malama is often used to describe the names of the Hawaiian lunar months such as Welehu, Makali‘i, Kā‘elo, etc. As opposed to the term mahina, which is generally used to describe the Gregorian months such as January, February, March, etc. The term malama is the traditional term found in older mele and pule when referring to lunar time. This paper will apply the term malama for the names of the Hawaiian lunar months.

There are typically twelve malama in a kaulana mahina year. Each malama has a name that corresponds to a star with the same name as evidenced in the published version of the Kumulipo by Poepoe in *Ka Na‘i Aupuni*, Kepakemapa 24 - Okatoba 25, 1906. There are sources that also point to the correlation between stars and malama names. One source can be found in a mele about the stars and months called He Mele no ka Hoku a me ka Malama (Kalama, 1860), another source is in a book called The History of Kanalu Mo‘okū‘auhau ‘Elua, which was a collection of articles written by Ben Namakaokeahi published originally in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, from June 8, 1900 to June 14, 1901 (Namakaokeahi, 2001, p. 100), and another source is Dr. Maud Makemson (1941, p. 100). Stars and malama are also mentioned in mele as well. The following mele comes from the story of Kamiki. This mele says:

Kauluaokamalamaikekihiokamahinanui  
O Kaulua ka la,  
Kaulua ka ua,  
Kaulua ka makani,  
Kaulua ke kai,  
Kaulua ka mālie,  
Kaulua ka Hoku e kau nei... (Ke Au Hou 4 Ianuali 1911)

Paraphrase:

Kaulua of the moonlight in the tips of the large moon  
Kaulua is the sun,

Kaulua is the rain,  
Kaulua is the wind,  
Kaulua is the ocean,  
Kaulua is tranquil,  
Kaulua (Sirius) is the star that has just appeared.

In this mele, Kaulua is a lunar month, the star Sirius and a solar marker, which is associated with its own rain, wind, weather expectations and a guiding star. This mele succinctly expresses the timely conjunctions of the moon, sun and star proximity to one another and the phenological expectations for the malama of Kaulua. Dr. Rangi Matamua also explains that Māori applied the same technique to determine the season (2017, p. 55).

These examples demonstrate that time was kept through the kaulana mahina by tracking the cycles of the sun, moon and stars. As mentioned, there are generally twelve lunar months every year except when an intercalary thirteenth malama was inserted into the kaulana mahina. The insertion of a whole malama occurred every three to six years. More will be discussed about the thirteenth lunar month in 3.3.1 Malama Pili/Malama 'Ukali - The Thirteenth Malama.

The names of the customary lunar months are Welehu, Makali'i, Kā'elo, Kaulua, Nana, Welo, Ikiiki, Ka'aona, Hinaia'ele'ele, Hilinamā (also called Māhoemua), Hilinaehu (also called Māhoehope), and 'Ikuā. Some of the star names that rule the malama are known in modern times and have been passed down through various practices or publications. Other stars have not been passed down and have been analyzed by many scholars who are unable to confidently identify and reconnect the malama to its ruling star. It is my opinion that more practice for modern day kāhuna kilo must happen to fill in those knowledge gaps.

While the thirty names of the pō are consistently the same following its lunation, the malama names are calculated differently from family to family, district to district, and island to island throughout the archipelago of Hawai'i. My postulation is that each district observed the same guiding stars for the malama but measured them from different points of view (POV), from different landmarks, and also at different times of the evening or morning based on how the stars were in conjunction with the sun. Figure 3.1 illustrates some of the varying malama sequences. It appears that the malama names are consistently the same

from one island to the next, though placed in different sequences with the exception of a few malama names noted on the island of Kaua‘i. I also postulate that the varying malama sequences could be based on geographical locations of viewing. For example, districts that live on the northeastern side of the islands may be viewing the stars as they rise directly above the ocean horizon and may calculate their malama accordingly. As opposed to those districts that are on the southwestern sides of the islands and may have a mountain ridge blocking the view of the eastern horizon. In this case these districts may be choosing to mark the stars once they clear the ridge or may be choosing to mark the setting of those stars as they set into the western horizon. Other possibilities for the varying sequences of calculations are topographical considerations such as a district that resides in a narrow valley. The viewing of stars would naturally occur in a narrow span of time causing the malama calculations to reflect what is being observed. Observations made from within a valley in contrast to an observation from an island that is surrounded by other islands will have drastically different star risings and settings. Other considerations that may be contributing to the different malama sequences are natural geological features used as markers on ridges, mountain-tops or hills. Manmade constructed sites such as elevated terraces on heiau, cone-shaped ahu built on ridges, or low-flat platforms such as malae<sup>17</sup> or paepae<sup>18</sup> were possibly used to calculate the malama sequences. From a stationary paepae, heiau or malae stars can be consistently observed throughout the year from the precise location. Stars marked in conjunction with the moon or the sun could consistently occur from such stationary sites. Finally, a district may be calculating other things besides the placement of stars to reconcile their kaulana mahina. The seasonality of animals, fish, plants or weather is clearly evident in the malama names utilized in Kaua‘i’s kaulana mahina.

The Kaua‘i kaulana mahina has three entirely different malama names from the other twelve names, which are Hilioholo, Hilionalu and Hukipau. These three names are all fishing and ocean terms. Hilionalu means to be thrashed around by waves that may be indicative of a season when the ocean is extremely

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<sup>17</sup> Malae is the same term as marae, which is a low-flat platform stone structure. It is not found in the Hawaiian language dictionary, but found in place names such as Malaeha‘akoa, Kaua‘i, Malaekahana, O‘ahu, and Malae Gulch, Moloka‘i.

<sup>18</sup> A raised platform that can be made of stone or matting. Similar to a malae.

rough. Both Hilioholo and Hukipau are styles of community fishing with large nets that happen when large schools of fish aggregate in bays. These events were occasions that the whole community would collectively contribute to the gathering of fish. The malama calculations for Kaua‘i incorporated the fishing seasons and activities of fish and therefore the fishing practices defined the malama sequencing.

Each malama has its own expected seasonal activities, which includes weather phenomena, animal behaviors, plant growth processes and resource dispensations. The community’s wellbeing is based on how satisfactory the konohiki (landlord) understands the cycles, seasons and malama expectations. Konohiki are district chiefs assigned to manage the resources, rights and privileges of the maka‘āinana (citizens). Konohiki are expected to assure that the district being managed can provide the necessary provisions to the ali‘i nui through the expected ho‘okupu offered during the Makahiki or upon the ali‘i nui’s request. It is a method to which the konohiki can assure that his or her community can collectively provide the needs of the ali‘i nui. This notion of a community’s collective abundance was managed diligently by the konohiki through the kaulana mahina.

The twelve lunar months are generally separated into two seasons called kau. There are six months within the Kau Ho‘oilo. Ho‘oilo are the wet months. There are also six months within the Kau Wela. Kau wela are the dry months (Fornander, 1919, p.330; Malo, 1898, p.53; Poepoe, 1906j; Pogue, 1848, p. 17). The year can also be separated into smaller seasons for different purposes. See: Kau 3.4. for more information.

Table 3.1: Na Inoa Malama: Various Malama Calculations

	S.W. K./JDK Kalapolohiwa	S.W. K.	S.W. K.	S.W. K.	Emerson	Emerson	Emerson	Emerson	Na Kepelino	Kaloku- okamaile	David Ka'alakea	JWQ Kaia
	Hawai'i	Maui	O'ahu	Kaua'i	Hawai'i	Moloka'i	O'ahu**	Kaua'i	Kona, Hawai'i	Napo'opo'o, Kona	Kaupō, Maui	Hanalei, Kaua'i
Jan	Kā'elo	'Ikuā	Hilina	Ikiiki	Kā'elo	'Ikuā	Nana	Hilioholo	Makali'i	Welehu	Kā'elo	'Ikuā
Feb	Kaulua	Makali'i	Ikiiki	Kā'elo	Kaulua	Hinaia'ele'ele	Welo	Hilionalu	Kā'elo	Kaulua	Ka'ulua	Welehu
Mar	Nana	Hinaia'ele'ele	Ka'aona	Hinaia'ele'ele	Nana	Welo	Ikiiki	Hukipau	Kaulua	*Nana	Nana	Makali'i
Apr	Welo	Kā'elo	Makali'i	Kaulua	Welo	Makali'i	Ka'aona	'Ikuā*	Nana	Welo	Welo	Kā'elo
May	Ikiiki	Kaulua	Hinaia'ele'ele	Ka'aona	Ikiiki	Kā'elo	Hinaia'ele'ele	Welehu	Welo	Ikiiki	Ikiiki	Ka'ulua
Jun	Ka'aona	Ka'aona	Māhoemua	Nana	Ka'aona	Kaulua	Māhoemua	Kā'elo	Ikiiki	Ka'aona	Ka'aona	Nana
Jul	Hinaia'ele'ele	Ikiiki	Māhoehope	Māhoehope	Hinaia'ele'ele	Nana	Māhoehope	Ikiiki	Ka'aona	Hinaia'ele'ele	Hinaia'ele'ele	Welehu
Aug	Māhoemua	Nana	Welehu	Māhoehope	Māhoemua	Ikiiki	'Ikuā	Hinaia'ele'ele	Hinaia'ele'ele	Māhoemua	Hilinehu	Ikiiki
Sept	Māhoehope	Hilina	Hilinehu	Welehu	Māhoehope	Ka'aona	Welehu	Māhoemua	Māhoemua	Māhoehope	Hilinamā	Ka'aona
Oct	*'Ikuā	Hilinamā	Kaulua	Makali'i	*'Ikuā	Hilinaehu	Makali'i	Māhoehope	Māhoehope	'Ikuā	'Ikuā	Hinaia'ele'ele
Nov	Welehu	Hilinehu	Kā'elo	Hilinamā	Welehu	Hilinamā	Kā'elo	Hilinamā	'Ikuā	Kā'elo	Welehu	Hilinehu
Dec	Makali'i	Welehu	Hilinamā	Hilinehu	Makali'i	Welehu	Kaulua	Hilinehu	*Welehu	Makali'i	Makali'i	Hilinamā
	Malo/Pogue/ Dibble	Nawahineelua Kīpahulu	O.K. Kapule Kalua'aha	Fornander	Poepoe, Hawai'i	Na Poepoe no Maui	Na Poepoe no Moloka'i	Na Poepoe no O'ahu	Na Poepoe no Kaua'i	Mose Kalaniheana	JWQ Kaia	GWK.Kama- nuokekula
Jan	'Ikuā	Makali'i	Ka'ulua	Welehu	Kā'elo	'Ikuā	'Ikuā	Hilina	'Ikuā	Kā'elo	'Ikuā	Ka'ulua
Feb	Hinaia'ele'ele	Kā'elo	Nana	Makali'i	Kaulua	Makali'i	Hinaia'ele'ele	Ikiiki	Welehu	Kaulua	Welehu	Nana
Mar	Welo	Kaulua	Welo	Kā'elo	Nana	Hinaia'ele'ele	Welo	Ka'aona	Kā'elo	Nana	Makali'i	Welo
Apr	Makali'i	Nana	Ikiiki	Kaulua	Welo	Kā'elo	Makali'i	Makali'i	Kaulua	Welo	Kā'elo	Ikiiki
May	Kā'elo	Welo	Ka'aona	Nana	Ikiiki	Ka'ulua	Kā'elo	Hinaia'ele'ele	Ka'aona	Ikiiki	Ka'ulua	Ka'aona
Jun	Kaulua	Ikiiki	Māhoemua	Welo	Ka'aona	Ka'aona	Kaulua	Māhoemua	Nana	Ka'aona	Nana	Hinaia'ele'ele
Jul	Nana	Ka'aona	Māhoehope	Ikiiki	Hinaia'ele'ele	Ikiiki	Nana	Māhoehope	Māhoemua	Hinaia'ele'ele	Welo	Hilina'ehu
Aug	Ikiiki	Hinaia'ele'ele	Hinaia'ele'ele	Ka'aona	Māhoemua	Nana	Ikiiki	Welehu	Māhoehope	Māhoemua	Ikiiki	Hilinamā
Sept	Ka'aona	Hilinaehu	Welehu	Hinaia'ele'ele	Māhoehope	Hilina	Ka'aona	Hilinehu	Welehu	Māhoehope	Ka'aona	*'Ikuā
Oct	Hilinehu	Hilinamā	Makali'i	Māhoemua	*'Ikuā	Hilinamā	Hilina'ehu	Ka'ulua	Makali'i	*'Ikuā	Hinaia'ele'ele	Welehu
Nov	Hilinamā	'Ikuā	Kā'elo	Māhoehope	Welehu	Hilinehu	Hilinamā	Kā'elo	Hilinamā	Welehu	Hilinehu	Makali'i
Dec	Welehu	Welehu	'Ikuā	*'Ikuā	Makali'i	Welehu	Welehu	Hilinamā	Hilinehu	Makali'i	Hilinamā	Kā'elo
	Kanalu Mā	Ikuwa	Mahoe hope					*The new year started on this month				
		Hilinehu	Nana					** J.A. Kahookaumaha, noted also Ke'ei, Kona calculation				
		Hilinama	Hinaakai'aiki					Kaunamano also collected various calculations included above				
		Kaulua	Hinaakai'anui									
		Ikiiki	Kaona									
		Welo	Welehu									
		Mahoe mua	Hina'i 'ele'ele			Ho'oilo	Kau	Māhoehope	Māhoemua	Makali'i	La'aulu	La'amaké

The following table lists general practices affiliated with the malama.

**Table 3.2:** *Kau Ho‘oilo - Wet Season*

Hawaiian month	Western equivalent	Description
<b>KAU HO‘OILO</b>		
Welehu	November-December	‘Ōhi‘a put forth leaf buds.
Makali‘i	December-January	People squint, plants grow stunted. Trailing plants die down and the Kona winds prevail.
Kā‘elo	January-February	“Soggy,” indicative of the ground at this time. Moths appear and begin eating plants. Fresh leaves develop on young plants.
Kaulua/Ka‘ulua	February-March	“Duality,” a reference to the Spring Equinox. Cold and warm weather vary. Thunder and lightning are predictable, which is perhaps the reason luakini ceremonies are performed at this time. Lehua blossoms are seen on ‘ōhi‘a.
Nana	March-April	Good weather. Forest plants are active, seeds sprouting, and life is busy.
Welo	April-May	Young vines appear, but have not yet spread. Owls sometimes mistake these vines for rats and pounce on them. Lehua bloom profusely. Forest birds are busy.

During the makahiki, maintenance of the forest was pertinent for conservational purposes. Small items, such as kupukupu (ferns), maile,<sup>19</sup> and lama<sup>20</sup> were gathered for Lono ceremonies during the first few months of the Ho‘oilo season (Malo, 1903, p. 54). During the latter part of Ho‘oilo, the general populace gathered wild edible ferns and other starchy plants for consumption.

<sup>19</sup> Maile: An endemic fragrant twining shrub, *Alyxia olivaeformis*.

<sup>20</sup> An endemic ebony hard wood, *Diospyros sandwicensis*.

Farming practices during Ho‘oilo on the Ko‘olau side of all islands usually ceased as the land was too saturated to plant food crops and expect a high yield. Therefore, large agricultural crops were not planted until the latter part of the Ho‘oilo season. Farmers on the Kona sides of all islands usually took advantage of the Ho‘oilo rains and planted food crops. Ho‘oilo was a busy time for those on the Kona side of all the islands. These were the months pertinent to the Makahiki ceremonies.



*Figure 3.6: ‘Ōpelu - Mackerel Fish*

Fishing was also based on the kaulana mahina. Fishing during the beginning part of Ho‘oilo was not plentiful. However, seasonal fishing of akule (Scad) and halalū (young scad) began in the latter part of Ho‘oilo. To end the Makahiki ceremonies the kapu of ‘ōpelu (mackerel) fishing was lifted in the lunar month of Kā‘elo. A kapu was placed on aku (bonito) fishing. This was a symbolic ritual that prepared the community for the stringent season of Kū that started in the season of Kau.

During Kau the season of Kū was in full swing. Acquisition of large forest materials occurred for religious and utilitarian purposes, such as logs for housing structures and canoes. Other flora and fauna gathered in Kau included olonā for nets, seine and rope making, stones for ko‘i making, vegetation for the hula kuahu & other hula adornments, and herbal gathering of medicinal plants. Fishing was historically done along the coastline during this season as well.

Kau was the traditional term for the dry season. Today the term “kau wela” is applied to this season. The lunar months of Kau are Ikiiki, Ka‘aona, Hinaia‘ele‘ele, Hilina‘ehu, Hilinamā, and ‘Ikuā.

The farming practices during the season of Kau on the Ko‘olau side of all islands were a time for planting food crops with the intention of getting a high yield. Therefore, large agricultural crops were planted throughout the entire Kau season. Poepoe states (Poepoe, 1906s):

Ikiiki - O keia ka malama e kanu nui ai na uala o na Kona.

Hinaiaelele - He malama mahiai a he malie.

Paraphrase:

Ikiiki - This is the month when sweet potatoes are copiously planted in the Kona districts. Hinaia‘ele‘ele - A cultivation month and calm.



***Figure 3.7: Kohala Field System - An Ancient Agriculture Field***

Harvesting occurred in the latter part of the Kau season. Food was stored in preparation for the scarce Ho‘oilo months. Farmers on the Kona side of all islands usually harvested their food crops that were planted during the Ho‘oilo season, storing the excess for scarce times as well. Kau was a busy time for both the Ko‘olau and Kona districts of all islands.

**Table 3.3: Kau Wela - Dry Season**

KAU WELA		
Ikiiki	May-June	Ikiiki means, “Humid.” Farmers and fishermen are busy.
Ka‘aona	June-July	Fishermen busy.
Hinaia‘ele‘ele	July-August	Mountain apples ripen and the breast feathers of plovers darken.
Hilina‘ehu	August-September	The collection of pili grass occurred in Hilina‘ehu for thatching the roofs of homes. Māhoemua is a name used on other islands for the month of Hilina‘ehu. When one plants in [the month of] Māhoemua, he will have irregular shaped kalo.
Hilinamā	September-October	This is the last month to collect materials in the forest before the winter rains arrive. Māhoelua/Māhoehope is the names used on other islands for the month of Hilinamā. Same activities are to be expected this lunar month as the previous month.
‘Ikuā	October-November	Dark storms arise, the sea and thunder roars, and birds make a din.

Fishing during the entire Kau season was plentiful. Marine life is extremely active in the ocean. The kapu of ‘ōpelu fishing was placed in the lunar month of Hinaia‘ele‘ele. Again, this conservational practice managed the fish intake and ensured that fish populations were sufficient to feed the communities. Kapu were intermittently placed on fish stocks when the numbers were small. These decisions were based on the needs of the communities and the available

resources. One clear conclusion emerges, each district calculated the kaulana mahina to the seasonalities of one's own environment and to the needs of its community. The kaulana mahina is truly a placed base practice.

### **3.4.1 Malama Pili/Malama 'Ukali - The Thirteenth Malama**

*"Hikikauelia ka malama. Hiki Makalii, kaelo ka hoku o Nana. Ia hiki pawa moku o ke Kai."* Hikikauelia is the month. Makali'i, Kā'elo is the star of Nana emerges. They appear on the ocean at the break of dawn (Poepoe, 1906n).

This snippet of a mele gives a quick description of the method in which the kāhuna kilo would have noted the need for the intercalation of an entire lunar month. The Hawaiian word for star is hōkū. Conversely, Hōkū is also the same term used for the planets, the moon and the sun. Hōkū are given several names based on their location in the sky, time that they are observed, the political season, and functionality for practices such as farming, fishing, wayfinding, or birth omens. Planets orbit the sky on different cycles, which is another reason for the varying names. Again to make a point, Matamua notes that the position of stars in conjunction to the rising and setting of the sun was also observed by Māori. Though for the Māori lunar calendar, the moon was the main celestial indicator that determined the name of the malama (2017, pp. 56-7). For Hawaiians, it appears that the variations of the malama placements in the calendar were determined by various factors including the rising, zenith and setting of both the moon and sun.

An example that is related to Hikikauelia mentioned in the snippet of the mele above is the name Makali'i. Makali'i is one of the names for the planet Saturn (Poepoe, 1909). It is perhaps during its heliacal rising that determines Saturn's function as a guiding star for the malama. Saturn's name becomes Makali'i for the malama. The question may be why isn't the malama named after the star constellation Pleiades?

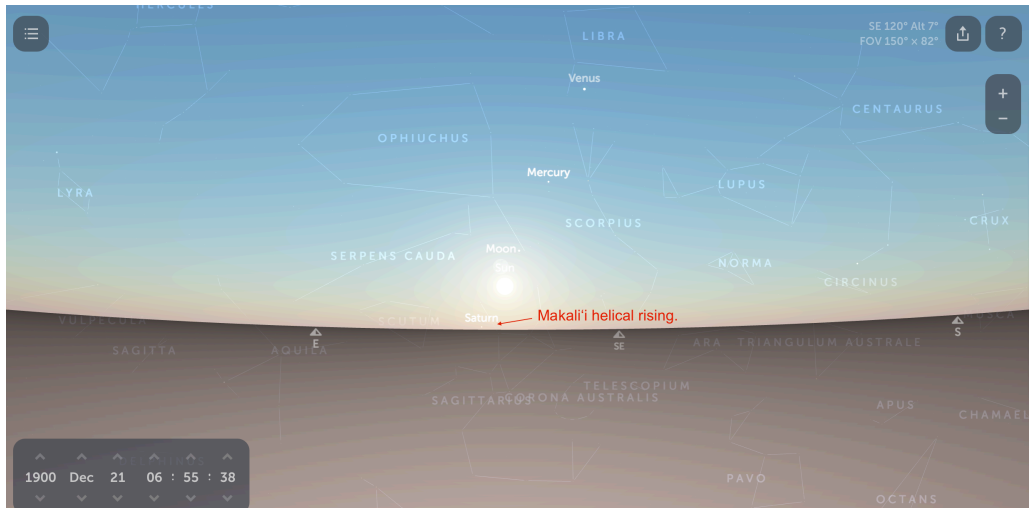


Figure 3.10: Makali'i Heliacal Rising in the East on December 21, 1900.<sup>21</sup>

The mele mentioned on the previous page could also be referencing the constellation Pleiades for other communities who prefer to utilize the constellation as it applies to their geographical location, point of view, and local calendar. In my opinion though, if the intent is to follow the instructions of the mele, then Makali'i cannot be the Pleiades because the constellation sets below the western horizon approximately an hour and a half prior to civil twilight. Also, observation of Hikikauelia, Kā'elo, Nana and the constellation Makali'i simultaneously while above the horizon during civil twilight is just not possible as illustrated in Figure 3.11 below.

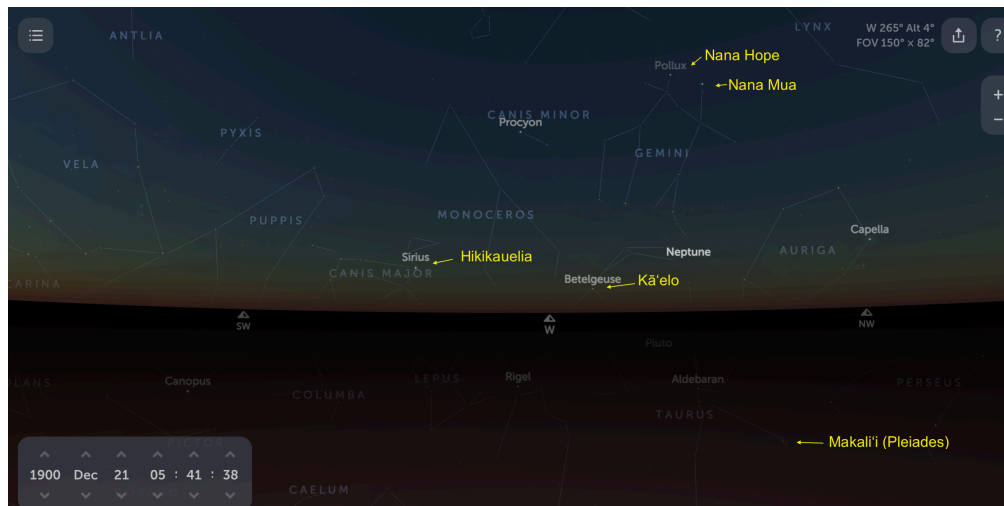


Figure 3.11: Hikikauelia, Nana, Castor and Pollux Setting in the West at Civil Twilight in December 21, 1900.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Website: staratlas.com, Neave Interactive accessed on February 2, 2019.

Again, the three lines in the mele illustrates that Hikikauelia is selected to become the thirteenth lunar month. Hikikauelia, Sirius, is partnered with Kā'elo in the Kumulipo meaning that they share the skies at the same time. Johnson and Mahelona have noted that Kā'elo is Betelgeuse (1975, p. 41). However, in Tahiti and Aotearoa Ta'ero/Takero is noted as Mercury (Johnson and Mahelona, 1975, p. 8). Hikikauelia and Kā'elo are stars that appear near the horizon in Hawai'i's early morning skies in December 21, 1900. The mele states Makali'i, as Saturn, appears with Kā'elo, Mercury, during the civil twilight hours alongside Nana. Johnson and Mahelona list Nana Mua as Castor and Nana Hope as Pollux (1975, p. 15). Checking the online app, Star Atlas map, I was only able to go as far back as 1900. The star map did indeed show the listed hōkū on the horizon at daybreak. Hikikauelia, Kā'elo, Nana Mua, and Nana Hope were near the western horizon at civil twilight on December 21st. Makali'i was visible above the eastern horizon with the sun and moon at daybreak a little over an hour later.

Hikikauelia becomes the guiding star for the thirteenth malama. Kā'elo will then become the guiding star of the malama Nana. In other words, the following guiding stars are pushed back and become the guiding stars for the subsequent malama. Clearly, the kahunā kilo would have observed which stars or planets could be inserted into the malama calculations to assure that the malama flowed concurrently with the monthly seasonal expectations.

Fornander writes that the Hawaiian lunar calendar contained twelve to thirteenth lunar months but did not expound upon this comment (1919, p. 330). Fornander goes on to explain that Hawaiians counted twelve months annually each containing 30 phases, but added five [extra] days at the end of the malama called Welehu (1919, p. 330). My suspicion is that this was a compromising attempt to match the Gregorian calendar, which has 365.25 days a year to the kaulana mahina, which theoretically has 360-pō mahina in a year. Different Māori tribes also inserted as many as eleven days annually into their maramataka, lunar calendar (Matamua, 2017, p. 40). Dibble also stated that the lunar year would be eleven days shorter than the sidereal year and that the Hawaiians corrected their reckoning by the stars (1843, p.26). It is very likely that during pre-contact times the kahunā kilo would keep track of time accurately by observing the pertinent

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<sup>22</sup> Website: [staratlas.com](http://staratlas.com), Neave Interactive accessed on February 2, 2019.

star cycles and correlating seasons. Kāhuna kilo noted when the kaulana mahina was either ahead or behind its conventional cycle, they would then choose a noted star that could become the malama (Poepoe, 1906p-q). The calendar adjustments were then made accordingly. Alexander also explains (as cited in Malo, 1898, p. 60):

The fact that they [Hawaiians] did intercalate a month about every third year is well established, but we are still in the dark as to what rule was followed by their kilo hoku and priests, and what name was given to the intercalary month.

Dibble explained that the days in a year varied between twelve to thirteen lunar months (Alexander qtd. in Malo, 1898, p. 60). Tahitians have names for thirteen lunar months but Alexander does not expound upon this statement (Alexander qtd. in Malo, 1898, p.36). Matamua also states that some Māori tribes also incorporated a thirteenth lunar month into the maramataka when it was necessary (2017, p. 40). Namakaokeahi, the kahuna kilokilo for Queen Lili‘uokalani explains that the Hawaiian year had a total of fourteen months (Namakaokahai, 1901). The Hale Nauā, a Hawaiian secret society of masons and kāhuna also wrote about calculating time by the stars and the moon, noted that a Hawaiian year contained fourteen malama annually.<sup>23</sup>

In my opinion, the most detailed information regarding the kaulana mahina that I have found comes from Joseph Moku‘ōhai Poepoe’s publications starting in October 15 to November 19, 1906 in the Hawaiian language newspaper Ka Na‘i Aupuni. As mentioned previously, Poepoe amalgamates the information he found in old texts that were published in both Hawaiian and English by Malo, Emerson, Pogue, Fornander, Alexander, Kupahu and other various handwritten documents that were once housed in the Lahainaluna Seminary library. These manuscripts and articles were written into his publications. Poepoe first begins his analysis of celestial events found in wā ‘umikūmāhā, which is the 14th edict of the Kumulipo (Poepoe, 1906e). This is a fairly large section of the Kumulipo that

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<sup>23</sup> Hale Nauā. (n.d). A Number of Stars the Ancient Hawaiians Used in their Astrology and Astronomy. Documents collected in the 1880s. Holograph in the Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

talks about stars and the traditions that originated from star knowledge. Following the analysis of the stars, Poepoe begins describing the complicated methodology of keeping time through solar, celestial and lunar cycles, devoting seven publications to talking about the malama and the different calculations that were kept in the different districts throughout the archipelago. Four of those publications are dedicated to the intercalary method of inserting an additional malama into the customary kaulana mahina sequence. Poepoe states (Poepoe, 1906n):

Ma ka ho‘onohonoho ho‘i a kekahi poe kahiko me na malama o loko o ka makahiki; he mau malama kekahi i kapa ia he mau "pili" a i ole he mau "‘ukali" hoi.

Paraphrase:

For intercalation with lunar months done within a year by some old people; there are also lunar months called "pili" or "‘ukali."

The additional months are called *Malama Pili* a *‘Ukali*. The malama pili a ‘ukali are named after stars that are in the sky around the same time as the stars that guide the "malama maoli," the customary malama. The term pili means together or closely affiliated and are in the *poai helu malama*, circulating around the counted malama (Poepoe, 1906n-r).



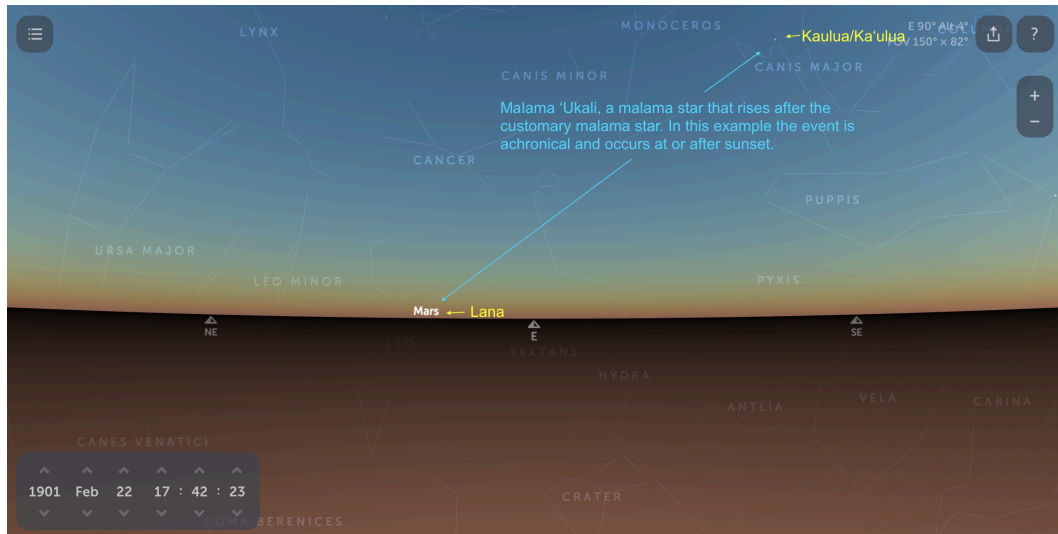
Figure 3.12: Illustration of guiding stars that become malama pili.<sup>24</sup>

The term ‘ukali means to follow after. I hahaiia e kekahi mau malama maoli, these ‘ukali stars follow after the customary malama. A possible interpretation of guiding stars that become malama ‘ukali is that they follow an hour or two after the guiding star affiliated with the customary malama as illustrated in Figure 3.13. Another possible interpretation is that the guiding star ruling over the customary malama is about to set on the western horizon and the guiding star for the malama ‘ukali rises in the east at the same time. Another possible interpretation is that communities prefer the term malama pili over malama ‘ukali. Interesting to note here is that one of the names for Mercury is ‘Ukaliai‘i, "follows chief."

My understanding of the terminology pili a ‘ukali is that sometimes these stars can be rising in tandem with the customary malama stars, while other times those same stars might be following after the customary malama. The terms pili a ‘ukali lead me to believe that they are identifying planets that progress along the elliptical plane on their own cycles that differ from the stars. In Hawaiian terminology, planets are also called hōkū (stars). Logically, the sequence of the planets' orbit around the sun changes, which could be a reason why these stars/planets are sometimes pili, near the customary stars or are sometimes, ‘ukali following after the customary stars. The planets then take the place of a malama

<sup>24</sup> Website: staratlas.com, Neave Interactive accessed on February 2, 2019.

maoli in the kaulana mahina when realignments and adjustments need to occur. There are a total of fourteen malama pili a ‘ukali.



*Figure 3.13: Illustration of Malama ‘Ukali<sup>25</sup>*

Poepoe reiterates that the kāhuna kilo were trained to observe the stars and to make the necessary adjustments when a realignment is needed in the calendar (Poepoe, 1906h-p). However, in modern times the method in which time keepers knew that a malama pili a ‘ukali would be interpolated into a year would happen once two full malama, that is two full lunar months, sat uniformly within two full Gregorian months (Poepoe, 1906p-q). It has become my methodology for calculating the kaulana mahina a year or two in advance. Once this occurrence has been identified, a malama pili a ‘ukali will be inserted into the kaulana mahina sometime that year or the following year after. It is important to identify when two malama are going to be synchronizing together within two Gregorian months or your kaulana mahina calculations will run ahead of it.

The question then is which of the fourteen-malama pili a ‘ukali get intercalated into the year? The next figure is a picture of the malama pili a ‘ukali article that Poepoe published. The following figure thereafter is modeled after Poepoe’s explanation of malama maoli, malama pili a ‘ukali and malama kelekolia, Gregorian months. The yellow column lists the malama maoli, the customary lunar months, which are numbered 1-12. The white column lists the

<sup>25</sup> Website: staratlas.com, Neave Interactive accessed on February 2, 2019.

malama pili a 'ukali that are affiliated or follow after their partnered malama maoli. The green column lists the correlating Gregorian months. The graph exhibits when and which thirteenth malama pili a 'ukali are inserted. For example, if by chance all thirty pō mahina of Welehu and Ka'aona sit uniformly in the Gregorian months of November and December a thirteenth malama is inserted in the following month. If we follow the chart, the malama pili a 'ukali that could be inserted is either Hikikauelia or Maliu. Poepoe's explanation of how to intercalate a malama pili a 'ukali is a modern method of calculating the kaulana mahina by using the Gregorian calendar. My deduction is that the kāhuna kilo would have used the movement and cycles of the stars, moon, and sun to intercalate a malama pili a 'ukali into the kaulana mahina.

I would like to add two notes about Poepoe's published information regarding the 13th lunar month practice. Firstly, his articles are the only detailed source that I have found describing the intercalary method. He describes the malama pili a 'ukali in two separate publications, once in the newspaper Ka Na'i Aupuni in 1906 and again in the newspaper Ka Home Rula in 1909. The first description is found in Poepoe's analysis of the kaulana mahina and keeping time.

The second description can be found in Poepoe's version of Hi'iakaikapoliopole's revivification ceremony of Pele's lover, Lohi'au. Hi'iaka is Pele's youngest sister sent by Pele to retrieve Lohi'au. Somehow Hi'iaka, the heiau Hālauaola on Kaua'i, and Lohi'au's revival back to life is connected to the malama pili a 'ukali. Hi'iaka is the akua of restoration. Perhaps Poepoe's insertion of the malama pili a 'ukali into this section of Hi'iaka's story could be a reference to the necessity of performing restoration ceremonies at the right time and in the right space. In the case of the story, Lohi'au is the one who is being restored to life. In the case of keeping the kaulana mahina, the malama pili a 'ukali restores the stability of keeping seasonal time with the environmental expectations.

Poepoe does not note whether the intercalation of a 13th malama was a common practice amongst all kāhuna kilo that were the kaulana mahina keepers. He does not note whether there were intercalation variants either. He just makes a point to note the method. Secondly and on a personal level, I have been using the chart provided by Poepoe to learn how to identify the stars that are the malama maoli and the stars that are the malama pili or 'ukali. It has taken me 20 years to understand the process. Attending several astronomy classes was beneficial for

my own edification as well. Lots of time was spent staring up into the sky in the twilight hours at sunrise and sunset to understand how the stars, planets, sun and moon move in the sky. I started learning how to calculate the kaulana mahina in the early 90s. But it wasn't until receiving a copy of Poepoe's publications that I learned how to calculate the kaulana mahina accurately. For my personal kaulana mahina calculations, I can confirm and support that Poepoe's intercalary method of intercalating the malama pili a 'ukali works.

MOKUNA V.

NO KA MAHELE O NA WA.

I mea e hiki ai i ko makou poe beluhelu ke hoo-  
maopopo i keia kaulana hoonohonoho mahina a mala-  
ma hoi, eia ke hoopaka pau pono ia aku nei ma keia  
na inoa o na malama aote ko lakou hoo-kailike ana e  
liae me ia malalo iho:

	<i>Na Malama Maoli</i>	<i>Na Malama Pili</i>	<i>Helu Roma</i>
1	Kaelo	Maha	Ian—Feb.
2	Kaula	Laha	Feb.—Mar.
3	Nana		Mar.—Apr.
4	Welo		Apr.—Mei
5	Ibiiti		Mei—Iune
6	Kaona		Iune—Iulai
7	Hinaielele	Hikikaulono Punakau Lanala Hikikaulonomeha	Iulai—Angate
8	Mahoe-mua		Ang.—Sert.
9	Mahoe-hope		Sept.—Oct.
10	Ikuwa	Hokuola Kaawela Kapawa Hokuaea Poloahilani	Oct.—Nov.
11	Welehu	Uliali Helemele	Nov.—Dec.
12	Makalii	Hikikaulea	Dec.—Ian.

*Figure 3.14: Poepoe's Original Article of the Malama Pili a 'Ukali Published in Ka Na 'i Aupuni, October 25, 1906*

Interpretation of Poepoe’s publication and chart for the malama pili a ‘ukali chart states (1906p):

Chapter Five

Regarding the Divisions of Time.

So that our readers can understand this moon calculation process and also months, here they are in their entirety, the names of the months and their equal counterparts listed below:

*Table 3.3: Illustrating The Different Malama Pili a ‘Ukali*

	Customary Malama	Malama Pili a ‘Ukali	Gregorian Months
1	Kā’elo	Maliu	Jan-Feb
2	Kaulua/Ka’ulua	Lana	Feb-Mar
3	Nana		Mar-Apr
4	Welo		Apr-May
5	Ikiiki		May-Jun
6	Ka’aona		Jun-Jul
7	Hinaia’ele’ele	Hikikaulono (Sirius)	Jun-Jul
		Puanakau (Procyon)	Jul-Aug
		Le’ale’a (Acturus)	Jul-Aug
		Hikikaulonomeha (Sirius)	
8	Māhoemua		Aug-Sept
9	Māhoehope		Sept-Oct
		Hōkū’ula (Mars, Aldebaran or Lehuakona)	Sept-Oct
		Ka’āwela (Venus or Jupiter)	Sept-Oct
10	‘Ikuā	Kapawa	Oct-Nov
		Hōkūuea	Oct-Nov
		Poloahilani	Oct-Nov
11	Welehu	Uliuli	Nov-Dec
		Melemele	Nov-Dec
12	Makali’i	Hikikauelia	Dec-Jan

**Table 3.4: Identified Information on the Malama Pili a ‘Ukali**

	Malama Pili a ‘Ukali	Identified information
1	Mali‘u	This is a star in the Kumulipo partnered with Kaulua. <i>Lewa Maliu, lewa Kaulua.</i>
2	Lana	The name may have been shortened from Lanakamalama. <i>Lewa Lanakamalama; lewa Nana.</i>
3	Hikikaulono	Sirius <i>Lewa Kapawa; lewa Hikikauolono.</i>
4	Puanakau	Rigel. Johnson & Mahelona list it as a tutelary star for west Maui (1975, p. 20). <i>Lewa Puanakau; lewa Le‘ale‘a.</i>
5	Le‘ale‘a	Le‘ale‘a is partnered with Puanakau in the Kumulipo.
6	Hikikaulonomeha	Noted as Sirius (Makemson, 1941, pp. 99-100).
7	Hōkū‘ula	There are several stars and planets called Hōkū‘ula. Antares, Betelgeuse, Mercury, Mars, Aldebaran and others. <i>Lewa Hoku‘ula; lewa Poloahilani</i>
8	Ka‘āwela	Noted as Venus and Jupiter. <i>Lewa Ka‘āwela; lewa Hanakalauai</i>
9	Kapawa	Partnered with Hikikauolono in the Kumulipo. <i>Lewa Kapawa; lewa Hikikauolono.</i>
10	Hōkūuea	Also spelled Oea. Partnered with Kiki‘ula in the Kumulipo. <i>Lewa Kiki‘ula; lewa Kaho‘oea</i> (Kuhelani, 1856).
11	Poloahilani	Poepoe says this star is also called Powehilani and is a kahuna star (1906j). Hale Nauā says that it is a tutelary star for O‘ahu and the guiding birth star for Kakuhihewa (Hale Nauā, 1880). <i>Lewa Hoku‘ula; lewa Poloahilani.</i>
12	Uliuli	Twin star of Melemele noted to be in the belt of Orion. <i>Lewa Uliuli; lewa Melemele.</i>
13	Melemele	Twin star of Uliuli noted to be in the belt of Orion. <i>Lewa Uliuli; lewa Melemele.</i>
14	Hikianelia	Hikianalia is another spelling variant. Johnson & Mahelona say this star is seen in April to September. Spica (Johnson & Mahelona, 1975. p. 3)

The following is a portion of the Wā 14 of the Kumulipo.

- 1878. Lewa Mali'u, lewa Kaulua
- 1879. Lewa Lanakamalama, lewa Nana
- 1880. Lewa Welo, lewa Ikiiki
- 1881. Lewa Ka'aona, lewa Hinaia'ele'ele
- 1882. Lewa Puanakau, lewa Le'ale'a
- 1883. Lewa Hikikauelia, lewa Ka'elo
- 1884. Lewa Kapawa, lewa Hikikaulonomeha
- 1885. Lewa Hoku'ula, lewa Poloahilani
- 1886. Lewa Ka'awela, lewa Hanakalanai
- 1887. Lewa Uliuli, lewa Melemele
- 1888. Lewa Makali'i, lewa Na-huihui (Beckwith, 1972, pp. 235-6).

Remarkably, all of the stars that are listed in a portion of the star chant in wā 'umikūmāhā of the Kumulipo are nearly identical to those noted in *Table 3.3: Identified Information on the Malama Pili a 'Ukali*. Various Hawaiian language resources were utilized to identify the malama pili a 'ukali as stars. One of the unintentional discoveries made while researching the various language resources was that the same sequence listed by Poepoe for utilizing the malama pili a 'ukali stars to recalibrate the kaulana mahina is in fact imbedded into the lines of the Kumulipo. At least one of the mysteries as to why the stars are repeated twice in the wā 'umikūmāhā may have been revealed. These are the noted stars utilized to keep track of time. In practice, the malama pili a 'ukali is interpolated into a lunar year between every three to five years and is coordinated by the stars that are observed in the sky at or near sunrise or sunset. The insertion of a malama pili a 'ukali into a lunar year assures that the malama cycle will continue to flow consistently with the expected seasonal and environmental activities.

### **3.4.2 Intercalation of Pō Mahina**

In the footnote section of chapter 12 in Malo's translated text, both Emerson and Alexander included 4 pages of different malama calculations and practices they had collected. Fornander, Dibble, Alexander, Emerson and Handy and Handy all cite different sources of experts for the intercalation of additional days annually. These methods include explanations of intercalating four to eleven additional days. It is important to note that in the Malo text, Emerson and Alexander describe several malama calculations they had collected in which scholars had described the Hawaiian divisions of the year. These all mentioned the practice of inserting a whole malama into the year by Hawaiians for the

purpose of recalibrating the kaulana mahina occasionally, although none knew or none wanted to share the method in which it had occurred.

Nawahineelua was a kahuna from Kīpahulu, Maui who had been highly sought after and consulted with for her knowledge in traditional time keeping. Nawahineelua described the practice of adding an additional four to five days to the year annually. These days were set aside for the Makahiki ceremonies and were not assigned to any malama within the kaulana mahina. Alexander states that such months would not be lunar months, and the days would not correspond to the phases of the moon (Alexander qtd. in Malo, 1951:36). Alexander dismisses this practice arguing that Nawahineelua's practice was flawed, stating that this practice would wholly disarrange their monthly calendar (Alexander qtd. in Malo, 1951:36). However, it is my opinion that Alexander's argument is debatable.

Firstly, Matamua explains that Māori have a similar practice of adding additional days to the year which were considered free days designated for the Matariki rituals by the tohunga of the tribe. Secondly, several of the cited Hawaiian sources explained that the calendar was regulated by the star constellation Makali'i meaning, that the beginning of the year was based on the right celestial activities occurring in conjunction with one another, the setting of the sun, the rising of Pleiades, and the appearance of the new moon. It is plausible that adjustments were made based on the keen observation of the kāhuna kilo, allowing extra days to be added when timely and suitable to the rulership, religion or seasonal expectations.

Poepoe does not mention the practice of adding days into the annual cycle. He maintains that every lunar month consistently had thirty-pō mahina. Poepoe noted (Poepoe, 1906j):

He kanakolu paa ka nui o na la o loko o ka mahina hookahi ma ka  
helu o ko Hawaii nei poe, aole oi aku, aole emi mai elike la me ka  
helu a ka haole.

Paraphrase:

There are a total of thirty consistent days within a single month in the calculation of Hawai'i's people, not more, not less like the foreign calculation.

Astronomically speaking, the moon is constantly orbiting the earth and the moon phases are constantly changing. When Poepoe states that the 30 days are consistent, I believe he means that the moon cycles through all thirty phases, but does not necessarily mean that each phase correlates to a 24-hour period. Poepoe also describes the calculation practice called lele where by a moon phase was dropped or cut short. A lele happens when there is a marked difference of a moon phase changing from one shape that correlates to a particular pō mahina into the next correlating shape of the following pō mahina. If the switch happens within a 24-hour period and is significant enough that it is notable, the event is called lele meaning to skip or jump over. Basically, a lele is when two moon phases occur within a 24-hour period. This noted difference happens roughly six times annually and is recorded on western moon calculators as the time when the moon does not reach the meridian. Poepoe points to pō Muku as the phase where the adjustments are made (Poepoe, 1906o). Poepoe explains (Poepoe, 1906o):

A o keia lele ana o ka mahina mai Maui mai a nele o Muku,  
kapaia ai ke kau ana o ka mahina o Hilo.... he Hilo aihue.

Paraphrase:

This skipping over the moon phase from Maui and dropping of Muku, at the appearance of the phase Hilo is called... A thieving Hilo.

Muku means to cut or shorten and kulu means to drop. Muku and Kulu are the two pō chosen to adjust the malama to follow the moon's lunation. For folks who are learning the practice of calculating the kaulana mahina, noting the six-lele phases is important to assure that the malama are calculated in synchronization with the guiding stars and with the seasonal expectations. To conclude, 360-pō mahina occur within a lunar year, although there are six lele that happen annually. That means that there are actually 354 days in a lunar year.

It takes years of repeated observation from a particular point of view to be able to understand the indicators that signal when to make adjustments to the kaulana mahina. The practice of intercalating pō or malama illustrates how greatly connected and aware the kāhuna kilo of the past were with the celestial cycles of the planets and stars.

### 3.5 Nā Kau - Seasonal Designations

As mentioned previously, the year was divided into two kau. Six of the malama are divided in Kau ho‘oilo and six malama are divided in kau wela (Poepoe, 1906j; Malo, 1898; Dibble, 1909; Pogue, 1858). The malama are split into the two kau based on the malama that fall into the dry season and the malama that fall into the wet season. There are also other kau divisions that designate different activities.

**Table 3.06:** *Nā Kau - Seasonal Divisions of the Year* (Tsuha, 2007, p. 36)

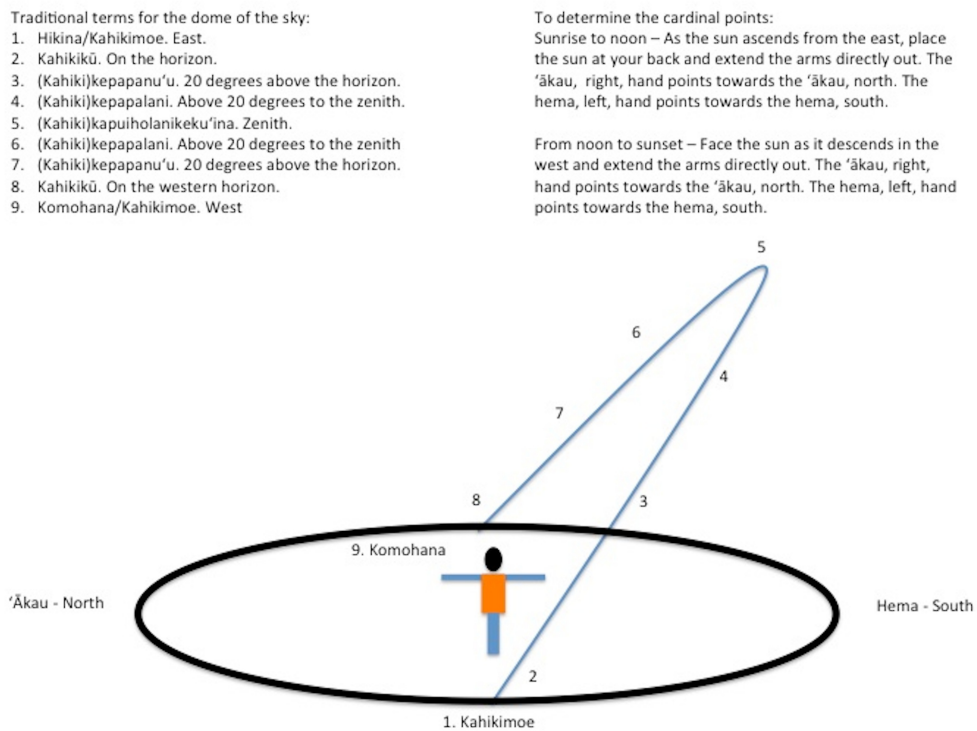
The Various Kau (Seasons) of the makahiki						
Scholars				Total Kau	Total Malama	
Malo/Poepoe	Kau (Wela) - 6 Malama		Ho‘oilo - 6 Malama		2	12
Emerson	Māhoemua (6)		Māhoehope -(6)		2	12
S.M. Kamakau	Makali‘i (6)		Ho‘oilo (6)		3	12
W.D. Alexander	Makali‘i (4)	Kau (4)	Ho‘oilo (4)		3	12
Kepelino	La‘aulu (3)	Kau (3)	La‘amake (3)	Ho‘oilo (3)	4	12

Emerson’s footnotes document some of the differences. Māhoemua is the kau when farming and fishing are extremely active. Māhoehope is the kau when the atmosphere, earth and ocean are extremely active (Emerson as cited in Malo, 1898, p. 57). S.M. Kamakau reports that the year is divided into Makali‘i, which are the summer months referring to the active budding and fruiting that occurs during the spring and summer time. Ho‘oilo refers to the season when it is too wet and rainy to be planting or fishing. Alexander’s informed by a woman in Kīpahulu, Maui that there are three seasons (Alexander as cited in Malo, 1951, p. 35). Each season contains 4 months. The first season is Makali‘i (‘Ikuā, Makali‘i Welehu and Kā‘elo), the second season is Kau (Ka‘uluā, Nana, Welo and Ikiiki) and the third season is Ho‘oilo (Ka‘aona, Hinaia‘ele‘ele, Hilinehu and Hilinamā). These seasons are designated by ceremonial times (Kepelino, 1932, p. 83). Makali‘i is the Makahiki season dedicated to the gods Lono and Kanaloa. Kau is the ‘Aha Luakini season dedicated to the gods Kū and Kāne. Ho‘oilo is the Kāmauli ‘ai & Kāmauli i‘a ceremony dedicated to family or personal gods. The final division is separated into four seasons each containing three malama. These seasons are categorized by the activities of forests and cultivated plants. The first season is lā‘aulu/lā‘au ulu when the trees and plants are actively growing. The

second season is Kau, which are the hot months. The third season is lā‘amake/lā‘au make when there is a definite die back of foliage. The fourth and final season is Ho‘oilo, which are the wet months.

### 3.6 O ka Ne‘epapa ‘Ana o ka Lā - The Marching of the Sun

The last celestial movement that the kahunas kept track of to determine time was the movement of the sun. The sun’s daily movement determines diurnal time (Malo, 1951, p. 155). The solar strata are called Kahiki that means to arrive. As the sun rises and sets it *hiki aku*, arrives, at the points that designate time.

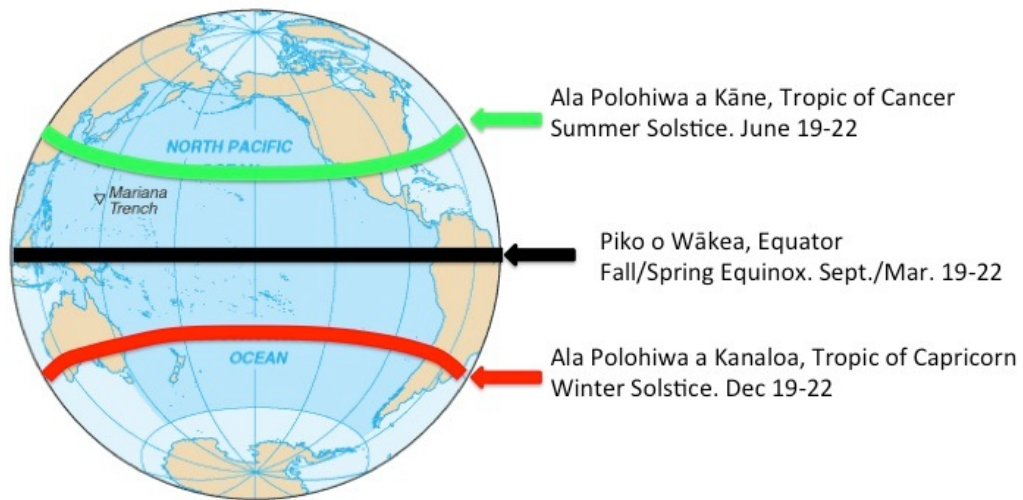


**Figure 3.8:** *Nā Kahiki - Strata of The Sky’s Dome Based On The Sun’s Location*

Kahikimoe starts on the eastern horizon. When the sun rises above the horizon it is called Kahikikū. When the sun reaches the refraction zone it is called Kahikikepapanu‘u. When the sun rises above the refraction zone it is called Kahikikepapalani. When the sun reaches its zenith, that particular stratum is called Kahikikapuiholanikeku‘ina. Another term for zenith is ho‘oku‘i. There are other terms for zenith both of which place the kanaka as part of the measuring tool to determine time. The terms lolopua or kau ka lā i ka lolo are measured by the sun’s arrival at the meridian, directly over one’s lolo (brain) (Johnson, 1981, p.

82). Lolopua refers to the sun "emerging onto the brain." Kau ka lā i ka lolo refers to the "sun's appearance over the brain." Intriguingly, these two latter terms are often used to determine the commencement time of important rituals.

As the sun starts to incline towards the west it is called Kahikikepapalani. As it sets into the refraction zone it is called Kahikikepapanu'u. As the sun moves closer to the western horizon it is called Kahikikū. When the sun sits on the horizon and begins setting below the horizon it is called Kahikimoe. The kahiki strata determine diurnal time.



**Figure 3.9:** *Solstices and Equinoxes In The Northern Hemisphere*

The sun also designates annual time through its *ne'epapa* or trek along the horizon. S.M. Kamakau explains in an article he published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* that the northern hemisphere of the earth is called *Keala'ula a Kāne* and the southern hemisphere of the earth is called *Ke alanui mā'awe'ula a Kanaloa* (1865a). He then continues to explain that the sun will move along the horizon to the Tropic of Cancer, which is called, *Ala Polohiwa a Kāne* and then move back south along the horizon towards the Tropic of Capricorn called, *Ala Polohiwa a Kanaloa*. The mid point where the equator and celestial equator are located has two names. The celestial equator is called *Ke ala 'ula a ke Ku'uku'u* and the earth's equator is called *ke ala i ka Piko o Wākea*. The belt of Orion also measures the midpoint (1865a). It takes the sun three months to move along the horizon from the equator towards the northern boundary at the *Ala Polohiwa a Kāne*. Then, it takes the sun another three months to return, moving south towards the

Piko o Wākea. From the Piko, the sun continues south for another three months along the horizon to the southern boundary at the Ala Polohiwa a Kanaloa. Then, it takes the sun another three months to trek back north returning to the Piko o Wākea. It total, the sun's trek takes place within a twelve-month period. The Edith Kanaka'ole Foundation's study of heiau has determined that the boundaries of many heiau walls are measured utilizing the Ala Polohiwa and the Piko o Wākea (Kanahele et al, 2009, p.8). The kāhuna utilized these sun markers to keep solar time. Therefore, lunar, celestial and solar time keeping determine the makahiki.

### **3.7 Kaulana Mahina and Makahiki**

Personally, I have come to realize how important the kaulana mahina was for my ancestors. The kāhuna applied the kaulana mahina to guide and facilitate political activities and decisions, rituals and ceremonies, conservation and resource management, healing, farming, fishing and gathering activities. The kaulana mahina ubiquitously regulated every aspect of living in a Hawaiian's life.

For the ali'i and kāhuna who were concerned with governance and gods, the kaulana mahina synchronized the religious seasons for political abundance. For the maka'āinana (commoners), the kaulana mahina managed the daily activities of fishing, farming and gathering to be able to provide the needs of the aristocratic wellbeing. The introduction of the Gregorian calendar was perhaps another way to distance Hawaiians from practices that were religiously inclined, and may be the reason that fishing and farming practices through the kaulana mahina managed to continue well into the current times. Regaining and reinstating time through the kaulana mahina today will reawaken spiritual and religious practices that have been set aside and forgotten. The kaulana mahina regulated the collective abundance of an ahupua'a, which was then assessed during the Makahiki ceremonies. The kaulana mahina's main function was to calculate and set the makahiki annually so that the rest of the expected activities and codes of conduct could exist. The Makahiki then set the tone for the rest of the year based on the prognostications that occurred during the recalibration of the kaulana mahina. Again as the Kumulipo states, at the setting of the sun, while the moon's light illuminates, in the season when Makali'i is seen at night specifically states when the turnover (hulihia) of the old year into a new year. The first few

lines in the Kumulipo precisely instruct the timekeeper when to end one au, *time* and begin the next au, *time*. As Matamua states, trying to use the Gregorian calendar system to determine the rising and the setting of Matariki is fundamentally flawed (2017, p. 40). The Makahiki ceremonies are inherently connected to the kaulana mahina. The kaulana mahina is recalculated at every Makahiki. The makahiki for the new-year is set through the observations made by the kāhuna kilo during the Makahiki ceremonies. Predictions were made based on the observations, which would then set the kaulana mahina every year. The harvests, political decisions and religious observances were arranged for the new makahiki based upon the celestial indicators that were apparent on the first Makahiki ceremonies. Malo, Kepelino, ‘Ī‘Ī, K. Kamakau, S.M. Kamakau and Poepoe all wrote chapters about the kaulana mahina which were then subsequently followed by a chapter about the ‘aha Makahiki. This suggests to me that the beginning part of the ‘aha Makahiki is to calibrate the kaulana mahina. The kaulana mahina is the framework that methodically kept the Hawaiian population vibrant and healthy physically, mentally, and spiritually.

In my mind, the kaulana mahina is one method to empower Hawaiians today by taking back and re-establishing our methods of keeping time, our approach to religious ceremonies, our systemic structure of politics, and our techniques for conservation and resource management. This traditional celestial system of time keeping continues to be valuable for the modern Hawaiian practitioner.

In the next chapter, the various Makahiki ceremonies will be discussed to demonstrate the importance of reading the signs seen in the environment during the season of Lono. The signs observed shaped the manner in which an ali‘i governed over his/her ‘āina, a farmer cultivated the ‘āina, an artisan harvested resources, a fishermen fished, or a healer healed.

## Chapter 4

### ‘Aha Makahiki

*Kūkulu ka ipu ‘eka‘eka o Lono. Hō mai ka ipu lau makani o Lono.  
The earthen gourd of Lono is secured. Grant the wind gourd of Lono.  
~ Nālani Kanaka‘ole, 1982*

#### 4.1 Introduction

Nālani Kanaka‘ole and her mother Edith Kanaka‘ole helped the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana to reinstate the Makahiki on the island of Kaho‘olawe in the 1980s. During that time, the island had been used as a military target range since the 1941.<sup>26</sup> Part of the purpose of reinstating the Makahiki to the island was to call upon Lono to bring the rains to Kaho‘olawe and to heal the land from all the damaged caused by the bombing and other abuse. This notion of calling Lono to heal the land through the ancient practice of the Makahiki was a modern concept that was being applied directly to the island of Kaho‘olawe to benefit the island’s well being. The lines in the mele composed by Nālani Kanaka‘ole asks that the earth becomes secured instead of being washed away by erosion and that Lono bring the light winds to Kaho‘olawe, which will also bring sheltering cloud masses to cool the earth.

In this chapter the traditional Makahiki ceremonies will be examined as well as the evolution of political changes that were applied to suit the needs of the ali‘i nui and eventually the evolution of the Makahiki for the modern Hawaiian.

#### 4.2 ‘Aha Makahiki

G. Kanahale states, “for the Hawaiians of old, the makahiki was a time of instructive ritual, marking the year’s most important season” (1986, p. 103). Handy and Handy state that the annual Makahiki festival was a time to celebrate the arrival of the rainy season (1972, p. 329). Valeri explains that the Makahiki was a New Year’s festival that recognized “the return of the Pleiades, the return

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<sup>26</sup> Kaho‘olawe Island Reserve Commission. Retrieved August 21, 2018, <http://kahoolawe.hawaii.gov/history.shtml>.

of the god Lono, the return of the southwest winds, and the renewing of nature that marks the beginning of the New Year” (1985, p. 203). If you were to ask a group of people who were raised in Hawai‘i to state the first thing that pops in their minds when they hear the word Makahiki, generally the reply would be, "games."

My first introduction to the Makahiki happened when I was ten years old while enrolled in a summer program called *Explorations*, sponsored by the Kamehameha Schools.<sup>27</sup> This was a program exclusively for children of Hawaiian ancestry to learn about being Hawaiian through songs, arts, crafts and to potentially recruit students to apply into their educational institution. While attending the program we learned to play Makahiki games such as iheihe (spear throwing), pāuma (wrestling), moa pāhe‘e (javelin sliding), kōnane (checkers) and ‘ulumaika (stone rolling). We were not given too much information about the Makahiki beyond the fact that these were games that were played by Hawaiians. For my ten-year old mind the message that came across to me was that Hawaiians loved to engage in playtime and that was it. For me, Makahiki games equated to play time for Hawaiians.

Crowd sourcing my friends who are mostly Hawaiian educators, activists and cultural practitioners with the same question on a social media site produced a wide gamut of responses from, "the Makahiki is a time to honor Lono and his rainy season," to "Makahiki is a time for measuring political health and wealth of your communities," and "Makahiki is a time to play games because work is not easily completed during the rainy season and these games honed in the skills of the warriors." There were also a handful of practitioners who responded with greater details about the lunar phases, rituals and ceremonies they personally practice today in the twenty first century. These varied answers made me wonder where do our ideas about the Makahiki come from and why are they so varied?

An important factor about the complex Makahiki rituals that we know today has been shaped by the reporting of Malo, ‘Ī‘ī, Kelou Kamakau, La‘anui and S.M. Kamakau. The first four writers originated from the Kona District of

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<sup>27</sup> Kamehameha Schools was created by Bernice Pauahi Bishop as a preparatory boarding school for Native Hawaiians who provide various educational opportunities through programs to support higher learning.

Hawai‘i Island and all four had resided in the households of the Kamehameha dynasty. This discussion will be elaborated in 4.7. *Kamehameha’s Influence*. S.M. Kamakau’s experiences of the Makahiki originate from O‘ahu and are likely to have come from the perspective of one who was not privy to the ceremonies on the luakini heiau. S.M. Kamakau reveals that the Makahiki was celebrated differently on each island and that the months of the year were changed to a Hawai‘i Island calculation. In fact, his narration is the only writing that has negative associations with the festivities, specifically with the Makahiki tax collection procedures (Kamakau, 1870). Fornander has a section regarding the Makahiki. His informant, Kelou Kamakau (K. Kamakau), speaks about the Makahiki as a kahuna or an ali‘i who had participated in all the rituals. The information K. Kamakau published seems to be from eye witnessed accounts while engaging in the ceremonies. He also provides mele and pule through the descriptions of the sequence of the Makahiki events and the games dedicated to Lono.<sup>28</sup> The Makahiki was essentially the one ceremonial time that everyone was expected to participate. Community abundance meant mana for the ali‘i and kāhuna. The Makahiki was a political and religious move to maintain and show off what one had acquired during the Kū season. Makahiki set the calendar time for the year, set the political actions for the next year, and also set the religious activities for the upcoming year. Daily activities such as fishing, farming, resource gathering or conservation, and construction or deconstruction was all set by the Makahiki ceremonies. It guided the chief and his advisors to make the decisions that benefit the larger community.

The Makahiki rituals can be divided into four segments of ceremonies. The first is the closing of the Kū season and the opening of the Lono season starting with the kaulu[w]ela, followed by the kuapola ceremonies that includes the observation of the stars Makali‘i. The second is the hi‘uwai, ka‘i akua (procession of the akua) and ‘auhau (tribute). The third is the mokomoko (mixed martial arts) and games. The fourth is the transition out and closing of the Makahiki rituals. The opening of the ‘aha ceremony of Kū ensues shortly

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<sup>28</sup> Mokomoko, a combination of boxing and wrestling; to fight; to hold boxing matches as pastimes or as games. During the Makahiki the people, the chiefs, women and children, held ceremonial and sport boxing matches.

afterwards. Each of these segments implements environmental indicators to note ritual time, the presence of akua, and the approval of rituals executed flawlessly. The environmental indicators are marked guideposts sought by the kahunas to assist in the prognostication of the upcoming year.

### 4.3 Kauluwela Ceremonies

In Valeri's amalgamation of the Makahiki festival that he acquired from literary sources such as 'I'i, Malo, K. Kamakau and S.M. Kamakau, he states the ritual cycle of the Makahiki begins with the first rite called the *kuapola* (1985, p. 200). As mentioned earlier, K. Kamakau and Malo state that the kuapola ritual starts the Makahiki season (K. Kamakau as cited in Fornander, 1919, p. 35; Malo, p. 46), though 'I'i points out that the first ritual affiliated with the Makahiki season occurs when the Kū ceremonies are closed in the malama of Hilinehu ('I'i, 1869a). As stated previously, in 'I'i's reckoning of time, Hilinehu occurs near the latter part of August and the first half of September. 'I'i explains in his article titled, *Na Hana a Ke Kua Loa*, 'The Rituals of the Makahiki Akua,' that ('I'i, 1869a):

Oiai hoomaka ia na hana ma ka malama o Augate, o ia hoi o Hilinehu ma ka olelo Hawai'i. A ma... Hilo, i kapa ia ia ahiahi, a ao ae o Hoaka, aohe kalua puua ma ia la; a ma ka la mua o na Ku, i kapa ia o Kukahi oia ka la e kalua ai na puua, a noa ae io Kulua. O keia kapu ana, no ka hopena pau o ia kapu ana, a ua kapa ia ia kapu hope ana, he Kaulu[w]ela. Pela i lilo nui ai nalii a me na kanaka i ka lealea a me na hana eae e pili ana i ka lealea.

Paraphrase:

While the ceremonies began in the month of August, called Hilinehu in the Hawaiian language. On the evening called Hilo, until the next dawn Hoaka, pigs were not roasted on that day; but on the first days of Kū, called Kūkahī, pigs were roasted. On Kūlua the kapu was released. This kapu was the last kapu [of the Kū season] and this last kapu was called Kaulu[w]ela. That is how the chiefs and the commoners were able to mingle which includes other types of socializing.

Pukui and Elbert explain that the kauluwela is a taboo ceremony in honor of the akua loa, long god, of the Makahiki festival (1986, p. 137). ‘Ī‘Ī’s statement is of interest to me because the fall equinox transpires at the latter half of Hilinehu and the beginning half of ‘Ikuā. The timing is that the season of Kū ends near the sun’s arrival on the Piko o Wākea, equator.



*Figure 4.1: Piko o Wākea at Hāpaiali‘i Heiau, Kahalu‘u, Kona, Hawai‘i Island*

The kauluwela ceremony appears to be marked by a solar event, specific lunar phases and stellar timing during the malama of Hilinehu. These three events are natural environmental indicators that mark the shifting political seasons. These three celestial activities are pertinent to recognizing when the sun will move out of the northern hemisphere which belongs to Kāne, who is the akua of acquisition and will enter into the southern hemisphere which belongs to Kanaloa, who is the akua of maintenance. The stringent kapu that happens during the political time of Kū is rested and the mana is transferred over to the political governance of Lono. Other indications that a conveying a political shift from Kū to Lono has transpired includes the kapu that bans the roasting and eating of pork on the first two phases of the malama, and then allowing pork to be eaten on Kūkahi and Kūlua. It is a ritual to acknowledge the symbolic shift of mana from Kū to Lono. The hog is an animal manifestation, or a kino lau, of the akua Lono

and is one of the higher forms of offerings to Kū that is accepted on the luakini heiau. Kānaka consumption of pork on the luakini heiau during the moon phases dedicated to Kū is perhaps a ritualistic method of concluding the political and religious obligations to Kū.

Using the Papakū Makawalu process to deconstruct the term kauluwela to determine information, we find that there are several star names that begin with *kaulu* (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 137). Johnson and Mahelona list nineteen stars that begin with the name kaulu (2015, pp. 175-7). Kaulu has been identified as the Southern Cross (2015, pp. 175-7). However, Fornander's informant also identifies Kaulu as the star constellations of Nā Hui (Fornander, 1919, p. 334). Nā Hui is used in old texts to refer to a collection of constellations in close proximity to one another. Nā Huihui o Makali'i is collectively the large constellations that are prominent in the evening sky during the Makahiki season. In contemporary times these constellations are collectively called *Ke Kā o Makali'i, the Bailer of Makali'i*. The constellations included in this Hui are Hōkūpā (Auriga), Nana Mua/Nana Hope (Gemini), Puana (Procyon), A'a (Canis Major), Keali'i (Canopus), Lono (Orion), Kanukualono (Taurus), and Makali'i (Pleiades).



*Figure 4.2: Some of the stars within Ke Kā o Makali'i*



*Figure 4.3: Ke Kā o Makali'i – stars highlighted*

The term *wela* basically means to warm, heat or intenseness (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 383). On a literal level, the term *wela* may be referring to the heat of the roasting pork. On a metaphoric level, the term *wela* may be referring to the intensity of the ritual itself. The term *kauluwela* may indicate that this is part of the last rites for the stringent *kapu* associated with Kū.

To garner a complete understanding of the *kauluwela* ceremony, piecing together the various recorded narratives of the rituals is warranted. S.M. Kamakau (1870b) states that the Makahiki began in the *malama* of Hilinamā once the *welu*, pieces of old frayed *kapa*, were hung on display. At the beginning of the Kū season, fresh strips of newly fashioned *kapa* were tied onto sticks and poles surrounding the *heiau* to mark that the season of Kū has commenced. The *kapa* is left out in the wind, sun, and rain. The *kapa* loses its color and shape becoming tattered and frayed in the elements as noted in Figure 4.4 and 4.5 below.



*Figure 4.4: Welu after being out for a whole year*



*Figure 4.5: Newly fashioned piece of kapa*

K. Kamakau explains that the ali'i retied the welu up onto a pole placed before the luakini heiau to symbolize the end of the Kū season (1919, p. 35). Malo briefly says that welu were tied but does not give the rite a name (2001, p. 121). Malo does go on to say, "O ia ka wa e hoopau ai ka haipule ana o na heiau a na lii." This is the time when all strict religious observances on the heiau of the chief were ceased. Valeri's assessment is that the "Kapu Kū" ceremonies were superfluous and not worth mentioning in his analysis (1985, p. 200). His lack of analysis is problematic, because Valeri does not use the term kauluwela, but renames the ritual Kapu Kū, and only acknowledges the king's placement of a rag before the luakini heiau. In my opinion, the kauluwela rite is extremely important as the symbolic gesture of stationing a tattered welu in front of the luakini heiau is intentional. Lepa are made of clean, newly fashioned pieces of kapa. Ordinarily, lepa are tied to a stick to visually mark that an area has been designated kapu. Tying the old welu, an old battered and frayed piece of kapa, to a stick and then placing the insignia in front of the luakini heiau is also a visual marker to demonstrate that the year is nearly ended, the previous kapu of the season has been lifted, and that Kū's mana has diminished. My speculation is that this is a pertinent ritual to the closing of the political year followed by the preparation for the new makahiki.

At this point of the chapter, some time needs to be dedicated to the various rituals that are included within the kauluwela ceremony. Although K. Kamakau does not name the transitional ceremony, his detailed recant is conducted through the same four-pō mahina as noted by 'Ī'ī, who calls this ceremony kauluwela. Both descriptions begin on Hilo and end on Kūlua, though the malama that the kauluwela transpired differed as noted earlier.

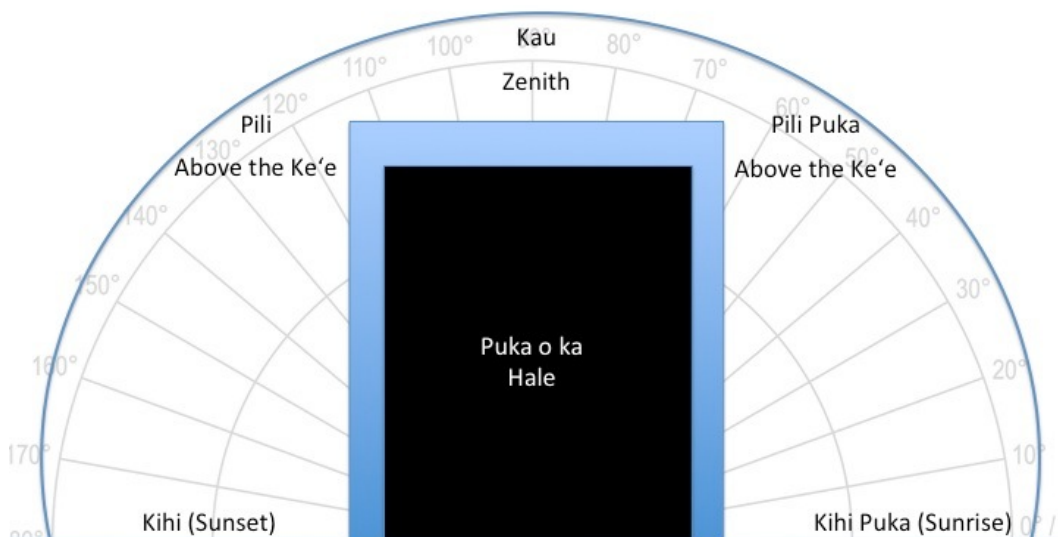
The participants were basically the ali'i nui, chosen ali'i of lower titles, the kahuna nui, and the kāhuna who presided over all the rituals, chanting, carrying, and attending to the akua hulumanu (feathered gods). My assumption is that the kāhuna who were tending to the Lono rites were the mo'olono, though there is nothing written that specifically says that this was the case. Therefore, in this paper aside from the specific tasks that were assigned to the kahuna nui, my intention is to note that the mo'olono organized and facilitated the Makahiki rituals.

The first rite is the kauō, which was lead by a kahuna nui who conducted

the ceremony while holding a bundle of 'ie'ie (*Freycinetia arborea*) in one hand. The 'ie'ie is one of the highest and most sacred plants that are placed on a hula altar (Emerson, 1909, p. 19). 'Ie'ie is a parasitic-like woody plant that grows on the tallest trees in a pristine forest that often accompanies akua in establishing sacred space (Manu, 2002, p. 18). 'Ie'ie is often associated with the forest akua such as Kūka'ie'ie, Kāneka'ie'ie, and Kapo'ulakīna'u. I theorize that the kahuna nui carried the 'ie'ie to indicate that the time for acquisition or gathering forest resources is no longer the focus, and the transition into the season of Lono who focuses on the cultivation of food crops and collective abundance is about to transpire. In the Hawaiian language dictionary the kauō is a loud type of prayer, usually done at the Makahiki festivals (Pukui and Elbert, 1986, p. 138). Contrary to Thrum's translation of K. Kamakau's narrative of quiet murmurings, the 'ōlelo Hawai'i expresses quite the opposite in that the pule kauō was done in a group chanting loudly and vigorously while marking or standing in a circle in front of the akua ki'i and akua hulumanu, idols and feathered idols. Specified offerings to the akua hulu of banana and coconuts were made by the ali'i nui. No pork or meat was offered. In the evening, the kāhuna and the various akua stood outside of the luakini at the papahola (the courtyard or elevated platform) to conduct another kauō.

On the night of Hoaka, the rituals were conducted strictly by the many kāhuna. The rituals were filled with choreographed movements and positions in various parts of the heiau, vigorous chanting, and processions of the akua hulu called the kalakū rite. The kalakū is the ritual that releases one from a burden (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 121). For the purposes of the Makahiki ceremony, the kalakū is releasing the ali'i nui, kāhuna and maka'āinana from their obligation of stringent kapu associated with Kū. On the morning of Kūkahi, the ali'i nui offered a large amount of pua'a (pigs), niu (coconuts) and mai'a (bananas) to the akua. During this ritual, the ali'i nui made requests for the upcoming year to which the kāhuna would eventually seek out omens and portends of potential outcomes. Three times forty (120) pua'a (pigs) were broiled over fires and redistributed to all the ali'i. The portions of the broiled meat that were distributed reflected the aristocratic status of each ali'i and kāhuna order. All of the broiled pork was shared. On the evening of Kūkahi the ali'i nui, kāhuna, akua and all the lesser ali'i assembled in the luakini for the kauila incantation that began at the setting of the

sun. Rain must not fall during the last rite. The prescribed offerings of pork, coconuts and bananas were made by the ali'i nui to his akua. If it remained clear through the sunset ritual, the offerings were considered accepted. The ali'i left the luakini but the kāhuna remained on the heiau to continue chanting and observing the stars throughout the entire night. Although K. Kamakau does not describe the types of rituals conducted by the kāhuna, he does say that it lasted the whole night. Fornander does describe the divisions of the nocturnal time called kauila. The kauila has four marking points similar to the corners of the door and stars were marked as they transited throughout the night (Fornander, 1919, p. 332). Using Papakū Makawalu to deconstruct the names of the different divisions, the imagery reveals the dome of the sky as a house and the time markers are the corners of a puka o ka hale (doorway of a house) as depicted in Figure 4.6: Kauila – Nocturnal division of time below.



*Figure 4.6: Kauila – Nocturnal division of time*

Kihi is equated to the sunset, which is approximately 6:00pm and likely notes certain celestials in the sky whether heliacal, acronychal, or zenith. In the Parker dictionary, kihi is understood as “the commencement of evening, when darkness begins, as: ke kihi o ka po” (Wehewehe Wikiwiki, 2018e). Kihi is also understood as an edge or corner (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 147). My suspicion is that the kāhuna would require certain celestial bodies observed for signs that supported or denied the ali'i nui's request made to the akua earlier that day. The second time marker is called pili, which is equated to 9:00pm. Pili can be

understood as, "the edge of time units," especially of late night and the name given to nine o'clock in the evening, from the game pūhenehene (Wehewehe Wikiwiki, 2018f). Pili is the second corner of the doorway and likely notes the location of a constellation, single star, or planet as it is moving along the "dome" of the sky. It is likely marking the location of the ecliptic on the summer solstice. The third time marker is called kau. Kau is equated to midnight or when celestial bodies are directly overhead (Wehewehe Wikiwiki, 2018a). In the diagram, kau is directly over the doorway or at the zenith of the dome. A traditional 'ōlelo no'eau (proverb) refers to midnight by saying, Ua huli ka i'a, the fish has flipped, tis midnight.<sup>29</sup> This 'ōlelo no'eau is describing I'aleleaka, the flying fish image, which is one of the names for the Milky Way. Huli means to switch, noting the directional change it makes from the eastern hemisphere of the sky to the western hemisphere of the sky roughly around midnight. The fourth time marker is pilipuka and is equated to 3:00am. Pilipuka is understood as the gateway or doorway. Pilipuka is the third corner of the doorway and is located on the opposite side of pili. It is likely that this marks the ecliptic on the winter solstice. The kāhuna were probably watching particular omens exhibited by a celestial body as it moved over the course of the night. The fifth and final nocturnal time marker is kihipuka. Kihipuka is understood as a time marker near sunrise or 6:00am and likely marks the location of a star or planet in conjunction with or heliacal to the rising of the sun. Kihipuka can be understood as the corner of the doorway and the term is heard in traditional sun chants. Both kihi and kihipuka likely mark the celestial equator as well. My belief is that the kāhuna chanted pule to the stars at the kauila intervals while they observed the actions, colors, disappearance, or reappearance of the stars. K. Kamakau states that the kāhuna replied to one another (Fornander, 1919, p. 37):

E pule mai oukou i ka pule a neia po a ao, o ka kakou pule ana aku

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<sup>29</sup> Kupahu published an article in the Hoomana Kahiko, Helu 33 series. He listed I'aleleiaka, Anianiakalani, Kau, Kai'a and Kuamo'o as some of the names for the Milky Way. Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Kēkēmapa 30 1865, Buke 4, Helu 52:4.

no keia ia ia, aole lakou i moe iki i neia po a ao, a hoala akula  
lakou i ka poe akua i ka wanaao... E ala mai oukou, e Ku, e Lono, e  
Kane, e Kanaloa, ua ao, ua malamalama

Paraphrase:

Let us pray the incantations for this particular night until dawn,  
these are our incantations for him [ali'i nui], they did not sleep at  
all from this evening to dawn, they then awoke the gods at dawn  
light... Awaken you, Kū, Lono, Kāne, Kanaloa, dawn has arrived,  
it is illuminated.

On the morning of Kūlua, the ali'i nui offered the roasted pork, coconuts and bananas to the akua in the luakini. This ritual was called hālu'a, which also means to assemble. They then moved to the Hale o Papa, and waited for the assembly of the larger population. Generally, the Hale o Papa is the temple next to the luakini where the female akua are housed. The ali'i nui then had ten dogs roasted and offered them along with iholena bananas to the akua wahine, female akua in the Hale o Papa. Once this ritual was completed, both the Hale o Papa and luakini were noa and the elaborate kauluwela ceremony was concluded (Fornander, 1919, pp. 37-8). Upon the completion of the kauluella ('Ī'ī's spelling of the ceremony), the ali'i and maka'āinana are allowed to have fun and engage in all sorts of fun activities until the night of the ka'apola ceremony ('Ī'ī, 1869a). Malo clarifies that the kāhuna, kahu o nā ki'i akua, and the ali'i nui continued with ceremonial obligations to Lono (Malo, 1903, p. 187). S.M. Kamakau does not say much about the rituals or the ceremonies and reports that the kapu period started when the welu were hung. For the first three months of the Makahiki, a kapu (restriction) was placed on eating pork, coconut and fish such as 'ulua as these were consecrated to Lono. S.M. Kamakau then reports that the restrictions for eating pork, coconut and 'ulua were made free on the pō Kāne of the malama 'Ikuā (1870b). 'Ikuā follows after Hilinamā, which would have been less than three months. It is unclear if S.M. Kamakau's calendar calculations differed from the Kona calculations. This discussion will be expanded at the end of this chapter.

#### 4.4 Feeding the Stars - Kuapola/Ka'apola Ceremonies

The second ceremony that opens the Makahiki season is the kuapola/ka'apola. Both Malo and 'Ī'ī made detailed descriptions of the kuapola. According to Malo, the kuapola rite occurs three times. The first kuapola rite happens on pō Hua in the malama of 'Ikuā. This ceremony is specifically done by the ali'i and kāhuna. The second kuapola also happens on pō Hua on the following malama of Welehu. Everyone in the community from lower status ali'i to maka'āinana participate in this ceremony. I will come back to the first and second kuapola ceremonies to expound in more details. The third kuapola called, "Ka Pu'u o Kuapola," happens at the transition out of Makahiki and into the 'Aha ceremonies to reestablish Kū and the mana of the ali'i nui (Malo, 1903, p. 199). Malo states that the first and second kuapola happen on the luakini heiau, a coconut is ceremoniously cracked in half and the ali'i nui is washed with the coconut water, symbolizing the cleansing of the ali'i nui from the obligations affiliated with Kū and beginning the obligations that are affiliated with Lono (Malo, 1903, p. 199). Both 'Ī'ī and K. Kamakau's descriptions, which will be combined here, provide details about the kuapola ceremony. After sunset on the evening of the pō Mōhalu, the ali'i nui announced that a kapu for the entire night was established in the luakini heiau. This kapu was called "ka'apola" ('Ī'ī, 1869a). Ka'apola began at sunset and went on until the late hours of the night. K. Kamakau explains that the ali'i nui and the many kāhuna were the participants for this ceremony (Fornander, 1919, p. 39). Everyone gathered at the *kuahu* within the walls of the luakini. The *kuahu* is an elevated platform dedicated to various akua where offerings were left. Two kāhuna grabbed two coconuts each and called Lono with the following incantation (Fornander, 1919, p. 39):

E Lononuiakea, eia ka niu. E ola i ko kahu a me ka aina, a me na  
kanaka o na po keia i o Hua nei.

Paraphrase:

Lononuiākea, here are the coconuts. Grant life to your keeper and  
to the land, and to the people of this night in the presence of Hua.

Then, two kāhuna with extended arms forcefully brought the two young *niu*, coconuts, together to crack them open in a single hit. The coconuts are placed onto the kuahu and everyone chanted loudly:

E laa ko hanai, hanai po, hanai ao, ia hiki Uliuli, ia hiki Melemele,  
ia hiki Kaelo, ia hiki Kaulua, ia hiki Nana, ia hiki Welo, ia hiki  
Ikiiki, ia hiki Kaaona, ia hiki Hinaialeele, ia hiki Hilinehu, ia hiki  
Hilinama, ia hiki Ikuwa, ia hiki Welehu, ia hiki Makalii. E wawahi  
ka niu o Kuapola! Wawahia!

Paraphrase:

Sanctify your attendants, night guardians, day guardians, while  
Uliuli appears, until Melemele appears, until Kā'elo, appears,  
until Kaulua appears, until Nana appears, until Welo appears, until  
Ikiiki appears, until Ka'aona appears, until Hinaia'ele'ele  
appears, until Hilinehu appears, until Hilinamā appears, until 'Ikuā  
appears, until Welehu appears, until. Makali'i appears. Crack open  
the coconuts of Kuapola! Shattered!



*Figure 4.7: Kuapola – Cracking the niu*

Three things are revealed in this pule by utilizing the Papakū Makawalu method of deconstructing terms to look at all the various meanings to reconstruct understanding. The first revelation is that the pule mentions the guardian stars for the malama within the kaulana mahina. The entire makahiki is recited with an emphasis on stars.

The second revelation is the term hānai. Pukui and Elbert states that hānai means “to raise, rear, feed, nourish, and sustain. Hānai can also be used to describe the provider and caretaker” (1986, p. 56). The term hānai is intentionally

used in the pule to illustrate the reciprocal relationship the kāhuna and ali‘i nui have with the malama stars of the kaulana mahina. The kāhuna and ali‘i nui are the caretakers or attendants that will feed the stars through the kaupola ceremony. Perhaps, the reciprocation is that the malama stars will in turn sustain its caretakers, the kāhuna and the ali‘i nui, throughout the year. Valeri explains that the kuapola is a feeding ritual (1985, p. 201). Māori similarly fed the important stars at the opening of the Matariki season (Matamua, 2017, p. 69). Matamua explains that the feeding ceremony was called Whānai i te Hautapu meaning, “to feed with a sacred offering”. At the first sighting of Matariki (Pleiades), an offering of a selection of the best of the harvest was given to reinvigorate Matariki for another year of service (2017, p. 69). Tahitians also celebrate the Matahiti called Parara‘a Matahiti where like the kuapola, heaps of food called poropa were gifted to the gods, keepers of the gods, royal family, clergy and the community (Henry, 1985, p. 177). In Teuira Henry’s collection regarding Ancient Tahiti, a section found in a birth chant of celestials mentions a seasonal ceremony for feeding stars (1985, p. 360). The Tahitian chant reveals:

Fanau maira ta‘na ari‘i, o Maunu‘ura; o Maunu‘ura,  
e hiti mai i te ahiahi, e mata rua, e fetu ‘ura, e atua  
e rere i tara te feau i to‘na ra tau.

Interpretation provided by Matahiarii Tutavae:<sup>30</sup>

His chief was born, it is Maunu‘ura (Mars), it rises in  
the evening, it has two faces, it is a red star, it is a god  
that flies to build temples during its season."

Part of the process of building temples is to feed the stars that are the extended bodies of the priests (Henry, 1985, pp.174-5). Tongans also have a similar ceremony where the positioning of the stars in Orion’s Belt is affiliated with a sweet potato harvest dedicated to an akua named Hikule‘o. The ritual is called Inasi and was performed annually by the chief (St. Cartmail, 1997, p. 39).

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<sup>30</sup> Matahiarii Tutavae is a journalist for Tahiti Nui Télévision and a crewmember for the Fa‘afaite Voyaging Society.

The third revelation in the pule is that the stars Uliuli and Melemele start the celestial line up of malama instead of Welehu, which generally is the malama that starts the kaulana mahina. The pule skips over Welehu and Makali‘i and are the last star constellations recited in the pule. This may be where the recalibration of the kaulana mahina is observed and adjustments made based on the location and relationship of Uliuli and Melemele to Makali‘i. Uliuli and Melemele are two stars noted earlier as malama pili a ‘ukali. Poepoe notes that Uliuli and Melemele are companion stars to Welehu. All three are documented to rise in November/December. The pule continues, skipping over Makali‘i continuing on with Kā‘elo listing all the other malama stars in the Kona kaulana mahina sequence. The pule ends on the star constellation of Makali‘i. Perhaps the first two stars, Uliuli and Melemele, along with the last star constellation, Makali‘i, are the three visible stars during this ritual.

**Table 4.1:** *Uliuli and Melemele* (Poepoe, 1906r)

	Customary Malama	Malama Pili a ‘Ukali	Gregorian Months
1	Kā‘elo	Maliu	Jan-Feb
2	Kaulua/Ka‘ulua	Lana	Feb-Mar
3	Nana		Mar-Apr
4	Welo		Apr-May
5	Ikiiki		May-Jun
6	Ka‘aona		Jun-Jul
7	Hinaia‘ele‘ele	Hikikaulono (Sirius)	Jun-Jul
		Puanakau (Procyon)	Jul-Aug
		Le‘ale‘a (Acturus)	Jul-Aug
		Hikikaulonomeha (Sirius)	
8	Māhoemua		Aug-Sept
9	Māhoehope		Sept-Oct
		Hökū‘ula (Mars, Aldebaran or Lehuakona)	Sept-Oct
		Ka‘āwela (Venus or Jupiter)	Sept-Oct
10	‘Ikuā	Kapawa	Oct-Nov
		Hökūuea	Oct-Nov
		Poloahilani	Oct-Nov
11	Welehu	Uliuli	Nov-Dec
		Melemele	Nov-Dec
12	Makali‘i	Hikikaulia	Dec-Jan

In the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ka Hae Hawai‘i*, *He Mele no ka Hoku a me ka Malama* was submitted by B. B. Kalama on 5 Kekemapa 1860. The mele lists the celestial activities of the sun, moon and stars affiliated with the birth prognostication of Kamehameha I (Kalama, 1860). The stars Uliuli, Polapola and

Makali'i are listed together recanting the conquests made by the ancestors that the chanters hope to imbue upon Kamehameha I.

I lilo o Hanakalauai,  
Me Uliuli, me Polapola.  
Ke eo mai no o Makalii.

Paraphrase:

Hanakalau'ai,  
With Uliuli, with Polapola succumbed.  
Makali'i is vexed.

S.M. Kamakau's narration of the arrival of Captain James Cook to Kealakekua, includes a pule to Lono listing several stars as the *kino*, celestial manifestations of the akua Lono (Kamakau, 1867a). More will be discussed in Chapter 5, *Kino Lau o Lono*. The pule states that the stars from which Lono originates come from the stars listed below.

... mai Uliuli, mai Melemele, mai Kahiki, mai Ulunui, mai Haehae,  
mai Omaokuululu, mai Hakalauai, mai ka aina o Lono i wahi aku  
ai...

Paraphrase:

... from Uliuli, from Melemele, from Kahiki, from Ulunui, from  
Ha'eha'e, from 'Ōma'okuuluulu, from Hakalau'ai, bursting forth  
from the land of Lono...

In Tahitian star knowledge, Orion is called Te Uru Mere Ma. Rigel is Taurua o Mere, Mintaka is Taurua o Mere Ma, and Betelgeuse is Ana Iva.<sup>31</sup> The Tahitian names for Orion support Johnson's report that Melemele and Uliuli are stars in the belt of Orion (Johnson & Mahelona, 1975, p. 17; Valeri, 1985, 201). Martha Noyes points out that the terms Melemele and Uliuli could also be

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<sup>31</sup> As depicted on an interpretation display located at Mou'a Teama'a. Tahiti Nui.

classifications of many stars that have similar characteristics.<sup>32</sup> An example would be through the colors of the stars. Melemele are yellow colored stars, and Uliuli are dark blue colored stars.

K. Kamakau notes that part of the focus of the kuapola ceremony is to acknowledge and feed both the stars and malama (Fornander, 1919, p. 39). The stars were fed niu (coconuts) and a sacrificed pua'a (pig). Stars function as markers of time, but as S. M. Kamakau explains, the stars are also acknowledged as the manifestations of akua sanctifying the ceremony (1867a). Valeri states that the kuapola ritual did not start until Makali'i was visible (1985, p. 201). 'I'i's article differs slightly from K. Kamakau. 'I'i explains that the ceremony participants gathered in front of the kuahu, waiting until their eyes lifted up to see the star cluster Huihui[makali'i] as it rose above the ridge or mountain. This was the celestial cue to forcefully smash the young husked and cleaned niu together to crack them open followed by the recitation of the pule (1869a). Valeri also goes on to say that wai niu, coconut water, ritually washes the akua and points to an article written by S.M. Kamakau (1985, p. 201). S.M. Kamakau did describe a ritual wash using wai niu, coconut water, however it was an elaborate ceremony to prepare the akua Kalaipahoa for nefarious results (Kamakau, 1964, p. 136). Valeri is the only one that mentions a washing occurred with the wai niu. None of the Hawaiian resources mention using the wai niu to wash or anoint the akua, the heiau or the kuahu. Perhaps the act of washing wasn't mentioned because it was a commonly known fact or because it simply was not part of the kuapola ceremony. Fornander presents a reference in a mele that states, "No Lono ka lae poni 'ia i ka wai niu, which says, for Lono whose forehead is anointed with coconut water" (Fornander, 1919, p. 239). However, the Makahiki was not part of the reference and is therefore unclear whether cleansing the kuahu and akua with wai niu is part of the kuapola ceremony. An anointment of masticated coconut does happen for the akua loa at a later time but not during the kuapola ceremony. The *kumu niu*, coconut tree, is a kino lau of Kū (Handy & Pukui, 1998, p. 177). In my opinion, the act of cracking the niu in this ritual is an act of ending Kū's influence over the whole population. Cracking the niu and offering the halves on the kuahu

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<sup>32</sup> Dr. Martha Noyes, is an archaeoastronomer who has studied star alignments with the birthing stones of Kūkaniloko, O'ahu, to natural land features and then to stars.

symbolized releasing all obligations to the akua Kū and became offerings for the akua Lono to "consume" transferring the mana from Kū to Lono.

At the departure of the luakini the kāhuna exclaimed, "E! Maika‘i ka niu a ke ali‘i, ola nō ka ‘āina!" "Say, listen! The coconut ceremony of the chief was favorable the land shall also be productive!" ‘Ī‘ī explains, once these ceremonies were completed at the luakini heiau, all manner of kuahu, fishing, and farming were officially closed. Sailing in the ocean and going upland into the forest was also prohibited. The activities for the Makahiki were officially opened and the main focus turned to Lono and the dedicated festivities (1869a).

#### **4.4.1 The Second Kuapola Ceremony**

Both K. Kamakau and Malo state that the Kuapola ceremony happened once more. K. Kamakau says that the second kuapola transpired on the next malama of Welehu on the same pō mahina o Hua. The ceremony was essentially conducted the same way but was for the kahuna nui, the other kāhuna, lower class ali‘i and for the rest of the population (Fornander, 1919, p. 39). All the kuahu and obligatory ceremonies to any other akua were made noa, released. The second kuapola ceremony released all tasks and ceremonial obligations of fishing, farming, and other gathering activities for the maka‘āinana so that they could fully prepare and participate in the Makahiki activities.

#### **4.4.2 The Third Kuapola Ceremony - Pu‘u o Kuapola**

The third kuapola ceremony transpires during the malama of Kā‘elo also on pō Hua, but contrasts greatly from the previous ceremonies. Both K. Kamakau and Malo explain that everyone in the community is expected to give a smaller ho‘okupu (tribute) to the ali‘i nui (Malo, 1903, p. 199; Fornander, 1919, p. 39). The heaped up pile of tribute was called, Pu‘u o Kuapola. The two previous kuapola ceremonies were prescribed offerings of niu and pua‘a that went directly to the akua. The first kuapola was a communal exchange between the ali‘i nui and the many akua Makahiki. The second kuapola was a communal exchange between all the kāhuna, the many lower statused ali‘i and the maka‘āinana (commoners) to Lono. Sahlins points out that this final kuapola ceremony was not as elaborate as the first. Everyone gave small ho‘okupu (levies) and not an “‘auhau, which are similar to taxes directly to the king” (1989, p. 391). The piles of ho‘okupu were

called Pu‘u o Kuapola, Heap of Kuapola, and it seems that the tribute also went to the ali‘i nui. There does not seem to be very much emphasis on the kind of ho‘okupu that was offered during the pu‘u o kuapola.

#### **4.5 Ho‘okupu and ‘Auhau - Offering, Tribute, Tax**

There are some terms utilized for the process of offerings during the Makahiki that should be noted. I will try to present all the terms, practices, and expectations of the Makahiki offerings. Collected offerings are called waiwai. Waiwai means wealth and usually consists of provisions that bring value to the household of the ali‘i nui. The term ho‘okupu is used to describe the act of offering the provisions to the ali‘i. Pukui and Elbert explain that ho‘okupu is defined as a tribute, tax, ceremonial gift-giving to a chief as a sign of honor and respect; to pay such tribute; a church offering (1986, p. 186). The Andrews dictionary explains that ho‘okupu is to pay, as a tax; to collect taxes; ho‘okaumaha ‘ia nā maka‘āinana e ho‘okupu i kēlā mea waiwai i kēia mea waiwai, the common people were burdened by being taxed on all sorts of property (Wehewehe wikiwiki, 2018b). Kupu also means to sprout, grow, and increase (Handy, Handy & Pukui, 1972, p. 349). Besides food, provisions could be kapa cloth, mats, feathers, rope, or any item necessary for survival throughout the year. Ho‘okupu is an offering that is given with the intent of growing or increasing an outcome. For Makahiki, the intention may be to grow and increase the livelihood of the ali‘i nui’s assets. The term ‘auhau has been defined as tax or tribute in the same way as ho‘okupu is utilized.

Pukui and Elbert define ‘auhau as, “tax, assessment, levy, charge, tariff, toll, tribute, and price; to levy a tax, pay tribute, tax” (1986, p. 31). The act of collecting the waiwai is how Malo, ‘Ī‘Ī and the two Kamakau use the term ‘auhau. In my opinion ‘auhau is much more significant and essential than tax collection. Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa deems that the term ‘auhau comes from mo‘okū‘auhau (personal communication, November 02, 2017).<sup>33</sup> The Parker Hawaiian dictionary explains that mo‘okū‘auhau is *moo*, “a line, and kuauhau, a story, a tax. A story, history or genealogy, a line of descent for the people, but in connection with

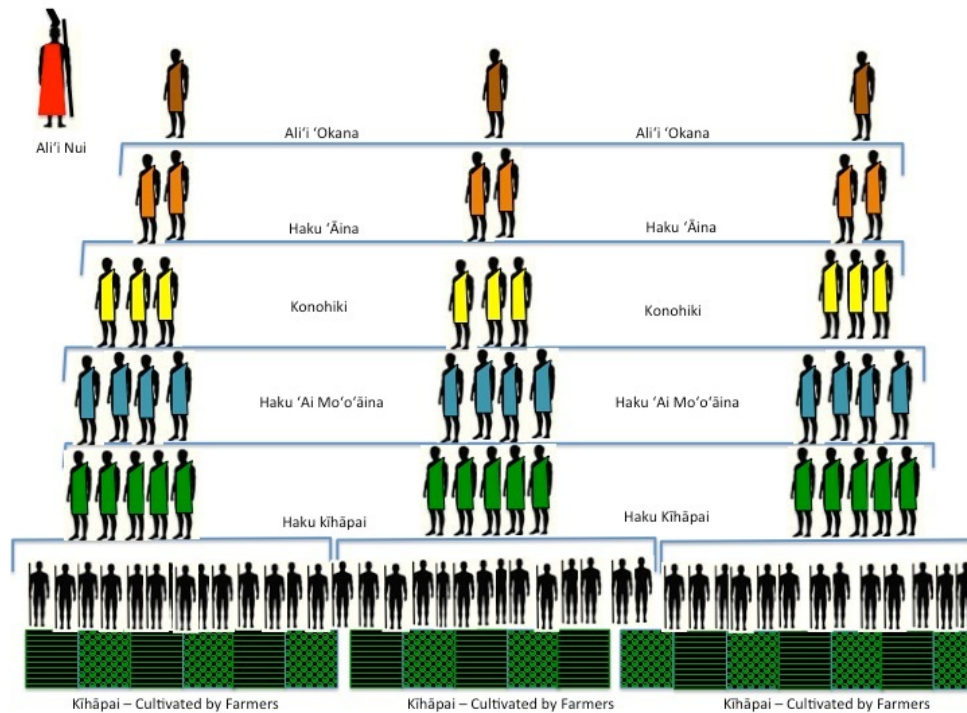
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<sup>33</sup> Personal conversation to me about her genealogy research. Dr. Kame‘eleihiwa is reknown as one of the experts of chiefly genealogies, creating and teaching a 400 level course at the University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa Campus.

taxes” (Wehe2wiki2, 2018b). The Andrews dictionary states “Ku and ‘auhau, is to tax, to be recorded in genealogy, in history or tradition” (Wehe2wiki2, 2018a). Mo‘okū‘auhau in our modern common use is a genealogical succession and continuation of people and practices and totally unrelated to taxes. As mentioned in chapter two, the function of mo‘okū‘auhau is to assure the succession and continuation of a bloodline or of a particular succession of a tradition.

Perhaps, the original use of ‘auhau during the Makahiki was to assure the succession of a community by providing the necessary needs to the ali‘i nui. If the ali‘i nui’s household is wealthy through the collective abundance of the community, then the community is also wealthy and will likely thrive through the new makahiki. Additionally, there is a religious connection between the ‘auhau, the ali‘i nui and the akua Lono. Malo explains that at birth every male was dedicated to Lono, therefore, every household contained an *Ipu o Lono*, which was a dried gourd that held pieces of dried fish, dried pork and ‘awa within it for the purpose of making offerings to Lono (2001, p. 118). Each household was genealogically tied to Lono. The ali‘i nui represented the living entity of Lono, which then connects the maka‘āinana to him through their mo‘okū‘auhau. Logically, the community gave ‘auhau as an obligation to their genealogical tie to Lono through the ali‘i nui. The ‘auhau was more than a simple tax collection.

Based on all the ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i descriptions, my understanding is that the ‘auhau is the act of collecting the waiwai by the konohiki. ‘Auhau has a genealogical tie to the practice to which the maka‘āinana generally participated willingly. Ho‘okupu is the act of giving the waiwai from the maka‘āinana to the konohiki, then from the konohiki to the ali‘i nui, and then symbolically to Lono. The ali‘i nui personified Lono (Handy, Handy & Pukui, 1972, p. 349). Ho‘okupu has a reciprocal connotation to the term meaning that both parties will receive an outcome from the exchange. Kepelino explains that using the term ho‘okupu connotes that a ceremonial gift was contributed to nature’s productivity through the ali‘i nui (Kepelino, 1932, p. 148). The exchange was mutually beneficial to the maka‘āinana, the ali‘i and his household, and to Lono.



*Figure 4.8: Konohiki hierarchy*

The waiwai was laid in front of the ahupua‘a boundary marker to be inspected by the akua Makahiki. On the mat where the waiwai was piled, two sticks called ālia were erected as a boundary marker marking where people were not allowed to enter. Malo explains that the mat became prohibited for others to trespass upon while the konohiki added their waiwai to the piles (Malo, 2001, p. 124). The waiwai was ordered by the haku ‘āina based on the number of people that resided within the larger land district, and the items that were requested were considered the ‘auhau. There was also an established hierarchy of konohiki who were in charge of collecting the ho‘okupu (Kepelino, 1932, p. 149). Kepelino goes on to say that the method in which ho‘okupu was given started with the farmer who gave his ho‘okupu to the haku kīhāpai, landlord(s) of the kīhāpai farm lots. The haku kīhāpai then gave their ho‘okupu collection to their haku ‘ai mo‘o‘āina, landlords of larger land lots inclusive of other natural resources. Then the larger ho‘okupu collection was given to the konohiki, landlords that managed various resources within an ahupua‘a. This even larger ho‘okupu collection was then given to to the haku ‘āina, landlords over several ahupua‘a. The massive ho‘okupu collection was then passed on to the ali‘i ‘okana, landlords of the moku ‘okana district. Finally, the ho‘okupu collection was given to the ali‘i nui,

landlord(s) of the entire island, who then gave their ho‘okupu collection to the Mō‘ī, the king or queen of the entire archipelago (1932, p. 149).

The final collection is the waiwai (accumulated offerings) of the land that was given to support the government’s health and wellbeing. Again, the ho‘okupu collection became the waiwai, the collected abundance of the people, given to the ali‘i with the expectation that they will receive protection and safety from the ali‘i. S.M. Kamakau from O‘ahu presents a very negative description of the ‘auhau process stating that the kahu, attendants, of the akua Makahiki would stay until satisfied that the waiwai was sufficient. If the kahu were unsatisfied, a demand for more waiwai to be brought was made or provisions were snatched up until the kahu were satisfied (1870a). As mentioned previously, S.M. Kamakau’s explanation appears to be from the perspective of a maka‘āinana. His information regarding the Makahiki rituals is limited. My speculation is that his Makahiki information came from the perspective of someone who did not like the new practice of ‘auhau brought to O‘ahu by Kamehameha I and his Kona chiefs.

An informant in Fornander explains that a consequence of the akua Lono’s dissatisfaction with a small collection of waiwai was to remove the stewardship and title from the konohiki (1919, p. 207). When the waiwai was finally collected upon the mat, an ali‘i kalakū ho‘okupu, a chief that could chant with a loud booming voice, announced to everyone around 6:30 in the evening the following (Kepelino, 1932, p. 149):

E na alii nui, na haku aina, na alii ai ahupuaa, ai okana, na konohiki, na aimooaina, na ai kihapai, na lapa,<sup>34</sup> na kuewa, apopo i ka wahie, i ka laui, lau maia, a me na mea a pau e pono ai. Hoi mai, kahu ka ai; a kela la aku, kalua ka puua, ka ilio, ka manu pelehu, ka moa; na alii aikuahiwi, ka uwau, ka nene, a me na manu o ka lua. E lawe mai na ke alii, e lawe mai na lapa, e lawe na aimooaina, e lawe na konohiki, na haku aina, na alii apopo, a kakahiaka ae, ka la hookupu. O ke konohiki, ka hakuaina, na alii nui, e lawe mai. Ina nele, e hemo ia hakuaina, e hemo ia alii. Oia la, i lohe

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<sup>34</sup> Lapa. Possibly a dialect difference or a misspelling for the word lōpā, which means farmer.

luna, i lohe lalo, i lohe ka hulu, ka maka-ainana. Apopo, a kakahiaka ae,  
he la hookupu no ka lani

Paraphrase:

Listen ali'i nui, landlords, ali'i who rule over ahupua'a, 'okana, konohiki, mo'o'aina, kīhāpai, farmers, homeless wanderers, tomorrow gather firewood, ti-leaves, banana leaves, and all the necessary items. Return, with the cooks; and the day after, roast the pigs, dogs, turkeys, chickens; to the ali'i who rule over the mountains, bring uwa'u, nēnē, and the burrowing birds. Bring the many ali'i, bring the farmers, bring the rulers of the mo'o'aina, bring the konohiki, the landlords and chiefs on the next morning, will be the ho'okupu day. Bring the konohiki, the landlords, the ali'i nui. If deficient, the landlords will be removed, the ali'i will be removed. On this day, heard above, heard below, heard by the favored, and maka'ainana. Tomorrow, and the following morning is the ho'okupu day for the god.

While the waiwai was being gathered the people waited in anticipation for the arrival of the akua Makahiki and all the festivities that commence upon their appearance.

#### **4.5.1. Huaka'i Akua Loa - The Activities Associated with Lono's Procession**

Following after the second kuapola ritual a series of activities occurred that are part of the Huaka'i Akua Loa, the procession of the akua Lono. All kapu that obligated the population to their daily duties were released (Ī'i, 1869a). All the ki'i (carved deities) on the different heiau and other religious structures that were not affiliated with the Makahiki ceremonies were either turned completely around to face the opposite direction, or turned down to face the ground and laid flat (Fornander, 1919, p. 39). The konohiki, who were often lower ranking ali'i were the resource managers of an ahupua'a land division. The konohiki were in charge of collecting all the waiwai (wealth) from the maka'ainana (Fornander, 1919, p. 39; Malo, 2001, p. 122). They needed to complete the collection prior to the pō Lā'aukahi and Lā'aulua. Each konohiki collected the waiwai from the districts that they managed. The waiwai collected was separated into two piles and deposited into their proper location for inspection. One pile of waiwai was

given directly to the haku 'āina, the landlord. This waiwai was called waiwai ma loko meaning that this collection stayed within the haku 'āina's responsibility and was redistributed to the ali'i households within that haku 'āina's district. The haku 'āina were higher ranked chiefs who presided over the management of the larger land district called 'okana. An 'okana contains several ahupua'a within its boundaries. The haku 'āina were responsible for collecting all the waiwai and redistributing the items to the ali'i, kāhuna and pū'ali koa (military) within their overall districts.

The other portion of waiwai went to the ali'i nui who represented Lono. The provisions for the ali'i nui were requested items maka'āinana were expected to provide, hence the idea of taxes. The waiwai dedicated to the ali'i nui was taken to the ahupua'a boundary; the live animals were placed into special pens dedicated to the ali'i nui's akua (Malo, 2001, p. 122). The other food and provisional items were gathered on a large mat in front of the ahupua'a boundary marker to be inspected by both the ali'i nui and the akua Lono ('Ī'ī, 1869b). The huaka'i (procession) was expected to be completed within the four-pō mahina of Kāloakūkahi, Kāloakūlua, Kāloapau and Kāne. It is unclear whether there were several akua Lono processions that belonged to specific districts that made their own circuits within their own ali'i nui's 'okana, or if there was a single procession of akua Lono that circuited across the entire island during the four pō. For the rest of the smaller islands of the archipelago, a four-day circuit is easily accomplished. However, for the largest island, Hawai'i, a four-day circuit almost seems impossible. Going from ahupua'a to ahupua'a and conducting the same ceremonies at each visit would certainly take significant amounts of time. Just walking in the procession around Hawai'i Island, let alone stopping to collect the waiwai would be more than 4 days.

Currently, there is a modern Makahiki relay that circuits the entire Hawai'i Island annually. The Makahiki relay is completed within four days, however, it is more of a marathon and the participants are running during the entire circuit. The marathon runners stop only at key rest points for an overnight reprieve. On day one, the runners start in the 'okana of Honoka'a and rests in Kīlauea, Puna. On the second day, the run continues from Puna and ends in Miloli'i, South Kona. On the third day, the run continues from South Kona to Kawaihae. On the fourth and final day, the run continues from Kawaihae through Kapa'au, Kōhala, returning to

the starting point at Honoka‘a. The circuit is roughly 275 miles (442.5 km).<sup>35</sup> The Makahiki relay brings a few thoughts to my mind about how the circuit may have been completed successfully within the four-pō mahina on Hawai‘i Island. There may have been only a few key areas designated by the ali‘i nui that the ‘auhau collections occurred. Perhaps the populations of each ahupua‘a participated in the ceremonies but gave the konohiki the ‘auhau that was then collected and taken to the key areas where the akua Lono was going to rest for the night. Finally, the procession may have been achieved at a running pace and the general assumption that the procession walked the circuit is inaccurate.

#### **4.5.2 Hi‘uwai - Cleansing**

The next ritual that occurs while waiting for the arrival of the akua loa is the hi‘uwai. Hi‘uwai is a lighthearted community bathing ritual affiliated with the Makahiki season. Kepelino best describes the hi‘uwai as a water purification where people bathed and frolicked in streams or the ocean at night, then after emerging from the water would warm themselves by the large fires, followed by donning newly made clothing for the festivities of the day (1932, p. 193). The ritual begins in the dark of the evening and carried on until dawn the next morning (K. Kamakau as cited in Fornander, 1919, p. 41; Malo, 2001, p. 123). Part of the frolicking consisted of flirtatious activities and impromptu chanting. For the frolicking, Hawaiians did not see sexual activities as obscene or salacious acts as reported by the missionaries who observed and reported what they had observed while visiting during the Makahiki festivities. For the impromptu chanting, ‘Ī‘Ī explains that a lead person spontaneously composed a quick verse about the day’s activities causing laughter and merriment across the crowd. People joined in at the chorus and added more lyrics at the end of the last verse to add their mirthful observations to the chanting (1869a).

#### **4.5.3 The Arrival of the Akua**

The arrival of the akua Makahiki was timed so that the entourage would appear at the ahupua‘a on or near the pō of ‘Olekūkahi. The waiwai ‘auhau was inspected by the akua Lono at this time. The entourage was lead by roughly five

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<sup>35</sup> Manguil, Lanakila, organizer of the run, *Re: Makahiki Relay Circuit*. Message to Kalei Nu‘uhiwa. 13 November 2018. Facebook Messenger.

ki'i, symbolic carvings. The main ki'i of the entourage was the [a]kua loa, the long akua, attributed to akua Lono named Lonomakua or Lonoikamakahiki (Malo, 2001, pp. 123-4; Pukui & Elbert, 1971, p. 392). Lonomakua is the akua who keeps the underground fires lit (Pukui & Elbert, 1971, p. 393).

Again, the Lonomakua image as explained by Malo was a tall staff of approximately twelve feet (2 fathoms) in length with nodes carved along the length of the staff presumably to assist the attendant with carrying it during its procession. A crosspiece of approximately 6 feet (1 fathom) was tied to the staff just below a carved headpiece made of Kauila wood that was fastened to the top of the staff (2001, p. 123). Two long narrow pieces of white kapa were bound onto the crosspiece along each side of the staff (King as cited in Valeri, p. 205). Leis of pala fern and feathers were wound around the "neck" of the headpiece and along the crosspiece. Two pelts or a lei made of the ka'upu (albatross) feathers were affixed to the ends of the crosspiece as well (Malo 2001, p. 123).

Ka'upu are open ocean faring birds that migrate inland to mate and nest during the Makahiki season.<sup>36</sup> The akua loa was always carried by a kahu, an attendant, who presumably was a priest of the mo'olono sect. The kahu became the physical body of the akua loa.

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<sup>36</sup> Wong, Brad K. *Re: Papahanaumokuakea Permit Applications for Review September 2018*. Message to Kalei Nu'uhiwa. 18 November 2018. E-mail.



**Figure 4.9:** *Akua Loa and Kahu*

The face of the headpiece always *looked* backwards until the inspection of the waiwai occurred, then the face of the akua loa headpiece was turned forward (Malo, 2001, pp. 126-7). In ‘Ī‘Ī’s description, both the akua loa and akua pā‘ani looked similar. Both ki‘i, idols, were 3 fathoms tall (1869a). ‘Ī‘Ī explains,

Ma ko laua mau poo, ua hooonopono a poo kanaka ia; a ma ka ai, aia malaila i paa ai ka laau kea, he ekolu hailima paha kona loa. Ua kui paa ia ke kapa oloa keokeo e like me ko laua loa a he mau lei oni kai kau lewalewaia mai o a o laua, a he lau iwaiwa maluna o laua, mai kela poo a keia poo; a o ke alo o na kino o na laau loloa, ua huliia i hope... i mea ka

e ike aku ai ka wahine, ua nalowale mai ona ae, nolaila, ua paa mau ia ano huakai i na makahiki a pau e kaapuni mau ana i mea e loa ai ua wahine nalowale la.

Paraphrase:

On their tops, were carved into human shaped heads; and on the neck was where a wooden crosspiece was secured, about three ha‘ilima<sup>37</sup> (1.5 m) in length. White oloa kapa was secured, the length the same as their height and hanging lei from one end to the other on them draped, fern fronds on the top of them, from this head to that head; and the faces of the tall wooden bodies were turned to face back...the reason was to see the wife, who was lost to him [Lonoikamakahiki] and thusly, was held during the entire procession of the makahiki in this manner until the circuit was complete to find his lost wife.

‘Ī‘Ī also says that both the akua loa and akua poko faced backwards to protect the people who were still under kapu awaiting the arrival of Lono (1869b). Sahlins explains that the kapa pieces looked similar to the sail’s of a ship (1979, p. 319). Perhaps, the large pieces of white kapa represent clouds or sheets of rain. It’s not a far stretch of the imagination to see the billowing clouds in the large folds of the kapa and the ka‘upu bird pelts appearing to soar through the clouds.

Lonoikamakahiki was a chief who frequently resided in Kahalu‘u, North Kona, who went on circuits around Hawai‘i Island challenging people to ho‘opāpā (debating) and mokomoko, a form of mixed martial arts (Fornander, 1919, pp. 256-363). Lonoikmakahiki was deified by Kamehameha I becoming Lonoikamakahiki, Lono of the year (S. Kamakau, 1870b). The akua loa represents both Lonomakua and Lonoikamakahiki (Handy, Handy & Pukui, 1972, p. 349). K. Kamakau differs from the rest of the informants, referring to the akua loa as Lononuiākea (1919, p. 39). When the akua loa arrived a special space was made for the akua Lono near the ahupua‘a district boundary called an ālia (Malo, 2001, p. 125; ‘Ī‘Ī 1869b). The ālia boundary markers were made of Kauila wood which demarked the kapu area for Lono, where only the mo‘olono were allowed and the

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<sup>37</sup> A ha‘ilima is a measurement from the tip of the middle finger to the crook of the elbow.

noa area, freely opened area, where people were allowed to move about (Malo, 2001, p. 125).

The second akua Lono that is part of the Makahiki ceremonies is the akua poko, the short akua. The akua poko does not travel the same circuit as the akua loa. K. Kamakau and 'Ī'ī note that the akua poko's procession is shorter than the akua loa's circuit, hence the name. The akua poko walks on the left side of the akua loa until the procession reaches the final ahupua'a boundary that belongs to the ali'i nui. The akua poko then turns around and returns back to the procession's starting point ('Ī'ī 1869b; Fornander 1919, pp. 39-41). The akua loa's procession went further than the akua poko and continued on to circuit the island clockwise.

The third akua Lono was the akua pā'ani, the sporting akua who remained behind and took the place of the akua loa and akua poko when they departed to circuit the island (Malo, 1840, p. 152). The akua pā'ani symbolizes Lono and encourages sports ('Ī'ī 1869b; Valeri, 1985, p. 209). K. Kamakau reports that the akua pā'ani is a female sporting deity named Makawahine. Her function is to encourage the crowds to mokomoko once the four-day kāmāwai (laws or edits for gods) was completed (Fornander, 1919, p. 43). S.M. Kamakau listed Lonoikamakahiki, Kihawahine, Kahoali'i, and Kāpala 'Alaea as other akua that traveled with the akua Lono during Kamehameha I's time. These akua were once ali'i nui who had been deified and were important to Kamehameha I's conquests. S.M. Kamakau in an article about Lonoikamakahiki being a deified person states, "O Lonoikamakahiki, he akua kanaka no ia, aole ia he akua maoli". Regarding Lonoikamakahiki, he was a deified man, he wasn't a true akua (1867). Both Kahoali'i and Kāpala 'Alaea were also ali'i who took on the responsibility of becoming the akua during the Makahiki and 'Aha ceremonies.<sup>38</sup> Kāpala 'Alaea was painted with 'alaea (red mud) until he was completely red; one side was considered kapu and the other side was noa (S. M. Kamakau, 1870b).

The circuit took four days (Malo, 2001, p. 124). A kāmāwai of Lono during these four days were the following (Fornander, 1919, p. 41):

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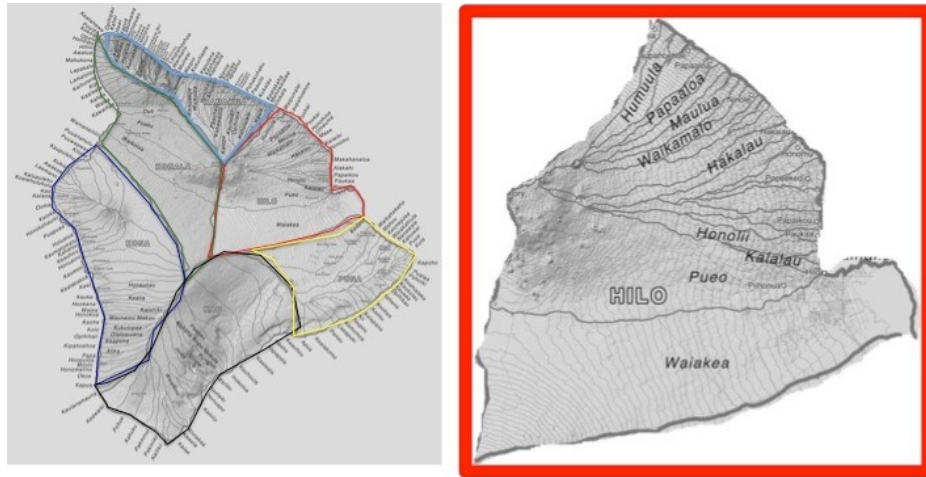
<sup>38</sup> Kanahale, P.K. Papakū Makawalu Workshop, *Lono*. Kīlauea Military Camp, February 14, 2010.

Aole e pepehi, e kapu ke kua, aole e hakaka, e kapu ka moana aohe waa holo, e kapu ke kua, aole e kuku, e kapu ka pahu, aole e pai, e kapu ka pu, aole e puhi, e kapu ka aina, aole e hemo, e kapu ka lani ia Lono ke hekili kapu ia Lono, e kapu ka honua ia Lono, ke ala i kapu ia Lono, e kapu ka mauna ia Lono, ke kuahiwi kapu ia Lono, e kapu ka moana ia Lono, ke kaikoo kapu ia Lono, e kapu ka ohona ia Lono, ka waa holo ke kaikoo kapu ia Lono, e kapu ka ohona a pela ke akua i lahui mai ai i kona kanawai.

Paraphrase:

People are not allowed to kill, war is prohibited, there is no fighting, the ocean is prohibited, there is no sailing, all other worship is ceased, kapa beating is prohibited, the drum is prohibited, the ipu is not beat, the conch is prohibited, not to be blown, the land is sacred, it [land] is not opened, the atmosphere was sacred to Lono, the thunder is sacred to Lono, the earth is sacred to Lono, the footpaths are banned by Lono, the mountains are prohibited by Lono, the ridges are sacred to Lono, the ocean is prohibited by Lono, the rough surf is banned by Lono, yelling is banned by Lono, sailing in rough ocean is forbidden by Lono, yelling was forbidden and thusly for the akua gathered during his [Lono's] edict.

Most of the kapu listed in the kānāwai of Lono are considered attributes of Lono. The kānāwai a Lono were observed specifically on the pō Kāloakūkahi until the pō Kāne while the akua loa made its circuit. People were regulated to stay home during these four phases.



**Figure 4.10:** *Moku 'Okana and Ahupua'a on Hawaii*<sup>39</sup>

From this point the path of the huaka'i (procession), sequence of the activities, and ceremonies differ from the various narratives. What becomes apparent is that three of the sources, Malo, 'I'i and K. Kamakau, were reporting from personal eyewitness accounts as members of a higher ali'i status who were involved in the rigorous ceremonies. One source, S.M. Kamakau, is not reporting from a personal eyewitness accounts as he was only 5 years old when the 'aikapu had been abolished. S.M. Kamakau's information may have come from a person who participated as a lower ranked individual. S.M. Kamakau's publication reports that Kamehameha I's akua Makahiki went on a circuit of the island specifically to ask for and seize the wealth of the people (1870b). Again, this is an example that the new Makahiki proceedings on O'ahu were not welcomed by S.M. Kamakau or his informant.

All perspectives are valid and give good contextual insight to this paper. The easiest method is to create a second chart with 'I'i, K. Kamakau and S.M. Kamakau's accounts that follow the kaulana mahina to compare with the Malo chart.

Generally, the understanding is that the akua loa moved clockwise around the island on its huaka'i (procession) keeping the ocean to its left. K. Kamakau reports that the procession could take up to twenty-three days to complete its

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<sup>39</sup> There are six-moku 'okana on Hawai'i Island. The moku 'okana of Hilo is featured on the photo to the right. There are nine ahupua'a in Hilo. Map retrieved August 21, 2018, <http://www.ahamoku.org/index.php/maps>.

circuit (as cited in Fornander, 1919, p. 41). The akua poko went counter clockwise and only took four days to complete its circuit within the ahupua'a district (Fornander, 1919, p. 41). The akua poko's route was shorter as its procession only went to a designated inner border and returned (Malo, 1840, p. 153). S. M. Kamakau described the huaka'i procession that occurred on O'ahu, stating that the akua loa traveled north from Ko'olauloa and the akua poko traveled south with the female gods going counterclockwise from Ko'olaupoko towards Waikiki. The akua reconvened again at Ka'a'awa (1870b). 'I'i also supports S.M. Kamakau's narrative noting that he himself had walked in procession with the akua Makahiki for the purpose of witnessing the great mokomoko matches, which were encouraged by the akua poko ('I'i 1869b).

Pukui notes, Kalani'ōpu'u had a brother named Kahoali'i who likely performed the Makahiki rituals. Kamehameha also named a chief in his entourage Kahoali'i who played that role in the Makahiki of his times (Handy, Handy & Pukui, 1972, p. 367). It is likely that the person personifying Kahoali'i took on the role of the akua while traveling on the circuit. Emerson footnotes that Kahoali'i was a dark skinned person with white patches near his inner thighs (Malo, 1951, p. 155). Kanaka'ole Kanahale mentions that the people who took on the role of being possessed by the akua were usually physically beautiful and titled kanaka 'ole, or not human (2010).<sup>40</sup> These individuals traveled along the circuit as part of the entourage.

While the akua loa is unfurled in its full appearance and in procession mode, everything ma kai, ocean side, of its pathway was considered kapu. If a person erroneously found him or herself on the wrong side of the akua loa, a pig was demanded as a payment for the offense (Malo, 1840, p. 153). P.W. Kaawa notes (1865a),

Ina he kane ka mea hele ma ka aoao akau, lilo ia kanaka no ke'kua, a pela no hoi ka wahine; hele pu no me ua akua nei, e hahai ana ma na wahi a pau e hele ai o ua akua nei, a e amo no hoi ia ia.

Paraphrase:

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<sup>40</sup> Kanahale, P.K. Papakū Makawalu Workshop, *Lono*. Kīlauea Military Camp, February 14, 2010.

If a man was to come upon the right side, that person would be taken by the akua, and so it was the same for a woman; they would have to travel with this akua, following along to all the places traveled by this akua, also carrying him.

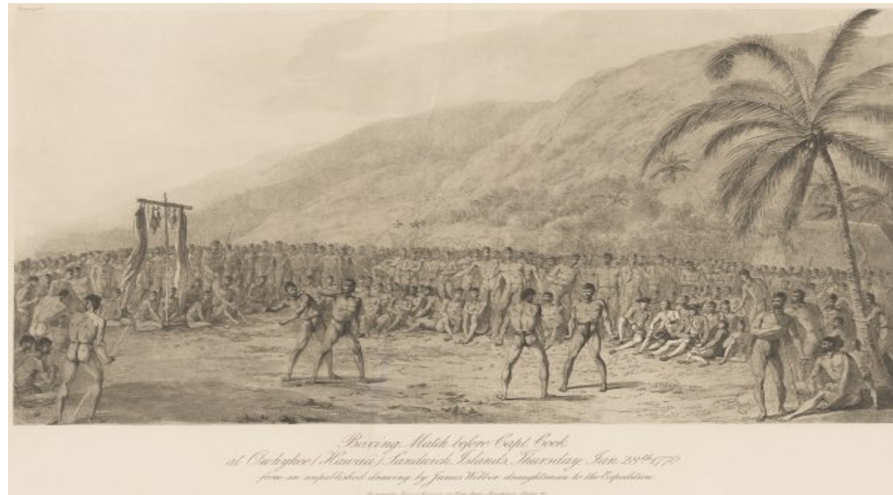
There are some unclear details that are left out in the narratives. It is unclear whether there is a single akua loa that circuits the entire island, or whether there are several akua loa, each responsible to a collection of the large moku 'okana or a collection of smaller ahupua'a districts. Did the akua loa stop at every single ahupua'a? Another detail that is unclear is whether there were akua poko for each ahupua'a or for a collection of ahupua'a. Once the akua loa arrived to an ahupua'a that was still under the Makahiki kapu, did the akua poko join the procession by walking side by side with the akua loa noting that the akua poko traveled "ma uka/upland" of the akua loa to which the akua loa traveled "ma kai/downslope of the akua poko? These are terms that are seen in other narratives. Did each ahupua'a have its own akua poko that would accompany the akua loa annually through its own district to the designated location of the collected waiwai? Was there a single akua poko that went counter clockwise, in the opposite direction of the akua loa, which was noted in the information regarding the huaka'i Makahiki on O'ahu? Unfortunately, these details were not part of any huaka'i descriptions by these main sources of Makahiki information.

#### **4.5.4 Pule Hainaki and Mokomoko**

The akua Makahiki were expected to arrive at any time between pō Kāloakūkahi to pō Kāne. The akua loa, akua poko and other accompanying akua assembled at a designated location near the ahupua'a boundary marker. The 'auhau had been collected for the akua Makahiki to inspect and decide if the waiwai was sufficient. When satisfied, the kahuna who traveled with the akua performed the pule Hainaki to free the land of the Makahiki restrictions (Malo, 1840, p. 154). If they were not satisfied, the akua Makahiki demanded more waiwai until they were satisfied (S. M. Kamakua, (1870b). Upon the completion of the pule Hainaki, the kapa 'oloa and ka'upu birds on the idols were furled and tucked up. The term used is pāpio 'ia, which is a sign that all the kapu affiliated with the akua Makahiki were now relaxed. The akua Makahiki could continue on

to the compound of the ali'i nui if the ali'i was in residence at that particular ahupua'a, or continue on until arriving at the next ahupua'a. When the akua Makahiki retinue departed, the akua pā'ani stood in place of the akua loa to encourage sports. As mentioned previously, the name of the akua pā'ani was Makawahine (K. Kamakau as cited in Fornander, 1919, p. 43). There is a lithograph depiction of Makawahine, the akua pā'ani that was made by John Webber in 1779 on Captain James Cook's final expedition to Hawai'i. Makawahine looks similarly like the akua loa, with long kapa pieces, some leis and ka'upu birds draped on the cross piece at the top. At the base of Makawahine sat the mo'olono attendants presiding over the mokomoko matches.

The maka'āinana, lower ali'i and kāhuna could now move on to the mokomoko games. The mokomoko is a form of mixed martial arts, which included hand-to-hand fighting, free for all wrestling, boxing, and fancy moves. In the *Pule Hainaki*, the mokomoko is the only sport that is mentioned as part of the Makahiki ceremonies. A section in Fornander dedicated to the mokomoko describes that the mokomoko was the last ritual performed to end the Makahiki festivities (1919, pp. 203-5). Fornander's informant says that the mokomoko was only performed for a single day on the pō of Lono and the field's name where the mokomoko was done was Hinakahua, located in Hikapoloa, Kohala (Fornander, 1919, p. 205). The field mentioned is located just ma uka (upland) of the Mo'okini Heiau, where the akua loa were returned and housed for the rest of the year (Fornander, 1919, p. 205). Other sports and hula were performed in mass numbers, though *Pule Hainaki* and this single description in Fornander mention the just the mokomoko, which were matches specifically dedicated to the Makahiki ceremonies (Ī'ī 1869b; Malo, 1840, p. 156).



**Figure 4.11:** Lithograph by John Webber depicting a Mokomoko match at the Makahiki

Opponents squared off, lively shouting and banter between the crowds occurred (‘Ī‘Ī 1869b). Malo describes a form of ha‘a occurs between sides taunting one another until the match began (Malo, 1840, p. 156). The mokomoko continued until the late evening. It was fun, rather irreverent, painful, blood was spilled and occasionally a death occurred. The mokomoko matches ended the day and the kapu Makahiki. Malo lists other games and activities that were played on the following day when the ceremonies had been concluded. Malo states (1840, pp. 156-7):

He mokomoko no ka hana, he hula kahi hana, he no‘a, he hee holua, he pahee, he maika, he kukini, a me ia hana aku ia hana aku, he nui loa no

Paraphrase:

Mokomoko was done, hula was also done, no‘a,<sup>41</sup> sledding, sliding darts, bowling, racing and the like, there are many.

Other games mentioned by S.M. Kamakau includes various types of wrestling, combat, racing, acrobats, sliding games, darts, javelins, spear throwing, rock dodging, etc (1870b). Hula was also an important part of the Makahiki. Handy, Handy and Pukui state that “hula dancing was enjoyed everywhere during

<sup>41</sup> A game: a stone or piece of wood called no‘a was hidden on the person of a player, and the other players tried to guess on whom it was hidden.

these festivities commemorating Lono” (1972, p. 360). The hula kōlani, ‘*O Lono* ‘*Oe*, mentioned in the first chapter is one of many hula dances dedicated to Lono and likely performed during the Makahiki. It was also likely that spontaneous dances were composed and performed on the spot. Also spontaneous compositions of mele and hula choreography were skills highly admired and revered (Emerson, 1915, p. vi). Handy, Handy and Pukui note that Laka, an akua of hula, was Lono’s wife and both were associated with rain and abundance of growth (1972, p. 360).

While the general populace was playing games, the ali‘i nui were sequestered in their compound awaiting the arrival of the akua Makahiki to complete their annual rituals to Lono.

#### **4.5.5 Kipa Hale Ali‘i - Lono Visits Chief’s House**

“E weli iā ‘oe e Lono, iā ‘oe e ka lani.” We are in awe of you Lono, you of the atmosphere,<sup>42</sup> is the ali‘i nui’s salutation to the akua Lono and the entourage when they arrived to the ali‘i nui’s residence (Fornander, 1919, p. 43; Malo, 1847, 155). ‘Ī‘ī used the terms, “wili, wilina, wali and walina” to greet Lono (‘Ī‘ī, 1869b). Mo‘olono spoke for the akua loa and stood outside of the compound. The members of the ali‘i’s household responded, eia ke aloha na ke ali‘i iā ‘oe e Lono. Here is the loyalty by the chiefs for you Lono. The mo‘olono replied, “eia ke aloha na Lono iā ‘oe e ka lani.” Here is the devotion of Lono to you, your Eminence. After this exchange was made between the ali‘i nui household members and the akua Lono, the Makahiki entourage passed through the threshold of the entrance to perform the various rituals only performed by the high-ranking ali‘i.

The household of the ali‘i nui separated themselves away from the greater population during the four pō mahina that the akua Lono were on the huaka‘i circuit to await the personal visitation. Contrary to the overall belief that the ali‘i mingled freely with the maka‘āinana during the Makahiki, the ali‘i nui and his or her household remained in isolation in the same way that the kahuna nui stayed in ka‘iu, ceremonial isolation, on the luakini heiau during the time that the akua loa was on its circuit (Fornander, 1919, pp. 41-3). In K. Kamakau’s description, the

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<sup>42</sup> This section can also be understood as, “you, the supreme chief.”

akua loa entered into the home and an exchange of pule occurred between the mo'olono and the ali'i's kahuna, which was then followed by gifting a lei niho palaoa (a whale tooth lei) to the akua loa. The lei was tied on to the neck of the akua loa. The ali'i fed pork, a pudding made with coconut milk called 'uhau, kūlolo a taro pudding, and 'awa to the mo'olono to which the ritual feeding was called hānai pū. K. Kamakau states that the akua loa departed the home afterwards and moved on to the next ali'i within the compound (Fornander, 1919, p. 43).

‘Ī‘Ī’s narrative differs where the hānai pū ritual was conducted by ali'i who were a higher classification in mana and authority called nī‘aupi'o (‘Ī‘Ī, 1869b). Nī‘aupi'o ali'i were designated as such by birth through mating close relatives to one another to contain the high status of the offspring within the power and control of the family. The hānai pū ritual conducted by the ali'i nī‘aupi'o is elaborate. The ritual starts with the akua Makahiki standing outside of the compound. The mo'olono chant, "Wilina." Greetings.<sup>43</sup> The people within the compound reply, "E wili ho'i iā 'oe [e] Lono. Aloha, aloha 'oe [e] Lono." Paraphrase: You will also be revered Lono. Welcome, welcome Lono.

Following this verbal exchange the akua loa entered into the home and the ali'i stated, "eia ko poni e Lono," which means this is your consecration Lono. This is the ceremony in which an anointment with coconut oil occurred. A wrapped bundle of masticated coconut was offered to the mo'olono by the ali'i. The ali'i anointed the akua with the coconut oil. ‘Ī‘Ī does not specify how or where the anointment occurred. My assumption is that the bundle of masticated coconut produced oil when squeezed that was then dabbed or rubbed onto the head of the Lono idol. Everyone in the household was also similarly anointed though the ritual was not described.

The mo'olono who carried Lono, was then fed by the hand of the ali'i nī‘aupi'o. This is a significant indicator of the role the mo'olono performed during the ceremonies. This action of the ali'i feeding the akua who was represented by the mo'olono was the reason that the ritual was called, hānai pū

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<sup>43</sup> Wilina is a dialect variation of the terms welina or walina which sort of means greetings but emphasizes how awestricken or reverant both speaker and responder feel towards one another.

(‘Ī‘ī 1869b; Fornander, 1919, p. 43; Malo, 1840, p. 156). For the mo‘olono who carried the akua loa, his role was to be the living akua, which implies that the mo‘olono were equal to the ali‘i nui’s status during the Makahiki rituals.

The first course of the meal was a cup of ‘awa followed by some small bites of food such as a sugarcane variety called mai‘a and ‘a‘aho kau which was a solidified pudding made of coconut and pia arrowroot cooked with a hot rock on a ti leaf (‘Ī‘ī, 1869b). The second course was a small piece of fatty pork and a mouthful of pa‘i ‘ai.<sup>44</sup> Upon completion of the meal the mo‘olono outside chanted, "Walina wale nā hoa. Walina wale ho‘i e Lono." Paraphrase: Purely good wishes friends. Also blessings by Lono. The household responded and the akua loa exited the home to continue parading within the compound.

The ali‘i wahine (chiefess) of an ali‘i nī‘aupi‘o waited outside to make an ‘ālana offering to Lono. An ‘ālana is an offering that was given with the intention of receiving a desired outcome (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 18). In the example provided by ‘Ī‘ī, the ali‘i wahine asked Lono to grant them a child. The ali‘i wahine offers a ninikea malo (long pure white malo) and a pig with a pule to Lono stating, "eia ko poni e Lono e mālia mai iā māua. Here is your consecration Lono, remember us." If there were many high-ranking ali‘i living in the compound, the akua loa would visit each ali‘i’s household. Each ali‘i anointed, fed and prepared ‘ālana for Lono hoping that their requests will be granted. Once the hānai pū was completed amongst the ali‘i, two kapu (restrictions) occurred. The first was that the ali‘i wahine remained separated from the ali‘i kāne until approximately 8 or 9 in the evening. The second was that all the ali‘i remained within their compound for the duration of the akua loa’s circuit (‘Ī‘ī 1869b). The belief that the ali‘i of high status were free to roam amongst the maka‘āinana is not true during the arrival and circuit of the akua loa because the ali‘i remained in ka‘iu, isolation from the rest of the population. ‘Ī‘ī again mentions that the eyes of Lono and other gods, while on procession, are faced backwards as the circuit moves forward on its crusade. ‘Ī‘ī states that the akua loa looked back towards the ali‘i to whom Lono had just left facing the land that had just been declared noa, (free of the kapu) and released from the ceremonial obligations (1869b). The new district that the procession was moving towards was still under the Makahiki

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<sup>44</sup> Pa‘i ‘ai is the first pounding of poi with little water added.

kapu, restrictions, which continued to include the kapu of avoiding being in close proximity to or traveling on the left side of Lono.

#### **4.5.6 Closing Ceremonies**

Once the akua loa and other akua Makahiki departed on the procession, the people were left to enjoy games and ‘aha ‘āina (feasting). Restrictions on eating fresh fish continued, though dried fish and other plant foods were consumed. Both K. Kamakau and Malo report that the akua poko returned decorated with pala ferns on the pō mahina of Kāne in the malama of Welehu via the forest route, and returned to the luakini heiau (Fornander, 1919, p. 43; Malo, 1840, p. 157).

As mentioned previously, Fornander’s Kohala informant explains that the akua Makahiki returned to the Mo‘okini heiau on the pō Kāne (Fornander, 1919, 205). For the maka‘āinana, collecting pala ferns in the forest was the beginning of the conclusion of the kapu Makahiki for them. The kapu placed on farming fields during the Makahiki was released once the pala ferns were brought from the forest as the akua poko is returned to the luakini heiau (Malo, 1840, p. 157). The word pala means to ripen, to anoint, and also blot out or erase (Wehewehe wiki, 2018e). Symbolically, the action of collecting the pala ferns signified having completed the Makahiki obligations. Its possible function is to begin erasing all Makahiki requirements from the last few malama so that daily work can commence. Maka‘āinana were once again allowed to gather fresh produce from the fields. The first item gathered was bundles of ‘ōlū‘au, which are the tender leaf shoots from the kalo plant. This gathering occurred on the evening of pō Kāne for those who were Kāne practitioners. Malo explains that the ‘ōlū‘au were wrapped, roasted and then inserted into the walls of the homes. Lono practitioners did the same on the following pō mahina of Lono as well as the Kanaloa practitioners who did the same ‘ōlū‘au ritual on the following pō mahina of Maui (Malo, 1840, p. 157). Malo does not state the reason as to why the food bundles were inserted into the walls of the homes, though the ritual could be comparable to the restoration ritual that was performed by Hi‘iaka. In the epic story of Hi‘iaka coming into her mana akua, she comes upon a maimed girl named Manamaniaakalua. The food that was ritually offered to Hi‘iaka was roasted ‘ōlū‘au in thanks for her assistance in restoring life and mana back into

Manamanaikalua (Emerson, 1915, p. 73). Perhaps restoring and dedicating the home to the family akua required a symbolic feeding, rededicating one's house and household to the family akua after the respite of being dedicated to Lono during the Makahiki services. Upon completion of this ceremony, the maka'āinana were allowed to return back to farming but not fishing. The ali'i continued participating in other formal rituals (Malo, 1840, p. 157).

#### **4.5.6.1 Fire Rituals Through Fishing**

For the ali'i, when the akua poko returned on pō Kāne the Puea fires were lit. The Parker Hawaiian dictionary explains that Puea is "the name of a god worshiped in the night: a god of torchlight fishermen: he akua kii Puea" (Wehewehe wiki, 2018g). Puea is a carved idol. K. Kamakau explains that Puea was an evening ritual that started with the many kāhuna setting up the firewood for the large fires that were lit on pō Kāne after the akua poko had returned. It was the responsibility of the kāhuna to set and light the fires (Fornander, 1919, p. 43). It is also likely that the Puea fire building and lighting by the kāhuna was an important symbolic event, prominent with ceremony though none of the informants went into detail with the procedures of the fire ritual. There is some evidence that the puea fire was lit with 'ōhi'a firewood brought to the event by young girls who had become of age for sexual activity, however this research is outside of the scope of my paper and my choice was to possibly return to the topic for a future paper. The torches were lit with special fire pits created by the kāhuna with special wood.

On a personal note, my father explained to me that the puea was a torch lighting ceremony for fishermen to light their torches for night fishing, but had been resurrected and modified in the 1960s by the Coco Palms Resort on Kaua'i as a torch lighting sunset event for the tourists to watch. He also explained that the puea torch lighting ceremony was later adapted by many other hotels, including at the Sheraton Ka'ānapali Hotel where he was the first sunset torch lighter and cliff diver (Bernard Nuuhiwa Bulawan, personal communication, February 1, 2018).



*Figure 4.12: My father performing the sunset puea ceremony at the Sheraton Kā'anapali Hotel on the island of Maui. Circa 1964.*

In the morning of pō Lono, ocean bathing occurred but it wasn't considered a ritual bathing and the men took the wa'a (canoes) to go fishing. The kahuna nui, who had been under the kapu 'iu, was released from his kapu and was allowed to leave the luakini (Malo, 1840, p. 158). The fishing continued through the first phases of the malama of Makali'i until pō Huna. 'Ahi (*Thunnus albacares*) are a type of tuna when chasing after bait flashes colors of red and orange, which make them appear like fire running through the water. 'Ahi was the fish that was sought after during these pō mahina. The men were allowed to eat

the fresh fish that was caught, however, the women were not allowed to eat fresh fish until pō Huna and Mōhalu. K. Kamakau names the chant for the ritual fishing, kalahu‘a (1919, p. 43). Malo explains that the kalahu‘a was the ritual that the ali‘i wahine and women of the community implemented by eating the fresh fish (1840, p. 158). The kalahu‘a ritual was the next procedure to closing the Makahiki season. When the ‘ahi was caught, the catch was brought to shore and given to the women to consume. A single ‘ahi was also given to a kahuna who embodied Hoa.<sup>45</sup> My speculation is that the name Hoa is a shortened version of Kahoali‘i. Handy, Handy and Pukui explain that Kahoali‘i played a significant role in the dedication of the luakini heiau (1972, p. 367). Kahoali‘i was an akua of fire believed to house and recharge the sun every night from sunset to sunrise (Emerson as cited in Malo, 1951, p. 155). Perhaps the function that Kahoali‘i is to recharge and reignite the Kū ceremonies. The kahuna impersonating Kahoali‘i consumed the eye of the ‘ahi and also that of a sacrificed kanaka. K. Kamakau notes that this consumption signified acquiring the knowledge and characteristics of the ‘ahi (Fornander, 1919, p. 43). Following the consumption of the ‘ahi fish by the women, a kapu was again placed on fishing. It is unclear whether fishing in general was kapu, or if fishing for ‘ahi was placed under kapu.

On the morning of pō Māhealani, the akua loa returned and was set up with the other akua Makahiki in front of the luakini heiau. A kāli‘i ritual was performed between the ali‘i nui against the ali‘i nui’s warriors (Fornander, 1919, p. 45; Malo, 2001, p. 130). The ali‘i nui could choose to face his warriors by himself or to have his personal champion face the warriors on his behalf (Fornander, 1919, p. 43-5). This ritual of deflecting thrown spears tested the quick agility, physical strength and mental wit of the ali‘i nui. A sham battle with spears called kāne kupua followed. The kāli‘i and kāne kupua were rituals performed by skillfully trained warriors, which did not include the greater population. It appears that the ‘ōlū‘au and the kalahu‘a ceremonies were the last Makahiki rituals that were inclusive of the larger community’s participation. The ali‘i, the kāhuna, and the trained warriors generally performed the last ceremonies that subsequently

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<sup>45</sup> Researcher believes that the word Hua is a misprint for Hoa on page 43 of Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Folklore, Vol IV. Hoa is likely a shortened version of the name Kahoali‘i.

followed. The maka‘āinana could then return to their work in the fields and farms though it is unclear if some maka‘āinana continued to observe and participate in the last ceremonies as witnesses.

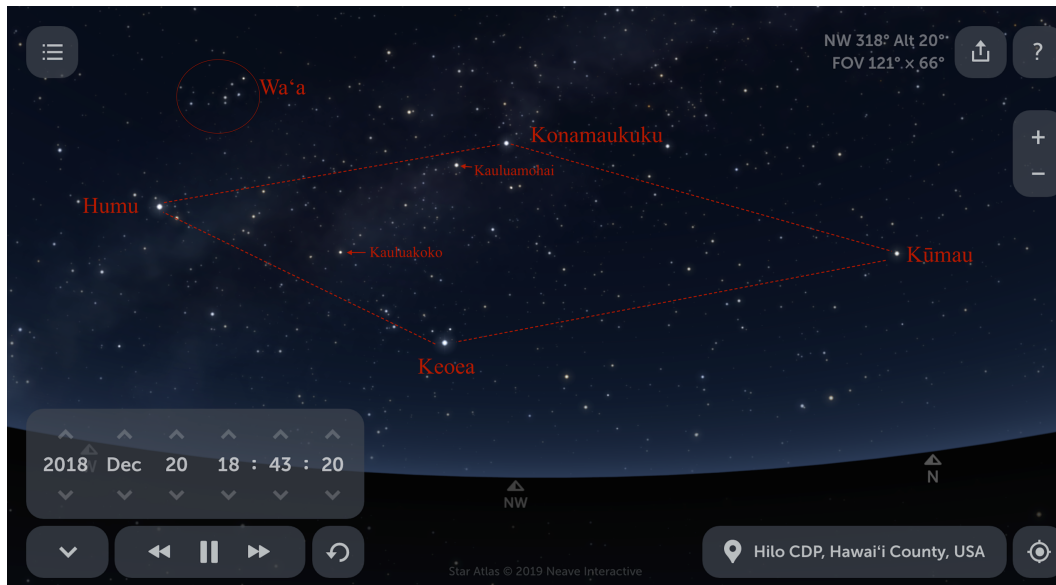
#### **4.5.6.2. Ku‘iku‘ipapa - Final Pule Makahiki**

K. Kamakau explains that in the evening of pō Māhealani, the ceremonies returned back into the luakini heiau. A pig was sacrificed by the ali‘i nui and offered to Lononuiākea (Fornander, 1919, 45). Malo reports that pigs were offered and roasted by the ali‘i nui to Lonomakua and a temporary shelter called a hale kōkō was built on the luakini fronting the Wai‘ea where the akua Makahiki were located at this time. The Hale kōkō was built for a kahuna who represented Kahoali‘i to stay in for a few days (2001, p. 131). It is unclear what the function of Kahoali‘i was on the luakini at this time. Perhaps his presence on the luakini symbolized the transition out of Lono’s ceremonial time and into Kū’s ceremonial time. On pō Kulu, the akua Makahiki were wrapped and stored in the luakini (Fornander, 1919, p. 45; Malo, 2001, p. 131). S.M. Kamakau explains that once the akua Makahiki went back into the luakini heiau and was situated within the hale akua, they became kapu once more and only those who attended to the ki‘i akua (idols), the kahuna, and the Mō‘ī were able to see them (S. M. Kamakau, 1870b). A sacrificial pig, coconut, and kūlolo were roasted over night and totally consumed on the morning of pō Lā‘aukūkahi. The mo‘olono who carried the akua Makahiki throughout the three malama were fed and consecrated by the kāhuna. I postulate that the kahuna conducted a ceremony for those mo‘olono who assumed the role of the akua so that they could be released from their obligations and return back to the world of kanaka as kanaka once again.

The last two rituals that concluded the Makahiki ceremonies also happened on Lā‘aukūkahi. The kōkō maoloha and the wa‘a o Lono seemed to occur simultaneously.

Pukui and Elbert note that a kōkō is a carrying net, usually made of sennit, as used for hanging calabashes (Wehewehe wikiwiki, 2018d). The Kōkō Maoloha’s origin story is essentially a ritualistic response to famine. The story states that a greedy chief named Makali‘i hid the food from the community. An akua named Waia let down his celestial net with the four corners that pointed to the four cardinal directions, shaking the scattered food in all directions to feed the

starving people (Malo, 1951, p. 204; Handy, Handy, & Pukui, 1972, p. 369). My suspicion is that the Kōkō Maoloha is the star constellation that forms the Mariner's Triangle and the single northern star Polaris. Each star points toward one of the cardinal directions. Humu (Altair) points south, Kūmau (Polaris) points north, Keoea (Vega) points west, and Konamaukuku (Deneb) points east.



**Figure 4.13:** Possibly The Celestial Stars That Form The Makahiki Kōkō Maoloha and The Wa 'a o Lono<sup>46</sup>

For the ceremony, the kōkō was filled with small packets of food, held at the four corners by four kāhuna, and while praying shook the net and if the food did not fall through the eyes of the net, famine was predicted for the next makahiki. If all the food fell to the ground the new makahiki was going to be prosperous (Malo, 2001, p. 131). The chant was uttered by the four kāhuna as follows:

E uliuli kai, e Uli ke akua e!  
E uli kai hakoko!  
Koko lani e Uli!  
Uli lau ka ai a ke akua  
Piha lani koko; e lu!

<sup>46</sup> Website: staratlas.com, Neave Interactive accessed on March 19, 2019

The people responded:

E lu ka ai a ke akua!

E lu ka lani!

He kau ai keia

E lu ka honua!

He kau ai keia.

Ola ka aina!

Ola ia Kane,

Kane ke akua ola.

Ola ia Kanaloa!

Ke akua kupueu

Ola na kanaka!

Kane i ka wai ola, e ola!

Ola ke alii Makahiki!

Amama, ua noa.

The kāhuna replied:

Noa ia wai?

The people responded:

*Noa ia Kane* (Malo, 1951, p. 205)

Paraphrase:

Oceans will be clear, oh Uli the deity!

The rough ocean omen!

Celestial net by Uli!

The harvests of the deities are healthy

The celestial net is full; scattered!

The people responded:

Scatter the food of the deities!

Scattered to the heavens!

This is the season's food

Scattered the earth!

This is the season's food

The environment lives!

Health through Kāne,

Kāne is the deity of life.

Health through Kanaloa!  
Wondrous deity  
Life to the people!  
Kāne of the living water, Live!  
The Makahiki chiefs will live!  
Ended, Freed.

The kāhuna then lifted their left arm and beat under their left armpits with their right hands saying, "ua noa, ua noa, ua noa" (Malo, 1951, p. 206).

The wa‘a o Lono was the final ritual. K. Kamakau explains that the final pule called Ku‘iku‘ipapa was uttered by a kahuna and then the wa‘a ākea (open canoe) was released into the ocean. He does not elaborate on how it was fashioned or what happens with the wa‘a ākea except to say that the Makahiki was considered *noa* (freed) upon its release into the ocean (1919, p. 45). The ku‘iku‘ipapa is noted in Pukui and Elbert as the prayer for the closing makahiki festivals (Wehewehe wikiwiki, 2018c). Malo describes that there were actually two different wa‘a, which are the wa‘a ‘auhau also known as wa‘a o Lono and the wa‘a kea. The wa‘a o Lono was released into the deep ocean with the belief that it would return on its own to Kahiki. The wa‘a kea was set afloat which then concluded the Makahiki ceremonies (Malo, 2001, p. 131). Interestingly, none of the narratives reports that the wa‘a ākea or wa‘a kea was filled with food as it is done in the modern Makahiki closing ceremonies. There really isn't much information regarding the wa‘a ‘auhau and the wa‘a [ā]kea except for the information that was added into the footnotes of the Malo translation by Emerson.

Unfortunately, Emerson added more information into his translations that was not in the original Hawaiian text without quoting the source or informing the reader that he had included additional information to the Hawaiian. This is plainly seen in the original Hawaiian text regarding the wa‘a ‘auhau and the wa‘a kea. Malo states (1840, pp. 160-1),

70. A laila, hana ia i waa auhau a ho‘oholo aku ma  
ka moana, ua kapa ia oia no ka Lono waa e hoi ai  
ma Kahiki, ma ia la no holo ka waa kea, a laila, noa  
loa ka makahiki, holo ka waa mao, mao a laila,

lawaia, a mahiai, hana kela mea, kea mea

Paraphrase:

70. Then, an 'auhau canoe was made and set sail in the deep ocean, it was called the canoe the Lono returned to Kahiki on, also on this day the waa kea was set sail, and then, the Makahiki was completely released, the canoes sailed here and there then fishing, and farming, and other work was done.

Emerson wrote the following additional information in his translated version,

70. A structure of basket-work, called the waa-auhau was then made, which was said to represent the canoe in which Lono returned to Tahiti. The same day also a canoe of unpainted wood, called a waa kea, was put to sea and coursed back and forth. After that the restrictions of the Makahiki were entirely removed (Malo, 1951, p. 151).

Either Emerson or W.D. Alexander elaborated on the translations and also includes extra information into the footnotes about Lono's canoe. Emerson states that the wicker basket was fashioned with stripped wauke sticks, woven into a crate, filled with all kinds of food, and transported on a larger outrigger canoe to be cast off in the ocean (Malo, 1951, p. 204). Handy, Handy and Pukui note that the woven canoe was the final ritual that released the kapu over the land and the ocean so that the farmers and fishermen could return to their daily tasks (Handy, Handy & Pukui, 1972, p. 370). It is unfortunate that we are left to wonder in modern times where this additional information had been acquired. Interestingly, there are similarities in the wicker basket canoe description that Emerson recorded in his footnotes that are similar to a description made by an ethnographer named Elsdon Best who worked among Māori tribes during the 1880s-1930s in New Zealand. Like Emerson, Best also did not cite or credit his Māori informants. Best writes about a ritual done on an island in the Rotorua Lake stating that a wicker basket made of raupō (*Typha orientalis*) was fashioned into a canoe and presented to a stone image housed in a wooden shrine. After the tohunga (kahuna) completed some incantations the wicker canoe was filled with kumara ('uala) and

launched into the lake to return to Hawaiki where the stone image had originated (Māori informant qtd. in Best, 1925, p. 99). The belief was that the 'uala harvests would be productive that year through the atua's protection. Perhaps the ritual originates from the Hawaiian Makahiki ceremonies? Unfortunately there is no way to know if this ritual was just practiced in Rotorua or with other tribes. It is also unclear whether Best's description of the Māori wicker basket had influenced the footnote in Malo's published book.

Malo's original script does not include detailed information about the wa'a 'auhau or the wa'a ākea. Both Emerson and Alexander sprinkled their additions throughout Malo's original manuscript without citing the sources of the supplementary material. This has been one of the discoveries made during cross comparisons of narratives between the original handwritten manuscript in 'ōlelo Hawai'i and Emerson's translations. On page 147 of Malo's Hawaiian Antiquities, Chapter 36, bullet point number 37 the narrative states:

By this ceremony the land under consideration was sealed as free. The idol was then turned face downwards and moved on to signify that no one would be troubled, even though he ventured on the left-hand side of the road, because the whole district had been declared free from tabu, noa. But when the idol came to the border of the next ahupuaa, the tabu of the god was resumed; and any person who then went on the left-hand side of it, subjected himself to the penalties of the law. Only when the guardians of the idols declared the land free did it become free. (Malo, 1951, p 147)

The 'ōlelo Hawai'i narrative states:

A laila noa ia aina, papio ia ke akua a hele aku, i ole e pili hou ke kanaka ke hele ma ka aoao hema, no ka mea ua noa ia aina a hiki aku no ke akua ma ka palena o kela ahupuaa, kapu hou no, pili no ke kanaka ke ae ma ka aoao hema ma ka wa e hainaki ai ia aina ua noa (Malo, 1840, p. 154).

Paraphrase:

Then this land was free, the akua was wrapped up and departed, so as not to penalize the person who treads on the left, because the land was freed

until the akua arrived at the boundary of that ahupua‘a, it was again kapu, people were then penalized when treading upon the left side, until the time when the hainaki occurred then that land was freed.

There was no mention in the original Hawaiian text of the ki‘i (idols) being turned "downwards," it just says that the akua was wrapped up. Cross referencing the collected rituals from Malo, ‘Ī‘Ī, K. Kamakau, S.M. Kamakau, and Fornander’s Kohala informant reveals that the information regarding the ki‘i being turned to face downwards or away comes from K. Kamakau’s narrative. Moreover, Emerson’s extended footnotes filled with pule and mele, though informative, also do not state where the additional facts had been attained. In my opinion, this practice of not identifying the native informant or the eyewitness who passed on their personal accounts to Emerson is definitely problematic and disappointing, as many researchers who do not speak Hawaiian rely solely on the translated information. The following graphs feature the information that the five main informants expounded regarding the Makahiki rituals as they occurred in the kaulana mahina for each malama. The figure below is a small section of the cross comparison’s of narratives to illustrate some of the similarities and differences between each of the narratives and also identifies a few of the sources of Emerson’s expanded accounts in his translations. To see all the entire collection, see the Appendix.

**Table 4.2:** Cross Comparison Between The Makahiki Narratives for the Malama 'Ikuā.

<b>'Ikuā (October) 'Ī'ī</b>									
<b>Hilo</b> The kuapola rite occurs in the evening until late at night. Does not say which pō it happens.	<b>Hoaka</b> Kapu placed on ocean, sailing, and going up into the mountains. Does not state when kapu transpires	<b>Kūkahi</b>	<b>Kūlua</b>	<b>Kūkolu</b>	<b>Kūpau</b>	<b>'Ōlekūkahi</b>	<b>'Olekūlua</b>	<b>'Olekūkolu</b>	<b>'Olepau</b>
<b>Huna</b>	<b>Mōhalu</b>	<b>Hua</b>	<b>Akua</b>	<b>Hoku</b>	<b>Māhealani</b>	<b>Kulu</b>	<b>Lā'aukūkahi</b>	<b>Lā'aukūlua</b>	<b>Lā'aupau</b>
<b>'Olekūkahi</b>	<b>'Olekūlua</b>	<b>'Olepau</b>	<b>Kāloakūkahi</b>	<b>Kāloakūlua</b>	<b>Kāloapau</b>	<b>Kāne</b>	<b>Lono</b>	<b>Mauli</b>	<b>Muku</b>

**Table 4.2 (continued):** Cross Comparison Between The Makahiki Narratives for the Malama 'Ikuā

<b>'Ikuā (November) Kepelino</b>									
<b>Hilo</b> Month long events of surf, sports, games, and pleasure.	<b>Hoaka</b>	<b>Kūkahi</b>	<b>Kūlua</b>	<b>Kūkolu</b>	<b>Kūpau</b>	<b>'Ōlekūkahi</b>	<b>'Olekūlua</b>	<b>'Olekūkolu</b>	<b>'Olepau</b>
<b>Huna</b>	<b>Mōhalu</b>	<b>Hua</b>	<b>Akua</b>	<b>Hoku</b>	<b>Māhealani</b>	<b>Kulu</b>	<b>Lā'aukūkahi</b>	<b>Lā'aukūlua</b>	<b>Lā'aupau</b>
<b>'Olekūkahi</b>	<b>'Olekūlua</b>	<b>'Olepau</b>	<b>Kāloakūkahi</b>	<b>Kāloakūlua</b>	<b>Kāloapau</b>	<b>Kāne</b>	<b>Lono</b>	<b>Mauli</b>	<b>Muku</b>

*Table 4.2 (continued): Cross Comparison Between The Makahiki Narratives for the Malama 'Ikuā*

<b>'Ikuā (February-March) SM Kamakau</b>									
Hilo	Hoaka	Kūkahi	Kūlua	Kūkolu	Kūpau	'Ōlekūkahi	'Olekūlua	'Olekūkolu	'Olepau
Huna	Mōhalu	Hua	Akua	Hoku	Māhealani	Kulu	Lā'aukūkahi	Lā'aukūlua	Lā'aupau
'Olekūkahi	'Olekūlua	'Olepau	Kāloakūkahi	Kāloakūlua	Kāloapau	<b>Kāne</b> Ali'inui released kapu of consuming pork, coconut, 'ulua and fish. Lesser ali'i and maka'āinana conducted their own rituals, then also consumed foods listed above.	<b>Lono</b> People free to rest, feast, enjoy amusements and sports to strengthen the body. Akua pā'ani came out, mokomoko, maika, and other games began.	<b>Mauli</b>	<b>Muku</b>

*Table 4.2 (continued): Cross Comparison Between The Makahiki Narratives for the Malama 'Ikuā*

<b>'Ikuā - K. Kamakau</b>									
Hilo	Hoaka	Kūkahi	Kūlua	Kūkolu	Kūpau	'Ōlekūkahi	'Olekūlua	'Olekūkolu	'Olepau
<b>Hilo</b> Kauwelu ceremonies at luakini.	<b>Hoaka</b> Kauwelu continued outside of luakini. Mai'a and niu offered by ali'inui. Kalaku done by kahuna.	<b>Kūkahi</b> 40 - 80 pigs roasted and divided amongst the ali'i. Kauila ceremony done. Priests remained in ceremony all night.	<b>Kūlua</b> Hālua and offerings made on luakini. Moved to Hale o Papa. Dogs roasted and offered with iholena bananas to female akua.						
<b>Huna</b>	<b>Mōhalu</b> Kuapola ritual to feed the stars and moon the cracked coconuts and pig.	<b>Hua</b> Ali'inui, kahuna and another person went into the luakini to conduct pule. Nothing conducted for next 29 pō.	<b>Akua</b>	<b>Hoku</b>	<b>Māhealani</b>	<b>Kulu</b>	<b>Lā'aukūkahi</b>	<b>Lā'aukūlua</b>	<b>Lā'aupau</b>
'Olekūkahi	'Olekūlua	'Olepau	Kāloakūkahi	Kāloakūlua	Kāloapau	Kāne	Lono	Mauli	Muku

#### 4.5.7 Makahiki on the Other Islands

It is easy to assume that all the Hawaiian Islands participated in some form of the Makahiki, however there does not seem to be a lot written about it. There are place names that are memorialized as Makahiki fields, heiau sites or ahupua'a markers like those on Kalaeoka'o'io, Kualoa on O'ahu (Kamakau, 1870), Keahu'aiea, 'Auwahi on Maui (Sterling, 1998, p. 210) or Maoloha, Makaweli on Kaua'i.<sup>47</sup> People who originated from Hawai'i Island had done nearly all of the early Makahiki narratives that had been written. Malo, K. Kamakau, 'I'i, Kepelino, and Gideona La'anui were all from the Kona districts of Hawai'i Island. Fornander's one informant who wrote about the mokomoko rituals was possibly from Kohala as the landmarks and heiau noted in the mele were from the coastal regions of Kohala. S.M. Kamakau was from the Ko'olau districts of O'ahu and the only informant who originated outside of Hawai'i Island. As mentioned previously, S.M. Kamakau notes that the Makahiki changed once Kamehameha I became the ruler of O'ahu, which hinted that O'ahu had practiced a Makahiki before Kamehameha I's era. Marshall Sahlins discovered Makahiki descriptions recorded within various ship logs and journals from foreign vessels that had visited Hawai'i during the Makahiki season post Cook. Sahlins discovered a journal entry made on January 17, 1788 by Lieutenant Andrew B. Taylor who had been aboard the *Prince of Wales* during a visit to O'ahu. In the journal entry, Taylor described a group coming onboard the ship consisting of a prominent kahuna he called *Orono Nuez*, a chief of high status and an attendant carrying a staff that Taylor explains,

...a staff, eight feet high, on the top of which was a Cross piece of wood three feet long and to this was secured a piece of Cloth, on the one side white the other black. This hung down the staff, and from the extremes of the cross piece hung bunches of dry Palm leaves, by way of tassel... (as cited in Sahlins, 1991, p. 299).

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<sup>47</sup> Ulukau.org, Retrieved January 2, 2019, from <http://ulukau.org/cgi-bin/hpn?e=&a=d&c=mahele&cl=search&d=HASH0119e4407beff7a65c85d50f>

Sahlins points out that the Maui chief Kahekili had expanded his rulership to the island of O‘ahu and also remarks that the akua loa with the black and white kapa was associated with Kahekili as well (1991, pp. 299-300). A couple of thought-provoking points are revealed in the noted description to support Sahlins findings. Firstly, by Kamakau’s reckoning of time, the Maui chief Kahekili had ruled for twenty-seven years beginning in 1766. S.M. Kamakau published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* his series of *Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I* that Kahekili was the mō‘ī (king) on O‘ahu for nine years (1866). Kahekili’s outstanding feature was that the entire right side of his body, from his head to his toe, was tattooed black to honor, emulate and evoke his akua Kānehekili and Kānehekiliniū‘ahumanu (S. M. Kamakau, 1867c). The two akua were forms of thunder and were both blackened from head to toe on the entire right side of their body forms (Beckwith, 1970, pp. 48-49). Sahlins’ affirms that Taylor’s description of the staff that accompanied the kahuna, Orono Nuez, was also fashioned with kapa that was white on one side and black on the other similar to Kahekili’s tattoos. Secondly, my deduction is that the name Orono Nuez was probably a titled applied to the kahuna as a living representative of the akua Lononui. This title suggests that the akua Lono for the Maui chief may have been Lononuiākea. Thirdly, the ship’s visit in January is near the malama in the kaulana mahina affiliated with the Makahiki season, which indicates that the Maui chief Kahekili observed a form of the Makahiki near the same timespan as the Hawai‘i Island chiefs. Finally, the journal entry proves that the Makahiki also occurred on both O‘ahu and Maui though it is hard to say whether Kahekili, a Maui chief, introduced the ceremony to O‘ahu or if O‘ahu had its own type of celebration that Kahekili was obliged to perform as the new ruler.

Another potential Makahiki reference for O‘ahu is obtained in the story of the O‘ahu chiefess Kūkaniloko. Fornander reports that Kūkaniloko was the mō‘ī of O‘ahu who ruled without conflict or war and along with her husband, Lupe. They both went on the customary circuits of inspection around the island (1878, p. 269). The customary circuits may have been a reference to a Makahiki practice on O‘ahu. Another possible reference to the beginnings of a Makahiki type practice occurs in the story of Mā‘ilikūkahi as reported by S.M. Kamakau. The first-born sons of the maka‘āinana and ali‘i of the entire island of O‘ahu were hānai ‘ia (fostered) by Mā‘ilikūkahi during his reign. Out of gratitude for

Mā'ilikūkahī's generosity of raising their children in his household, the whole population willingly gave waiwai of provisions such as vegetable foods, pigs, dogs, chickens, fish, and all kinds of necessities that were not levied by the ali'i nui but given voluntarily (S.M. Kamakau, 1991, p. 55).

E.S. Craighill Handy surmises that the Makahiki occurred on all the islands of Hawai'i during Kamehameha I's time, alluding to a brief reference in the early 1811 journal entry written by a Spaniard named Don Francisco de Paula Marin. Handy, Handy and Pukui explains (1972, p. 329):

In the early literature we have a very brief reference to it on O'ahu during Kamehameha's reign, but nothing at all with respect to Maui or Kaua'i, beyond mention of "the King's God" returning to O'ahu from Kaua'i, indicating that after unification of the islands the circuit of the Lono image and tax collecting were enacted through the islands as one festival or rite.

Like Handy, I agree that the Makahiki spread to the outer islands once Kamehameha I conquered and unified them. Kamehameha I also subjugated the people to his akua Makahiki and his calculation of the kaulana mahina. As reported earlier, S.M. Kamakau makes a point to note that the Makahiki and the calendar were completely different prior to Kamehameha I's reign. S.M. Kamakau states (1870b):

O ke ano o ka makahiki i ke au ia Kamehameha I: Aole i like ka malama ana oka makahiki o ka poe kahiko e like me kana noho aupuni ana, ua hoololi ia ke ano ma kekahi mau hana ana a ma ke ano paha o ko Hawaii, helu makahiki ana ma ko Hawaii helu makahiki, ua hooilo ia na malama o ka Hooilo no ka Makalii, a o na malama o ka Makalii no ka Hooilo, a ua kaapuni na akua makahiki e noi a me ka hao i ka waiwai a na makaainana, he ano hou keia mau hana makahiki, aole ia o ke ano mau o na hana o ka makahiki i malama ia e ka poe kahiko.

Paraphrase:

The practices of the Makahiki in Kamehameha I's time: The way in which the makahiki was conducted by the old people differed from his rulership, the observances changed to those perhaps conducted on Hawai'i Island,

calculating the year to Hawai‘i’s calendar, the seasons of Ho‘oilō changed to Makali‘i, and the seasons of Makali‘i changed to Ho‘oilō, and also the Makahiki akua traveled around asking and taking the wealth of the maka‘āinana. This is a new makahiki practice, this is not the manner in which the people of old conducted the makahiki.

Several intriguing insights are brought up in S.M. Kamakau’s statement. The first insight is that a form of the Makahiki was practiced on O‘ahu prior to Kamehameha’s time and that the older Makahiki method differed from Kamehameha’s processes. The second insight is that the calendar calculation and time keeping methods were altered to match Hawai‘i Island’s or maybe more specifically, Kona’s kaulana mahina. The third insight is that the maka‘āinana were required to give tribute or the akua Makahiki would take what they wanted, which may indicate that the annual collection of waiwai from the maka‘āinana was not done prior to Kamehameha’s period.

#### **4.6 Kamehameha’s Influence**

Many anthropologists attribute the elaborate Makahiki ceremonies noted by Malo as Hawai‘i Island’s observances that spread through the archipelago through Kamehameha’s subjugations. (Handy, Handy, & Pukui, 1972, pp. 371-372; G. Kanahale, 1986, p. 104; Sahlins, 1991, p. 299). There is not much information about the Makahiki proceedings prior to Kamehameha’s reign aside from small snippets found in the stories of ‘Umialīloa, Mā‘ilikūkahi, and Lā‘ieikawai. My postulation is that Kamehameha capitalized on an amalgamation of akua, people and events to induce the outer island ali‘i and kāhuna to his methods of rulership. Kamehameha I’s personal akua Makahiki was Kahoali‘i (Desha, 2000, p. 343). The akua Kahoali‘i had its own kāmāwai (a law of nature, an edict) called Ka‘upukea. This kāmāwai decreed that the white ka‘upu bird must be used during the Makahiki as a symbol of the god Kahoali‘i (Kamakau, 1992, p. 22) Kamehameha also added Lonoikamakahiki, Kihawahine, and Lonomakua into his akua Makahiki entourage. In my summation, Lonoikamakahiki represented the high-ranking lineage. Kihawahine represented those who were mo‘o, water practitioners. Lonomakua represented Pele and fire practices.

According to Queen Lili'uokalani's introduction to her translation of the Kumulipo, there were three different Lonoikamakahiki. The first was the son of Keawenuia'umi, the second was a celebrated hunchback son of Kapulehuwaihele though S.M. Kamakau reports that Lonoikamakahiki-kuapu'u was a female and a descendant of Kihaapi'ilani, from a chiefly Maui genealogy (Kamakau, 1991, p.75), and then the third was the son of Keaweikekahiali'i and Lonomaika'amaka to whom the Kumulipo was composed. This third Lonoikamakahiki, also known as Ka[laninui]'iāmamao, was also the father of Kalani'ōpu'u (1978, p.7). The fourth Lonoikamakahiki that was not mentioned by Lili'uokalani, was Captain James Cook who sailed into Kealakekua during the Makahiki season and was given the esteemed title *Orono*, 'o Lono. He was honored and treated as an ali'i in the same way that the ali'i nui was revered as an akua (Sahlins, 1995, pp. 100-106).

The first Lonoikamakahiki was a fairly peaceful ali'i aside from some skirmishes he experienced between various chiefs that he quickly snuffed out with his brother Kanaloakua'ana. The mokomoko challenges encouraged by the akua pā'ani during the Makahiki are also attributed to this first Lonoikamakahiki. In one version of the mo'olelo, it explains that Lonoikamakahiki was enraged by the disappearance of his wahine, Kaikilani due to his abusive acts towards her. Lonoikamakahiki went on island-wide circuits to challenge champions to mokomoko bouts ('Ī'ī, 1869b). Some stories say to search for his wife, while other stories say to punish him. These contests of strength between champions and Lonoikamakahiki are credited as the beginnings of the Makahiki sports (Beckwith, 1970, pp. 36-41; 'Ī'ī, 1869b; Thrum as cited in Beckwith, 1970, p. 37). There is not a lot of information written about the second Lonoikamakahiki aside from what has been previously mentioned above.

The third Lonoikamakahiki was the father of Kalani'ōpu'u. Kalani'ōpu'u was the foster father of Kamehameha I and the ali'i nui at Ka'awaloa, Kona when Captain James Cook arrived. Kalani'ōpu'u was the chief that Captain Cook tried

to abduct and sequester him to Cook's ship. This was the main action that led to Cook's and some of his crewmembers' demise.<sup>48</sup>

The fourth Lonoikamakahiki was Captain James Cook. His arrival and subsequent death must have been fascinating and memorable to Hawaiians, which Kamehameha I may have capitalized on to influence his politics and Makahiki rituals. In fact, I surmise that Kamehameha I utilized a combination of various attributes from all the Lonoikamakahiki to further his campaign of conquering the peoples of the islands under his rule.

In 1871, S.M. Kamakau publishes a story series about the Hawai'i Island chief named Lonoikamakahiki. In one article, S.M. Kamakau describes the wa'a in which Lonoikamakahiki sailed upon for a visit to O'ahu. S.M. Kamakau explains (1871a),

O ka hoailona alii o Hawaii, he kahili nui. O Hawaiiiloa ke kahili o Lonoikamakahiki, aole i laha ke kahili nui i na alii e ae o na mokupuni, aia no na Hawaii kahi nui o ka hulu oo. A hiki i ka wa i holo mai ai o Lono, ua owili ia na kahili nui nei o Hawaiiiloa, a i ka wa e kukulu ia ai i luna, ua hina kanaka i lalo o ka waha o na waa o Lono, ma keia ano i hoomanao ia aku ai ke akua makahiki. I ka holo ana mai o Lono mai Hawaii, ua kukulu o Lono i kona hoailona alii, a ua kau pu ia ka hae i luna o ke kia o na waa, he manu kaupū, a ua hiki ia na eheu ua anana aku a puka, aia i luna pono o ke kia a ua eehia kona holo ana mai.

Paraphrase:

The ali'i of Hawai'i insignia was a large kāhili (feathered standard). Hawai'iloa was the kāhili of Lonoikamakahiki. The kāhili was not common amongst the ali'i of the other islands. Hawai'i Island was the only place where 'ō'ō feathers<sup>49</sup> were plentiful. When Lono arrived, the

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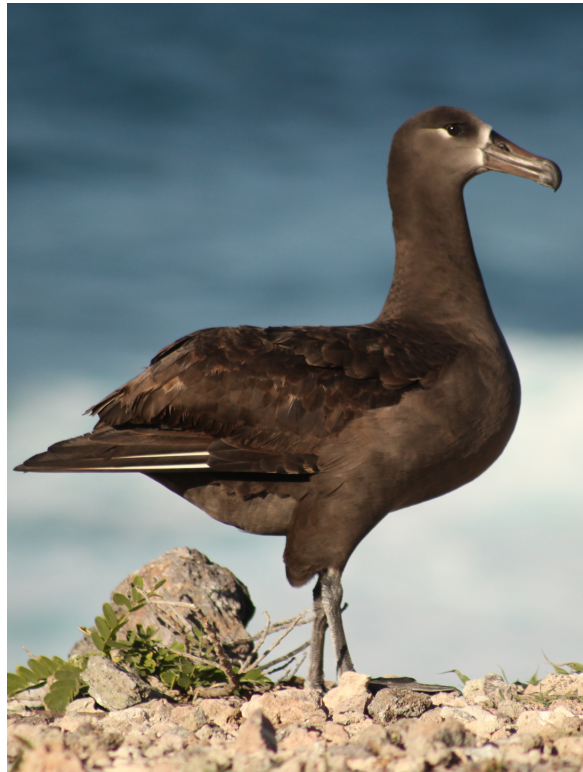
<sup>48</sup> This information comes from *Moolelo Hawaii*, 21st Edition, Ke au ia Kalaniopuu, M.H. 1779 (The Era of Kalani'opu'u, 1779), published in the Hawaiian newspaper called, *Ka Hae Hawaii* in Kepakemapa 8, 1858. The publication may have been part of Sheldon Dibble's collection.

<sup>49</sup> *Moho nobilis*, similar looking to the Māori Tūi, was a black honeyeater with yellow feathers tufts under each wing, which were plucked and used in feather work. The 'ō'ō was endemic to the island of Hawai'i, but is now extinct.

large kāhili Hawai‘iloa was twisted up, and when it was stood up and raised the people prostrated at the bow of Lono’s canoe, it is from this behavior that the makahiki akua is honored. When Lono was sailing from Hawai‘i Island, Lono erected his royal symbols, the ka‘upu birds were tied to the top of the spar on the canoe. The wings were a fathom or more, they were directly on top of the spar, and his arrival was impressive.



*Figure 4.14: Mōlī, Laysan Albatross. Symbol of Lono*



**Figure 4.15:** *Ka'upu, Black Albatross Bird. Symbol of Lono.*

S.M. Kamakau implies in the publication just mentioned that some of the sources for the Makahiki symbols, such as the flag and the ka'upu birds belonged to the ali'i nui, Lonoikamakahiki. Lonoikamakahiki is also credited with sailing off on a pa'imalau type of sailing canoe, promising his people that he would return on a sailing canoe at a later time (Beckwith, 1970, pp 36-40). In fact, there is strong evidence that the Makahiki ceremonies that were actually recorded by the four main sources derived from the Kona District of Hawai'i Island. During Kamehameha I's campaign to unite all the islands into one kingdom, he subjugated the people of each island to his rulership, gods and ceremonies (Handy & Handy, 1972, p. 329).

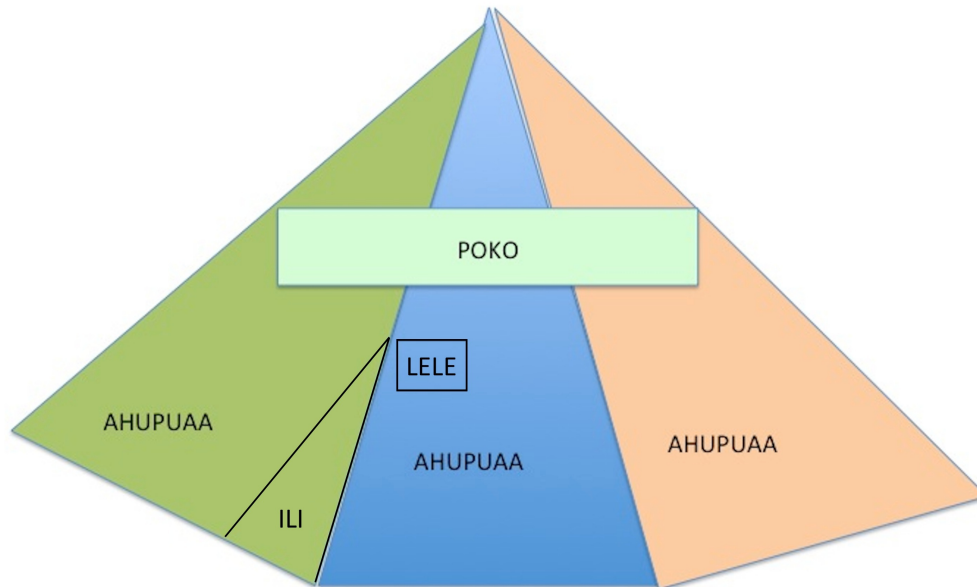
Additional akua were added to the Makahiki retinue during Kamehameha I's ascendancy. He strategically took the Maui ali'iwahine, Kalola, Keku'iapoiwa, Kalaniakua and Keōpūolani as his wives (S.M. Kamakau, 1867; 1870). Through his new wives, Kamehameha I also acquired the various akua that the ali'iwahine worshipped. Kihawahine was a powerful ali'i 'ai aupuni (war god) who had a large following of worshippers from Maui (S.M. Kamakau, 1870b). In my mind, strategically seizing Kihawahine as his own akua and dedicating his conquests to

her, Kamehameha I secured his victories on Maui and O‘ahu. Kamehameha I also acquired all the kāhuna who conducted the rituals and ceremonies for Kihawahine, the ali‘i who worshipped her for war and resource management, and the maka‘āinana who worshipped her as their akua. Kihawahine was also an ali‘iwahine from Maui who was a contemporary in ‘Umi’s era (Fornander, 1919, p. 177). She was deified into an akua mo‘o following her death. Kamehameha I increased his own following by acquiring and inserting Kihawahine into the Makahiki circuit. Kihawahine’s status is elevated altering the old practices and initiating new ones (Brown, 2016, p. 159). It appears that as Kamehameha I’s conquest expanded, his methods of politics and religion also changed to suit his need to become a relevant ruler to the various island populations within the archipelago. S.M. Kamakau writes four separate narratives regarding the notable changes, especially those that incorporated Lonoikamakahiki into the Makahiki. S.M. Kamakau makes comparisons between the ali‘i named Lonoikamakahiki and the symbols that were used during the akua Makahiki (Kamakau 1867a).

There is evidence of other changes made to the Makahiki by Kamehameha I. Through S.M. Kamakau’s published article, his comments suggest that Kamehameha I not only changed how time was divided in the calendar, but also increased the amount of the levied waiwai for the maka‘āinana on O‘ahu that was not customary (Kamakau 1870b). Another postulation I make here is the introduction of the ahupua‘a land division to the outer islands. This postulation stems from snippets found in the Parker Hawaiian language dictionary and the Lyons Land Survey report mentioned below.

There still remains evidence of different land district titles on the outer islands. The terms poko and lele are still utilized today on the island of Maui. Poko are determined by a collection of resources or cultivated fields that may cross over several ahupua‘a and did not follow the typical ma uka to ma kai ahupua‘a system (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 338). A lele is a detached part or plot of land belonging to one ‘ili, whose owner or konohiki was located in another ‘ili (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 201). There is also the phrase, Maui Nui A Kama, Large Maui of Kama. This phrase refers to the combined islands of Maui, Moloka‘i, Lāna‘i, and Kaho‘olawe. On the island of Maui itself, the land was divided into twelve moku. Each moku was divided into ahupua‘a, then into ‘ili, and then into

various smaller land plots with different names. The entire island of Kaho‘olawe is an ahupua‘a for one of the twelve moku of Maui.



**Figure 4.16:** *Lele and Poko on the Island of Maui*

On the island of O‘ahu, the chief Mā‘ilikūkahi established a land division called ka‘ānani‘au. The ka‘ānani‘au were land markers that stretched along the Ko‘olau range and were likened to the way coconut leaves are attached to the midrib on a coconut frond (Lenchanko, 2015, p. 74). Pukui and Elbert explain that the ka‘ānani‘au were altars that marked the land division in the same way as an ahupua‘a (1986, p. 108). The ka‘ānani‘au land markers were altered by Kamehameha I and converted into ahupua‘a markers where ho‘okupu could be left during the Makahiki. Curtis J. Lyons notes in the a document called, *Land Matters in Hawaii, No. 1.*, written for the Executive Documents of the House of Representatives:

The *unit* of land, so to speak, seems to have been the *ahupuaa*.

Its name is derived from the ahu or altar (literally, pile, *kuahu* being the specific term for altar), which was erected at the point where the boundary of the land was intersected by the main road, alaloa, which circumferented each of the islands. Upon this altar at the annual progress of the akua makahiki (year god) was deposited the tax paid by the land whose boundary it marked, and also an image of a hog (puaa) carved out of kukui

wood and stained with red ochre... One near Honolulu may still be seen on the north external slope of the crater of Salt Lake. This, besides marking the boundary of the Halawa and Moanalua, marked also the limits of the Kona and Ewa districts... The more common name of the altar on the island of Oahu was kaananiau (Lyons, 1895, pp. 887-8).

#### **4.6.1 Capitalizing on Cook's Arrival**

Another point of interest that seems to be a strategy that Kamehameha I capitalizes on is the arrival of Captain James Cook to Hawai'i during the Makahiki observances in Kealakekua, Kona. Cook was bestowed the title Lono and honored as an ali'i nui and akua with ceremonies worthy of the hānai pū granted towards the attendants of the akua loa (Beaglehole, 1974, p. 652; Dibble, 2005, p. 14; Kamakau 1867). Both Kamakau and Dibble use the term akua to describe Cook, as mentioned in the previous chapter the western concept of the term akua is equated to god. The Hawaiian concept of akua is broader than just god and includes any object of fear or worship, spirit, ghost, devil, image, idol, corpse, divine, supernatural, godly, godlike, and extraordinary. The term akua is also applied to high ranking ali'i and to the wondrous, unexplainable actions of foreigners, artificial objects, the nature or properties of which Hawaiians did not understand, such as the movement of a watch, a compass, the self-striking of a clock (Wehe2wiki2, 2019). More information about the term akua can be read in Chapter Five.

The latter descriptions of wondrous, unexplainable actions of foreigners would apply to everything Captain James Cook, his crew and their ships possessed. Kamakau notes Cook was also called Lonomakua after a display of firing off some rifles and cannons into the night sky (Kamakau, 1867). Cook's visit and undoubtedly his death led to the deification of his remains from Lono the chief navigator to Lonoikamakahiki and Lonomakua the akua whose body parts became religious relics for various ali'i and kāhuna, that were carried annually in the Makahiki circuit (Mariner as cited in Sahlins, 1995, p. 98).

Following after Cook's death another event occurred in Kamehameha I's favor, which was the unexpected volcanic eruption that occurred at Kīlauea. During this time Kēoua, Kamehameha's enemy from Kā'ū, was traveling with his large regiment of warriors through the area and was caught in the toxic hot ash

fall from the volcano. A large amount of warriors succumbed to the hot volcanic ash and was viewed as an act that Pele, the akua of magma, was in support of Kamehameha I (Desha, 1922; Kamakau, 1867d). Captain James Colnett who arrived in Hawai‘i in 1788 notes that he was approached by native Hawaiians inquiring about the return of Lono [Captain Cook] to Hawai‘i and attributed a new volcanic eruption to Cook. Colnett says, “Two Volcanoes have open'd on the Lee Side the Isle, which burn'd night and day with great fury and Tremendous Explosion which they say Captain Cook has caus'd” (1968, p. 220).

The volcanic eruption now brings very powerful evidence of Pele’s support of Kamehameha I’s campaign. Lonomakua, Pele’s volcanic relative who is the caretaker of the volcanic fire, becomes Kamehameha I’s akua Makahiki. The death and deification of Captain Cook as Lono and the annual observation of his death at Kealakekua updates old stories of Lonoikamakahiki.

These circumstantial and very active events may have supported Kamehameha I’s conquests to promote Lonoikamakahiki and Lonomakua as his personal akua Makahiki and may be contributing factors to the reasons why the Makahiki ceremonies from Kona, Hawai‘i Island had been elaborate. Kamehameha I utilized the Makahiki to change the way the makahiki was divided for religious and political reasons. He promoted Kahoali‘i, Kihawahine, Lonoikamakahiki and Lonomakua as his akua Makahiki as strategic mechanisms to unite the peoples of each island in the archipelago under a single religious practice and under his single political rule. Lonoikamakahiki is Lono who begins time during the Makahiki. Strategically changing the way time was kept, adding new akua Makahiki, and dividing land into ahupua‘a were ingenious methods to collectively bring the different island communities together under his rulership.

#### **4.6.2 The Last Makahiki Ceremony**

The final Makahiki ceremony under the ‘aikapu ruling must have happened sometime before Kamehameha I’s death in 1819. The ‘Aikapu was the observance of a system that used kapu, which were basically laws and codes of conduct for everyone to follow. S.M. Kamakau notes that the ‘aikapu was the system that gave the ali‘i their ranks and the kāhuna their entitlements to advise the ali‘i and conduct the ceremonies necessary for the ali‘i to rule (S. M. Kamakau, 1867g).

The 'aikapu's origins are credited to Wākea in the thirteenth wā of the Kumulipo (Poepoe, 1906a), (Beckwith, 1951, pp. 232-233). S.M. Kamakau notes that Kamehameha I's death was on the pō Hoku, May 8, 1819 (1867g). It stands to reason then that the last Makahiki ceremony during the 'aikapu would have been on the pō of Kāloapau in the malama of Makali'i, corresponding to January of that same year. Kamehameha I died around the time when Kū was being reinstated and the 'aha trying to acquire for the 'Aha Lanalana ceremonies.

The heir, Liholiho Kamehameha II, chose not to reestablish the 'aikapu and declared 'ainoa, a disregard for the kapu associated with rank and privilege to which in my opinion has caused strife for Hawaiians ever since. The impact of departing from the 'aikapu disconnected the ali'i, kāhuna, and maka'āinana from the genealogical obligation to Lono. My speculation is that not long after the 'ainoa was declared that the philosophy of 'auhau as a genealogical tribute began changing, being replaced with the financial obligation to pay monetary taxes. I have not conducted any research to substantiate this claim but hope that this statement will spark someone else's curiosity to pursuit and seek the answers.

Come 'Ikuā of 2019, will mark two hundred years since the last Makahiki under 'aikapu had been conducted. My personal hope is to see thousands of Hawaiians collectively participating in Makahiki ceremonies simultaneously across the pae'āina o Hawai'i, the archipelago of Hawai'i, which would be a form of defiance towards colonialism and towards the attempt made by the prude missionaries to squelch Hawaiian religion and worship.

#### **4.7. Ke Au o Lono, Ua Ho'i - The Resurrection of Makahiki**

In 1982, a political and spiritual struggle between Hawaiians and the United States' of America military was in full swing on the island of Kaho'olawe. Kaho'olawe was seized by the military on December 8, 1941, the day after the bombing of Pearl Harbor occurred in the World War II. Kaho'olawe became a target island used for aerial and surface bombing in preparation for battles in Midway, Okinawa, and Japan (Nitta, 2002).

After World War II the island continued to be used as a training ground for the Pacific Rim nations (KICC, 1993). However, a small group of native Hawaiians and their supporters took it upon themselves to challenge the U.S. Military and to reestablish cultural and spiritual access to the island of Hawai'i. In

1976, the famous lawsuit *Aluli vs Brown* was filed in court and the following year found that the U.S. Navy was in violation of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969.

In 1980, a settlement was reached through a Consent Decree and Order, which the U.S. Navy agreed to survey and protect any historic and cultural sites on the island, to clear the surface ordnance from 10,000 acres, to continue soil conservation and revegetation programs, to eradicate the goats from the island, to limit ordnance impact training to the central third of the island, and allow monthly access to the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana (PKO) to Kaho‘olawe. In an interview, Emmett Aluli who filed the lawsuit states (personal communication, 13 January 2019):

We told the Navy that we wanted to visit the island for cultural practices. When access [to the island] was granted the Navy asked, when did we celebrate our religious holidays so they could arrange the monthly visits.

We didn't have an answer but went to ask Hawaiian elders. Aunty Edith Kanaka‘ole said that we should reinstate the Makahiki and bring Lono to heal the island. Rubellite Johnson told us that we should bring back Lonoikamakahiki because he was historically the last akua Lono.

Sam Lono, Aunty Emma DeFries, Aunty Edith Kanaka‘ole, Auntie Iolani Luahine, Uncle Sam Hart, Aunty Luka Naluai, Uncle Henry Lindsey and Aunty Gardie Perkins were the kūpuna who encouraged the young activists (P. Kanahale, 1993, p. 46). P. Kanahale writes that this was the time to unite and become reacquainted with traditional practices (1993, p. 42).

Aunty Edith Kanaka‘ole agreed to help the PKO. Her daughter Nālani Kanaka‘ole, conducted the research and created a ceremony specific for the island of Kaho‘olawe. Nālani Kanaka‘ole researched all the Hawaiian literature and chose some of the pule found in Malo’s narrations, some of the pule from Emerson’s footnotes, and created new pule for Kaho‘olawe. She also chose to incorporate some of the things that she had learned from her father, a friend of her father named Mr. Malo, and other Hawaiian men who conducted fire rituals through the imu style of roasting underground. The fire rituals were passed on to the first mo‘olono (personal communication, 18 January 2019). Under the

direction of Nālani Kanaka‘ole, the first eager practitioners were trained to recite chants and the rituals for Lono (P. Kanahale, 1993, p. 46). Aluli explains (Emmett Aluli, personal communication, 13 January 2019):

Nālani [Kanaka‘ole] brought her hula dancers with her. They taught us everything including how to tie a malo and how to wear a malo. Us Braddahs [referring to the men in the PKO] nevah know nothing.

The men who were chosen to become the first mo‘olono since the ‘aikapu in 1819 were not considered academics or Hawaiian practitioners. They were activists following their na‘au, their intuition believed to be guided by one’s ancestors. These activists were driven one hundred and sixty three years later to be a part of the cultural renaissance (P. Kanahale, 1993, p. 43). Aluli states (Emmett Aluli, personal communication, 13 January 2019):

We had to learn everything such as how to say Hawaiian words, how to chant Hawaiian words, how to gather or grow ho‘okupu, how to wrap ho‘okupu, how to conduct the ceremonies and what to do.

Nine men were chosen by Nālani Kanaka‘ole to become the mo‘olono, the caretakers of the akua loa and facilitators of the rituals within the Makahiki ceremonies. The number nine commemorated the first nine individuals who landed on Kaho‘olawe to initiate the movement and awareness of the destruction the U.S. Military was causing on Kaho‘olawe (P. Kanahale, 1993, p. 50). The akua loa was cared for and carried by the mo‘olono. The first nine were given the responsibility to care for the akua loa and all of its parts, the imu, and the lele that are the wooden structures that hold the ho‘okupu that are offered.

This first Makahiki ceremony on Kaho‘olawe was the first restoration of many things for Hawaiians. A mele written by Aunty Edith Kanaka‘ole called, *E Hō Mai Ka ‘Ike*, was used outside of her own family hālau. *E Hō Mai Ka ‘Ike* was learned and used by all the participants. *E Hō Mai Ka ‘Ike* was the very first chant that was a serious cultural ceremony and actually is still used in the same way to begin many ceremonies.

P. Kanahale states, the first rite performed during that Makahiki was the hi'uwai. The first imu designated specifically for ho'okupu was started on Kaho'olawe (1993, pp. 48-9). The very first akua loa used for ceremonial purposes since the 'aikapu was fashioned, carried and subsequently circuited in a procession to four key sites on Kaho'olawe. The sites chosen were, the Haleopapa and Halemua in Hakioawa. This was the first time that heiau were utilized for the Makahiki ceremonies since the 'aikapu in 1819. The third site chosen was on a sacred hill called Moa'ulaiki that contains celestial markers for keeping time and teaching celestial cycles. The fourth site is located at Kealaikahiki, a rocky bay on the western shores of Kaho'olawe. Ke ala, means the pathway. I, means towards. Kahiki, can mean Tahiti or foreign lands. Kealaikahiki is noted for its ocean currents that take a wa'a directly south to Kahiki. The first wa'a 'auhau since the 'aikapu was carved, utilized in ceremony, and released in Kealaikahiki to return Lono back to Kahiki.

The ceremonies were developed to include everyone who wanted to participate. Modifications were made to the elaborate rituals noted earlier in this chapter. The modifications were suitable to the situation at that time for Kaho'olawe, which was to heal the abuse inflicted upon the island from the years of bombing, and to call the rains back to the island to begin its restoration.

I would be extremely remiss not to mention that in 1982 the island of Moloka'i also began their Makahiki celebrations as well. It has been a multi-generational community event that generally occurs at the beginning of the year in January. Various competitions in Hawaiian sports, feasting, and entertainment transpire over a few days in the town Kaunakakai. People of all ages are encouraged to participate.

#### **4.8. The Kanaka'ole Makahiki**

There were no ali'i nui or practicing kahunas to conduct the rituals. Instead there were activists who became practitioners. There were no farmers, fishermen, craftsmen, kapa practitioners or others who were genealogically dedicated to Lono to provide the waiwai to the ali'i who will assure the health and wellbeing of the entire community. Instead, there were young Hawaiians who wanted to grow, gather and gift ho'okupu to Lono to heal Kaho'olawe. The Makahiki ceremony continues to be a form of reciprocation. The ceremonies and procession

were to reflect the modern Hawaiian and the healing that not only Kaho‘olawe needed, but also, the healing that Hawaiians needed as well. The right to practice Hawaiian religious ceremonies freely was reestablished. The function of the modern Makahiki is to bring Lono to Kaho‘olawe to heal the island. A byproduct of the initial intention of the ceremony became the healing of people.

The following are the rituals and ceremonies that were developed by Nālani Kanaka‘ole. Dr. Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahale and her husband Edward Kanahale further developed the Makahiki ceremonies in 1992. An opening and closing of the Makahiki season was established. The opening ceremonies were to transpire in November based on the rising of Makali‘i (Pleiades) at sunset. The closing was to transpire in January or late February (P. Kanahale, 1993, p. 50). Generally, the Makahiki was to be completed within the four-day access trip for the opening and within the five-day access trip for the closing. Only the rising of Makali‘i at sunset continues to mark the time when the Makahiki on Kaho‘olawe is to happen. The kaulana mahina and proper moons have only recently been considered for the implementation of ceremonies. In the early years, the kaulana mahina was not considered. There were viable reasons too. Firstly, the U.S. Military regulated when the accesses were to occur and secondly, for safety reasons, the PKO tried to time the accesses to occur during the full moons.

In summary, for the opening ceremonies there are nine sections to the Kanaka‘ole Makahiki rituals on Kaho‘olawe:

1. Preparation.
2. Hi‘uwai.
3. Procession to the imu to offer and cook ho‘okupu.
4. Heiau preparation.
5. Imu is opened. Cooked ho‘okupu are removed from the imu and rewrapped.
6. Procession from imu to the lele of the heiau.
7. Feast.
8. Procession up to Moa‘ulaiki.
9. Games.

For the closing ceremonies there are ten sections to the Kanaka‘ole Makahiki rituals:

1. Preparation.
2. Hi‘uwai.
3. Procession to the imu to offer and cook ho‘okupu..
4. Heiau preparation.
5. Imu is opened.
6. Procession from imu to the lele of the heiau.
7. Feast.
8. Procession up to Moa‘ulaiki.
9. Procession across the island to Kealaikahiki.
10. Wa‘a ‘auhau is released into the ocean.

#### **4.8.1 Preparation**

Preparation begins prior to the arrival of the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana (PKO) to Kaho‘olawe. Mo‘olono, leaders of the PKO and Makahiki participants are expected to contribute to the gathering of ho‘okupu, collection of ferns, ‘olena and other foliage, assuring that the lele are solid, assuring that the parts of the akua loa are still suitable, the kōkō net is still strong and that the wa‘a ‘auhau has been carved and is ready for the ceremony. There is no ali‘i nui, there is no kāhuna nui, there are no konohiki gathering the ho‘okupu or the waiwai of the land for redistribution, and there are no large assemblages of kāhuna to conduct the ancillary rituals. The mo‘olono are ultimately the ones in charge of the logistics, facilitation and execution of the Makahiki ceremonies.

Similar to the Makahiki prior to ‘ainoa, ho‘okupu are gathered during the Makahiki. The difference is that the ho‘okupu today are offered directly to Lono. Pukui and Elbert say ho‘okupu means to cause growth, to increase, to occur, is a tribute, tax, ceremonial gift giving to a chief in a sign of honor and respect, and a church offering (1986, p. 186).

N. Kanaka‘ole explains that one of the older meanings for the word ho‘okupu is a tribute to one in higher standing (personal communication, 18 January 2019). In this case, Lono is the recipient of the ho‘okupu. The decree

from the participants to Lono is to arrive in his atmospheric forms, specifically the cloud and rain forms to bring about healing to the land.



*Figure 4.17: An Illustration of a Ho'okupu Bundled in Kī Leaves*

Ho'okupu that have been grown or gathered by various people across the archipelago is oftentimes sent to the PKO, as a form of tribute to assure that the ceremony is successful. "You get what you give." In other words, maximum energy and effort will bring about maximum results. Ten types of ho'okupu were prescribed for the Makahiki ceremony. Each ho'okupu represents other akua who can also contribute to increasing the good health and wellbeing of Kaho'olawe (N. Kanaka'ole). The ten ho'okupu are as follows:

1. Niu hiwa - Black coconut to crack and wash the lele.
2. Lama - *Diospyros sandwicensis*. Represents enlightenment.
3. 'Awa - Appropriate ceremonial food for the akua.
4. Pua'a - Pork is a kino lau of Lono. Pua'a are also the heavy cumulus clouds.
5. 'Ulu - Breadfruit. Represents growth. The word ulu means to grow or abundance.
6. Kalo o Lono - Taro. Preferably the Ipualono variety. However, any variety is suitable.
7. 'Uala - Sweet potato is a staple and kino lau of Lono.
8. Mai'a - Bananas represent Kanaloa.
9. I'a 'ula - Red fish, specifically the kūmū (*Parupeneus porphyreus*) or 'āweoweo (*Priacanthus meeki*) were noted as an appropriate fish for Lono. If red fish is not available, 'anae, or mullet is suitable.
10. Hue with wai - Hue is the Hawaiian word for water gourd. It is also called Ipualono and is another kino lau of Lono. The gourd represents an origin story about the formation of the universe through all the parts of a gourd. Wai - Spring water or any water that has not been tampered by kānaka, is incorporated into the ipu. The water represents the water cycle that the ceremony is trying to recharge on the island of Kaho'olawe.

At the opening of the Makahiki, three items of each ho'okupu are needed for Haleopapa, Halemua, and Moa'ulaiki. At the closing of the Makahiki, four items of each ho'okupu are gathered and prepared for Haleopapa, Halemua, Moa'ulaiki, and Kealaikahiki. Each ho'okupu is assigned to a willing participant who becomes the ho'okupu bearer. The ho'okupu bearer is the person in charge of washing, cleaning, and preparing the ho'okupu. The ho'okupu bearer presents his or her ho'okupu to Lono at the imu, retrieves the ho'okupu from the imu and then rewraps the ho'okupu to be offered at the various lele. The males offer the ho'okupu to the Halemua, the females offer the ho'okupu to the Haleopapa, and either participant offers the ho'okupu to the other sites.

Another part of the preparation is the assemblage and decoration of the akua loa. This is conducted solely by the mo'olono in a hale pili, grass house, that houses the akua loa during the off season. The hale pili is considered kapu while

the akua loa is removed from its storage receptacle. A pule is done by the mo'olono while they wash, tie, dress and decorate the akua loa. Aluli recalls the training they were given to assemble the akua loa. "We showed up and when we saw the akua loa, we knew then and there that this was going to be a big deal. No fear. Just faith. I was looking at my ancestor. He was looking at me" (Emmett Aluli, personal communication, 13 January 2019).

#### **4.8.2 Hi'uwai**

Traditionally, the hi'uwai was done mirthfully after midnight. Following after, everyone dressed in his or her new garments in preparation for the arrival of the akua loa. For the Kanaka'ole Makahiki, hi'uwai occurs on the early morning, roughly 5:00am, of the ceremony day. All participants must take part in the hi'uwai. Everyone lines up at the beach, under the bright morning stars. At the head of the line stands the mo'olono with a coconut shell cup filled with water. In the water is a piece of limu kala (*Sargassum echinocarpum*), a seaweed that is believed to release, remove, unburden, or absolve anyone from their personal burdens. Pieces of pulverized 'ōlena (tumeric) are also added to the water called wai 'ōlena. 'Ōlena is also believed to purify and remove kapu or negative energy (Fornander, 1919, p. 513). Everyone takes a sip of the water to symbolize an internal purification, followed by entering into the ocean water for a physical purification and removal of negative energy or personal burdens. For folks who cannot physically walk into the ocean water, they are allowed to wait on the side for a *pīkai* ritual. Pīkai is also a purification ritual. A pīkai is similar to a hi'uwai, except that the salt water is sprinkled onto the person. For Kaho'olawe, the mo'olono, mo'opapa (female practitioners dedicated to Papa) or a designated practitioner will chant a pule while sprinkling the water. Once everyone enters into the water the mo'olono watch the environment for any hō'ailona (signs) or the appearance of Lono's kino lau that convey that the purification ceremony is complete. The hō'ailona can be anything from a shooting star, to a flash of lightning, to the formation of a cloud, to rain, or a frolicking Humpback whale. Each hi'uwai differs from the last. Once the hō'ailona is recognized by the mo'olono, a pū (conch shell) is blown and the mo'olono will shout boisterously, "Lonoikamakahiki!" Everyone promptly replies, "Lonoikamakahiki! Lonoikamakahiki! Lonoikamakahiki!"

Everyone comes out of the ocean water and then moves to the bonfire that had been started previously. Everyone gathers by the bonfire to warm up and wait for the sunrise. The function of the hi‘uwai is to prepare everyone for the rest of the day’s ceremonies and events.

#### **4.8.3 Procession to the Imu**

The procession portion of the Makahiki represents the circuit that once journeyed around the islands. Prior to the commencement of the procession, everyone dons lei and white or natural muslin. Muslin is the modern substitute material for kapa bark cloth that was once traditionally worn. Kapa is not an available cloth at this time, though this will soon change as more people are starting to grow, beat and wear their own kapa at ceremonies.

The procession includes everyone who arrives to participate in the Makahiki. Unlike the Makahiki of the past where no one is allowed to come upon or walk on the right side of the akua loa, everyone lines up behind the akua loa to follow in a procession. A pū blower leads the procession. The akua loa and its carrier are the head of the line up, followed by the mo‘olono. Behind the mo‘olono are the koa (guards) to symbolically maintain order. Behind them are the ho‘okupu bearers lined up as the ho‘okupu are mentioned above. Behind them are the rest of the participants followed by someone who is beating an ipu. It is unclear how the pū blower and the ipu beater came to be a part of the procession as historically no beating of a drum or blowing of a pū was allowed during the Makahiki ceremonies.

The pū blows followed by all the participants chanting *E Hō Mai Ka ‘Ike* and *Pule Ho‘ouluulu* in unison. See Appendix: *Nā Pule Makahiki PKO* for the words to these pule. The procession begins at the shoreline of the beach and marches up to the imu. This represents the arrival of Lono to Kaho‘olawe. One of the rules is that no one is to pass in front of or walk before the akua loa."<sup>50</sup>

The procession arrives at the site where a designated imu was prepared previously. The akua loa stands to southwest of the imu. At a signal, each ho‘okupu bearer presents his or her ho‘okupu to the mo‘olono stating their name,

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<sup>50</sup> Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana Website. Retrieved, January 18, 2018. <http://www.protectkahoolaweohana.org/makahiki.html>.

where they are from, the ho'okupu they are offering and the origin of the ho'okupu. Some ho'okupu bearers will chant a genealogy or a pule to Lono. The mo'olono can accept or reject the ho'okupu. If the ho'okupu is accepted, then the mo'olono presents the ho'okupu to the akua loa and then the ho'okupu is placed into the imu. If other people have brought other kinds of ho'okupu to be added to the prescribed ho'okupu, then, the mo'olono will accept the ho'okupu at that time. The imu must be divided into the four cardinal points and each ho'okupu is placed in one of the four quadrants. This represents the four corners of the honua (N. Kanaka'ole, 2016). All the ho'okupu are placed into the imu except for the niu hiwa, lama, and Ipualono. The mo'olono chant their pule o Lono. See Appendix Nā Pule Makahiki PKO for the words to this pule. The imu is then covered. Then a mo'olono will shout, "Lonoikamakahiki!" All the participants reply, "Lonoikamakahiki! Lonoikamakahiki! Lonoikamakahiki!"

#### **4.8.4 Heiau Preparation**

While the ho'okupu are being cooked in the imu, the heiau Haleopapa and Halemua are cleaned with wai 'ōlena and decorated with greenery.<sup>51</sup> The grass and trees are trimmed to prepare for the late afternoon ceremonies. On a personal reflection, Kaho'olawe was one of the first locations that reinstated Hawaiian ceremonies on Hawaiian temples. It is amazing to see that others on the other Hawaiian Islands have been following suit in the subsequent years after this initial ceremony on Kaho'olawe.

#### **4.8.5 Imu**

The ho'okupu are generally finished cooking in the imu around three in the afternoon. The mo'olono inspect the ho'okupu, once the imu has been opened. They look for signs that the ho'okupu were cooked well, accepted, or for any hō'ailona that may be revealed to them about the upcoming makahiki. The ho'okupu bearers then retrieve their designated ho'okupu to be rewrapped with lā'i, kī leaves so that the ho'okupu looks fresh and new. At about four in the afternoon, the participants reconvene on the beach to begin the procession from the imu to the two heiau.

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<sup>51</sup> The greenery may include papalai (*Microlepia setosa*) or other ferns and lā'i, green ti leaves (*Cordyline terminalis*).

#### **4.8.6 Procession from imu to the lele of the heiau**

The participants line up again following after the akua loa and the mo'olono as mentioned earlier. The pū is blown and all the participants chant E Hō Mai and Pule Ho'ōla in unison. At the completion of these pule, the procession begins. The akua loa first walks up to the northern ridge of the Hakioawa Valley to a spot above the Haleopapa heiau. The Haleopapa in Hakioawa is unlike any other Haleopapa around the archipelago of Hawai'i. Most Haleopapa are attached to a luakini heiau and house the female akua. This particular Haleopapa is situated under a ledge of the valley and has been naturally filled with white sand that has blown up by the wind to rest along the ridge. The site was called Haleopapa because the human remains that were discovered in the sand dunes in 1913 were mostly those of women and children (Reeve, 1993, pp. 38-42). The original procession used to walk up onto the Haleopapa, but due to the sand dune's fragility and its constantly shifting sands, the Makahiki lele (alter) was moved up to the ridge just above the original site.

Once the procession arrives at the lele, the females present their ho'okupu to the mo'olono one at a time stating their name, the ho'okupu item and where the item had been gathered. The mo'olono can either accept or reject the ho'okupu. If the mo'olono accept the ho'okupu, they are subsequently placed up onto the lele. Occasionally, hula is performed by an hālau hula, hula school, at the lele. The pule Kīhāpaiolono is done by the mo'olono completing the ceremony at Haleopapa. The procession then moves on to the Halemua, which is situated on southeastern ridge of Hakioawa. The same process just described is repeated only this time the males present their ho'okupu to the mo'olono to be placed on the lele at the Halemua. Upon completion of the pule Kīhāpaiolono, a mo'olono shouts, "Lonoikamakahiki!" Everyone replies, "Lonoikamakahiki! Lonoikamakahiki! Lonoikamakahiki!"

An evening feast of food that was cooked in a separate imu is eaten. The feast completes the Makahiki ceremonies for the day.

#### **4.8.7 Procession to Moa'ulaiki**

On the third morning and in ceremony, the procession departs Hakioawa and hikes a grueling, steep three mile hike through eroded ocher red gullies, bombed out craters, and loose slipping sand shards exposed to the elements of

extreme heat and wind. The mo‘olono take turns carrying the akua loa. The procession goes to the second highest hill on the island called Moa‘ulaiki. This hill was once a training center for those kāhuna who studied the stars. Partial kuahu, uprights and notched stones still stand for marking terrestrial to celestial alignments.

Unfortunately, Moa‘ulaiki was once located next to the edge of a target field and has sustained damage to the kuahu that once lined the western slopes. A lele is situated near a bellstone named Pōhaku‘aikūpeleokeaweiki. This site was once used to study the stars. This is the location for the third Makahiki ceremony. The procession moves to the lele and the same process described for Haleopapa and Halemua is repeated. Upon completion of the pule Kīhāpaiolono, a mo‘olono shouts, "Lonoikamakahiki!" Everyone replies, "Lonoikamakahiki! Lonoikamakahiki! Lonoikamakahiki!" This concludes the opening ceremonies of the Makahiki. Everyone then returns to Hakioawa to prepare for the ‘aha ‘āina feasting.

#### **4.8.8 Games And Hula At The Opening**

"Back in the day we didn't go up to Moa‘ula[iki] and stayed down in Hakioawa. During those times we played games" (Aluli). Unlike the mokomoko challenges that were dedicated to the Makahiki ceremonies, the games that the PKO played were performed for the fun of it. Tug of war, swimming contests, foot races and occasional mud wrestling were some of the games that the PKO enjoyed. Currently, if time allows for games to occur, participants will start an impromptu bout of wrestling. If a hālau hula (hula school) happens to be on the access, a hula performance might occur in the evening on the pā hula (hula platform).

#### **4.8.9 Closing Ceremonies: Procession to Kealaikahiki**

The Makahiki closing ceremonies follow the same process mentioned previous except that the procession does not go back down to Hakioawa. The procession continues on to Kealaikahiki and must arrive at the beach before the sun begins setting into the horizon. The reason is so that there is still light for the final rituals as Kealaikahiki faces south and is not impacted by the city lights from the other islands.

As directed by the mo‘olono, the final ceremonies begin. The ho‘okupu bearers stand in a line followed by the participants who become the witnesses. The ho‘okupu bearers bring forth the ho‘okupu and present them to the mo‘olono one at a time. The mo‘olono accept or reject the ho‘okupu. If the mo‘olono accept the ho‘okupu, it is subsequently placed into the hull of the wa‘a ‘auhau. Once the ho‘okupu are all accepted the wa‘a ‘auhau is filled.

#### **4.8.10 The Pule Kōkō and Wa‘a ‘Auhau**

Edward Kanahele incorporated the wa‘a ‘auhau practice into the closing of the Makahiki in 1992. A second training occurred in 1992 for the new mo‘olono at that time. They incorporated the wa‘a ‘auhau as the final ceremony for the closing of the Makahiki on Kaho‘olawe. The Pule Kōkō ritual was also incorporated into the final ceremony and had been taken from the original kōkō maoloha ritual noted in Malo's narrative. A sennit net is stretched out between two mo‘olono. Small packets of food items filled with pieces of kalo, ‘uala, and other plant food is wrapped in lā‘ī (ti leaves). These small packets are dumped into the net by a mo‘olono while the two other mo‘olono shake the kōkō net rhythmically. The mo‘olono are also vigorously chanting a pule as well. By the end of the pule, there cannot be any food packets left in the net, lest a year of famine is to follow.

Today the wa‘a ‘auhau is a miniature wa‘a (canoe) that has been carved by one of the mo‘olono. It usually is about four feet long by 18 inches wide. The wa‘a ‘auhau can be either carved into a single or double-hulled wa‘a. It can be carved plainly or carved elaborately. It all depends on the acquired wood that the mo‘olono harvest and the volunteer carver who chooses to carve the wa‘a. Sometimes the wood is endemic or indigenous to Hawai‘i and sometimes the wood used isn't. In 1992, large wa‘a ‘ama were brought over to Kealaikahiki by strong paddlers to paddle the wa‘a ‘auhau out into Kealaikahiki channel. The Kealaikahiki channel is said to have strong currents that traditionally took wa‘a quicker towards Kahiki. Davianna McGregor, a long time PKO member explains that, “the first few wa‘a ‘auhau used to be paddled out by wa‘a ‘ama. Over the years, the canoe clubs were not able to participate. This is when the mo‘olono started swimming the wa‘a ‘auhau out into the Kealaikahiki channel” (personal communication, 13 January 2019). Before the wa‘a ‘auhau is swum out into

Kealaikahiki, the kōkō maoloha is then wrapped onto the wa‘a ‘auhau to keep the ho‘okupu in place. Once the mo‘olono release the wa‘a ‘auhau into Kealaikahiki, the obligations for the Makahiki closing ceremonies are complete.

This concludes the Kanaka‘ole Makahiki ceremonies that were created for the PKO. Understandably, people who participated in the Makahiki on Kaho‘olawe wanted to start their own Makahiki ceremonies in their own communities for the various reasons such as healing an abused land, requesting rain for a dry location, or blessing a school māla (garden) so that it can be productive. The idea of collective abundance and practicing Hawaiian rituals became desirable by many who thirsted for a different form of spirituality. The PKO shared the mo‘olono and the Makahiki ceremonies with other communities, which quickly spread to other communities on the other islands. People who also wanted to heal their lands or their communities reached out to the mo‘olono for assistance. The modern Makahiki ceremonies gave Hawaiians a response to triumph over the generations of trauma inflicted by those who sought to disconnect Hawaiians from our own environment, from our own practices, and from our own akua. The Kanaka‘ole Makahiki created for the PKO continues to assist others in healing the ‘āina spiritually and also assists in recognizing Lono within their own communities. The intention for collective abundance continues to uplift and empower Hawaiians today. E ola loa ka Hale Kanaka‘ole. Ola!

## Chapter 5

### ‘O Wai ‘o Lono? Who is Lono?

*‘O Lono, ‘o ka ‘ō‘ili lani, mai loko mai o ka maha ulu lani.*

*~ Pule o Lono*

*Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Folk-lore, Vol. VI*

#### 5.1 Introduction

For a moment, let us reflect back to the single chanter on the stage, using guttural sounds and lilting inflections in her voice to chant the mele ‘O Lono ‘Oe with the intention of transferring knowledge about Lono, the Makahiki and the environmental indicators for the season of Lono to the listening audience. The listener was permitted to formulate information through the imagery that was being formulated through the words in the mele. The listener was also responsible for interpreting the images by weaving the mele and one's own personal experiences together to formulate a personal story and to fundamentally live through the simulated experience.

Within this chapter, the Papakū Makawalu method will be utilized to interpret the broad possibilities of the pule of Lono chosen to reveal Lono's kino lau. Defining the term akua as described by Kepelino Keauokalani and other Hawaiians scholars who published Ka Ho‘omana Kahiko in the Ka Nupepa Kuokoa from January 6, 1865 - March 24, 1866 will be examined to clarify my use of the term akua as elemental or natural phenomena. Addressing the Christian influence on philosophical and religious epistemologies will also be discussed.

I seek to bring understanding about the process of Papakū Makawalu and to clarify the reasoning that this method first concentrates on mele and pule. Papakū Makawalu briefly strips away the mo‘olelo from the mele or pule to examine the unembellished construct of the poetry. The intention here is to expose the many parts of the whole as was described in Chapter 2 when the drop of water in the flowing stream was makawalu (deconstructed) out from its papakū. The broad possibilities of interpretations becomes plausible when the mele or pule stands alone, but only for a brief moment. Various mo‘olelo are sought to support or refute the interpretation during the analysis phase of the

process. The layers become exposed and then all the possible interpretations are realized to inform the researcher or practitioner.

## 5.2 'O Wai 'O Lono? Who is Lono?

'O Lono, 'o ka 'ō'ili lani,  
Mai loko mai o ka maha ulu lani.  
Kū mai 'o Kāne, 'o Kanaloa...

Interpretation:

Lono, is the accessible atmosphere,  
From within the rising strata.  
Kāne, Kanaloa exist...

My interpretation of the first three lines of this pule o Lono describe the atmospheric inter-relationship between Lono, Kāne, and Kanaloa. It has been written in literature that Lono has many attributes. Lono is healing. Lono is sound. Lono is wind. Lono is rain. Lono is a season. Lono is ancestral intuition and instinct. Who is Lono and what are the kino lau that are affiliated with Lono?

This chapter will explore these questions through the Papakū Makawalu method of deconstruction, analysis, and reconstruction. Deconstructing and pulling out the components of Lono will reveal his kino lau. Kino lau are also the natural indicators of Lono. Categorization of the components will assist in the reconstruction process so that holistic knowledge is acquired.

Through the lens of a Papahulilani practitioner, the lines noted above of the Pule o Lono begin with the imagery of the atmosphere and the awareness that Kāne and Kanaloa, in their water and ocean forms, can only exist within Lono's ozone layer of the earth. Lono, Kāne and Kanaloa are all akua of atmospheric water interacting with one another to create a healthy biosphere for all living creatures to exist and thrive. Lono is the firmament accessible to humans. However, both Kāne and Kanaloa can exist beyond into the greater atmosphere. The attributes or natural phenomena of Lono such as the wind, clouds, lightning, thunder and rain exists only within the accessible atmosphere. Meaning that Lono's natural phenomena do not happen beyond the stratosphere of the earth.

Through the lens of a Papahūliahonua practitioner, these same lines can be understood as,

Lono, appearing majestically, from the interior of the steaming vents.  
Kāne, Kanaloa anchored by means of the earth's crust.

Lono is part of the volcanism process. Lonomakua is believed to be the keeper of the volcanic fires and brings oxygen to the magma to ignite its flames. Lonomakua is also believed to be the initiator of steam. The Papahūliahonua interaction between Lono, Kāne and Kanaloa are the primal water forms that create steam contributing to the earth's water cycle. Through the lens of a Papanūihānaumoku practitioner, these same lines can be understood as,

"Chief Lono of the highest rank, from within the reposed lofty status.  
Kāne, Kanaloa appear within the divine descent."

From this perspective, a genealogy emerges and the social relationships between people and politics can be recognized connecting Lonoikamakahiki directly to the akua Kāne and Kanaloa. From these three interpretations come three different perspectives of the same two lines, yet the interpretations add a depth of meaning that holistically describes how the atmosphere, geology, and humans are inherently connected.

Combining the interpretation together yields a grander connection. The two lines can be interpreted as, Lofty Lono of the oxygenated atmosphere, reveal your selves and bring them forth. Let my antiquated memories and wisdom reconnect me to my ancestral DNA. Combined, the three perspectives can inform the listener that everyone is part of a universal process of survival on a grand scale. It can also inform an individual about one's own personal contribution and reciprocation to their environmental surroundings as well.

How does one come to these simple conclusions, which seem very scientific yet deduced from a very religious composition? What are akua? Are all akua natural phenomena or are akua merely elements of nature?

Within this chapter the term akua will be explored first through the definitions written in literature by Hawaiians and others who tried to articulate the meaning of akua. With the established understanding of akua, the second section

of this chapter will concentrate on also using the Papakū Makawalu method to extract information from a few Makahiki Pule and Pule specific to Lono into the three papa. The analysis of the information gleaned will begin to help formulate a holistic understanding of Lono, Lono's general function as an akua, and the role Lono takes on during the Makahiki. Finally, the analyzed momi, or pearls, will be reconstructed to ascertain a holistic interpretation of Lono. The holistic interpretation can urge researchers to seek old knowledge and bring these terms to light making them relevant to the modern Hawaiian today.

After going through the Papakū Makawalu process of the mele o Lono, ontological maps will be created of each of the Papa to illustrate the many kino lau of Lono found encoded within the mele.

### **5.3 He Aha Ia Mea He Akua? How Hawaiians Defined Akua**

Pukui and Elbert translate the term akua as, "god, goddess, spirit, ghost, devil, image, idol, corpse, divine, supernatural, godly, name of the 14th night of the full moon, and "It" in a game of tag or hide-and-seek" (1986, p. 15). Andrews explains akua thusly (Wehewehe wikiwiki, 2018a),

Among Hawaiians, formerly, the name of any supernatural being, the object of fear or worship, a god. The term, on the visit of foreigners, was applied to artificial objects, the nature or properties of which Hawaiians did not understand, as the movement of a watch, a compass, the self-striking of a clock. Akua is used for the true God, the Deity, the object of love and obedience as well as fear.

Note that the 'A' in akua is capitalized in the same way that Christians capitalize the 'G' in God as a formal indication of a single true god. Hawaiians were polytheistic and believed in several akua. Terms such as mano akua, kini akua, lehu akua are utilized in pule to acknowledge that four thousand, forty thousand, and four hundred thousand akua existed. For Hawaiians, akua were an integral part of their environment and livelihood. There were family akua that were connected to the family's work or daily practices, and there were general akua that belonged to the wider community and their need for a thriving collective. This was managed by the kāhuna and ali'i. A reciprocal relationship between

kānaka and akua were pertinent to the survival of kānaka and to the survival of the akua. There are the five greater akua Kāne, Kanaloa, Kū, Lono, Haumea, and then a myriad of akua that were "byproducts" of them.

Kepelino Keauokalani authored several manuscripts regarding Hawai'i and was the royal secretary to Queen Emma Rooke (Kepelino, 1932, p. vii). In his *Moolelo Hawaii* writings, Kepelino introduces the reader to the Hawaiian's broad concept of the term akua. Kepelino begins, "Akua: He lehulehu wale na ano o keia huaolelo (Kepelino, 1932, p. 11). Akua: There are multiple meanings to this word. Kepelino then attempts to organize the various meanings into a list of six descriptions. Akua can be defined as (Kepelino, 1932, p. 11):

1. He Haku Nui, greater akua.
2. He 'Uhane, Souls.
3. Mana, Ikaika, 'Ike, Make and Kumu 'Ole, great feats, extraordinary conditions, and immortal elemental beings.
4. He [a]Li'i, supreme chiefs.
5. Kūpapa'u and Lapu, corpses and ghosts.
6. He Kauā Ha'alele Loa, outcast slaves.

### **5.3.1 He Haku nui**

He Haku nui, are the greater akua that preside over all things in some capacity. Kepelino names Kāne, Kana, and Lono as the primary akua to which the kini (many), lau (hundreds) and mano (thousands) akua are subordinates to them (Kepelino, 1932, p. 11). In 1865 a running series called *Ka Hoomana Kahiko* was published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. Fifteen Hawaiian men who were studying together to become ministers, wrote the articles regarding the old religion and ceremonies. Several akua are listed in the articles of *Ka Ho'omana Kahiko* but generally speaking the primary akua noted are Kāne, Kanaloa, Kū, Lono, and Haumea. In the series, S.W. Naimu lists the primary akua as Kāne, Kanaloa and Kāneapua (Helu 2, 1865), J. Waiamu lists the primary akua as Kāne and Kāneloa (Helu 3, 1865), Kauhane explains that Kū was a primary akua that belonged to the alii (Helu 4, 1865), P.W. Kaawa lists many akua but primarily focuses on Kūwahailo and Haumea's offspring which are akua affiliated with volcanism (Helu 5 & 6, 1865).

### 5.3.2 He 'Uhane

He 'Uhane is the essence or soul of an animate or inanimate thing. For Kepelino the word 'uhane does not mean the same thing as ghost. 'Uhane can mean the life force or condition of any living thing or that of an object. 'Uhane need a body or a form to occupy.<sup>52</sup> Living organisms have life forces that propel them to live. Each living being has an 'uhane. Inanimate objects such as rocks, houses, heiau, wa'a or a carved ki'i, idols can contain 'uhane (Malo, 1847, p. 99).

Items that are imbued with its own 'uhane are believed to be akua that assist petitioners with acquiring personal needs. There are countless examples and stories of items that are ho'omana 'ia, worshiped. Ki'i, or idols carved out of wood, stone, bone, and shells were situated within heiau or shrines (Malo, 1903, pp. 113-6). Akua can possess people too. Rubellite Johnson explains that in hula the goddess of the dance was Laka. While dancing the hula practitioner's body is possessed by Laka. Through hula the dancer and Laka are one. The dancer is Laka.<sup>53</sup> Akua 'aumākua, which can be likened to ancestral gods that are specific to families, might fall into this category. Akua 'aumākua are family members who have been deified and dedicated to an animal form through ceremony upon their death, tasked to watch over and sometimes save family (S.M. Kamakau, 1870e).

S.M. Kamakau explains that no one prayed for the 'uhane of an individual and that 'uhane lived forever. When a person died, an 'aumākua or family guardian met the 'uhane of the individual to take them to a dwelling of 'uhane that was associated with the akua he or she invoked while alive (S.M. Kamakau, 1870f).

### 5.3.3 Mana, Ikaika, 'Ike, Make and Kumu 'Ole

The terms above that are described by Kepelino as spiritual power (mana), strength (Ikaika), knowledge ('Ike), supernatural (Make 'ole/Kumu 'ole), immortality (Make 'ole/Kumu 'ole), and elemental (Make 'ole/Kumu 'ole).

People with extraordinary strength or wisdom at a young age are

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<sup>52</sup> Kanahale Kanaka'ole, Pualani. February 16, 2019. Kapō Workshop, Edith Kanaka'ole Foundation. University of Hawai'i, Hilo Campus.

<sup>53</sup> Davis, Tip. "Iolani Luahine, Hawaiian Dancer: A Tip Davis Film." *Hula Preservation Society*. Narrated by Gladys 'Ainoa Brandt. 2006. <https://vimeo.com/hulapreservationsociety>.

celebrated as akua. Traditional stories of youthful characters such as Kūapi‘ei, ‘Ai‘ai, Kaha‘i, and Punia all find extraordinary feats of strength and skill to avenge the deaths of their parents. Kaiwa, Kalapana, and Kaipalaoa accomplished their challenges through their extreme wit and sharp intelligence. Māui accomplished his many challenges with brute strength, sharp wit and charm, which then benefitted ordinary people. Kamiki and Maka‘iole accomplished their challenges through a combination of wit, intelligence, extreme strength and stubborn fortitude. It is interesting to note that both Kamiki and Maka‘iole pray to themselves to ask for divine strength to overcome their opponents before every battle. My ponderings wonder if perhaps Kamiki and Maka‘iole knew that they were akua through their divine strength and naturally prayed to themselves to access that strength, or were they tactfully using their pleas to themselves to intimidate their opponents? Perhaps Kamiki and Maka‘iole are the author’s personal akua and the prayer interjected in the story was a personal entreat.

The terms Make ‘Ole and Kumu ‘Ole mean that they are immortal and are elemental by nature. Mainly, make ‘ole and kumu ‘ole are natural phenomena that occur in the environment. S.N. Kaholoikahiki lists the akua that qualify for these terms. They are: akua hōkio (whistling winds), akua ki‘ei (peering storm clouds), akua hālō (wind sheer and anvil clouds), akua loa (long wind clouds), akua poko (short mackerel clouds), akua mūkī (whirlwinds) (Kaholoikahiki, 1865a). These akua are all prevailing natural phenomena associated with particular seasons such as the Makahiki. Kepelino states that the forms of nature were the Hawaiian gods who could occupy anything at their command such as stones, clouds, streams, plants, living and non-living creatures (1932, p. 13). Each recognized natural phenomena is considered an akua for the reason that phenomena can either grant or take life.

#### **5.3.4 He [a]Li‘i**

Kepelino and S.M. Kamakau both explain that chiefs who could trace their genealogies to Kāne were called Ka Hoali‘i and He ali‘i i poni ‘ia. These two classifications signified that they were anointed with the wai niu a Kāne, the coconut water of Kāne (Fornander, 1919, p. 226). Wai niu could be a possible metaphor for semen meaning that they descended from Kāne and therefore were given the kapu akua. A chief with the Ka Hoali‘i rank played an important role for

the Makahiki and 'Aha ceremonies by becoming the akua (Malo, 1951, pp. 150-5). Some ali'i were deified into an akua maoli upon their death by a kahuna hui who imparted akua qualities to the prepared iwi, bones, through a ten day ceremony called kākū'ai (Malo, 1951, p. 112-3; S.M. Kamakau, 1870e). For the Makahiki, Lonoikamakahiki, Kahoali'i and Kihawahine were all ali'i who were deified into akua during Kamehameha I's time.

### **5.3.5 Kūpapa'u and Lapu**

Kūpapa'u and Lapu are corpses and ghosts. Corpses are listed as akua because there were strict kapu that were placed on them and anyone who came into contact with one. Malo explains that once a person passed on only family members were allowed near the kūpapa'u. The family was not allowed to enter anyone else's home, to eat food from anyone else, to touch anyone, or to do any work because they were considered haumia, unclean. This counters how Hawaiians treat our dead today and there are now cultural expectations of feeding and helping the family during the time of bereavement. The kapu is lifted after the corpse is buried and everyone has conducted a kapu kai ceremony of bathing in the water or ocean.

Lapu are wild ghosts and are considered spirits that have not crossed over into Milu, which is likened to the afterworld. Kaholoikahiki explains that lapu are the spirits of people who have died and have not gone to the next realm and are stuck on earth eating butterflies or moths. Some of these spirits are stuck near the volcanic crater and are attracted to the mūkī, sounds we make with our lips when we call dogs. They are also attracted to whistling, and calling/chanting as well. It is believed that when they hear these sounds the lapu can see you and follow after you (Kaholoikahiki, 1865a). There are still land sections on the Hawaiian Islands called Ao Kuewa that are believed to be where akua lapu are known to roam. S.M. Kamakau supports this notion of spirits being left behind if they were not lead by their own 'aumākua to the realm of the akua. He notes that those souls were left to wander searching for spiders and moths to eat, upon the plains of Kama'oma'o on Maui or at Pu'ukapolei on O'ahu (S. M. Kamakau, 1870g). People are still cautious today if they must pass through an Ao Kuewa. There are also a few traditional stories of young chiefs who became famous for removing the akua lapu from lands or islands. Punia is one of the young chiefs who

removed the akua lapu from the district of Kona on Hawai'i Island and Ka'ululā'au is another young chief who removed the akua lapu from the entire island of Lāna'i.

### **5.3.6 He Kauā Ha'alele Loa**

Kauā Ha'alele Loa are slaves cast out from society. Kauā, were born into the status of slaves and considered a class of people who were not allowed to mingle with the rest of the population. They were considered unclean and had the same kapu as a corpse where they were not allowed to enter other people's homes or eat food from the rest of the population (Malo, 1903, pp. 96-100). Kauā were used as human sacrifices in ceremonies and perhaps may be the reason that kauā were classified as akua as they were designated property of the akua to whom a human sacrifice was required. Kepelino also listed diablo at the end of the slave classification but does not explain why this term is listed with the kauā. In my opinion, this additional comment is an introduction from Kepelino's Catholic influences, as there are no mele or pule that includes the concept of the devil. Diablo is a Spanish term for devil. The Hawaiian transliteration of diablo is kiapolō/kepalō.<sup>54</sup> Lapu, which commonly means a wild ghost, is the closest traditional notion to a malicious devil.

### **5.4 Christian Influence**

This section is just a small example of the Christian influence that is not part of this paper but needs to be addressed. The conundrum of Hawaiian literature is that every writer had been strongly influenced by Christianity prior to putting quills to paper about Hawaiian religious practices. To learn the pī'āpā (Hawaiian alphabet) one was required to attend teachings by the missionary tutors who may have come with good intentions of teaching Hawaiians the skills to read and write, but were motivated to promote Christian gospel and suppress Hawaiian religion. As a Hawaiian researcher, conflicting internal philosophical battles are blatantly apparent in many of the authors' writings. Narratives of great accomplishments and historical feats of the ancestors are often followed by phrases such as, "i ka wa hewa loa, during the sinful era, i ka wa naaupo, the era

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<sup>54</sup> Wehewehe wikiwiki. <https://hilo.hawaii.edu/wehe/?q=kiapolo> accessed on February 2, 2018.

of ignorance,” or “Pitiful were those things done by the people in the time of unenlightenment” (Kepelino, 1932, p. 125).

The word Akua with a capital A is published fifteen times in the very first Hawaiian language newspaper called, *Ka Lama Hawaii*. Within the pages of the newspaper are descriptions of righteousness, sin, fear, love and conflicting directives of expectations necessary to be a sinless native. In an article titled, *Ke Kumu o ka Naaupo*, The Source of Ignorance, an excerpt of the first page says (14 Feberuari 1834):

Minamina ihola o Iehova i ka lilo ana o na kanaka i ka hewa, a imi iho oia i na mea e pono ai.

Paraphrase:

Jehova is disappointed in the Hawaiians who are living in sin, and he has just begun seeking for the ones who are righteous.

The newspaper goes on to say,

O Iehova ko kakou Akua, hookahi no Iehova... He aloha ke Akua, a o ka mea e noho ana iloko o ke aloha, ke noho nei oia iloko o ke Akua, a o ke Akua no hoi iloko ona...a o ke Akua nona ke aloha a me ke kuikahi e noho pu me oukou. E makau aku ia Iehova a e hoonani aku ia ia (Ka Lama Hawaii, 1834a).

Paraphrase:

Jehova is our God, just one Jehova... God is love, and the one who is living within love he is the one living with God, and God resides within him. Fear. Jehova and praise him.

Christian concepts like the ones noted in the first newspaper publications began changing the way Hawaiians viewed and understood the concept of akua. The newspapers are filled with what is considered a sin in the Christian religion published by the missionaries. Not long afterward the introduction of Christianity, Hawaiians became the ones who were criticizing and accusing others who were practicing Hawaiian religious and cultural practices.

Generally, when most Hawaiians hear the word akua today, the natural acceptance is to equate the word akua with the Christian word god. Akua is also equated with the concept of a single supreme being with authority over everyone's morality, which created the universe and rules over everything. However, this was not the case for Hawaiians prior to the Christian missionaries. G. Kanahale writes that Hawaiians would never be put at the mercy of the unilateral power of the gods. Though awe and fear of the akua existed, Hawaiians did not surrender their sense of spiritual independence, integrity and spiritual wellbeing to the akua (1986, p. 81). In this sense, a kanaka, a mere person, always has the power to sanctify or dismiss any akua. If an akua does not serve its purpose for the 'ohana, family, or an ali'i, it was easily dismissed or destroyed (G. Kanahale, 1986, pp. 76-7). The kanaka always has the choice. S.M. Kamakau explains that Hawaiians were a pious people prior to the arrival of the missionaries, but did not kneel as a congregation to the ki'i, idols, for worship (1867e).

This chapter will attempt to strip away some of the foreign ideologies that have infiltrated into the Makahiki practices and disconnected Hawaiian practitioners from the original philosophies and intent. I have to admit that it is difficult at times to determine whether Christian based thoughts are influencing my analysis of the Hawaiian practices and Hawaiian religion as Christianity has been indoctrinated deeply within the Hawaiian culture. G. Kanahale notes that Hawaiian religion is a paradox of knowing so much about the gods through mo'olelo and yet knowing so little that we must research about them before an understanding is achieved (1986, pp. 87-8). This is perhaps one of the most important reasons why the Papakū Makawalu process may be one of the best methodologies to use to begin removing some of the Christian influences. Jacques Derrida who writes about deconstruction for the purpose of finding new knowledge explains that deconstruction is a way to light the night air with awe-inspiring color, with magnificent pyrotechnic plumage (1997, p. 34). Deconstruction permits an in-depth study of its subject. Papakū Makawalu deconstructs a subject into its many components allowing the researcher a chance to find the subject's primal derivations outside of Christian restraints. Papakū Makawalu allows the researcher the ability to determine an akua's function by uncovering its make 'ole and kumu 'ole composition. Kanaka'ole Kanahale often

states in the Papakū Makawalu workshops, that in order to see the akua in its most primal and elemental form, we must first remove the human element from the analysis and keenly look at the natural fundamental processes. It is quite challenging at first to accomplish because the human part of any subject is the easiest to recognize. It is simpler to remember to leave the human aspect of ritual, ceremony, philosophy and social interaction as components for the Papanuihānaumoku analysis.

For this chapter, the term akua will be equated with Kepelino's classification of akua specifically, Make 'Ole and Kumu 'Ole, immortal and elemental, which describe the natural phenomena that are affiliated with Lono during the Makahiki season.

### **5.5 Step One: 'O Lono Ka Papakū, 'O Makawalu Ka Hana: Lono Is The Subject, Deconstruction is the Process**

Kanaka'ole Kanahale explains, the interpretation of Papakū Makawalu is, a foundation of constant growth. It is the knowledge of what one thing is or does and how it is linked to its genesis and relationships (2009, p. 32). Derrida states, everything in deconstruction is turned toward opening, exposure, expansion, and complexification, toward releasing unheard-of, undreamt-of possibilities to come, toward cracking open nutshells wherever they appear (1997, p. 1). Therefore, if Lono is the foundational nutshell, then Lono needs to be cracked open so that the multiple images can be exposed, its interrelationships can be identified and consequently while being reconstructed can create new knowledge with an understanding how to return back to its own genesis. It is about the constant growth and learning to keep Hawaiian traditions relevant to the current time. Papakū Makawalu is about being responsible for the multiplicity of a tradition. Derrida sees deconstruction as a way to keep the event of tradition going, to keep it on the move, so that it can be continually interpreted into new events (1997, p. 37). Kanaka'ole Kanahale sees papakū makawalu, as a means to track multiple cultural progressions of knowing and the ability to see its multiple perspectives.

For this chapter, Lono is the akua, the components that will be exposed are the kino lau that will be identified and categorized into the papa of Papahulihonua, Papahulilani, and Papanuihānaumoku.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the first step of the Papakū Makawalu process is to choose a papakū, a topic or subject. For this paper the topic is Lono. The second step is to seek out mele and pule that are connected to the papakū. The chosen research topic for this paper is Lono in relationship to the Makahiki. To assure that I am able to complete my thesis in a timely manner, the three akua Lono who have been mentioned in the Makahiki narratives are going to be chosen. For Papahulihonua, Lonomakua will be examined. For Papahulilani, Lononuiākea will be examined. For Papanuihānaumoku, Lonoikamakahiki was chosen to demonstrate Lono’s role in farming and Lono’s role as the deified chief in the Makahiki.

LONO		
LONOMAKUA	LONONUIĀKEA	LONOIKAMAKAHIKI

**Figure 5.1:** *The Three Lono - Lonomakua, Lononuiākea, and Lonoikamakahiki*

I have chosen three mele to demonstrate the makawalu process. Some of the chosen pule are performed during the Makahiki ceremonies and other pule are specific to Lonomakua and his function with volcanology.

Step three is to deconstruct, analyze, and reconstruct each of the pule into the three papa of Papahulihonua, Papahulilani, and Papanuihānaumoku. Research in Hawaiian literature, language newspapers, pule/mele books, and the Hawaiian dictionary will provide the information needed to understand the kaona in the composition. As components are identified, the multiple layers of kaona, the natural indicators connected to Lono, or the inter-relationships of imagery found in the meaning of terms utilized in the composition’s poetry are revealed. The Hawaiian language dictionaries are imperative and the main source of information in this process. During the analysis and reconstruction processes, themes and theories about the various cycles, natural processes, inter-relationships and human interpretations will be discovered. Then, identification of the kino lau associated with the akua Lono will materialize. Other mo’olelo or ‘ōlelo no’eau are researched to collect information.

For me personally, candid discussion with my fellow Papakū Makawalu team members is also crucial to understanding how the other team members interpret the same compositions but from the perspectives of Papahulihonua and

Papanuihānaumoku. It is through these candid discussions that revelations come to light and the analysis becomes more meaningful and personal to me. Finally, reconstruction of the components into the associated papa completes the third step.

Step four is when ontological maps of Lono from Papahūhōnua, Papahūlilani and Papanuihānaumoku are created to identify the natural indicators in the environment that illustrated Lono's season, Lono's arrival, Lono's weather patterns & geological events, and Lono's departure. Newly discovered understandings to old knowledge through identifying the Lono manifestations during his season and also throughout the year will be shared in this chapter. The goal is to formulate a comprehensive interpretation of Lono that can be utilized to inform practitioners on how to incorporate the information garnered into their own practice.

## **5.6 Step Two: Nā Pule o Lono - Incantations of Lono**

There are several noted pule that are dedicated to Lono. The following are the pule that have been chosen to makawalu, and they are listed below under Papahūhōnua, Papahūlilani, and Papanuihānaumoku. One of the processes that the Papakū Makawalu team does is to remove all the diacritical marks from the words in the mele and pule for the initial translation.<sup>55</sup> The theory is that removing the diacritical markings will allow for other possible translations instead of the first literal translation. The philosophy here is that all possible translations must be considered because the modern day Hawaiian cannot possibly know what the original composer was trying to convey and also allowing multiple interpretations to be revealed. The researcher is allowed the opportunity to discover new information and meaningful realizations that can be relevant to one's cultural practice today.

Three crucial points are to be made here. The first is that the person who is doing the translation must have a great command of the Hawaiian language so

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<sup>55</sup> Diacritical markings are added to Hawaiian letters to indicate the appropriate pronunciation. These marks are not common in the Roman alphabet. There are two diacritical marks utilized in 'ōlelo Hawai'i. The kahakō, or macron, is found over long vowels. The second diacritical mark is called an 'okina or u'ina, which is a glottal stop and is treated as a letter of the Hawaiian alphabet. Both diacritical marks indicate change in pronunciation and therefore change in meaning.

that the interpretations are valid and not too far off track. There is a potential to keep translating beyond what is necessary. Understanding the grammar of the Hawaiian language is pertinent. The second point is that going outside to experience the phenomena that was witnessed or the activities that were documented adds tangible participation and empirical perspective to the composition. The third point for the Papakū Makawalu team is that we find value in having more than one person interpreting the mele and pule as each person comes with his or her own experiences and understandings. These personal perceptions are added to the greater discussion. If an individual is not working with a team, then it is vital that a discussion with a kumu, teacher, or a Hawaiian language colleague occurs to successfully makawalu any topic.

In my experience as a Papakū Makawalu team member, everyone understands that all participants bring worthy data to the table and share openly. Trust in skills and feeling free to share between your fellow researchers is key for a successful collaborative effort. Disparaging criticisms of others' knowledge during this process impedes growth and can cause unease between the participants. Gathering together to talk and compare translations is effective to the collective interpretations and in assuring that content gathered stays on point.

Eventually, an individual's skill to makawalu is developed to a point where any topic or subject encountered in a mele, pule, mo'olelo or 'ōlelo no'eau is automatically seen through multiple potentialities.

The following are the pule that have been chosen to makawalu (deconstruct). The pule will not be translated at first so that the original source material can "speak" for itself, allowing the reader to interpret the content at a chosen level or foundational understanding that is comfortable. My interpretations will be provided below.

### **Pule Utilized For Papahulihonua (PHH)**

#### **Hulihia Kulia Mai Tahitiku - Traditional, Section That Focuses On Lonomakua**

(Ka Nupepa o Ke Au Hou, 1911)

I lono mai oe e Pelehonuamea,  
O ke kumu o ka mana i mana ai,  
O ke kumu o ka ike i ike ai,  
O ke kumu o ke ola i ola ai.  
O Hoali i ke ahi a Lonomakua.

O ke ahi wela i ke kumu o ka aunaki  
O ke ahi lalapa i ke kumu o ka au lima.  
Ua wahia ka lani, kau kahaea,  
Ea mai Pele kauluwela na moku.  
He makana na maua ia oe e ke akua.  
Eia ka ai, ka mohai, ka alana e.  
E moku i ka piko o ka hale la,  
Okia la, amama, ua noa!

**O Ke Ahi A Lonomakua! - Traditional**

(He Moolelo o Kamapua'a - Helu 6, *Ka Hae Hawaii*, 31 July 1861;  
Fornander, 1919, p. 341)

O ke ahi a Lonomakua la,  
A ka wahine akua o Pele,  
Ke a la i ka uka o Hamakualoa,  
I ka hau kea o Maunakea,  
I ka uahi pookea i ka lani,  
A ka wahine leo nui i ka uka o Koaekoa,  
Ke halawai pu me ka'u mau lani,  
He akua kino lau,  
He kino pahaoao,  
O Lono la ka maka,  
O wau la ke kino,  
Ke kii mai nei Hawaii ia'u,  
I ke kaula wai maka nui,  
Hiolo ka lae o ka pohaku,  
Io io ka leo o ka ala,  
Kui ke koi o Koiaweaweula,  
Ue ka leo o ka manu,  
Ka leo o koi wai maka nui o Hilo hanakahi,  
Pau o Kilauea i ke ahi e,  
Kuni ia aku la wela ke one,  
Haoa ke a lele iluna,  
I ka ai inoino a ke akua wahine,  
Po Puna i ka ua awaawa,  
Pakui i ka uahi kanaka,  
Hauna i ka uahi a Pele la e, aloha!

***Pule Utilized For Papahulilani (PHL)***

**Pule Hainaki - Traditional Makahiki Pule**

(Malo MS, 1847, p. 154)

Ou kino e Lono i ka lani,  
He ao loa, he ao poko,  
He ao kiai, he ao halo,  
He ao hoopua i ka lani;  
Mai Uliuli, mai Melemele,  
Mai Polapola, mai Haehae,  
Mai Omaokuululu,

Mai ka aina o Lono i hanau mai ai,  
Oi hookui aku ai o Lono  
Ka hoku e miha i ka lani,  
Amoamo ke akua laau nui o Lono.  
Kuikui papa ka lua mai Kahiki,  
He paina, kukaka i ka hau miki no Lono!  
E ku i ka malo a hiu!  
And the people shouted: Hiu!  
The kahuna calls again: O Lono!  
The people shouted: Ke akua laau!  
The kahuna proclaims: A ulu!  
The people shouted: A ulu, e Lono!

**E Lononuiākea - Traditional Makahiki Pule**

(Fornander, 1919, p. 39).

E Lononuiākea, eia ka niu.  
E ola i ko kahu a me ka 'āina,  
A me nā kānaka  
O nā pō kēia i ō Hua nei.

**E La'a Ko Hānai - Traditional Makahiki Pule, \*Additions by Author**

(Fornander, 1919, p. 39).

One: E la'a ko hānai, hānai pō, hānai ao!  
All: Iā hiki Uliuli, iā hiki Melemele, iā hiki  
Kā'elo, iā hiki Kaulua!  
Iā hiki Nana, iā hiki Welo, iā hiki Ikiiki,  
iā hiki Ka'aona!  
Iā hiki Hinaia'ele'ele, iā hiki Hilinehu,  
iā hiki Hilinamā!  
Iā hiki 'Ikuā, iā hiki Welehu,  
iā hiki Makali'i! Ola!  
\*One: E wahi ka niu o Kuapola!  
\*All: Wawahia!  
\*One: E wahi ka niu o Kuapola!  
\*All: Wawahia!  
\*One: E wahi ka niu o Kuapola!  
\*All: Ua wawahia! E hiki mai 'o Lono.

***Pule Utilized For Papanuihānaumoku***

**Pule Ho'ouluulu Ai**

(Malo, 1951, p. 158)

E Kane auloli ka honua  
Honua nee pu ka aina  
Ulu nakaka, kawahawaha ka honua  
Ulu ka ai hapuu, e Lono  
Ohi maloo, kupukupu

Ohi aa na uala o na pali  
Pali ku kawahawaha ka ua  
Ka ua haule lani  
He haule lani ka ua la  
He aweu ke kalo  
He lauloa, pili kanawao  
O wao akua ka ai e Kane  
E Kane, e Lono, na akua mahi'ai  
Hoola i ka aina!  
A poho ka ai  
A ulu kupukupu  
A ulu lau po'o 'ole  
A o ka nui ia o ka ai  
Au e Kane a me Lono

**Kumulipo - Traditional Pule Ho'ola'a Ali'i, Sanctifying A Chief**  
(Beckwith, 1951, p. 239)

Hanau o Kawaukaohela,  
O Keleanuinoanoapiapi, he wahine.  
Noho Kelea ia Kalamakua  
Hanau Laielohelohe, noho ia Piilani,  
Ia laua o Piikea,  
O Piikea noho ia Umi, o Kumalaenuiaumi  
Nona ka pali haili kaua  
Kumalaenuiaumi ke kane,  
O Kumunuipuawale ka wahine  
Makua ke kane, Ka wohi kukahi o ka moku  
Kapohelamai ka wahine,  
He wohi alii kapu ka hoano,  
O I, ia I ka moku, ka haina kanaka,  
Ke kaulana aina i Pakini,  
Ka ohia ko, ke kuina o ka moku o Hawaii.  
Ia Ahu, ia Ahuai, ia Lono,  
Ia Lonoikamakahiki hoi.

**A Pule Including All Three Papa  
He Pule No Lono**  
(Fornander, 1919, pp. 505-6)

O Lono, o ka oili lani,  
Mai loko mai o ka maha ulu lani,  
Ku mai o Kane, o Kanaloa  
I loko o ka eweewelani.  
Puka mai o Kumuhonua a Kane,  
Me Lalohonua, ka wahine.  
Laha mai o Wakea me Papanuihanaumoku.  
No loko mai o Hulihonua,  
Hanau mai na alii,

Mai loko mai o ka eweewelani.  
Ku mai o Lono,  
Hana i ka ia ula,  
Molia i ka awalau,  
He lau ka awa i kupu,  
I kupu i ka hanuunuu pali,  
Ku mai o Kane, o Kanaloa,  
Hana i ka moa ula hiwa.  
Molia i ka awa makakea.  
Hana i ka puaahiwa.  
Molia i ka awa hiwa.  
Hana i ka papakea.  
I poina i ka aahu  
I loko o ka eweewe ka lani.  
Kulu kahi ka paka a ka ua,  
I loko o Kaelo,  
O Ikiiki, o Ikuu, o Kanikoi.  
O ku kilakila i ka lani,  
O ku kilakila i ka honua,  
O ku ulu, o ku ano,  
O ku meha i loko o Maewalani.  
Hina akula o Lono.  
Ke aka o Lono i Kahiki.  
Hina aela ka pae opua,  
I ka hiki ana o Lono.  
Hina aela ka onohiula,  
I ka hiki ana o Lono.  
Hina ae ka punohuula,  
I ka hiki ana o Lono.  
Hina aela ka uakoko,  
I ka hiki ana o Lono.  
Hina aela ke ao makoko,  
I ka hiki ana o Lono.  
Hina aela ke anuenuu,  
I ka hiki ana o Lono.  
Hina aela ka alewalewa,  
I ka hiki ana o Lono.  
Hina aela ka opua kiiki,  
I ka hiki ana o Lono.  
No Ku, no Kane.  
No Kanaloa, ka pukoa ku i Kahiki.  
O na Kaikuahine,  
O Kaiwihinenui Haalipolipo  
O Ulunui Mahololani,  
O Maewa a Kahikiku,  
O Maewa a Kahikimoe,  
O Maewa a ke Apapanuilani,  
O Maihilaninui, kapu a Hehu.  
O Kalaniula, ka wahine  
Nana i ae na kapu o Kahiki.

Holo ka papa, ka iwi niau o ka moku.  
Ae mai Kahai.  
Ae Kahai i ka iwi kahi.  
O ka lewanuu,  
O Hihio, o Laumania,  
O Hano a lele ka lau o ka awa,  
I ka makani,  
I kupu no a ohiohi,  
I ka paehumu o ka moku.  
O Lono, o Keakealani.  
E unoho ana i ka ulu o ka honua,  
Hoanoano ke kapu o ka wahine,  
Kulolou na opua i ke kai.  
Kani ka poo a ke olai,  
I lalo o ka honua,  
Naueue akula,  
Lalo o Malama.  
E ala mai oe e Lono,  
E hoi e ai i ka ai kapu a Kanaloa.  
Pakiki awa.  
Kanaena no na kane aa me na wahine,  
Eia ua ai he mohai leo....  
E kaukau aloha nou e Lono.  
E Lono i ka pō,  
E Lono i ke ao,  
E Lono i ka hekili,  
I ka uila,  
I ka ua loku  
I ka ua pakakū  
I ka ua hea,  
I ka ua ililani,  
I ka ua lelehuna,  
I ka 'opua  
I ka ua 'oili maka akua nei lā, e Lono!  
E Lono maka ahialele.  
A lele 'oe i kai ko'olau,  
I kai kona,  
I Oneuli,  
I Onekea,  
I mahinauli  
I mahinakea,  
O Pipipi  
O Unauna  
O Alealea  
O Hee  
O Naka  
O Kualakai  
O Kamaa Opihikaupali  
O Akualele pō ē,  
O Helelei ke oho,

O oili maka akua nei laa, e Lono!

### **5.7 Step Three: Makawalu - Deconstruct, Analyze, and Reconstruct**

The third step is the most tedious phase of the Makawalu process. This step is where all the possible meanings of each word and phrases are listed for consideration in the interpretation process. Connections are made between the lines in the mele and pule, the eyewitness accounts of the natural phenomena, and the ritual or ceremony that was being performed by the practitioner. A chart was developed to organize the deconstruction so that all the possible interpretations can be compared and considered.

Each line of the pule or mele is numbered and placed in the first column, *Lines of Pule/Mele*. At this time no diacritical marks are used in this column. Next, all the possible meanings that could be associated with each word in the line is listed in the second column, *Various Translations*. Words that are discovered and connected to the topic are highlighted to assist with formulating any corresponding imagery. Every word is searched in the Hawaiian language dictionary including those that seem common or commonly used by the researcher. The reason is that there are often several other meanings that the average language speaker could easily miss. The opportunity to understand a word from another perspective is lost if a word is dismissed by the researcher. Every possible translation is considered. Each translation found is listed in column 2. This column is usually immensely larger than the other columns. However, it is necessary to go through this process to unpack all the possibilities. Through unpacking each word, the kaona is revealed and a connection can be made to the chosen topic, which will inform any theory that may have been formulated previously about the topic. The third column is where interesting findings are placed. These interesting findings might be noted in the dictionary or information that was found while researching through Hawaiian literature that adds value to your understanding of the topic, and this is placed in the third column. Despite how lengthy the makawalu process can become, each discovery adds to the development and interpretation of the topic.

To demonstrate the process, just the first pule listed in the Papahūhūhū section to makawalu on the chart and attached below.

	Lines of Pule/Mele	Various Translations	Interesting Finds
1	<p><u>lono mai oe e Pelehonuamea</u></p> <p><i>Each word is searched</i></p>	<p><b>I:</b> In, on, at, by, for, past tense</p> <p><b>lono:</b> news, report, tidings, remembrance, rumor, <b>to listen</b>, hear, <b>obey</b>, to feel, to sense. To regard, to see.</p> <p><b>Lono:</b> One of the major akua brought to Hawai'i from Kahiki. 28th day of the lunar month. Name of a star.</p> <p><b>Mai:</b> From, almost, nearly. Command, don't.</p> <p><b>'Oe:</b> You, thou.</p> <p><b>Pelehonuamea:</b> Pele - Honua - Mea</p> <p><b>Pele:</b> Lava flow, volcano, eruption; volcanic. Soft, swollen, fat; pounded or kneaded soft, as poi or dough. Volcano goddess.</p> <p><b>Honua:</b> Land, earth, world; background, as of quilt designs; basic, at the foundation, fundamental.</p> <p><b>Suddenly, abruptly</b> and without reason.</p> <p><b>Mea:</b> Thing, person, matter, stuff, object. <b>Cause</b>, reason, purpose, means of, because, <b>circumstance</b>, or condition. <b>Reddish-brown</b>, as water with red earth in it.</p>	<p>-Hi'iaka, Lohi'au, Kaulahenui, and Kamiki use the name Pelehonuamea to refer to Pele.</p> <p>-Hi'iaka kills 'Olepau (Kapihenui, 1862) in the challenging exchanges between -Waihinano and Hi'iaka, Hi'iaka again refers to Pele as Pelehonuamea.</p> <p><b>'O PELE KO'U AKUA</b> (Poepoe, 1908)</p> <p>-Priest Mahulua refers to Pele as Pelehonuamea.</p> <p><b>E O, 'O PELEHONUAMEA</b> (Ka Nūpepa 'o Ke Au Hou, 1911)</p> <p><b>'O LAULI'A KE ALI'I</b> (Poepoe, 1908)</p> <p><i>Supporting literature</i></p>

**Figure 5.2: Makawalu Steps For Each Line**

As illustrated above, each word in the first line of the pule is searched in the Hawaiian language dictionaries. Words that are descriptive and assist in creating an image of what is being conveyed through the pule are highlighted. Then, a search through various Hawaiian literature sources follows in personal archives, reference books, and online search sites such as *Ulukau Hawaiian Electronic Library* and Papakilo Database. Google is also used to access online libraries with rare books and other databases. Any interesting information that provides supporting evidence is added in the last column. The first line of the chant can be understood as follows, Pele [whose kino lau is the] flowing red magma, obey. This process is continued through each line. The question now is what does this have to do with Lono?

As each line is researched, themes pop up that begin describing the components of Lono. In this particular papa, Papahūhūnua, one might begin to see through the imagery that Pele is active during the season of Lono. This now becomes the theory that drives the research of the pule. "Is Pele, volcanism, active during the Makahiki season?" Each line of the pule can support your theory, counter your theory, or create a totally new theory.

Once a theory is formulated the components that support the theory are identified and categorized into each of the three papa. An ontological diagram is created.

### **5.7.1 ‘O Wai ‘o Lono? Analyze to Identify the Components**

The next phase in step three is to analyze the identified components. The purpose of this step is to find all the actions or activities that describe Lono from all the pule and then to begin organizing those actions and activities into components. For the Papahulihonua analysis, a theory emerges. Pele is active during the Makahiki season. For the Papahulilani analysis, two theories emerge.

The first was that time keeping through the stars was noted and the second was that meteorological and celestial activities are extremely active during the Makahiki season. For the Papanuihānaumoku analysis, three theories emerge. The first was the importance of Lono’s role in agriculture and natural growth processes, the second was the ceremonial rituals afforded to those of the right lineage and the third described the origins of the kapu that Lonoikamakahiki inherited from his lineage.

#### **5.7.1.1 ‘O wai ‘o Lono i o Papahulihonua? Who is Lono in Papahulihonua?**

The next phase is to begin categorizing the components into each papa. The components for Lonomakua’s function in relationship to the earth cycles are as follows:

1. Pele is magma. Lonomakua is the oxygen that creates the flames. Pele is called Kauluwelanamoku/Pelekauluwelanamoku. Makahiki ceremony that transitions out of the season of Kū and into the season of Lono is called Kauluwela. Pele is part of the Makahiki ceremonies.
2. The Lonomakua fans the flames of magma. Lonomakua is the onset of a lava flow.

#### **Lonomakua:**

- In charge of the ‘aunaki and ‘aulima fire sticks to ignite the magma.
- Hō‘ali ahi - Fans the fire to create flames when asked by Pele.
- Billowing smoke initiates storms.
- White volcanic smoke heated by the magma initiates atmospheric activity.

- Earthquakes move stones. Earthquakes occur during Lono's season. Rumbling heard below the earth.
- Lava tendrils begin flowing.
- Sharp adze-like sounds are heard emanating from the red tentacles.
- Birds chatter loud enough to be heard as far as Hilo.
- Kīlauea is overflowing
- Hot cinders are being strewn about. Oneuli, black cinders. Onekea, white cinders.
- Vog and acid rain cover over Puna
- Sulphuric odors emit far into the atmosphere and wide into other districts
- Death by lava
- Kai: Ocean Directions
  - Kai Ko'olau (NE)
  - Kai Kona (SW)

Consideration: Pele is magma. Pelekauluwelanāmoku could also be one of the female akua Makahiki that is worshipped in the fire, 'ōlū'au, and puea ceremonies. Pele will exist as hot viscous lava until Lonomakua generates airflow or current to produce a reaction. Oxygen needs to be added to the magma to create flames. Lonomakua "fans" the flames to life. Lonomakua is the function of volcanism that creates the conflagrations, explosions, and energy for ash plumes, cinder and lava to move.

#### **5.7.1.2 'O wai 'o Lono i o Papahulilani? Who is Lono in Papahulilani?**

It is pertinent to note that the majority of the natural phenomena that are mentioned in all of the pule chosen to makawalu contained descriptions of atmospheric and celestial activities. This is a good indicator that Lono has a significant amount of kino lau that are atmospheric in Papahulilani. The components for Lono's function in relationship to the atmospheric cycles are as follows:

**Lononuiākea:**

- Wāhia ka lani. Break open the skies.
- ‘Ōpua: Cloud formations
  - Kaha‘ea. Mackerel skies
  - Loa. Common term for long clouds.
  - Poko. Common term for short clouds.
  - Ki‘ai/ki‘ei. Common term for nimbostratus clouds.
  - Hālō. Common term for cumulonimbus clouds.
  - Ho‘opua. Actively building cumulonimbus clouds.
  - Pae ‘ōpua. Common term for cumulus cloudbanks.
  - ‘Ōpua ki‘iki‘i. Orange colored clouds due to an approaching storm.
- Mahina
  - Mahinauli: Dark moon phases or lunar eclipse.
  - Mahinakea: Full moon phases.
- Hōkū: Stars
  - Stars in Orion:
    - Melemele, Uliuli, Polapola, Ha‘eha‘e, ‘Ōma‘oku‘ululu
  - Guiding stars that lead the malama in the Kaulana Mahina
    - Kā‘elo, Ka‘ulua, Nana, Welo, Ikiiki, Ka‘aona, Hinaia‘ele‘ele, Hilinehu, Hilinamā, ‘Ikuā, Welehu, Makali‘i.
- Akualele: Comets, meteors, asteroids
  - Ahialele
- Ua: Rain
  - Loku. Heavy downpour of rain.
  - Papakū. Rain falling in heavy splotches
  - Hea. Rain that is misty, clouded, smoky, or obscure.
  - Ililani. Unexpected rain, as from a sunny sky.
  - Lelehuna. Fine windblown rain spray, dust, and mist; to fall as fine rain.
- Hekili: Thunder
- Uila: Lightning
- Eweewelani: Ozone layer

- Ānueue: Rainbows
  - ‘Ōnohi‘ula. Fully formed rainbow.
  - Pūnohu‘ula. Fully red rainbow.
  - Uakoko. Low-lying rainbow where the red is fully visible over the other colors.
  - Ao Mākoko. Splotchy red colored rainbow.
  - ‘Ālewalewa: Fully formed rainbow where the ends do not touch the ground.
- Lewa: Atmospheric Strata
  - Kahiki
  - Kaiwahinenui Ha‘alipolipo
  - Ulunui Mahololani
  - Māewa a Kahikikū
  - Māewa a Kahikimoe
  - Māewa a ke ‘Āpapanuilani
  - Ma‘ihilaninui, kapu a Hehu
  - Kalani‘ula, ka wahine
- Wind

Consideration: The list above are the Papahulilani components that were discovered in all the pule listed. These components can be considered the kino lau of Lononuiākea’s function. Generally the nomenclature nuiākea is attached to an akua to indicate that it is the sum total of the larger pantheon of an akua. In this case, the akua is Lono. In other words, the Lono that comprises Nuiākea means far reaching, expansive, or encompassing. Lononuiākea is the overall akua for the akua Lono assemblage. Nearly all the pule that were deconstructed and analyzed included atmospheric phenomena that are expected to be observed during the Makahiki season. Storms, stars, meteor showers, rainbows and wind are anticipated to manifest in the atmosphere providing the water and healthy soil needed to produce large yields of food crops. It appears that Lononuiākea was the broader akua that had been addressed at one time during the Makahiki, which then switched to Lonoikamakahiki for political reasons.

### 5.7.1.3 ‘O wai ‘o Lono i o Papanuihānaumoku? Who is Lono in Papanuihānaumoku?

The components for Lono’s function in the process of farming noted in the pule were identified. Ceremonial practices as well as genealogical lineage were also distinguished. The components for Papanuihānaumoku are:

#### **Lonoikamakahi:**

- Ho‘omana: Rituals
  - Mana: 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 (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 235).
  - ‘Ike: To see, know, feel, greet, recognize, perceive, experience, be aware, understand (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 96).
  - Kumu: Beginning, source, origin. Reason, cause, goal, justification, motive, grounds, purpose, object, why. Teacher, tutor, manual, primer, model, pattern (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 182).
  - ‘Okia ka piko: To cut the umbilical cord of a child. This was a very important ceremony for all children. Traditionally the child would be dedicated to a family akua. For children of the ali‘i class, the ceremony also dedicated them to the right to govern. It is also a ceremony to cut the thatching over the door and to dedicate the house to its occupants. As mentioned in Chapter 4, children of the household is dedicated to Lono. The ceremony that confirms that obligation is ‘oki piko ceremony (Malo, 1951, pp. 87-8).
  - Mōlia: To be sanctified, i.e., set apart or devoted to the service of the gods.
    - I‘a ‘ula
    - ‘Awa
    - ‘Awalau

- 'Awamahakea

- 'Awahiwa

➤ Moa'ulahiwa

➤ Pua'ahiwa

- Mōhai kanaka: Prescribed human sacrifice, offering; to offer a sacrifice.

- 'Ālana: Offering, especially a free-will offering, contrasting with a mōhai that was prescribed by a priest; to offer.

Makana: Gift, present; reward, award, donation, prize.

- 'Ulaleo: An intense emotional appeal to the gods, as in chant; a voice from the spirits.

- 'Ōhi'a kō: Temporary structure that houses the ki'i akua.

- House ceremonies: Moku ka piko

- 'Aunaki/'Aulima

- Fire lighting: The process of making fire.

The 'aunaki and 'aulima are kino lau of Lono (Johnson, 2000, p.75).

- Ali'i

- Wohi: One whose parent was of pi'o, naha, or nī'aupi'o rank, and the other parent of second degree collaterality. A wohi chief was exempt from the prostration taboo (kapu moe); he preceded the king on public occasions to see that others prostrated themselves; he was generally a near relative. 'Ai-wohi-kupua [name], semi-divine wohi ruler (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 386).

- Ho'āno: A kapu that separates a high-ranking chief from the rest of the population. A chief with a kapu ho'āno distinction is afforded reverence and divine honor.

- Ānuenuē: Rainbows are natural signs attributed to high-ranking chiefs and to specialized items that have colors. Examples are feathered capes, feathered helmets, or kūpe'e shells that are naturally colored, striped or dyed red (Kalei, 2018, p. 3).

- Kahuna
  - Hulihonua
- Mo‘okū‘auhau
  - Eweewelani: High ranking lineages
- Mahi‘ai
- Plants
  - Ni‘au: Coconut midribs
  - ‘Uala
  - Kalo
    - ‘Āweu
    - Lauloa
    - Kanawao/Nāwao
- I‘a - Marine creatures
  - Pipipi: Nerita snails
  - Unauna: Hermit crabs
  - Ālealea: Turban shells
  - He‘e: Octopus
  - Naka: Nudibranchs
  - Kualakai: Sea slugs
  - ‘Opihikaupali: Limpets

Consideration: The list above are the Papanuihānaumoku components that were discovered in all the pule analyzed. These components can be considered the symbols and kapu that would affirm Lonoikamakahiki’s high-ranking lineage. The other discoveries made during the analysis were the various terms for ritual offerings, the appropriate offerings acceptable to Lono, and for Lonoikamakahiki.

My initial analysis of the list of marine creatures was that they seemed out of context in the pule and did not fit the listings of offerings. But, upon further inspection of each creature’s characteristics a hypothesis began developing. Each of the marine creatures mentioned in the pule produce slime and leave milky slime trails behind them when they are on dry land or moving along rocks. The milky slime trails are evidence that something had passed over the rocks in the tide pools. My pondering led me to think of other creatures or events that produce

milky slime or milky trails besides marine creatures such as land snails and slugs. I thought of creatures that produce bioluminescence like dinoflagellates that produce bluish purplish light called *weli* that are prevalent in the ocean during the Makahiki season. Dinoflagellates only produce the light when the water around them is agitated. They look like stars on the surface of the ocean. My next thoughts brought me to stars, which then made me wonder what the lines in the pule of Lono were that followed after the list of marine creatures. The following lines of the pule of Lono say, *Akuaelele pō ē, ō Helele‘i ke oho*, evening meteor showers, cascading as hair! Meteors and comets also leave a white milky streak across the evening sky when they are falling. Brilliant imagery! A realization that perhaps the use of the marine creatures in the pule that leave milky slime is a metaphor for the streaks seen in the evening sky following after cascading meteors. This juxtaposition of the marine creatures and meteor showers may be the creative objective for that section of the pule. There are several meteor showers that occur during the Makahiki season. These are the annual lists of meteor showers seen in Hawai‘i according to the astronomy highlights for 2018 on the Bishop Museum website:

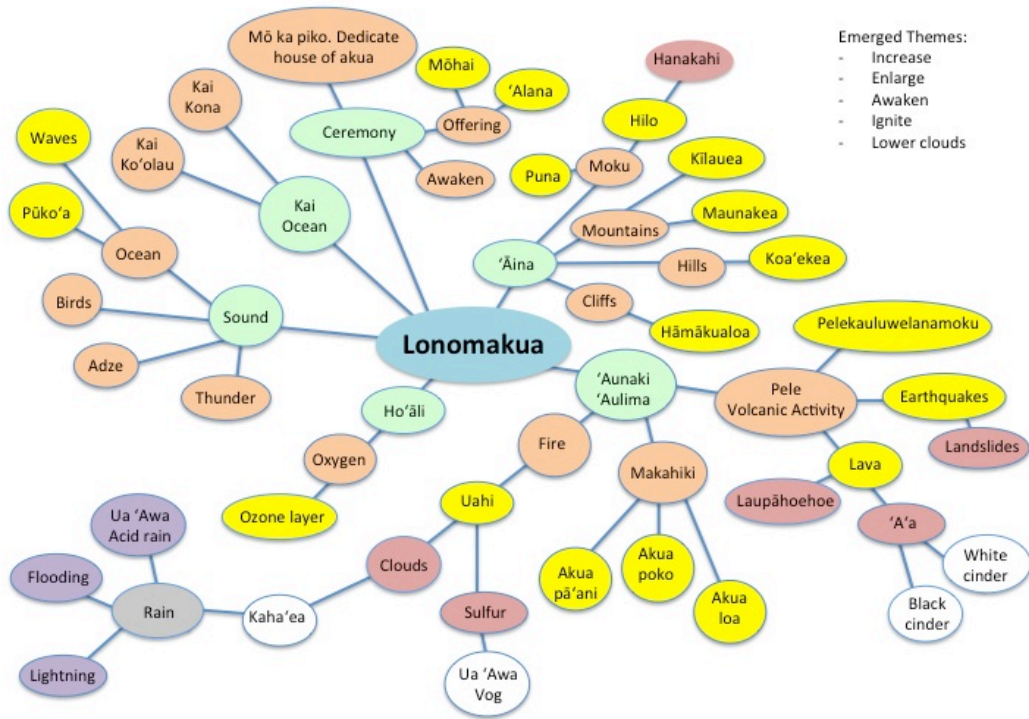
Perseid Meteor Shower	July 13 - August 26
Orionid Meteor Shower	September 23 - November 27
S Taurid	November 5
N Taurid	November 12
Leonid Meteor Shower	November 17 - 18
Geminid Meteor Shower	December 13 - 14
Ursid Meteor Shower	December 22
Quadrantid Meteor Shower	January 3 - 4, 2019 <sup>56</sup>

See the enclosed figures of the ontological maps that were created for Papahūhūhonua, Papahūhūlani, and Papanūihānaumoku. As each layer of new components is revealed, a new color is used to represent the papakū that it had

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<sup>56</sup> Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Retrieved, January 21, 2019, from <https://www.bishopmuseum.org/2019-astronomy-highlights/> and Astropixels.com, Retrieved, January 21, 2019, from <http://astropixels.com/ephemeris/astrocal/astrocal2019hst.html>.

expanded out from. The original papakū is blue, the next components deconstructed out of the blue is green, then from green to yellow, then from yellow to red, then from red to white, then from white to gray, and then finally from gray to purple. The deconstruction can be endless. However, for the Papakū Makawalu team, the deconstruction stops when enough information has been gathered.



*Figures 5.3: Ontological Map of Lonomakua*

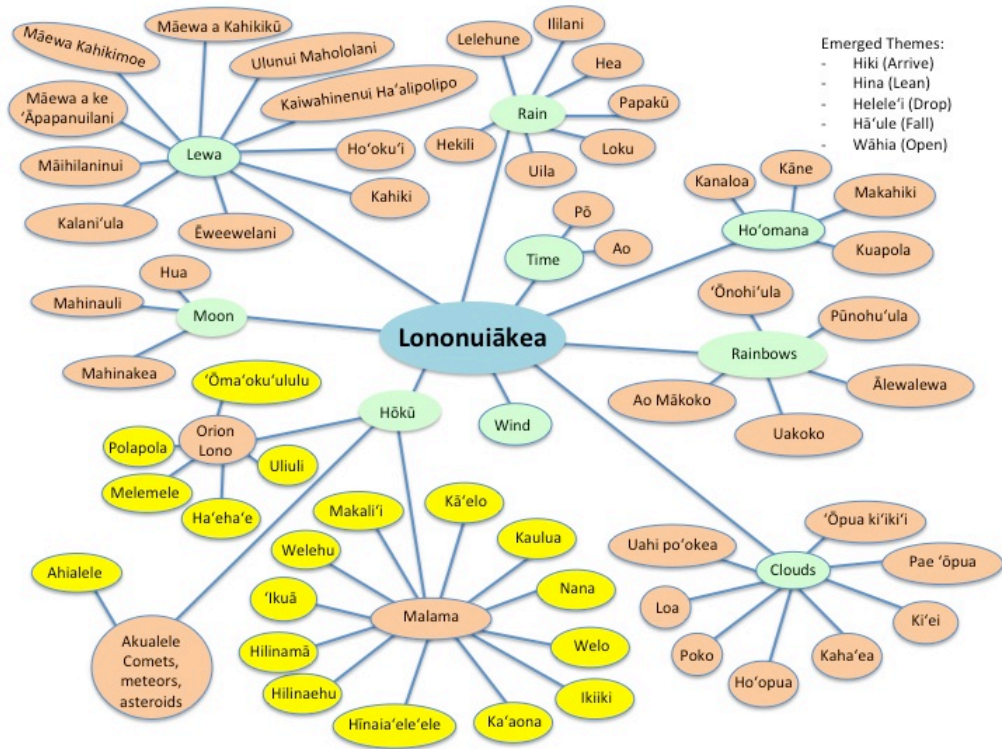
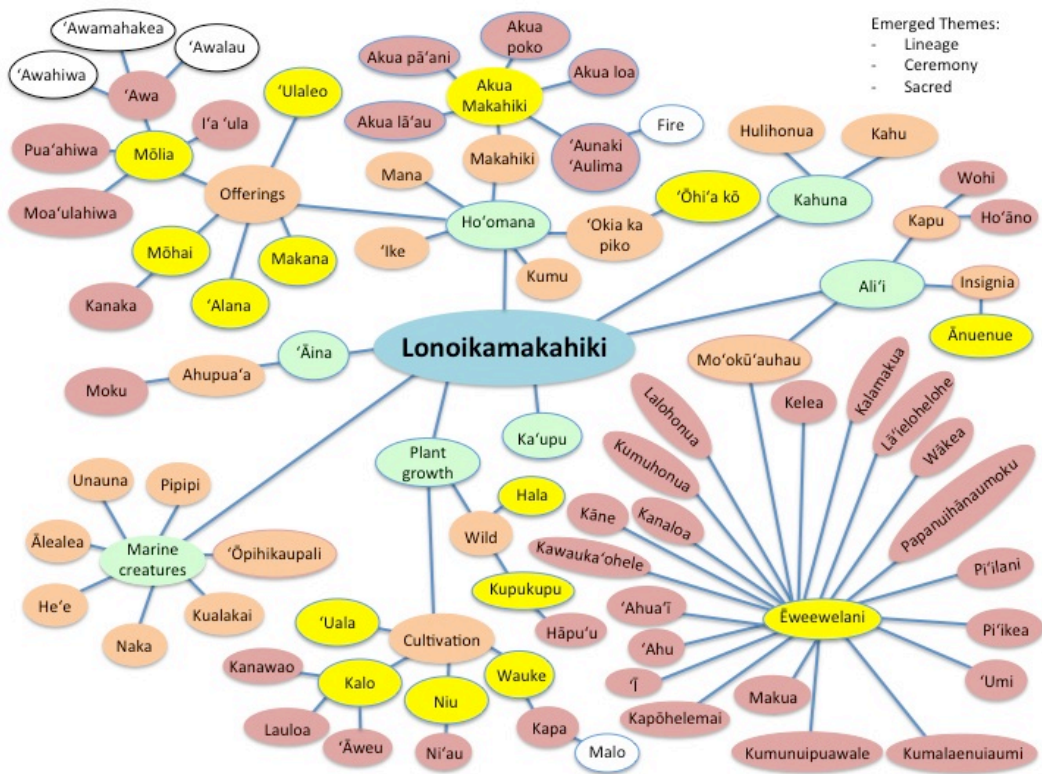


Figure 5.4: Ontological Map of Lononuiākea



Figures 5.5: Ontological Map of Lonomakahiki

### 5.7.2 Eia 'O Lono: Reconstruction

Jacques Derrida, father of deconstruction and grammatology says, deconstruction is a method of criticizing western notions of a text by using just the text itself. Derrida argues that the history of philosophy is logocentric and that it presumes that language can only have a single absolute truth. This is fundamentally mistaken because of the undecidability of language. Words cannot be pinned down to a single definite meaning.<sup>57</sup> In other words, the outcome of Papakū Makawalu is different for everyone because every person resonates with different truths. Everyone is allowed to find his or her own meaningful outcomes. Unpacking the hidden messages to know the kaona of something is one thing. But unpacking the kaona to understand what the kūpuna had witnessed connects me to that specific kūpuna for that specific event, through my own personal experiences. The outcome is always going to be different for every individual and there is nothing wrong with that. The end result is that you find what matters to you. If you are Hawaiian, you will connect to your kūpuna.

For Papahūlihōnua, Lonomakua was deconstructed and analyzed. Discoveries were made that confirmed the emerging theory. The papakū found in the pule support that Pele events are likely to occur during the Makahiki season. Fire rituals are undeniably important to the Makahiki ceremonies, specifically for the akua Pele through Lonomakua. It is possible the Pelekauluwelanamoku connects to the closing of the Kū season through the Kauluwela ritual and at the reopening of the Kū season, through the puea, and 'ōlū'au rituals. More research in this area needs to occur as it is outside of the scope of this paper.

The 'aunaki and 'aulima are the fire sticks of Lonomakua. The function of this akua loa symbol is to lower the clouds down to the earth and to bring the rains from the northeast and southwest. Also, a junction between Papahūlihōnua and Papahūlilani occurred by way of the effects caused by winter storms in Hawai'i.

Storms bring the heavy winter surf, winds and rains, which then cause tumultuous flooding and landslides. Heavy rains bring heavy stream flows that flush out streams and waterways. Rain flows into the lava creating explosive billowing steam, causing rumblings and earthquakes. Another junction between

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<sup>57</sup> Understanding Derrida, Deconstruction & Of Grammatology. 04:09-04:43. Video.

Papahulihonua and Papanuihānaumoku occurred through the identification of extremely loud chattering birds that warn of the onset of a volcanic event. A cautionary premonition and the result of ignoring the indicators concludes the pule.

For Papahulilani, the largest list of natural indicators and kino lau of Lono came from the atmospheric and celestial phenomena. The identified phenomena in the pule describe how they materialize prior to, during, and at the end of the Makahiki season. Nearly all the pule chosen for this paper are filled with imagery of the active skies. Hawaiian terms such as hina (lean), hā'ule (fall), and helele'i (drip), were amply inserted into the pule to describe activities originating from above and then dropping below. Other Hawaiian terms such as wāhi (break open), puka (burst forth), and hiki (arrive), provide contextual images of the onset of heavy cloudbursts, storms, and meteor showers.

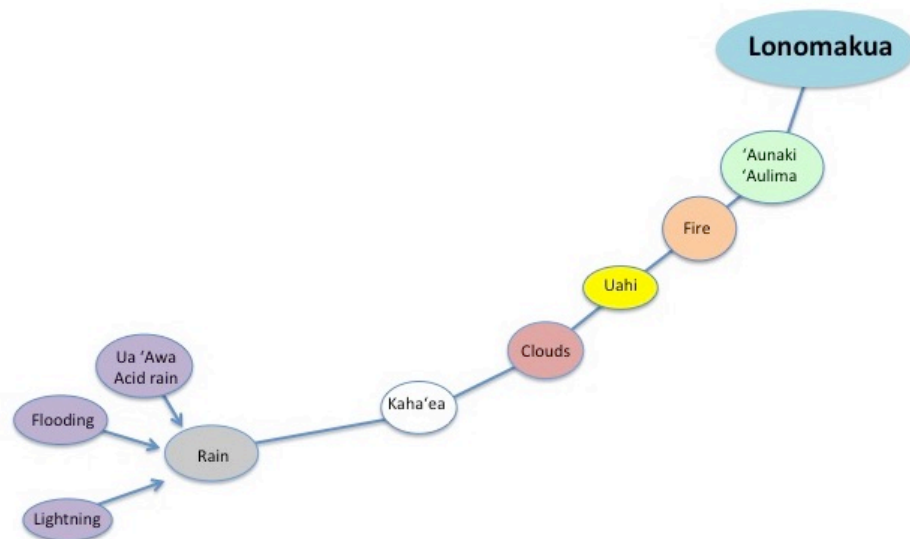
These environmental indicators are the akua Makahiki. The akua Makahiki is Lononuiākea. Lononuiākea is the culmination of all the akua Lono. After deconstruction and analysis the largest list of natural indicators, kino lau and symbols come from the atmosphere. Atmospheric activities will then have a direct impact on the other papa.

As the extended branches of the papakū are rolled back into the original topic, the potential for new themes and theories may arise for further investigation as in the case of the marine creatures that were utilized to describe comets, meteors and asteroids. Again, the emphasis for unpacking the kino lau is heavily based on the researcher's command of the language and the environmental experience of the researcher. Understanding cannot be produced if the researcher has never seen the listed marine creatures in their natural habitat.

For the Papakū Makawalu team, we will then go out into the environment after making a significant discovery to observe and study the creatures or phenomena in their natural environment, just doing their thing, and attempting to capture that activity on camera. New knowledge is gleaned and created through discoveries such as the one described. The imagery in the mele now becomes the phenology of Lono. The phenology of Lono become the natural indicators that inform the us that environmental activities specific to Lono are about to begin and can be expected.

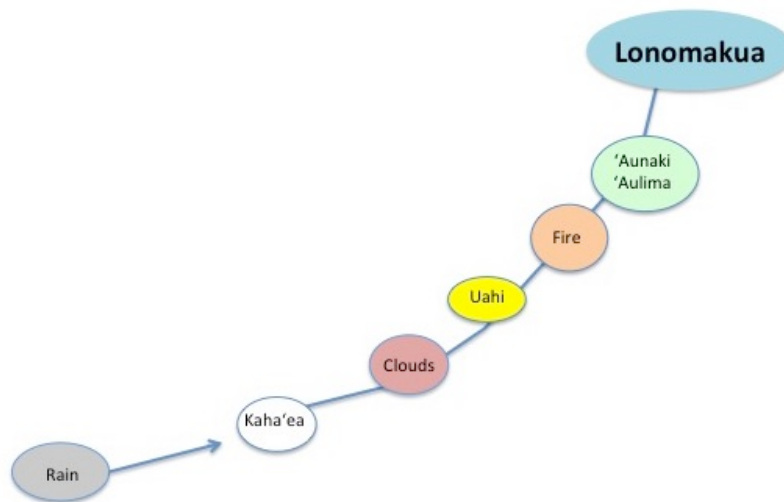
It is a very empowering process of education that cannot be denied. The researcher read about it in the pule and witnessed it in its natural environment. Making the experience part of your practice is also empowering for a practitioner. As the Papakū Makawalu team facilitator, Kanaka‘ole Kanahale generally designates the papa with the largest amount of kino lau and symbols to take the lead in the research. The other two papa will then begin to find connections from their respected papa to support the leading papa.

For Papanuihānaumoku, the reconstruction of papakū affords the opportunity to study the organisms from different perspectives. After the marine creature discovery, my ponderings now include the kalo varieties in the chant. Out of all the kalo that could have been chosen, why were those three, ‘āweu, lauoa, and nāwao utilized? Further studies reveal that these three kalo are considered wild varieties that can be found growing in forests near streams and springs. Plants that grow in the forest wildly are usually attributed to Kāne. Conversely, those same kalo varieties have been cultivated in large kalo fields to a point where there are now other variations of ‘āweu, lauoa, and nāwao. Cultivated plants are usually attributed to Lono. Upon reconstruction of the Papanuihānaumoku ontological map finds that, productive cultivation is the desired outcome of the Makahiki ceremonies.



**Figure 5.6:** Example of Reconstruction for the Papakū of Rain as it returns to its source, Lonomakua.

The expanded papakū are brought back into its origins again. As each papakū is brought back into itself, a greater understanding of the inter-relationships between the papakū and its original topic, which is Lono. The following example demonstrates the reconstruction process. A single strand will be illustrated from the Lonomakua ontological map. The furthest deconstructed papakū that began with the ‘Aunaki and ‘Aulima. The papakū are returned to their immediate source, which is rain. Now when a practitioner or researcher sees or hears the word ua, or rain, in a pule that is specific to Lonomakua, lightning, flooding, and acid rain become part of Lonomakua’s imagery. Lonomakua = lightning, flooding, and acid rain.



**Figure 5.7:** Reconstruction of the rain strand.

When a practitioner or researcher sees or hears the word ua in a pule that is specific to Lonomakua, rain becomes part of Lonomakua’s imagery. Lonomakua = rain. When the word kaha‘ea (which are mackerel skies seen commonly during the ho‘oilō season) is used in a pule that is specific to Lonomakua, clouds becomes part of Lonomakua’s imagery. Lonomakua = kaha‘ea. When the word ‘ōpua is used in a pule that is specific to Lonomakua, uahi becomes part of Lonomakua’s imagery. Lonomakua = ‘ōpua. When the word uahi in a pule that is specific to Lonomakua is used, ahi becomes part of Lonomakua’s imagery. Lonomakua = uahi. When the word ahi in a pule that is specific to Lonomakua is used, the ‘aunaki and ‘aulima becomes part of Lonomakua’s imagery. Lonomakua = ahi. Finally, the ‘aunaki and ‘aulima are a

papakū of Lonomakua. Now the mo‘olelo is added back into the reconstruction to connect Lonomakua as the keeper of the fire sticks. The practitioner or researcher can now make the connection between Lonomakua’s fire sticks and the production of rain through the akua loa. When the words ‘aunaki and ‘aulima are used in a pule that is specific to Lonomakua, Lonomakua ignites the fire. Lonomakua = ‘aunaki and ‘aulima.

Lonomakua is the principal topic. Reconstruction of the other threads occurs and reveals the many papakū that are derived from the original source, which is Lonomakua. Consequently, all the kino lau of Lonomakua that were mentioned in the pule were exposed through the deconstruction process.

The reconstruction process of all the other strands uncovers how Lonomakua is connected to coral, waves, ocean zones, mōhai, ‘alana, ozone layer, Hilo Hanakahi, cinder eruptions, akua loa, akua poko, and akua pā‘ani.

A researcher can use Papakū Makawalu to deconstruct, analyze and reconstruct just about any Hawaiian text, mele, pule, ‘ōlelo no‘eau and mo‘olelo that was composed for natural events, natural phenomena and akua based observations. Hawaiian topics of the environment, philosophies, social relationships and cultural practices can be considered as potential subjects to makawalu.

## **5.8 Limitations To This Process**

Papakū Makawalu does not seem to work for contemporary mele and pule that have not been composed with the use of skillful Hawaiian syntax, kaona, and Hawaiian cultural nuances. Papakū Makawalu also cannot be used with newly created Hawaiian words that are transliterations of words from English or other languages. An example is the word lekuke, which is the transliteration of lettuce. Frankly, there will not be an old mele, pule or mo‘olelo with the word lekuke used in the poetry. If a modern composer has a great command of the ‘ōlelo, understands how to incorporate kaona, understands the Hawaiian environment and also understands the Hawaiian culture, knowledge can certainly be gleaned utilizing Papakū Makawalu. It is also not hard to see a clever modern day composer using the imagery, sensory, and knowledge of lettuce in a bland salad, and creatively compare it to a lackluster love affair that needs salad dressing to spice up the relationship. In this way, Papakū Makawalu can help to break down

the components of the mele and analyze the modern cultural nuances to glean insight. It is possible to use Papakū Makawalu to plot out inter-relationships between modern problems and create solutions for current situations.

Papakū Makawalu relies heavily on skillfully composed mele and pule to glean information about a topic. If the mele or pule is poorly composed, incorrectly uses grammar or lacks poetic proficiency, kaona is non-existent.

Another limitation to using Papakū Makawalu is language proficiency. The process works for those with advanced mid to distinguished levels of fluency. Understanding how to ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i is one thing, but understanding how to play with language quickly and creatively is essential to the Papakū Makawalu process. The researcher has to be willing to be flexible and be able to release all the preconceived notions and previous narratives that are connected to the mele on the initial deconstruction. This allows the mele to stand-alone and be analyzed unbiased so that the broad possibilities of interpretations can be learned. The opportunity to learn new interpretations is lost on a mind that is preoccupied with the mo‘olelo and not with uncovering the codes within the poetry. Once reconstruction of the mele occurs, the logical use of the mele in various mo‘olelo is realized.

Lacking experience with engaging the environment or through life experiences becomes limitations as well. Sensory experience is critical to understanding descriptions encoded in the mele. Initially the process is difficult to learn at first as the deconstruction and analysis is tedious. Working in a group with various people is beneficial. Someone will come with language skills, someone else with the science skills, another with life experiences, and someone adept in Papakū Makawalu is probably the best scenario for beginners.

Recently on a Papakū Makawalu work retreat to the island of Kaho‘olawe where professors from various western science academia had gathered to learn the process. Papakū Makawalu was used to deconstruct the topic of water from a Hawaiian perspective. Western academics, partnered with Hawaiian academics were allowed to learn about water as it applied to their own academic study first.

The professors then went out into the environment of Kaho‘olawe to experience a land where water is the island’s key to survival and also its cause of erosion. Within the four-day visit, native plants were replanted into the stark red



*Figure 5.8: Papakū Makawalu workshop for western and Hawaiian academics learning about Lono on Kaho‘olawe.*

The Hawaiian culture is always growing and evolving and is not stagnant. For now though, Papakū Makawalu is applied to understand the kūpuna and to understand how a practitioner connects to the Hawaiian universe. Kanaka‘ole Kanahale states, ultimately Papakū Makawalu is a Hawaiian method of developing cultural experts (2009, pp. 27-32).

## **5.9 Discussion**

In this chapter, Papakū Makawalu demonstrated that the deconstruction, analysis, and reconstruction of Lono from the perspectives of the three papa, Papahulihonua, Papahulilani, and Papanuihānaumoku, was a thorough process for acquiring a holistic understanding of Lono. Through Papakū Makawalu new knowledge was also developed regarding Pele and her connection to the Makahiki ceremonies. The use of imagery to describe comets and meteor shower activities with the characteristics and behavior of marine creatures was a surprised accomplishment. Natural indicators of storms and Makahiki weather expectations were identified. Lono’s kino lau were distinguished.

The natural indicators and phenology discovered were: Rainbows appear before the arrival of storms. Booming surf arrives before heavy rains. Rain causes flooding. Rain prepares the land for farming. Rain causes active volcanic events. Rain causes abundant plant growth. The stars mark the season. The stars sanctify chiefs. We can replace the atmospheric and celestial word with the akua by saying, rainbows appear before the arrival of Lono. Booming surf arrives before Lono. Lono causes flooding. Lono prepares the land for farming. Lono causes active volcanic events. Lono causes plants to grow abundantly. Lono marks the season. Lono sanctifies chiefs. ‘O Lono ‘oe...

## Chapter 6

### He Loa No Kahikina

#### 6.1 Introduction

He loa nō ka hikina. The arrival has certainly been drawn-out. The last few lines of the mele ‘O Lono ‘oe end with the kanaka waiting anxiously for the arrival of Lono and the commencement of the Makahiki season.

This dissertation sought to answer three guiding questions that have essentially taken my research on its own long, meandering huaka‘i circuit. At each ahu boundary marker a new stack of waiwai was gifted to the research, encouraging the continued trek forward.

Papakū Makawalu directed the route. Old knowledge was revealed. New knowledge was realized. The journey has indeed been a long procession following the formerly marched footpaths of the kūpuna, lead by the need to seek understanding, and affirmed by the revelations to reconnect to Lono.

#### 6.2 Questions and purpose of thesis

The primary question and subsidiary questions for this paper were,

1. *How can the Papakū Makawalu method be utilized to deconstruct mele and pule to acquire a deeper understanding of the annual Makahiki ceremonies?*
2. *What were the environmental indicators that were applied to the Makahiki?*
3. *Can the information gleaned from the mele and pule be used today for the modern Lono practitioner?*

The purpose of this thesis was to establish Papakū Makawalu as a Hawaiian methodology of research. The discovered knowledge within the pule afforded opportunities to better understand the way in which kō mākou mau kūpuna knew their world from their own Hawaiian lens. Papakū Makawalu is not the only method in which modern Hawaiians can use to understand traditional

practices. Papakū Makawalu is a modern method to reengage mo‘olelo and mele to unveil kino lau hidden within the poetry.

### **6.3 Discussion**

In Chapter 2, kaona was clarified as an over arching principle employed within Hawaiian mele, pule, mo‘olelo, and ‘ōlelo no‘eau to convey multiple layers of information. In that chapter, Papakū Makawalu was introduced as the method in which kaona can be identified in mele and pule. Through the introduction of the origins of Papakū Makawalu, I was able to establish that the process does indeed come from a traditional Hawaiian genealogical practice. The mele ‘O Lono ‘Oe was presented to establish that mele and pule contain valid data that listed all the natural environmental phenomena for Lono during the Makahiki season. The delivery of the mele, the dance of a hula, the conjuring of imagery, and personal connection to the experience are all forms of allowing knowledge to be transferred and received. Allowing multiple truths to be revealed to each individual is an acceptable method of acquiring knowledge from mele and pule. The explanation of ‘O Lono ‘Oe began to answer part of the subsidiary question, "can the information gleaned from the mele and pule be used today?"

The mele ‘O Lono ‘Oe noted rain, wind, stars, lunar months, flooding, earthquakes, meteor showers, and sharks as natural environmental indicators that signal the season of Lono. The season of Lono enabled people to relinquish political systems and daily functions to allow for the natural phenomena of ho‘oilo to take the forefront. This is also what is happening in a Papakū Makawalu approach. Natural phenomena take the forefront, which prepares the upcoming year for success or failure. Modern Lono practitioners can use Papakū Makawalu to learn to recognize the natural phenomena associated with Lono to enhance their interactions with Lono in their lives and rituals.

I have spent nearly twenty-five years learning the kaulana mahina. The kaulana mahina is the root of my practice and it was an honor to share the knowledge that Uncle David Ka‘alakea, Uncle Harry Mitchell, and Aunty Alice Kuloloio personally shared with me. Whether they knew what they were doing would impact me so deeply throughout my life or not, they set me on my own person Makahiki circuit that continues to shape my life’s work. I am forever grateful and will continue to include them in every Makahiki celebration I

participate in. ‘O Lono ‘oe e Kāwika, ‘o Lono ‘oe e Kūnihi, ‘o Lono ‘oe e Alice. Chapter Three shed light on the five leading Makahiki informants that formulate the current understanding of the Makahiki ceremonies. Noting that N.B. Emerson and W.D. Alexander altered Malo’s writings without citations have become problematic. Thrum’s lack of cultural nuances and dismissal of certain words in his translations have also contributed to the misconceptions of the Makahiki practices. This paper clarified some of the sources for Emerson’s and Alexander’s footnotes.

The time keeping practice of the kaulana mahina was introduced to emphasize that the kaulana mahina not only tracked the lunation of the moon throughout the year, but also that stellar and solar knowledge are pertinent to accurately keeping time. The intercalary practice of inserting a thirteenth lunar month every three to six years was also included to emphasize that the recalibration of the annual calendar happened every year during the opening of the Makahiki ceremonies. The kaulana mahina and the Makahiki ceremonies were closely associated. The kaulana mahina regulated the seasons, the rituals, and the community events. The signs that were seen in the atmosphere during the Makahiki ceremonies forecasted the upcoming makahiki for the Hawaiian population. The Makahiki determined the makahiki. This information was not just obtained from the narratives of the five main Hawaiian informants of the Makahiki, but was also obtained and confirmed in the poetry found in the seven pule chosen to makawalu in Chapter Five. The connection between the kaulana mahina and the Makahiki was clearly defined in this chapter.

Chapter Four proved that the Makahiki was much more than just games. The historical sequence of the ‘Aha Makahiki as explained by Malo, ‘Ī‘Ī, Kelou Kamakau, Kepelino, and S.M. Kamakau was presented. Although several anthropologists have studied the writings of these five men, none of the studies focused specifically on the Makahiki through the mele or pule. Large amounts of untapped data were available to be researched for this paper. Several natural environmental indicators that were pertinent to the Makahiki were again identified and will potentially inform modern Lono practitioners on the current Makahiki ceremonies that they facilitate. They will know Lono and Lono will know them. The evolution of the Makahiki ceremonies from pre-Kamehameha to post Kamehameha, from ‘aikapu to ‘ainoa, and then to the

Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana was chronicled. Looking at each ritual as described by the five informants was helpful and brought clarity to the reasoning behind the ceremonies.

Nine segments were identified in the Makahiki. Each segment implemented environmental indicators to note ritual time, the presence of akua, and the approval of rituals executed flawlessly by the ali‘i nui and the kāhuna. The environmental indicators are noted as guideposts to assist kāhuna in the prognostication of the upcoming makahiki. These environmental indicators were then composed into the pule so that each following generation could observe the same phenomena. The noted phenomena were all attributed to Lono, which then proved that the information gleaned from the mele and pule can continue to be used today to inform the modern Lono practitioner about the current Makahiki activities.

I was enlightened about the different types of Makahiki ceremonies that may have been done on the outer islands, as my impression has always been that the Makahiki was done precisely in the same manner on each of the islands. I believe that the Makahiki undoubtedly played a major role in Kamehameha I’s conquests to unite the growing population under his rulership as he expanded across the archipelago of Hawai‘i. I have always accepted that the ahupua‘a was a land designation that all the islands utilized and now am compelled to conduct more research in this area because I suspect that the ahupua‘a was introduced to the outer islands during Kamehameha I’s campaign. My ponderings have also started to wonder about the O‘ahu-centric story of Kamapua‘a, which takes place in the Makahiki ceremonial area Kualoa, Ko‘olau on O‘ahu. Were Kamapua‘a’s unusual farming techniques and battles with the chief Makali‘i historical accounts about the new Makahiki regime taking over the original O‘ahu Makahiki regime? I am excited and compelled to use Papakū Makawalu to find answers.

In my opinion, Hawaiians suffered greatly when the ‘aikapu was abolished and the new religion disconnected Hawaiians from their environmental akua. This suffrage still occurs today in forms of self-identity and self-determination issues. The Makahiki is a key to freedom, removing those heavy shackles formed by foreign religions to suppress Hawaiian spirituality and Hawaiian righteousness. A ulu e Lono!

The essential role that the Kanaka‘ole ‘ohana has played for the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana has been far reaching beyond Kaho‘olawe. The PKO and the resurrection of the mo‘olono in the modern era propelled Hawaiian spirituality forward out of the dark and into the light, giving meaning and purpose again for Hawaiian practices to live freely again. The PKO went willingly, seeking Hawaiian methods to heal an abused island, which was very influential to the return of Hawaiian religious practices in public venues and fueling the movement of the Hawaiian spiritual renaissance. The reinstatement of Lono as an akua for Hawaiians and the return of the Makahiki practices have healed an abused people and continues to provide opportunity for wellness and collective community abundance. The Makahiki ceremonies have opened the pathway for other rituals to be restored and practiced in a meaningful way.

My own personal revelation that stars were fed in the kuapola ceremony compelled me to find other Hawaiian practitioners who collectively conducted the kuapola ceremony in 2018 on Hikiau and Ke‘ekū Heiau. This ceremony has catapulted my own personal Papahulilani practice from simply observing the stars and understanding their cycles to engaging and reciprocating with the stars that are my akua. It has profoundly changed my practice for my own edification and spiritualism. Bringing some of these practices back to life to enhance my own personal wellbeing has been empowering and transcends negative foreign influences. The kuapola ceremonies we conducted on Hikiau and Ke‘ekū heiau made me realize yet again that Hawaiian forms of knowledge do not need confirmation by Eurocentric academia or western science and that there is no need to justify Hawaiian knowledge to anyone else but ourselves.

Defining the term akua from a modern Hawaiian understanding was challenging. Nevertheless, Papakū Makawalu provided the tool that made the exploration of all the facets of the term akua clearly evident. This paper has proven that Papakū Makawalu is the process in which the Makahiki was clearly defined.

This paper has given me the chance to describe the work that the Papakū Makawalu team has been developing and utilizing for the last fifteen years. In Chapter Five, Lono was the subject and Papakū Makawalu was the tool used to study the parts of the environmental engine. Like a tool, Papakū Makawalu loosened the bolts, dismantled the parts, and exposed the inner workings of the

mechanism. Then, Papakū Makawalu reassembled the exposed parts back to its original state, giving the "mechanic" a better understanding of the engine and its relating parts.

Lono was examined from the lenses of Papahulihonua, Papahulilani, and Papanuihānaumoku. Lonomakua, Lononuiākea, and Lonoikamakahiki were chosen to makawalu providing insight into the many papakū of Lono that were specific to the Makahiki. Papakū Makawalu exposed the natural events and natural phenomena that connect directly to Lono and to the Makahiki. Lono's environment, philosophies, social relationships and cultural practices were revealed through the makawalu process. Papakū Makawalu empowers the Hawaiian researcher to investigate the many topics in the Hawaiian universe and encourages the exploration of how the Hawaiian epistemology evolved and continues to evolve.

I realize that one of the limitations of this paper is that it lacks prior research in Papakū Makawalu. There was very little published research on this topic, save for the information cited in this paper. Due to the lack of research, my decision was to use Papakū Makawalu as the methodology and to focus on Lono and the Makahiki as the main topics. Writing from a non-biased position was also challenging since I have been a part of its creation and evolution since its inception. This paper forced me to stop and critically think about the process. What is apparent to me now and had not been apparent previous to this research is that Papakū Makawalu reacquaints kānaka Hawai'i to the akua Hawai'i and their kino lau. Only when going through the process of Papakū Makawalu can one attempt to understand the information encoded in mele, pule, 'ōlelo no'eau, and mo'olelo. My aspiration is that this paper will help to lay a foundation of understanding for others to utilize.

#### **6.4 A Brief Description of the Makahiki Evolution**

There has been a significant expansion of the Makahiki festivities since the 1990s to the current time on nearly all of the islands in Hawai'i. The Makahiki is conducted in public, private and charter school settings, in various communities, and even in the prison systems in Hawai'i and on Turtle Island.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Turtle Island. A native American name for North America.

Ceremonies, feasting, and sports competitions have been the main activities of most of the festivities. On Kaho‘olawe, there have already been at least three generational changeovers, meaning that the older mo‘olono have either retired or taken on advisory roles as mentors to the newly recruited mo‘olono. When the new mo‘olono make the commitment and take on the kuleana (responsibilities) to carry forth the rituals, they also revitalize and add new mele, pule, or rites to the Makahiki ceremonies.

In the late 90s communities began seeking out mo‘olono to bring the Makahiki to their groups or political societies for the purpose of healing land, healing people, or healing communities. Hawaiian Language Immersion Schools who had school gardens on their campuses also began incorporating annual Makahiki ceremonies to their curriculum. The mo‘olono from Kaho‘olawe graciously assisted when asked and taught mele and pule from their Kanaka‘ole Makahiki repertoire. The Kanaka‘ole Makahiki spread across the pae ‘āina o Hawai‘i (archipelago of Hawai‘i), was modified to suit the needs of each group or community, and has brought communities together to participate collectively in rituals of prosperity and healing. If the ceremonies include *E Hō Mai, Na ‘Aumākua*, walking in procession behind the akua loa, giving ho‘okupu to Lono to heal the land or bring rain to your personal garden, its origins come from Kaho‘olawe and the Kanaka‘ole Makahiki.

In 2016, the Kanaka‘ole Makahiki was shared with those from Aotearoa who came to Kaho‘olawe to participate in the closing ceremonies. A proverbial fire was lit, and a commitment was made to carry Lonomakua’s flame of the Makahiki to Aotearoa to revitalize their group’s traditional mana of the Matariki ceremonies. I hope that Lonomakua will be carried throughout Oceania and the various forms of Makahiki such as Parara‘a Matahiti from Tahiti or Inasi from Tonga will join in the call for collective abundance.

I am reminded about one of the most profound statements made on a Makahiki panel I once attended. My fellow panel presenter Mikiāla Pescaia who is from the island of Moloka‘i and helps to organize the 37 year old Makahiki on Moloka‘i said, and I paraphrase here, "what matters to me and my community of Moloka‘i is that we know and recognize Lono. And even more importantly, that

Lono recognizes us."<sup>59</sup> Mikiala's statement reminds me that this active reciprocal recognition between Hawaiian communities and Lono is real. It is where I hope this journey for Hawaiian religion and ritual will continue to progress towards.

### 6.5 Revitalizing the Kuapola

One of the outcomes of conducting field research was the revivification of the kuapola ceremony as was reported by John Papa 'Ī'ī and Kelou Kamakau. In 2017 a decision was made to conduct field research on the Hikiau Heiau in Kealahou, South Kona. Hikiau is the site where Captain Cook participated in the Makahiki ceremonies and given the title Lono. The intention of the field research was to see what the sky looked on pō Hua during the malama of 'Ikuā.



*Figure 6.1: Hikiau Heiau located in Kealahou, South Kona, Hawai'i*

Recruited the assistance of representatives of descendants whose kūpuna were from Kealahou and Kaha'u, Kona. Members of Kealahou granted permission for us to take alignment measurements and to observe the activities of the sun, moon and stars while on the heiau. On this initial study, the sky became overcast shortly after the sun set and we had to utilize our star map apps on our phones to identify the stars that were in the sky at the time that the sun set. Through the phone apps, we were virtually able to observe Makali'i rising above

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<sup>59</sup> Lā Kūkahekahe, University of Hawai'i - Windward Campus, March 2018.

the slopes of Maunaloa. A decision was made to return a year later to conduct a kuapola ceremony to feed the stars and to open the Makahiki season.



*Figure 6.2: Hikiau Heiau Reconnaissance with Makahiki Practitioners from Kona, 2017. Māhealani Pae, Alapa‘i Kaulia, and Kahaka‘io Ravenscraft.*



*Figure 6.3: 2018. Kaho‘olawe and Kealakekua mo‘olono practicing the pule kuapola. Kaipu Baker, Kaliko Baker, Kahaka‘io Ravenscraft and Akoni Nelsen.*

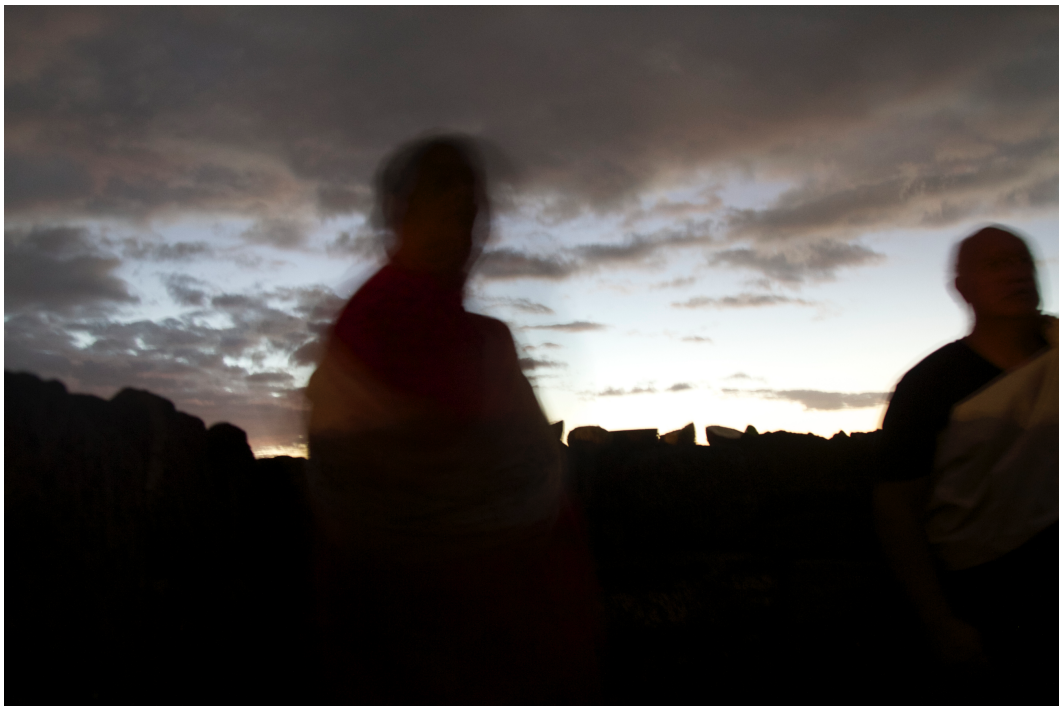
In 2018 on pō Hua in the malama of ‘Ikuā, mo‘olono from Kaho‘olawe joined mo‘olono from Kealakekua to conduct the kuapola ceremony on Hikiau Heiau. We were hosted by the Nelsen ‘Ohana and the community of Kealakekua supported the event. Four mo‘olono and one descendant of Lono stood on the Hikiau just before sunset. The akua loa arrived a silence fell over the area. Just the waves of the ocean were the sounds we heard. Darkness arrived and under the light of the Hua moon, the kuapola was performed. At the completion of the ceremony we waited to observe the rising of Makali‘i to make the prediction of the year by the characteristics and activities of the stars. Makali‘i rose approximately an hour after the sun set. The predictions were made for the year. Perhaps this was the first kuapola that occurred on Hikiau since the ‘aikapu was abolished 200 years ago. We agreed to return in 2020 to conduct the ceremony with a larger group of mo‘olono and other Hawaiian practitioners.

The second kuapola happened a malama later on the pō Hua in the malama of Welehu. This ceremony was conducted on Ke‘ekū Heiau in Kahalu‘u,



*Figure 6.4: Hāpaiali'i (foreground) and Ke'ekū (background) Heiau, Kahalu'u, Kona.*

Kona. Ke'ekū Heiau is part of the complex that belonged to the ali'inui Lonoikamakahiki. Ke'ekū is one of the heiau Kamehameha I conducted his



*Figure 6.5: Māhealani Pae, the kahu of Ke'ekū Heiau Observe Makali'i rising.*

Makahiki ceremonies. Kamehameha I conducted his Makahiki ceremonies on Ke'ekū heiau. Kahu Māhealani Pae of the Kamehameha Schools, Keauhou Kahalu'u Education Group hosted us. During the sunset, a kino lau of Lono appeared in the form of the pūnohu'ula rainbow. The paraphrase is, "when Lono arrives, the red rainbow reclines." A, ua 'ikea. Not long after the sky darkened, Makali'i was briefly viewed rising over the Maunaloa slope. The same characteristics that we viewed a month previously from Hikiau Heiau were observed once again. The prediction for the year was made and again we left agreeing to return in 2020 to conduct the kuapola with a larger contingency of mo'olono and perhaps with some practitioners from Oceania.



*Figure 6.6: I ka hiki 'ana o Lono. Hina a'e ka pūnohu'ula*

These three experiences shaped my paper. They confirmed some of my suppositions about the stars that would be visible in the sky at that time and also confirmed what 'Ī'ī had reported. Papakū Makawalu gave me the means to understand the hō'ailona (the signs) of Lono. These experiences have also shaped my training in becoming a better kahu of 'ike as well.

There are three tracts that I hope will occur in the future. The first is that the knowledge of keeping time through the Kaulana Mahina will be second nature for Hawaiians. We will take back the method of keeping our own time. The second is that the kuapola ceremonies are reinstated and done on restored heiau

throughout the pae‘āina of Hawai‘i. The third is that Papakū Makawalu becomes part of the Hawaiian researcher’s arsenal of reconnecting to our akua.

## **6.6 Mana‘o Hope - Final Thoughts**

Mele and pule are insightful ways of understanding the layers and layers of meaning that lend themselves to a Papakū Makawalu analysis. Colonization has had a tremendous impact on the passing of traditional knowledge in a traditional form from one generation to the next. Papakū Makawalu can encourage the need for Hawaiians to utilize that mele and pule as a reservoir of flowing knowledge waiting to take that leap over the waterfall to intentionally deconstruct topics to study all the papakū within. Then, as the papakū reforms back into a single body of flowing knowledge again, the potentiality is revealed. For Hawaiian researchers, I believe that the future undertakings of Hawaiian research should also include Papakū Makawalu as it provides a visible assessment and holistic understanding about any topic from the kūpuna point of view. For cultural practitioners, Papakū Makawalu provides the words that allow one to know his or her own practice thoroughly. Papakū Makawalu gives a practitioner the opportunity to become the best kahuna in his or her field of practice and also grants the unobstructed right to be called a modern kahuna by his or her community. To the Hawaiian I say, remove those shackles of colonization and forge ahead.

This paper has proven that Papakū Makawalu is a valid research process that can be utilized by Hawaiian researchers. Only when going through the Papakū Makawalu process can one attempt to fully understand the codes of kaona to access the kino lau within the mele and mo‘olelo.

Personally, this research has given me intimate insight into myself genealogically, mentally, and spiritually. Now, when I chant ‘O Lono ‘Oe, I know that I am saying to the world that I am Lono. I am a descendant of Lono. I have staked my claim in discovering what is rightfully mine. I have claimed my inheritance.

**A ua noa, a ua noa ē..**

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## **Appendices**

## Appendix 1: Comparisons of Recorded Makahiki Rituals - Hilina

John Papa ‘Ī‘Ī and Samuela M. Kamakau

Hilinehu (August) ‘Ī‘Ī									
Hilo Kauluella ceremony. Kapu placed on roasting pork.	Hoaka Kauluella ceremony. Kapu placed on roasting pork.	Kūkahi Kauluella ceremony. Kapu removed on roasting pork.	Kūlua Kauluella ceremony. Kapu removed on roasting pork.	Kūkolu	Kūpau	‘Ōlekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olekūkolu	‘Olepau
Huna	Mōhalu	Hua	Akua	Hoku	Māhealani	Kulu	Lā’aukūkahi	Lā’aukūlua	Lā’aupau
‘Olekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olepau	Kāloakūkahi	Kāloakūlua	Kāloapau	Kāne	Lono	Mauli	Muku

Hilina - (December-January) SM Kamakau									
Hilo Does not specify which pō mahina the kauwelu kapu of prohibiting pork, coconut and fish consumption occurred.	Hoaka	Kūkahi	Kūlua	Kūkolu	Kūpau	‘Ōlekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olekūkolu	‘Olepau
Huna	Mōhalu	Hua	Akua	Hoku	Māhealani	Kulu	Lā’aukūkahi	Lā’aukūlua	Lā’aupau
‘Olekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olepau	Kāloakūkahi	Kāloakūlua	Kāloapau	Kāne	Lono	Mauli	Muku

## Appendix 2: Comparisons of Recorded Makahiki Rituals - ‘Ikuā

Davida Malo, John Papa ‘Ī‘Ī, Kelou Kamakau, Samuela M. Kamakau, and  
Kepelino Keauokalani

‘Ikuā - Malo									
Hilo	Hoaka	Kūkahi	Kūlua	Kūkolu	Kūpau	‘Ōlekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olekūkolu	‘Olepau
Huna	Mōhalu	Hua Kuapola ritual for ali‘i. Breaking of niu.	Akua	Hoku	Māhealani	Kulu	Lā‘aukūkahi	Lā‘aukūlua	Lā‘aupau
‘Olekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olepau	Kāloakūkahi	Kāloakūlua	Kāloapau	Kāne	Lono	Mauli	Muku

‘Ikuā (October)‘Ī‘Ī									
Hilo	Hoaka	Kūkahi	Kūlua	Kūkolu	Kūpau	‘Ōlekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olekūkolu	‘Olepau
The kuapola rite occurs in the evening until late at night. Does not say which pō it happens.	Kapu placed on ocean, sailing, and going up into the mountains. Does not state when kapu transpires								
Huna	Mōhalu	Hua	Akua	Hoku	Māhealani	Kulu	Lā‘aukūkahi	Lā‘aukūlua	Lā‘aupau
‘Olekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olepau	Kāloakūkahi	Kāloakūlua	Kāloapau	Kāne	Lono	Mauli	Muku

<b>'Ikuā - K. Kamakau</b>									
<b>Hilo</b> Kauwelu ceremonies at luakini.	<b>Hoaka</b> Kauwelu continued outside of luakini. Mai'a and niu offered by ali'inui. Kalaku done by kahuna.	<b>Kūkahi</b> 40 - 80 pigs roasted and divided amongst the ali'i. Kauila ceremony done. Priests remained in ceremony all night.	<b>Kūlua</b> Hālua and offerings made on luakini. Moved to Hale o Papa. Dogs roasted and offered with iholena bananas to female akua.	<b>Kūkolu</b>	<b>Kūpau</b>	<b>'Ōlekūkahi</b>	<b>'Olekūlua</b>	<b>'Olekūkolu</b>	<b>'Olepau</b>
<b>Huna</b>	<b>Mōhalu</b> Kuapola ritual to feed the stars and moon the cracked coconuts and pig.	<b>Hua</b> Ali'inui, kahuna and another person went into the luakini to conduct pule. Nothing conducted for next 29 pō.	<b>Akua</b>	<b>Hoku</b>	<b>Māhealani</b>	<b>Kulu</b>	<b>Lā'aukūkahi</b>	<b>Lā'aukūlua</b>	<b>Lā'aupau</b>
<b>'Olekūkahi</b>	<b>'Olekūlua</b>	<b>'Olepau</b>	<b>Kāloakūkahi</b>	<b>Kāloakūlua</b>	<b>Kāloapau</b>	<b>Kāne</b>	<b>Lono</b>	<b>Mauli</b>	<b>Muku</b>

<b>'Ikuā (February-March) SM Kamakau</b>									
<b>Hilo</b>	<b>Hoaka</b>	<b>Kūkahi</b>	<b>Kūlua</b>	<b>Kūkolu</b>	<b>Kūpau</b>	<b>'Ōlekūkahi</b>	<b>'Olekūlua</b>	<b>'Olekūkolu</b>	<b>'Olepau</b>
<b>Huna</b>	<b>Mōhalu</b>	<b>Hua</b>	<b>Akua</b>	<b>Hoku</b>	<b>Māhealani</b>	<b>Kulu</b>	<b>Lā'aukūkahi</b>	<b>Lā'aukūlua</b>	<b>Lā'aupau</b>
<b>'Olekūkahi</b>	<b>'Olekūlua</b>	<b>'Olepau</b>	<b>Kāloakūkahi</b>	<b>Kāloakūlua</b>	<b>Kāloapau</b>	<b>Kāne</b> Ali'inui released kapu of consuming pork, coconut, 'ulu and fish. Lesser ali'i and maka'ainana conducted their own rituals, then also consumed foods listed above.	<b>Lono</b> People free to rest, feast, enjoy amusements and sports to strengthen the body. Akua pā'ani came out, mokomoko, maika, and other games began.	<b>Mauli</b>	<b>Muku</b>

<b>'Ikuā (November)Kepelino</b>									
<b>Hilo</b> Month long events of surf, sports, games, and pleasure.	<b>Hoaka</b>	<b>Kūkahi</b>	<b>Kūlua</b>	<b>Kūkolu</b>	<b>Kūpau</b>	<b>'Ōlekūkahi</b>	<b>'Olekūlua</b>	<b>'Olekūkolu</b>	<b>'Olepau</b>
<b>Huna</b>	<b>Mōhalu</b>	<b>Hua</b>	<b>Akua</b>	<b>Hoku</b>	<b>Māhealani</b>	<b>Kulu</b>	<b>Lā'aukūkahi</b>	<b>Lā'aukūlua</b>	<b>Lā'aupau</b>
<b>'Olekūkahi</b>	<b>'Olekūlua</b>	<b>'Olepau</b>	<b>Kāloakūkahi</b>	<b>Kāloakūlua</b>	<b>Kāloapau</b>	<b>Kāne</b>	<b>Lono</b>	<b>Mauli</b>	<b>Muku</b>

### Appendix 3: Comparisons of Recorded Makahiki Rituals - Welehu

**Davida Malo, Kelou Kamakau, Samuela M. Kamakau, Kepelino, and Kohala  
Informant**

Welehu - Malo									
Hilo	Hoaka	Kūkahi	Kūlua	Kūkolu	Kūpau	‘Ōlekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olekūkolu	‘Olepau
Huna	Mōhalu	Hua Kuapola ritual for maka’āinana . Breaking of niu.	Akua	Hoku	Māhealani	Kulu	Lā’aukūkahi	Lā’aukūlua	Lā’aupau
‘Olekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olepau	Kāloakūkahi	Kāloakūlua	Kāloapau	Kāne	Lono	Mauli	Muku

Welehu - K. Kamakau									
Hilo	Hoaka	Kūkahi	Kūlua	Kūkolu	Kūpau	‘Ōlekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olekūkolu	‘Olepau
Huna	Mōhalu Kuapola ritual conducted for kāhuna and the rest of the people.	Hua	Akua	Hoku	Māhealani	Kulu	Lā’aukūkahi	Lā’aukūlua Ki’i deities were turned or laid flat. Waiwai is collected from all the districts and displayed in front of the ali’i	Lā’aupau Akua hulu brought out to "witness" waiwai. A sacred night. No fires lit, no talking allowed, no worship or prayer occurred

Welehu (March-April) SM. Kamakau									
Hilo	Hoaka	Kūkahi	Kūlua	Kūkolu	Kūpau	‘Ōlekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olekūkolu	‘Olepau
Huna	Mōhalu	Hua	Akua	Hoku	Māhealani	Kulu	Lā’aukūkahi	Lā’aukūlua	Lā’aupau
‘Olekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olepau	Kāloakūkahi	Kāloakūlua	Kāloapau	Kāne No fires were lit, no kapa was beaten, no sound was allowed from either person, chicken or the ‘aha will be lost.	Lono No fires were lit, no kapa was beaten, no sound was allowed from either person, chicken or the ‘aha will be lost.	Mauli Hi’uwai at dawn for community. Everyone dressed in new clothes. Feasts occurred. Kapu made noa. Makahiki closed.	Muku

Welehu (December)Kepelino									
Hilo	Hoaka	Kūkahi	Kūlua	Kūkolu	Kūpau	‘Ōlekūkahi	‘Ōlekūlua	‘Ōlekūkolu	‘Ōlepau
Huna	Mōhalu	Hua	Akua	Hoku	Māhealani	Kulu	Lā’aukūkahi	Lā’aukūlua	Lā’aupau
‘Ōlekūkahi	‘Ōlekūlua	‘Ōlepau	Kāloakūkahi	Kāloakūlua	Kāloapau Hi’uwai at midnight lasting until dawn. Bonfires lit. Everyone dressed in new clothes and adornments of niho palaoa, kūpe’e, leihulu and new kapa. Feasts occurred.	Kāne	Lono	Mauli	Muku

Welehu - Hikapoloa, Kohala									
Hilo	Hoaka	Kūkahi	Kūlua	Kūkolu	Kūpau	‘Ōlekūkahi	‘Ōlekūlua	‘Ōlekūkolu	‘Ōlepau
The moon appears slightly.	It has the round shadow above.	The moon rises.	The moon is a little more than Kūkahi.	The moon it is much more higher.		The shape of the moon, it is much larger	When the shape of the moon is becoming clearer.	The moon is getting closer to becoming full.	The emptiness of the moon is complete.
Huna	Mōhalu	Hua	Akua	Hoku	Māhealani	Kulu	Lā’aukūkahi	Lā’aukūlua	Lā’aukūkolu
The points of the moon disappear.	The roundness begins.	The entire moon is round.	The moon begins to expand.	The moon will set on this night.	The akua Makahiki are ready.	The malo of the akua is beat.	All the small gods are paraded.	All the feather gods are paraded.	All the wooden gods are paraded.
‘Ōlekūkahi	‘Ōlekūlua	‘Ōlepau	Kāloakūkahi	Kāloakūkahi	Kāloakūkolu	Kāne	Lono	Mauli	Mauli
Kauō ritual with feather gods that paraded about with loud pule.	Kauō ritual with wooden gods that paraded about with loud pule.	Kauō ritual with each person chanting in loud pule to the akua.	The akua appears upon the long circuit.	The akua travels	The akua travels until Pololu. Then, the procession of the akua is finished.	The akua returns to Mo’okini heiau.	The mokomoko games occur.	The akua loa leaves from Kona.	The akua loa arrives in Kekaha, Kona.

## Appendix 4: Comparisons of Recorded Makahiki Rituals - Makali‘i

### Davida Malo, Kelou Kamakau, Kepelino, and Kohala Informant

Makali‘i - Malo									
Hilo	Hoaka	Kūkahi	Kūlua	Kūkolu	Kūpau	‘Ōlekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olekūkolu	‘Olepau
<b>Huna</b> Kalaha for women. Ali‘ihine and women eat the fresh fish caught.	<b>Mōhalu</b> Fishing prohibited for the next four months.	<b>Hua</b> Fishing kapu, prohibition, continued.	<b>Akua</b> Fishing kapu ‘ia, prohibited.	<b>Hoku</b> Fishing kapu ‘ia, prohibited.	<b>Māhealani</b> Akualoa returns from procession. Kaili ritual occurs. Swimming kapu released. Pig offered in luakini.	<b>Kulu</b> Kahoali‘i returns to Hale Lama. Fed pua‘a and kulolo. Koko net is fashioned.	<b>Lā‘aukūkahi</b> Lonomakua dismantled and stored. Maoloha ceremony of Uli with koko net. Wa‘akea made. Noa i kai, ‘āina and kānaka.	<b>Lā‘aukūlua</b> Everything and everyone is made noa, free from ceremonial prohibition.	<b>Lā‘aupau</b>
‘Olekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olepau	Kāloakūkahi	Kāloakūlua	Kāloापau Various hale for luakini built. Upon completion of hale, makahiki is completed for all‘i.	<b>Kāne</b> Kapu Kūkoa‘e declared. Opening ritual of Kū begins	Lono	Mauli	Muku

Makali‘i - K. Kamakau									
Hilo	Hoaka	Kūkahi	Kūlua	Kūkolu	Kūpau	‘Ōlekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olekūkolu	‘Olepau
	Luakini is restricted for a short time.	Kālahu‘a ceremony to allow fishing for ahi or aku. Ali‘inui circumnavigated the island on a wa‘a	Hālua and offerings made on luakini. Moved to Hale o Papa. Dogs roasted and iholena bananas offered to female akua.						
<b>Huna</b> Hoa/Kahoali‘i extracted and consumed the eye of the aku fish	<b>Mōhalu</b>	<b>Hua</b>	<b>Akua</b>	<b>Hoku</b>	<b>Māhealani</b> Akua loa returned. Ali‘inui also returned on his wa‘a for kaili‘i ritual. Sham battle transpired. Evening, ali‘inui and kāhuna enter into the luakini to offer a pig.	<b>Kulu</b> No wa‘a allowed to sail. Pigs roasted. Evening, kaiha‘analua (kaihe‘enalua?) and o‘e chanting with drum occurred.	<b>Lā‘aukūkahi</b> Akua Makahiki released from obligation and wa‘a ākea is released.	<b>Lā‘aukūlua</b>	<b>Lā‘aupau</b>
‘Olekūkahi	‘Olekūlua	‘Olepau	Kāloakūkahi	Kāloakūlua	Kāloापau	<b>Kāne</b>	Lono	Mauli	Muku

<b>Makali'i (January) Kepelino</b>									
<b>Hilo</b> Day is declared sacred. Rituals to akua made to assure a good year, productive fishing, farming, and pleasant living.	<b>Hoaka</b> Day is declared sacred. Rituals to akua made to assure a good year, productive fishing, farming, and pleasant living.	<b>Kūkahi</b> Day is declared sacred. Rituals to akua made to assure a good year, productive fishing, farming, and pleasant living.	<b>Kūlua</b> Last day declared sacred. Rituals to akua made to assure a good year, productive fishing, farming, and pleasant living.	<b>Kūkolu</b>	<b>Kūpau</b>	<b>‘Ōlekūkahi</b>	<b>‘Olekūlua</b>	<b>‘Olekūkolu</b>	<b>‘Olepau</b>
<b>Huna</b>	<b>Mōhalu</b>	<b>Hua</b>	<b>Akua</b>	<b>Hoku</b>	<b>Māhealani</b>	<b>Kulu</b>	<b>Lā’aukūkahi</b>	<b>Lā’aukūlua</b>	<b>Lā’aupau</b>
<b>‘Olekūkahi</b>	<b>‘Olekūlua</b>	<b>‘Olepau</b>	<b>Kāloakūkahi</b>	<b>Kāloakūlua</b>	<b>Kāloapau</b>	<b>Kāne</b>	<b>Lono</b>	<b>Mauli</b>	<b>Muku</b>

<b>Makali'i - Kohala</b>									
<b>Hilo</b>	<b>Hoaka</b> The akua arrives in Kohala.	<b>Kūkahi</b>	<b>Kūlua</b>	<b>Kūkolu</b>	<b>Kūpau</b>	<b>‘Ōlekūkahi</b>	<b>‘Olekūlua</b>	<b>‘Olekūkolu</b>	<b>‘Olepau</b>
<b>Huna</b>	<b>Mōhalu</b>	<b>Hua</b>	<b>Akua</b>	<b>Hoku</b>	<b>Māhealani</b>	<b>Kulu</b>	<b>Lā’aukūkahi</b>	<b>Lā’aukūlua</b>	<b>Lā’aupau</b>
<b>‘Olekūkahi</b>	<b>‘Olekūlua</b>	<b>‘Olepau</b>	<b>Kāloakūkahi</b>	<b>Kāloakūlua</b>	<b>Kāloapau</b>	<b>Kāne</b>	<b>Lono</b>	<b>Mauli</b>	<b>Muku</b>

## Appendix 5: Pule Makahiki For Kaho‘olawe

### E Hō Mai Ka ‘Ike

Haku ‘ia na Edith Kanaka‘ole, 1960

E hō mai ka ‘ike mai luna mai ē,	Grant knowledge from above,
O nā mea hūnā no‘eau o nā mele ē,	From the hidden wisdom of the chants,
E hō mai, e hō mai, e hō mai ē.	Transfer this to me, grant it, grant it.

### Pule Ho‘ōla

1st Half, Traditional (Emerson n5). 2nd Half, Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahele.

#### 1st Half

Na ‘Aumākua mai ka lā hiki a ka lā kau!	All ruling ancestors from the east to the west!
Mai ka ho‘oku‘i a ka hālāwai!	From the zenith to the horizon!
Na ‘Aumākua iā ka hina kua, iā ka hina alo!	All those ruling ancestors behind, all in front!
Iā ka‘a ‘ākau i ka lani!	All those circulating clockwise in the sky!
Ō kihā i ka lani,	The skies will gust,
Owē i ka lani,	The skies will bellow,
Nunulu i ka lani,	The skies will rumble,
Kāholo i ka lani!	The skies will progress rapidly!
Eia ka pulapula a ‘oukou, ‘o _____	Here is a/are descendant(s) of yours,
E mālama ‘oukou iā ia/ iā mākou!	You will guard over him/her/us!

#### 2nd Half

E ulu i ka lani,	The atmosphere will grow,
E ulu i ka honua,	The earth will flourish,
E ulu i ka pae‘āina o Hawai‘i.	The archipelago of Hawai‘i will prosper.
E hō mai ka ‘ike,	Grant wisdom,
E hō mai ka ikaika,	Grant strength,
E hō mai ke akamai,	Grant knowledge,
E hō mai ka maopopo pono,	Grant intelligence,
E hō mai ka ‘ikepapalua,	Grant insight,
E hō mai ka mana.	Grant mana.

**Kīhāpai o Lono**

Haku 'ia na Nālani Kanaka'ole, 1980

E ke akua,  
E ke akua ao loa - e ke akua ao poko,  
E ke akua i ka wai ola a Kāne,  
I ke kai ola a Kanaloa,  
I ke ao 'eka'eka o Lono,  
Kūkulu ka ipu 'eka'eka o Lono,  
Hō mai ka ipu lau makani o Lono,  
Iā hiki mai ka ua o Lono,  
Ho'oulu ke ea - ho'oulu ke kupu  
Ho'oulu ka wai nape  
I ke kama o Ho'ohōkūkalanani  
Iā hiki mai ke ala a Makali'i i ka hikina,  
Eia ka 'awa i lani - 'awa i Kū  
'Awa i Hina,  
Eia ke kupu pua'a,  
Eia ke kalo o Lono,  
Eia ke kupu āweoweo,  
Eia ke kupu kino lau.  
Ko hānai 'ia ke akua mai ka lani nui a Wākea,  
Ko hānai 'ia nā akua o kona hanauna hope.  
Ho'oulu mai ke kup o ka 'āina.  
A ua noa - ua noa - a ua noa.

Akua,  
Long cloud akua - short cloud akua,  
Akua of the living waters of Kāne,  
Of the living sea of Kanaloa,  
Of the dark clouds of Lono,  
The dark container of Lono grows,  
Grant the container of the winds of Lono  
Upon the arrival of the rain of Lono,  
Encouraging life-budding shoots grow,  
The undulating water induces growth,  
For the child of Ho'ohōkūkalanani,  
The path of Makali'i in the east,  
Sacred 'awa, consecrated 'awa to Kū,  
Consecrated 'awa to Hina.  
Here is the pig, body form of Lono,  
Here is the taro of Lono,  
Here is the āweoweo body form,  
Here are the manifestations of Lono.  
Multiple akua of great expanse are fed,  
The akua of future generations are fed.  
The fruits of the land shall grow.  
It is free, it is free, it is freed.

**Pule Ho'ouluulu 'Ai**

Traditional Pule (Malo, 1951, p. 37)

E Lono, alana mai Kahiki.  
He pule kū kēia iā 'oe e Lono.  
E Lono lau 'ai nui,  
E ua mai ka lani pili,  
Ka ua ho'oulu 'ai  
Ka ua ho'oulu kapa  
Popo kapa wai lehua,  
A Lono i ka lani,  
E Lono e, ku'ua mai kōkō 'ai, kōkō ua.  
Ulua mai,

Lono, rising in the strata.  
This is a petition to you, Lono.  
Lono of the broad leaf,  
Let the low hanging cloud rain,  
Rains that increase crops,  
Rains that increase wauke growth,  
Wring out the dark rain clouds,  
Lono of the atmosphere,  
Lono, shake the food net, the rain net.  
Inspire growth,

Ho‘oulu ia mai ka ‘ai, e Lono,	Propagate the food, Lono,
Ho‘oulu ia mai ka i‘a, e Lono,	Propagate the fish, Lono,
Ka mo‘omo‘o, Kihe‘ahe‘apala‘ā e Lono.	The wauke, dyeing plants also, Lono.

‘Āmama, ua noa!	Release and let it be free!
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**Ka Pule Kōkō**

Traditional Pule (Emerson 36n25)

E uliuli kai, e Uli ke akua ē!	Deep blue ocean, Uli the akua!
E uli kai hakoko!	Blue of the wild tossing ocean!
Kōkō lani e Uli	Net of the atmosphere, Uli!
Uli lau ka ‘ai a ke akua.	The healthy green leaves of the akua.
Piha lani kōkō; e lū!	The net fills the sky, scatter!
E lū ka ‘ai a ke akua!	Scatter the food of the akua!
E lū ka lani!	Shake the skies!
He kau ‘ai kēia.	This is a sustaining season.
E lū ka honua!	The earth is sown!
He kau ‘ai kēia.	This is a sustaining season.
Ola ka ‘āina!	The land lives!
Ola iā Kāne!	Kāne lives.
Kāne ke akua ola.	The living akua Kāne.
Ola iā Kanaloa!	Kanaloa lives!
Ke akua kupu‘eu.	The animated akua.
Ola nā kānaka!	People thrive!
Kāne i ka wai ola, e ola!	Kāne of the living water, thrive!
Ola ke ali‘i Makahiki!	The Makahiki chief, thrives!
‘Āmama, ua noa.	Let it be free, freed.
Noa iā wai?	Free from whom?
Noa iā Kāne!	Freed by Kāne!

**Mo‘o Lono, Pule ‘Awa**

Haku ‘ia na Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahale (P. Kanaka‘ole Kanahale, 1995, pp. 57-8)

E Kāne i ka wai ola,	Kāne of the living water,
E Kanaloa i ke kai ne‘e,	Kanaloa of the moving sea,
E Kū i ka waonahale,	Kū among the dark forest.
E Lono holo i ke ao panopano,	Lono who travels in the dark clouds,
E ho‘omalū ka lani, e ho‘omalū ka honua.	Protect the space above and of the earth.

Ke ola nei nā pulapula,  
E kono 'ia ana 'o Maui Ola.  
E inu i ka wai a Kāne,  
A awa i kū, 'awa i Kū,  
'Awa na nā akua i ka lani, ka lani,  
'Awa na nā akua i ka honua, ka honua,  
'Awa na Kāne a Lono, a Lono.  
Na nā Mo'ō Lono, O.  
'Eli'eli kapu, 'eli'eli noa.  
Lele ke kapu, no ke kānoa.  
Ola ka honua, ola nā Mo'ō Lono.  
'Āmama, ua noa.

The buds are rejuvenating,  
Maui Ola is being invited.  
Drink the water of Kāne,  
And the standing 'awa, 'awa of Kū.  
'Awa for the akua of atmosphere, sky,  
'Awa for gods of the earth, the earth.  
'Awa for Kāne and Lono, Lono.  
For the Mo'ō Lono, oh.  
A profound kapu, a profound freedom.  
The kapu takes flight, the bowl is free.  
The earth thrives, the Mo'ō Lono thrive.  
Let it be free, freed.

## Appendix 6: Makawalu Chart of Pule Lonomakua

Hulihia Kulia Mai Tahitiku - Traditional, Section That Focuses On Lonomakua (Ka Nupepa o Ke Au Hou, 1911)			
	Lines of Pule/Mele	Various Translations	Interesting Finds
1	I lono mai oe e Pelehonuamea	<p><b>I:</b> In, on, at, by, for, past tense</p> <p><b>lono:</b> news, report, tidings, remembrance, rumor, <b>to listen</b>, hear, <b>obey</b>, to feel, to sense. To regard, to see.</p> <p><b>Lono:</b> One of the major akua brought to Hawai'i from Kahiki. 28th day of the lunar month. Name of a star.</p> <p><b>mai:</b> From, almost, nearly. Command, don't.</p> <p><b>'oe:</b> You, thou.</p> <p><b>Pelehonuamea:</b> Pele - Honua - Mea</p> <p><b>Pele:</b> Lava flow, volcano, eruption; volcanic. Soft, swollen, fat; pounded or kneaded soft, as poi or dough. Volcano goddess.</p> <p><b>honua:</b> Land, earth, world; background, as of quilt designs; basic, at the foundation, fundamental. <b>Suddenly</b>, <b>abruptly</b> and without reason.</p> <p><b>mea:</b> Thing, person, matter, stuff, object. <b>Cause</b>, reason, purpose, means of, because, <b>circumstance</b>, or condition. <b>Reddish-brown</b>, as water with red earth in it.</p>	<p>-Hi'iaka, Lohi'au, Kauluhenui, and Kamiki use the name Pelehonuamea to refer to Pele.</p> <p>-Hi'iaka kills 'Olepau (Kapihenui, 1862) in the challenging exchanges between</p> <p>-Waihinano and Hi'iaka, Hi'iaka again refers to Pele as Pelehonuamea.</p> <p><b>'O PELE KO'U AKUA</b> (Poepoe, 1908)</p> <p>-Priest Mahulua refers to Pele as Peleihonuamea.</p> <p><b>E Ō, 'O PELEHONUAMEA</b> (Ka Nūpepa 'o Ke Au Hou, 1911)</p> <p><b>'O LAULI'A KE ALI'I</b> (Poepoe, 1908)</p>
2	O ke kumu o ka mana i mana ai	<p><b>'O:</b> No translation. Marking a subject.</p> <p><b>ke:</b> The</p> <p><b>kumu:</b> Bottom, base, foundation, basis, title (as to land), main stalk of a tree, trunk, handle, root (in arithmetic); basic; hereditary, fundamental. Teacher, tutor, manual, primer, model, pattern. Beginning, <b>source</b>, <b>origin</b>;</p>	

		<p>starting point of plaiting.  <b>Reason</b>, cause, goal, justification, motive, grounds, purpose, object, why.  <b>o:</b> Of. Lest.  <b>ō:</b> To remain, endure, survive, continue, exist. To answer, reply yes, agree, say, talk; halloo, yes (in reply); tinkling, tolling, or chime of a bell; resonance.  <b>ka:</b> The.  <b>kā:</b> <i>Possessive</i>, Of, belonging to  <b>mana:</b> 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.  <b>māna:</b> A chewed mass, as of kava for drinking, coconut flakes or kukui nut for medicine. Trait believed acquired from those who raise a child. Short for student, haumāna.  <b>mānā:</b> Arid; desert.  <b>i mana ai:</b> To be authorized, to be empowered, to grant mana.</p>	
3	<p>O ke kumu o ka ike i ike ai</p>	<p><b>‘ike:</b> To see, know, feel, greet, recognize, perceive, experience, be aware, understand; to know sexually (For. 4:275). To have carnal knowledge of something.  <b>i ‘ike ai:</b> To have knowledge, to know, to have foresight.</p>	
4	<p>O ke kumu o ke ola i ola ai</p>	<p><b>ola:</b> Life, health, well-being, living, livelihood, means of support, salvation; alive, living; curable, spared, recovered; healed; to live; to spare, save, heal, grant life, survive, thrive.  <b>i ola ai:</b> To live, to be healthy, to heal, to cure, to thrive.</p>	

<p>5</p>	<p>O hoali i ke ahi a Lonomakua</p>	<p><b>Ō:</b> Imperative marker, perhaps less emphatic than the more common e. Short for the part. iō, as after prepositions. Same as iā. <b>ho‘āli:</b> To signal, wave; to stir, as coffee or ashes of a fire; signal, stirring; wavy, undulating. To offer, as a sacrifice. To make an offering to the gods with signals and signs or prayers with gestures. <b>i/ke:</b> in, on, at, of/the <b>ahi:</b> Fire <b>a:</b> Of <b>Lonomakua:</b> Lono - makua <b>Lono:</b> One of the major akua brought to Hawai‘i from Kahiki. 28th day of the lunar month. Name of a star. <b>makua:</b> Parent, any relative of the parents' generation, as uncle, aunt, cousin; progenitor. A benefactor; a provider. See MAKU above, to be large. To enlarge; to grow. Hoo. To increase; to be full; to be thick set. To strengthen; to sustain. <b>mākū:</b> Firm, hard; thick, stiff, as molasses; jellied, solidified; to gel, harden; to settle, as dregs; to thicken, as cream; dregs, sediment, lees. ho‘o.mā.kū To cause to harden, solidify, thicken, gel; to lower, as clouds. <b>maku:</b> To be full grown; to be full sized. To be fixed; to be firm; to be hard. To be large for numerous. To dress up in a quantity of kapa with pomp; to make a great show. <b>mākua:</b> Plural of makua. <b>māku‘a:</b> Variant of maku‘e, brown.</p>	<p>Intentional use of the term ho‘āli over pao. Only Lono, in the form of oxygen, can ho‘āli a fire. Pao means to add wood. Pukui and Elbert: A legendary fire guardian and the name of the makahiki image. HE MOOLELO NO KAMAPUAA. Helu-6. Ka Hae Hawaii, Iulai 31, 1861. Mentions that Lonomakua is Pele’s brother. <b>P.W. Kaawa,</b> Ho‘omana Kahiko articles 5 and 6, Feb 2, 1865. Mentions Lonomakua as a sibling of Pele, born of Kuwaha‘ilo and Haumea of the volcanism family. His responsibility is to ignite the fires. Lonomakua was invoked by Hi‘iaka to revive Lohi‘au. Lonomakua is another name of the month ‘Ikuā. Maly, 2003, pg. 22 <b>Desha, S.</b> Lonomakua was in charge of all the akua and ‘aumākua. Kamehameha’s ‘awa chant for Kiwala‘ō. Kamehameha and his warrior Kekūhaupi‘o, pg. 108.</p>
<p>6</p>	<p>O ke ahi wela i ke kumu o ka aunaki</p>	<p><b>‘O ke:</b> The <b>ahi:</b> Fire, match, lightning; to burn in a fire, destroy by fire. <b>wela:</b> Hot, burned; heat,</p>	<p>The ‘aunaki is a form of Lono (Johnson, 2000, p.75).</p>

		<p>temperature.  <b>o ka:</b> of the  <b>‘aunaki:</b> The name of the stick rubbed upon in obtaining fire by friction.</p>	
7	<p>O ke ahi lalapa  i ke kumu o ka  aulima</p>	<p><b>lapalapa:</b> To bubble, boil, blaze; to cavort.  <b>lapa:</b> To rise up; to boil; to swell, as a blister; to spread or blaze, as fire or volcanic eruption; to excite or flare, as with passion; to animate; to cook by boiling.  <b>‘aulima:</b> Au, a handle, and lima, the hand. The name of the stick held in the hand when rubbing to produce fire. The name of the stick rubbed is aunaki. NOTE.—The action of rubbing is hia.</p>	<p>The ‘aulima is a form of Lono (Johnson, 2000, p.75).</p>
8	<p>Ua wahia ka  lani, kau  kahaea</p>	<p><b>Ua:</b> Passed tense.  <b>wāhia:</b> See WAHI, to break. Wahia is for wahiaa, to be broken.  <b>wāhi:</b> To cleave, split, <b>burst through</b>, break through; to change, as money; to have sex relations with a virgin, deflower. Cf. wāwahi  <b>lani:</b> <b>Sky, atmosphere</b>, heaven; heavenly, spiritual. Very high chief, majesty; royal, exalted, high born, noble, aristocratic.  <b>kau:</b> To place, put, hang, suspend, affix, gird on; to set, settle, perch, alight, rest, pose; to enact, impose, or pass, as a law; to levy, as a tax; to ride on or mount, as on a horse or in a car; to board, mount, get in or on; to rise up, appear, as the moon; to place in sacrifice, as a pig; to come to rest, as the setting sun; to arrive, come to pass; to hang up, as a telephone receiver.  <b>kaha‘ea:</b> Cumulus clouds, often colored, thought to be a sign of</p>	<p>Dictionary entry in wāhi: O wāhi mai, ē Lono, o wāhi ‘o luna, o wāhi ‘o lalo, o wāhi ka uka, o wāhi ke kai (prayer to Lono for rain), break through, O Lono, break through above, break through below, may the uplands break through, may the lowlands break through.</p>

		rain. <b>'ea:</b> Reddish-brown.	
9	Ea mai Pele kauluwela na moku	<b>'Ea:</b> Sovereignty, rule, independence. Life, air, breath, respiration, vapor, gas; fumes, as of tobacco; breeze, spirit. <b>To rise</b> , go up, raise, become erect. <b>Ea:</b> Variant spelling of <i>eia</i> , here. <b>kauluwela:</b> Glowing, bright-colored, colorful. Swarming; innumerable. Taboo ceremony in honor of the akua loa, long god, of the makahiki festival. <b>nā:</b> Plural definite article. <b>na:</b> By, for, belonging to. <b>moku:</b> To be cut, severed, amputated, broken in two, as a rope; broken loose, as a stream after heavy rains, or as a bound person; to punctuate. District, <b>island</b> , islet, section, forest, grove, clump, severed portion, fragment, cut, laceration, scene in a play. Ship, schooner, vessel, boat	Pele is associated with the Kauluwela ceremony.
10	He makana na maua ia oe e ke akua.	<b>he:</b> A, an; to be a, have. <b>makana:</b> Gift, present; reward, award, donation, prize; to give a gift, donate. <b>maka ana:</b> Beloved one, favorite; person. Point, bud, protuberance; center of a flower, including usually both the stamens and pistils; nipple, teat; sharp edge or blade of an instrument; point of a fishhook; beginning, commencement; source; any new plant shoot coming up. Figuratively, <b>descendant</b> . <b>na māua:</b> for us; we (dual, exclusive). <b>maua:</b> Failure to give a return gift; to receive without giving in return; illiberal, ungrateful, close-fisted. A type of prayer for luakini dedication. (For.	Dictionary entry: The pig god Kamapua'a was affectionately called ku'u maka (FS 199) by his grandmother, rather like "apple of my eye."

		<p>6:23).</p> <p><b>iā:</b> Used before proper names of persons, and before pronouns. To, towards, in the presence of.</p> <p><b>ia:</b> He, she, it. It, this, that.</p> <p><b>oe:</b> Prolonged sound or thing; sound of chanting, vibration, whistle of a train; whistling of a bull-roarer; drawn out wail of an infant; long, prolonged.</p> <p><b>‘oe:</b> You (singular), thou.</p> <p><b>akua:</b> God, goddess, spirit, ghost, devil, image, idol, corpse; divine, supernatural, godly. Supernatural being, the nature, natural phenomena.</p>	
11	Eia ka ai, ka mohai, ka alana e	<p><b>Eia:</b> Here, here is, here are, present, presently.</p> <p><b>‘ai:</b> Food or food plant, especially vegetable food as distinguished from i‘a, meat or fleshy food; often ‘ai refers specifically to poi; harvest (Oihk. 19.9); to eat, destroy or consume as by fire; to erode; to taste, bite, take a hook, grasp, hold on to; edible. Figuratively, to rule, reign, or enjoy the privileges and exercise the responsibilities of rule, and one who does so.</p> <p><b>mōhai:</b> Sacrifice, offering; to offer a sacrifice. To break, as a stick; to break in two; to break off.</p> <p><b>alana:</b> Awakening, rising.</p> <p><b>‘alana:</b> Offering, especially a free-will offering, contrasting with a mōhai that was prescribed by a priest; to offer. A present made by a chief to a priest to procure his prayers. An oblation or free will offering for any purpose.</p>	
12	E moku i ka piko o ka hale la	<p><b>moku:</b> To be cut, severed, amputated, broken in two, as a rope; broken loose, as a stream after heavy rains, or as a bound</p>	<p><b>Dictionary explains:</b> ‘Oki i ka piko, to cut this thatch; fig., to dedicate a house.</p> <p>NOTE—In ancient times every man</p>

		<p>person; to punctuate. Moku ka pawa, dawn has broken.</p> <p>1. A part of a country divided off from another part. 2. A district; a division of an island, as Kona on Hawaii, and Hana on Maui. 3. An island, i.e., land separated from other land by water. Moku or mokupuni is synonymous with aina. D.Malo 7:1.</p> <p>4. A ship; so called from the supposition when first seen that they were islands. 5. A dividing line; a boundary between the different divisions of an island. See MOKUNA.6. A part or piece of anything broken off. (Andrews and Parker Dictionary)</p> <p>Greatly increased; swollen, as water; running; flowing; breaking down barriers, as water.</p> <p><b>mōkū:</b> 1. vi. Remaining long in one place, stationary; tied to a stake, as in punishment; to hold in one place, as to drown; to be anchored or stationed, as ships in a harbor.</p> <p><b>piko:</b> Navel, navel string, umbilical cord. Summit or top of a hill or mountain; crest; crown of the head; crown of the hat made on a frame; tip of the ear; end of a rope; border of a land; center, as of a fishpond wall or kōnane board; place where a stem is attached to the leaf, as of taro. Thatch above a door.</p> <p><b>hale:</b> House, building, institution, lodge, station, hall; to have a house. A sheltered and enclosed place for any purpose.</p>	<p>was supposed to have six different houses of some size.</p>
14	Okia la, amama, ua noa!	<p><b>Okia:</b> Pas/imp. of ‘oki. To be cut off.</p> <p><b>‘Oki:</b> To sever, shear, snip, slit,</p>	

		<p>trim, <b>hew</b>, mow, fell, separate, annul, cancel, divorce; to cut, as cards; to operate, amputate; to excommunicate; a cut, division, limit, operation, amputation; stanza.</p> <p><b>‘āmama:</b> Finished, of a pre-Christian prayer (said almost at the end of a prayer); to finish a prayer, to pray and sacrifice. <b>To offer sacrifice as an act of worship.</b></p> <p><b>noa:</b> Freed of taboo, <b>released from restrictions</b>, profane; freedom. Commoner; formerly, the offspring of the marriage of a pi‘o, naha, or nāaupi‘o aristocrat with a person without rank or possibly of papa rank.</p> <p><b>nō‘ā:</b> Constantly burning, of fire; unquenchable, as a volcano; dried up, as land in drought.</p>	
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