

ANCESTRAL PLACES

UNDERSTANDING KANAKA GEOGRAPHIES

Katrina-Ann R. Kapā'anaokalāokeola Nākoa Oliveira



Ancestral Places)

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Dedication

No ku‘u mau kūpuna a me ku‘u mau mākua i hehi i ke alanui
kike‘ēke‘e ma mua o‘u, no ku‘u kaikaina lāua ‘o ku‘u kaikunāne
e hele kūnihi like aku nei i nēia ala ma ka ‘ao‘ao o‘u, a no ku‘u
kama nō ho‘i e ne‘e aku ana i mua ma hope o‘u.

No ku‘u ēwe, ku‘u piko, ku‘u iwi, ku‘u koko. E ola nā iwi, e ola nā
kulāiwi, e ola nā koa, e kū kahiko!

Contents

Acknowledgments ix

Introduction xiii

Chapter 1 Mele Ko‘ihonua 1

Chapter 2 Places to Stand 25

Chapter 3 Fluidity of Place 46

Chapter 4 Performance Cartographies 65

Chapter 5 Ancestral Sense Abilities 94

Notes 115

Glossary 143

Bibliography 159

Index 165

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Introduction

My daughter, Kahakai, was born at the Maui Memorial Hospital in the kau (season) of Ho'oilō in the mahina (month) of Kaulua on the pō mahina (night) of Akua. I would have preferred to have given birth to her on our kulāiwi (ancestral homeland) on the mokupuni (island) of Maui in the moku (district) of Kā'anapali in the kalana (smaller division of land than moku) of Kahakuloa in the 'ili (small land division) of Kuewa,¹ but the remoteness of Kuewa might have placed my daughter's life in jeopardy had there been complications during her delivery.

Kahakai's birth was met by a storm that loomed over Maui the days before, during, and after her birth. In fact, Kahakuloa experienced the most severe flooding in the valley in recent memory. It was so severe that the stream breached its banks and flooded places that lifelong residents of Kahakuloa had never seen flooded before—even during hurricanes. Nine days after her birth, my kāne (male partner) and I took Kahakai to Kuewa to kanu (bury, plant) her 'iwe (placenta) and piko (umbilical cord), just as my ancestors had done for many generations.²

It was important to me to give birth to my daughter on the island of Maui, as my kāne and I both have ancestral roots on Maui, our families having resided on Maui since time immemorial. He was born and raised on Maui. I was raised on Maui, where my mother lived, and also on O'ahu, where my father lived following the divorce of my parents when I was four. As a youth, flying back and forth between both islands every other weekend and spending my summers on Maui was a normal part of my life.

When I started taking ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) classes, I suddenly had an identity crisis. I had to reflect upon who I was and where I came from. When meeting someone for the first time, two of the most common questions asked in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i deal with place and identity. Often new acquaintances will ask, “No hea mai ‘oe?” (Where are you from?) and “Na wai ke kama ‘o ‘oe?” (Who do you descend from?). While I grew up knowing the names of my mākuā (parents) and my kūpuna (ancestors), answering the question “No hea mai ‘oe?” was more complicated. As my kumu ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language teacher) explained, a “proper” response to the question is to state the (one) place you were raised.

For many years, the question “No hea mai ‘oe?” proved difficult to answer. In spite of being born on O‘ahu, going to school on O‘ahu, and working on O‘ahu, I felt a much deeper connection to Maui. Growing up on O‘ahu, I lived an urban life. I did not have a deep relationship with the ‘āina (land, that which feeds). I lived in a house on a property that my parents purchased after I was born. I went to school and came home. I did not know my neighbors.

Growing up on Maui, I lived a rural life. I developed a deep appreciation and love for the land. I swam in the streams, worked in the lo‘i (wetland taro gardens), fished in the ocean, ate the fruits of the land, and cared for the burial grounds of my kūpuna. I grew up on the kulāiwi of my kūpuna; everyone in the village was either family or family friends.

Since the answer to “No hea mai ‘oe?” is often a singular place, my kāne and I decided that we wanted our daughter to be born on Maui so that she could state, without hesitation, “Ua hānau ‘ia au ma Maui. No Maui mai au” (I was born on Maui. I am from Maui). Because I have a job that I am passionate about on O‘ahu, like me, Kahakai will likely reside on two islands throughout her life, but her ‘iewe and her piko are buried on Maui.

Unlike my experience in contemporary times, maka‘āinana (the general populace who lived off the land) often lived in the same place throughout their entire lives. As the economy in ka pae ‘āina Hawai‘i (Hawaiian archipelago) shifted from a barter system to a monetary commerce system, Kānaka (Native Hawaiians)³ began adapting to a new economy. As a result, over time, many people left their homelands and subsistence farming and fishing lifestyles in search of jobs. The shift in the economic system coupled with the introduction of transportation in the form of horses and automobiles created a more mobile society. Today, I live a highly mobile lifestyle, flying to O‘ahu during the week to work at the university and flying to Maui on weekends

to be with my family and my kulāiwi on Maui. O‘ahu is where I was formally trained as an academic; Maui is where I learned many of my life’s lessons. I am from both places, but my kuleana differs on each island.

Throughout the course of writing this book, the driving forces behind my writing have been my kūpuna, my mākuā, my kama (child), and my ancestral homelands. My kūpuna have inspired me to look to the wisdom of the past, my mākuā have challenged me to make the most of the present, my daughter has reminded me to create a legacy for the future, and my ancestral places have grounded me and molded my identity.

Fortunately, some of our ancestral homelands are still cared for by our ‘ohana (family). This allowed me the opportunity to write the initial draft of this book in Kuewa. Making the decision to write there was easy; I knew that the only way I could write about Kanaka (Native Hawaiian) geographies, connections to ‘āina, and ancestral knowledge systems was to be on at least one of my kulāiwi. Although deciding to write somewhere without electricity, running drinking water, and other modern conveniences was initially challenging, in the end it proved to be a blessing. Before I could begin the process of writing, however, I needed to mālama ‘āina (care for the land). With the assistance of my family, we cleared the ‘āina so I could drive to the house my grandfather built for the family. I purchased a generator to run my computer, and my parents ran the last available telephone service in the valley to our home. My only housemate was my dog.

Living in Kuewa was a life-changing experience. I became more in touch with my environment, and I began to sense the presence of my kūpuna. While living in Kuewa, I was more dependent on my environment than any other time in my life. If the stream flooded, I could not leave the valley because I could not drive safely through the two stream crossings. If there was a landslide blocking the road, I could not drive to town. If a boulder or wild pigs broke the water line to the house, I did not have piped stream water to wash dishes or flush the toilet.

The experience helped me to gain a deeper respect for the ancestral knowledge systems that my kūpuna developed as a result of their observations and interactions with their environment. Without the experience of living in Kahakuloa Valley, this book could not have been written. I needed to distance myself from outside distractions in order to focus on the book. And, more importantly, I needed to listen to the lessons that the ‘āina and my kūpuna were about to reveal to me.

Taking Wahi Pana o O‘ahu, a Hawaiian Studies course at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa from Kalani Wise was another pivotal point in my life that put me on this alanui kike‘eke‘e (zigzag road) and this ala hele kūnihi (precarious path). The late Kalani Wise, an amazing and mesmerizing kumu (teacher, source of knowledge) of Kanaka geography, captivated my attention each day with mo‘olelo (historical accounts) related to the island of O‘ahu. For fun, he drove around the island to learn more about O‘ahu’s street names and geographical features. With each course lecture, he took me on an adventure around O‘ahu where I learned about land boundaries, place names, and other geographical knowledge that he had researched in the libraries and archives as well as on the landscape itself.

Kalani Wise lived up to his name; he was indeed a very wise man who piqued my interest in geography. Soon after his course was over, I graduated with dual degrees in Hawaiian Studies and Hawaiian Language, and Kalani Wise passed away. After graduating with my Bachelor of Arts degrees, I entered the Master of Arts program in Geography at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa because I was eager to learn more about the Kanaka geographies to which I had been introduced by my kumu, Kalani Wise.

I feel a deep and profound responsibility to my kumu and to my kūpuna to give back to academia and my Kanaka community by sharing whatever little ‘ike (knowledge) I have about Kanaka place making. This book is my contribution to the next generation, as I feel an incredible sense of kuleana to carry on the knowledge of my kūpuna. As I am a kumu ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i by profession and a geographer by training, I am blending both disciplines in this book by elucidating a great deal of ‘ōlelo knowledge about place making, especially through the use of ‘ōlelo no‘eau (wise sayings). It is my hope that this book will make significant contributions to our collective project of regenerating our ‘ōlelo and the practices of our kūpuna by demonstrating to the next generation that our native tongue and our ancestral knowledge systems are still relevant to us today.

This book acknowledges the wisdom of our kūpuna and demonstrates the ways in which their wisdom continues to inform our identity as Kānaka. My aim is to be original in my interpretations of Kanaka geographies, yet beholden to those who have taken this path previously traveled by my kūpuna. It is hoped that this book will encourage other Kānaka to (re)connect to their own ancestral places and to examine various Kanaka geographies as frameworks for better understanding who we are and where we come from. It is

also hoped that this book will have a broad appeal to other peoples who share similar histories and relationships with the ‘āina.

This book honors the mo‘olelo of the ancestral places of Kānaka and the relationships that we share with our environment. It is an intensely personal view of how Kanaka geographies relate to place, time, ancestry, and history frame a Kanaka worldview and sense of place. *Ancestral Places* elucidates a Kanaka geography by quoting our kūpuna through their own mo‘olelo and by commemorating the ways in which they express their connections to their places. It introduces the reader to the ways in which Kānaka relate to the ‘āina. Chapter 1 introduces the reader to select mele ko‘ihonua (cosmogonic genealogies) and discusses the importance of knowing one’s genealogy. Chapter 2 explores the construction of ancestral Kanaka identities and how these identities are shaped by one’s rank in society. Chapter 3 delves into the fluidity of place and how Kānaka transform spaces into personalized places by naming the heavenscapes, landscapes, and oceanscapes. Chapter 4 reveals some of the ancestral cartographic performance methods that Kānaka used to “map” their ancestral places and to retain their mo‘olelo. Chapter 5 proposes that over time, Kānaka developed a capacity to receive and perceive stimuli from our environment and to respond to these sensory stimuli in ways that contribute to our overall collective understanding of our world.

During the time that I have been writing this book, I have mourned the passing of two fathers, Frank G. Oliveira and Jacob K. Barros Jr., and I have experienced two births. The first of these births occurred the day my precious daughter, Kahakai K. M. C. M. Apo, was born. The second of these births occurred the day the final draft of this book manuscript was written. This work memorializes the tremendous knowledge of my kūpuna and mākuā who have passed and serves as a legacy for the generations of kama yet to be born.

Use of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i

I have made a conscious decision to honor the voice of my kūpuna as a mainstream language by not italicizing ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i words. Like Noenoe Silva, “I have not italicized Hawaiian words in the text in keeping with the recent movement to resist making the native tongue appear foreign in writing produced in and about a native land and people.”⁴ I look forward to the day when there is a critical mass of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i speakers so that I will be able to write

in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and italicize the occasional English word to denote it as a foreign language. Until such time becomes a reality, it is important to me that the content of this book be accessible to a variety of audiences in Hawai‘i and abroad.

In recognition of the fact that many of the readers of this book are not fluent ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i speakers, ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i words are defined the first time they are used in the text, and a glossary appears as an appendix. All translations are mine, except where otherwise noted.

To further assist readers in pronouncing ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i words and names, I have included ‘okina (glottal stops) and kahakō (macrons) throughout the book, except where I quote directly from sources where ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i orthography is absent or where I am unsure about the “correct” pronunciation of proper nouns (e.g., ali‘i [chief] names, place names). In cases where more than one spelling of a proper noun may exist, such as the name of the island Moloka‘i (also known as Molokai) or the name of the ali‘i Kupulanakēhau (spelled Kūpulanakehau in some texts and Kapulanakehau in others), I have made my own educated decision about how to spell the name for the purposes of this book and I have noted the alternative spellings that I am aware of.

When writing about ‘ōlelo no‘eau, I have elected to regularize ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i spellings to conform with contemporary conventions. At times, contemporary conventions might differ slightly from the way the text appears in the book *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*. Although I believe that it is generally good practice to quote a text exactly as the author wrote it, I have made the exception here for a couple of reasons. First, Mary Kawena Pukui,⁵ author of *‘Ōlelo No‘eau* and coauthor of the *Hawaiian Dictionary*, herself varied the spelling of some words in these two texts. Second, ‘ōlelo no‘eau are wise poetic sayings that many fluent ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i speakers grew up learning and using. Mary Kawena Pukui’s book, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*, records this oral tradition in written form; therefore, she took her own liberties to document the voices of her informants and reduce their spoken words to the written page. For consistency and clarity, whenever more than one spelling exists, I have opted to use the standardized system currently used today.

While using standardized ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i is helpful to the nonfluent ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i speaker, it is important to also acknowledge that Kānaka highly value ambiguity. ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i poets, for example, play upon the varied pronunciations and kaona (concealed meanings) of words to convey multiple ideas.⁶ Historians openly debate the authenticity of one another’s mo‘olelo

and mo'okū'auhau (genealogies). 'Ōlelo Hawai'i terms sometimes even vary from place to place. For example, a particular type of sea urchin is known as hā'ue'ue in some localities and hā'uke'uke in others.

This book celebrates Kanaka geographies and acknowledges the variation in local practices. As a Kanaka who descends from Maui ali'i, I have written this book from a largely Maui-centric perspective. Whenever possible, Maui examples are used to convey my point. This book was written to honor the legacy of my kūpuna and to ensure that the future generations of kama remember the mo'olelo bequeathed to them.

Chapter 1) Mele Ko'ihonua

Mo'olelo (historical accounts), especially those cosmogonic in nature, form the foundation for a Kanaka (Native Hawaiian) geography, illuminating the genealogical connection that Kānaka share with the 'āina (land; that which feeds). Mele ko'ihonua (cosmogonic genealogies) are crucial to understanding a Kanaka worldview, and through these cosmogonic genealogies we learn of the formation of the 'āina, the first living organisms, and the birth of the akua (gods) and the people. These oral traditions are historical accounts that provide modern scholars with insights regarding ancestral culture, thereby revealing the connection that Kānaka living in ancestral times had with their environment. Through these mo'olelo, relationships are established, described, and reinscribed between the land, ocean, and sky; akua and ali'i (chiefs); and ali'i and maka'āinana (general population).

The mo'olelo of Kānaka commences at the beginning of space and time with cosmogonic genealogies. Mele ko'ihonua run the gamut thematically from evolution, birth of islands via the mating of gods, and volcanic eruptions to biblically influenced stories. Joseph Moku'ōhai Poepoe, editor of the daily 'ōlelo Hawai'i newspaper, *Ka Na'i Aupuni*, wrote as follows in 1906:

He ekolu no mau mahele nui i ku ai na hoihe ana mai a keia mau mookuauhau no ka loa ana mai o neia mea, he honua a he aina hoi: (1) Ua hanau maoli ia mai no ka mole o ka honua e ka wahine; (2) ua hana lima maoli ia ka honua e ke kanaka; (3) ua ulu a ua puka mai ka aina mailoko mai o ka lipolipo o ka pouli, oia hoi, ka Po, aole mamuli o ka hanauia ana e ka wahine, a hana maoli ia ana paha e ka lima o ke kanaka. (There are three main categories of creation stories: (1) The

taproot of the earth was birthed by a woman; (2) the earth was created by the hands of a person; (3) the land grew and emerged from the depths of darkness, that is from the Pō, not because of being born to a woman or being created by the hand of a person.)¹

Because there are so many varying accounts, it comes as little surprise that a newspaper article entitled, “Moolelo Hawaii: Mokuna 1: No ka Aina ana ma Hawaii nei,” appearing in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* on December 21, 1911, noted, “He mea kahaha loa no ka manao i ka lohe ana mai i na olelo a ka poe kahiko, no ke ku mua o ka aina ana ma Hawaii nei, he kuee ko lakou manao, aole he like pu” (It is astonishing to hear the theories of the people of old about the formation of the land in Hawai’i; they are contradictory; they are not consistent). Indeed, many contradictory versions of Kanaka creation histories exist, suggesting that Kānaka were open to multiple interpretations of mo’olelo.

In spite of these contradictory accounts, a common element shared by many mele ko’ihonua is the genealogical relationship between the land, humankind, and the gods. Similar to the Māori concept of wairua (spirit), where all living and nonliving elements are believed to be interrelated and possess a spirit, many Kānaka likewise value mele ko’ihonua as the framework by which all things in the natural environment, including people, are genealogically linked and ordered. This chapter explores select mele ko’ihonua, revealing how some accounts are complementary, overlapping with other creation histories, while others are stand-alone accounts differing completely from their counterparts.

While my narrative describes and analyzes Kanaka geographies, to discuss all known mele ko’ihonua is beyond the scope of this book. This chapter cannot be truly exhaustive of the subject, because a multiple-volume series would likely be necessary. The aim is to simply introduce the reader to some of the better-known mele ko’ihonua, because no discussion of Kanaka geography would be complete without providing such an overview.

Kumulipo

Of all Kanaka cosmogonic genealogies, the *Kumulipo* is the best-known today.² “Kumu” means “origin, source, foundation,” and “lipo” means “dark, night, chaos.”³ The union of these two words denotes the very beginning of time, when only darkness and chaos prevailed. The *Kumulipo* is a story

both of origin and evolution, with allusions to the natural growth of a baby within the womb.⁴ In the *Kumulipo*, the ‘āina is not born in a natural birth process, nor is it created by the hands of the akua; rather, it grows from the depths of darkness and evolves into ka pae ‘āina Hawai‘i (the Hawaiian archipelago).⁵

The *Kumulipo* exemplifies how mele ko‘ihonua avowed the birthright of ali‘i to rule. Composed by Keāulumoku for Ka‘iimamao circa 1700, the *Kumulipo* exalts Ka‘iimamao’s high-ranking lineage by tracing his genealogy back to the creation of the world and the gods.⁶ As only the second monarch of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i to be elected to the throne, Kalākaua later used the *Kumulipo* to affirm his royal lineage and pave the way for his sister, Lili‘uokalani to reign as queen after the death of her beloved brother, Leleiohoku.

Kalākaua and Lili‘uokalani, Ka‘iimamao’s great-great-grandchildren, popularized the *Kumulipo*. The pair dramatically increased the general public’s access to the mele ko‘ihonua when Kalākaua printed the *Kumulipo* in 1889.⁷ Then in 1895, Lili‘uokalani began translating the mele ko‘ihonua while she was imprisoned for a period of eight months in her own palace.⁸ Translating the *Kumulipo* between 1895 and 1897⁹ into English, the language of the colonizer, was a form of political resistance. In an act of defiance against her captors, Lili‘uokalani used English to reclaim her rights as a sovereign. Like her brother before her, Lili‘uokalani turned to her mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogy) and mele ko‘ihonua to reaffirm her birthright to the throne.

The *Kumulipo* was a great source of mana (spiritual power) for those to whom this genealogy belonged. This mele ko‘ihonua, more than two thousand lines long when reduced to writing,¹⁰ was recited by master genealogists at sacred ceremonies, two of which were noted by Lili‘uokalani. First, Hewahewa along with Ahukai chanted the *Kumulipo* at Koko, O‘ahu, to Alapa‘iwahine at the time that Ke‘eaumoku was near death.¹¹ It was also chanted by Pu‘ou, a high-ranking kahuna (priest), at Hikiau Heiau (a temple) in Kealahakua, Hawai‘i, at a ceremony that included Captain Cook.¹² In recent times, Kanaka practitioners have begun reviving this tradition. In 2003, for example, the *Kumulipo* was recited on the steps of the ‘Iolani Palace in honor of Kalākaua’s 167th birthday.

Divided into sixteen distinct wā (periods of time), the *Kumulipo* is comprised of seven wā of darkness, followed by nine of light. It begins in the first wā with void, chaos, and deep darkness. It is a time of the spirits. Kumulipo is

born in the darkness as a male, and Pō‘ele is born in the darkness as a female. Sea creatures are born next, followed in the second wā by the birth of fishes and shrubs. In wā three, insects and birds are born. Reptiles, along with more insects and shrubs, are born in the fourth wā. In wā five and six, pigs and rats are born, respectively. In the seventh and final wā of darkness, the dog makes its appearance.¹³

Finally, after seven wā of night, day is born in wā eight, as is the first human, La‘ila‘i, a woman. She descends from ancestors of darkness, yet she emerges in the first wā of light. La‘ila‘i, the ancestor of gods and humans, is born in the same wā as the first man, Ki‘i, and the gods, Kāne and Kanaloa. In the ninth wā, the earth is born, along with several of La‘ila‘i’s children.¹⁴ In the tenth wā, La‘ila‘i returns to mate with Kāne, while in the eleventh, numerous husband and wife pairs are listed, some of which are gods. Wā twelve is the period when Palikū, Olōlo (also known as Lolo), Kumuhonua, and Hāloa are born.¹⁵

In Lili‘uokalani’s version, she does not list a thirteenth wā; rather, a second branch originating from Palikū is given.¹⁶ In anthropologist Martha Beckwith’s *The Kumulipo: A Hawaiian Creation Chant*, this second branch serves as the thirteenth wā.¹⁷ In the fourteenth wā, Kupulanakēhau (also known as Kapulanakēhau)¹⁸ is born as a woman and enters into a relationship with Kahikoluamea to beget Wakea.¹⁹ In wā fifteen, ‘Ulu, Nānā‘ulu, and the Māui brothers are born.²⁰ The demigod Māui is a descendant of the ‘Ulu line.²¹ The last wā lists genealogical pairs down to Pi‘ilani, ali‘i nui (high-ranking chief) of Maui, and Lā‘ielohelohe, then finally to Lonoikamakahiki, also known as Ka‘iimamao.²²

The *Kumulipo* is essential for gaining an understanding of a Kanaka worldview as well as a Kanaka geography. It reveals several recurring themes, including the struggle for survival and the importance of maintaining pono (harmony, balance) in the world. Harmony is achieved when darkness is balanced with light and male is balanced with female. Pono is also exemplified by the pairing of ocean and land creatures that solidifies the bond between the land and the sea and their interdependence with one another. The *Kumulipo* is also a history of interrelatedness—all plants, animals, kānaka, and akua are genealogically connected.

The *Kumulipo*’s history of interrelatedness extends to other mele ko‘ihonua as well. Of all the mele ko‘ihonua, the *Kumulipo* is arguably the most important

of the cosmogonic traditions known today because it is often considered to be the most encompassing. Many of the other creation accounts that have been passed down can be found within the *Kumulipo*. That is to say, mele ko'ihonua such as *Kapōhihihi* (branching out of night or chaos), *Kumuhonua* (beginning of the earth), *Olōlo* (brains or oily coconut meat), *Palikū* (vertical precipice), and *Puanue* (the rainbow) are sometimes presented as individual creation stories, when in fact such accounts also appear as sections of the *Kumulipo*.²³

Papa and Wākea

The mele ko'ihonua of Papa,²⁴ earth mother, and Wākea,²⁵ sky father, is one of the many mele ko'ihonua whose genesis originates in the *Kumulipo*. Kahikoluamea and Kupulanakēhau are acknowledged as the parents of Wākea in the twelfth and fourteenth wā of the *Kumulipo*.²⁶ Papa and Wākea are half brother and sister through the 'Ōpukahonua lineage.²⁷ Their ancestors were from a distant land known as Kahiki, but the couple settled down in Loloimehani.²⁸

Papa and Wākea are a primal pair. As journalist and author Abraham Fornander asserts, “[Ma] ka moolelo o Wakea, ua olelo nui ia, oia na kupuna mua o keia mau aina, a ma o laua la i laha mai ai na kanaka, a o laua na kupuna alii o keia noho ana. Ua oleloia ma ko Wakea mookuaahau [sic] laua a me kana wahine o Papa, ua hanau mai keia mau moku mai loko mai o laua”²⁹ (In the tradition of Wākea it has been often stated that they were the ancestors of these islands, and that it was through them that the people were born, and they are the ancestors of the chiefs of these islands. It is said in the genealogy of Wākea and his partner Papa that these islands were born to them). In the twelfth wā of the *Kumulipo*, Wākea procreates with Haumea, a manifestation or kino lau of Papa,³⁰ and his daughter, Ho'ohokukalani (also known as Haohokakalani and Ho'ohökūkalani).³¹ Hāloanaka is born to Ho'ohokukalani as a premature fetus, and a kalo (taro) grows from the place where the fetus is planted.³² A second child, Hāloa, is born as the kaikaina (younger sibling) of the kalo; this child becomes the first ali'i and kupuna (ancestor) of the Kānaka.³³ The genealogical relationship between the Kānaka, kalo, and 'āina (from which the kalo grows) is revealed in the historical account of Papa and Wākea and their descendants.

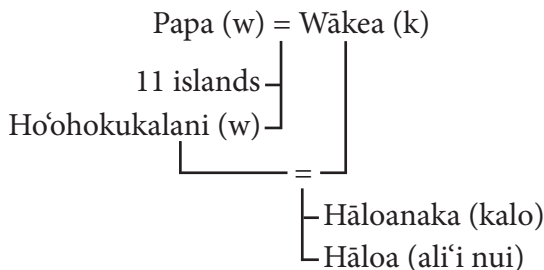


FIG. 1.1 Mo'okū'auhau of Papa and Wākea's offspring.³⁴

As implied by her name, Papahānaumoku (Papa that gives birth to islands), Papa birthed some of the islands. Moreover, she is said to have birthed the islands using various parts of her body, from her head to her feet.³⁵ According to Fornander, “Ma ka moolelo nae o Wakea laua me kana wahine me Papa, i hanau maoliia mai keia mau aina mai loko mai o laua. O Hawai'i ke keiki mua a Papa laua me Wakea, a mahope hanau mai o Maui, a pela i hanau ai a he umikumamakahi moku,³⁶ a o Kahoolawe ka moku aole i pili i loko o Wakea laua me Papa”³⁷ (In the historical account of Wākea and his partner Papa, these islands were born to them. Hawai'i was the first child of Papa and Wākea, and Maui was born afterwards, and in this manner eleven islands were born. And as for Kaho'olawe, the island, it was not born to Papa and Wākea). Nevertheless, Poepoe claims that Papa was not the biological mother of the islands, and that historians misinterpreted compositions. Poepoe argues that such mele (songs) credit Papa with birthing famous *descendants* of islands from Hawai'i to Kaua'i, rather than the islands themselves. Instead of identifying these descendants by their given names, reference is simply made to their island of residence.³⁸

Composed by Pāku'i, a renowned historian and contemporary of Kamehameha, *Mele a Pāku'i* is a mo'olelo and mele that enumerates the birthing of ka pae 'aina Hawai'i.³⁹ In *Mele a Pāku'i*, Papa and Wākea are the parents of Kahitikū, Kahitimoe, Ke'āpapanu'u,⁴⁰ Ke'āpapalani, and Hawai'i.⁴¹ Papa then gives birth to the island of Maui(ō), whose paternity varies depending on the version of *Mele a Pāku'i* cited. According to Poepoe, “O Wakea la ua kane” (Wākea is the aforementioned man), but according to Fornander, Maui is born to “Wakea laua o Kane” (Wākea and Kāne).⁴² Per Poepoe, “He nuu no Ololani, no Lono, no Ku, o Kane ma laua o Kanaloa” ([Mauiō is] a high-ranking one

for Ololani [an acclaimed chief], for Lono, for Kū, Kāne, and Kanaloa), while Fornander's version states, "He nui Mololani no Ku, no Lono, o Kane ma laua o Kanaloa" (Mololani [well-kept one] is of great importance, for Kū, for Lono, Kāne, and Kanaloa).⁴³ Papa then travels to Kahiti. In Papa's absence, Wākea has a relationship with Kāulawahine, and Lāna'ikāula, Kāulawahine's eldest child, is born. Next, Wākea procreates with Hina, and Moloka'iahina (also known as Molokaiahina) is born. When Papa returns to ka pae 'āina Hawai'i, she is angered that Wākea has taken other lovers, so she too takes a new lover, Lua, and O'ahualua is born. Finally, Papa returns to Wākea, and Kaua'i is born, followed by the islands of Ni'ihau, Lehua, and Ka'ula.⁴⁴

Mele a Pakui

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1. O Wakea a Kahiko Luamea, a—e, | O Wakea Kahiko Luamea, |
| 2. O Papa, o Papa-hanau-moku ka wahine, | O Papa, o Papahanaumoku ka wahine, |
| 3. Hanau o Kahiki ku, Kahiki-moe, | Hanau Tahiti-ku, Tahiti-moe, |
| 4. Hanau ke apaapaa nuu, ke apaapaa lani | Hanau Keapapanui, |
| 5. Hanau <i>Hawaii</i> ka moku hiapo. | 5 Hanau Keapapalani, |
| | Hanau Hawaii; |
| | Ka moku makahiapo, |
| 6. He keiki makahiapo a laua—a—a. | Keiki makahiapo a laua. |
| 7. O Wakea la ua kane, | O Wakea laua o Kane, |
| 8. O Papa, o Walinuu ka wahine, | 10 O Papa o Walinuu ka wahine. |
| 9. Hookauhua Papa i ka moku, | Hookauhua Papa i ka moku, |
| 10. Ho-iloli ia <i>Maui</i> ; | Hoiloli ia Maui, |
| 11. Hanau Maui-loa, he moku, | Hanau Mauiloa he moku; |
| 12. I hanauia he ololani, he uilani, | I hanauia he alo lani, |
| 13. Uilani he-i kapa lau maewa | 15 He Uilani-uilani, |
| | Hei kapa lau maewa. |
| 14. He nuu no Ololani, no Lono, no Ku, | He nui Mololani no Ku, no Lono, |
| 15. No Kane ma laua o Kanaloa—o—a, | No Kane ma laua o Kanaloa. |
| 16. Hanau kapu ke kuakoko | Hanau kapu ke kuakoko, |
| 17. Kaahea Papa ia Kanaloa, he moku | 20 Kaahea Papa ia Kanaloa, he moku, |
| 18. I hanauia he pu-nua, he naia, | I hanauia he punua he naia, |
| 19. He keiki i'a na Papa i hanau | He keiki ia na Papa i hanau, |

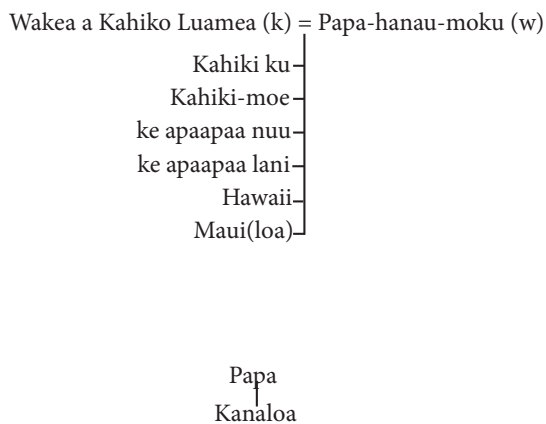
20. Haalele Papa hoi i Kahiki
 21. Hoi a Kahiki Kapakapaka-ua
 22. Moe o Wakea—
 23. Moe ia Kaula-wahine
 24. Hanau *Lanai* a Kaula,
 25. He keiki makahiapo na ia
 wahine;
 26. Hoi Wakea loa Hina
 27. Loa Hina, he wahine moe na
 Wakea
 28. Hapai Hina ia *Molokai* he moku,
 29. O Molokai a Hina he keiki moku,
 30. Haina e ke kolea a Laukaula
 31. Ua moe o Wakea i ka wahine
 32. Ena Kalani, ku ka hau lili o
 Papa—a—pa,
 33. Hoi mai o Papa mailoko mai o
 Kahiki-ku
 34. Ku inaina, lili i ka punalua
 35. Hae manawa ino i ke kane o
 Wakea
 36. Moe ia Lua, he kane hou ia
 37. Hanau o *Oahu* a Lua;
 38. Oahu a Lua, he keiki moku
 39. He keiki maka-na-lau na
 Lua—u—a,
 40. Hoi hou aku no noho me Wakea
 41. Naku Papa i ka moku o Kauai
 42. Hanau Kamawaelualani, he moku
 43. He wewe Niihau, he palena
 Lehua,
 44. He panina Kaula o ka Moku
 Papapa.
- Haalele Papa hoi i Tahiti,
 Hoi a Tahiti Kapakapakaua.
 25 Moe o Wakea moe ia Kaulawahine
 Hanau o Lanai Kaula.
 He makahiapo na ia wahine.
 Hoi ae o Wakea loa Hina,
 Loa Hina he wahine moe na Wakea,
 30 Hapai Hina ia Molokai, he moku,
 O Molokai a Hina he keiki moku.
 Haina e ke kolea o Laukaula
 Ua moe o Wakea i ka wahine.
 O ena kalani, kukahaulili o Papa.
 35 Hoi mai Papa mai loko mai o Tahiti;
 Inaina lili i ka punalua;
 Hae, manawaino i ke kane, o Wakea,
 Moe ia Lua he kane hou ia.
 Hanau Oahu-a-Lua,
 40 Oahu-a-Lua, he keiki moku,
 He keiki makana lau na Lua.
 Hoi hou aku no moe me Wakea.
 Naku Papa i ka iloli,
 Hoohapuu Papa i ka moku o Kauai
 45 Hanau Kamawaelualanimoku,
 He eweewe Niihau;
 He palena o Lehua,
 He panina Kaula.
 O ka Mokupapapa.
 (continues)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Wākea Kahiko Luamea | Wākea Kahiko Luamea, |
| 2. Papa, Papa-hānau-moku, the woman, | Papa, Papahānaumoku, the woman, |
| 3. Born is Kahiki kū, Kahiki-moe, ⁴⁵ | Born is Tahiti-kū, Tahiti-moe, |
| 4. Born is Ke‘āpa‘apa‘anu‘u, Ke‘āpa‘apa‘alani ⁴⁶ | 5 Born is Ke‘āpapanui, Ke‘āpapalani |
| 5. <i>Hawai‘i</i> is born as the eldest island. | Hawai‘i is born;
The eldest island, |
| 6. Their eldest child. | Their eldest child. |
| 7. Wākea is the aforementioned male, | Wākea and Kāne are the males, |
| 8. Papa of Walinu‘u (or Papa also known as Walinu‘u) is the female, | 10 Papa of Walinu‘u (or Papa also known as Walinu‘u) is the female. |
| 9. Papa experiences pregnancy sickness due to the island, | Papa experiences pregnancy sickness due to the island, |
| 10. Suffering pregnancy pains with <i>Maui</i> ; | Suffering pregnancy pains with Maui, |
| 11. Maui-loa is born as an island, | Mauiloa is born as an island; |
| 12. Born an acclaimed chief, a chiefly beauty, | Born in chiefly presence, ⁴⁷ |
| 13. A chiefly beauty ensnared in the swaying kapa | 15 A chiefly beauty, chiefly beauty,
Ensnared in the swaying kapa. |
| 14. A high-ranking one for Ololani, for Lono, for Kū, | Mololani is of great importance,
for Kū, for Lono, ⁴⁸ |
| 15. For Kāne folks and Kanaloa, | For Kāne folks and Kanaloa. |
| 16. Consecrated are the birth pains | Consecrated are the birth pains, |
| 17. Papa suffers with Kanaloa, an island | 20 Papa suffers with Kanaloa, an island, |
| 18. Born a fledgling, a dolphin, | Born a fledgling, a dolphin, |
| 19. A fish child born to Papa | A fish child born to Papa, |
| 20. Papa left, returned to Kahiki | Papa left, returned to Tahiti, |
| 21. Returned to Kahiki
Kapakapaka-ua | Returned to Tahiti Kapakapaka-ua. |
| 22. Wākea slept | 25 Wākea slept with Kāulawahine |
| 23. with Kāulawahine | |
| 24. <i>Lāna‘i</i> a Kāula was born, | Lāna‘i Kāula was born, |
| 25. An eldest child of this woman; | An eldest child of this woman. |
| 26. Wākea returns to Hina | Wākea returns to Hina |

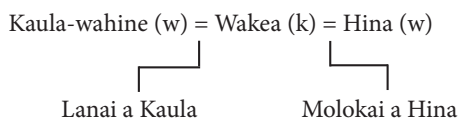
- | | |
|---|--|
| 27. Hina is begotten as a female
companion for Wākea | Hina is begotten as a female
companion for Wākea |
| 28. Hina is pregnant with <i>Moloka'i</i> ,
an island, | 30 Hina is pregnant with Moloka'i, an
island |
| 29. Moloka'i a Hina is an island
child, | Moloka'i a Hina is an island child. |
| 30. It is told by the plover, Laukaula | It is told by the plover, Laukaula |
| 31. Wākea slept with the woman | Wākea slept with the woman. |
| 32. Papa rages with anger and
jealousy, | Papa rages with anger and jealousy. |
| 33. Papa returns from Kahiki-kū | 35 Papa returns from Tahiti; |
| 34. Hatred toward the other lover | Hatred toward the other lover; |
| 35. Wild with rage at the man,
Wākea | Wild with rage at the man, Wākea, |
| 36. Slept with Lua, a new man | Slept with Lua, a new man. |
| 37. <i>O'ahu</i> a Lua is born; | O'ahu a lua is born, |
| 38. O'ahu a Lua, an island child | 40 O'ahu a lua, the island child, |
| 39. A leaf opening child for Lua, | A leaf opening child for Lua. |
| 40. Returns to sleep with Wākea | Returns to sleep with Wākea. |
| 41. Papa suffers birth pains with the
island of Kaua'i | Papa suffers birth pains,
Papa gives birth to the island of
Kaua'i |
| 42. Kamāwaelualani is born, an
island | 45 Kamāwaelualanimoku is born, |
| 43. Ni'ihau, a sprouting lineage,
Lehua is a border, | Ni'ihau, a sprouting lineage;
Lehua is a border, |
| 44. Ka'ula is the closing one of the
Moku Papapa. | Ka'ula is the closing one
Of the Mokupapapa.
(continues) |

SOURCE: Poepoe, "Ka Moolelo Hawaii
Kahiko: Mokuna I: Na Kuauhau Kahiko e
Hoike ana i na Kumu i Loaa ai ka Pae Moku
o Hawaii nei," *Ka Na'i Aupuni*, February 2–3,
1906.

SOURCE: Fornander, *Fornander Collection*,
vol. 4, 12–15.



Papa travels to Kahiki:



Papa returns from Kahiki-ku:

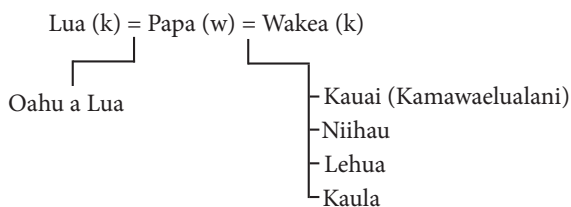
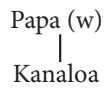
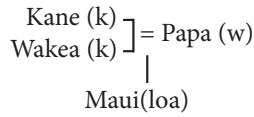
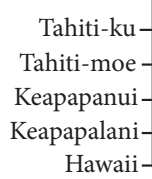


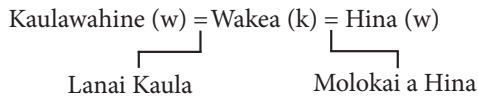
FIG. 1.2. Diagram of *Mele a Pakui* per Poepoe

SOURCE: Poepoe, "Ka Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko: Mokuna I: Na Kuauhau Kahiko e Hoiike ana i na Kumu i Loa ai ka Pae Moku o Hawaii nei," *Ka Na'i Aupuni*, February 2-3, 1906.

Wakea Kahiko Luamea (k) = Papahanaumoku



Papa travels to Tahiti:



Papa returns from Tahiti:

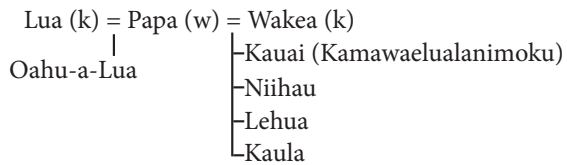


FIG. 1.3. Diagram of *Mele a Pakui* per Fornander

SOURCE: Fornander, *Fornander Collection*, vol. 4, 12–15.

In another Papa and Wākea mele ko'ihonua, 'O Wākea Noho iā P *Papa-hānaumoku*, Papa is the mother of the islands Hawai'i and Maui. Ho'ohokukalani gives birth to Moloka'i and Lāna'i, and Papa becomes jealous of her daughter, Ho'ohokukalani, for having sexual relations with Wākea. Papa returns to Wākea and gives birth to the islands of O'ahu, Kaua'i, and Ni'ihau.⁴⁹

O Wakea noho ia Papa-hanau-moku,

Hanau o Hawaii, he moku,

Hanau o Maui, he moku.

Hoi hou o Wakea noho ia

Hoo-hoku-ka-lani.

Hanau o Molokai, he moku,

Hanau o Lanai ka ula, he moku.

Lili-opu-punalua o Papa ia

Hoo-hoku-ka-lani.

Hoi hou o Papa noho ia Wakea.

Hanau, o Oahu, he moku,

Hanau o Kauai, he moku,

Hanau o Niihau, he moku,

He ula a o Kahoolawe.

Wākea lived with Papa who gives birth
to islands,

Born is Hawai'i, an island,

Born is Maui, an island.

Wākea returns to live with

Ho'ohokukalani.

Born is Moloka'i, an island,

Born is Lāna'i ka 'ula, an island.

The womb of Papa is jealous of her
partner Ho'ohokukalani.

Papa returns and lives with Wākea.

Born is O'ahu, an island,

Born is Kaua'i, an island,

Born is Ni'ihau, an island,

Kaho'olawe is a red rock.

SOURCE: Nathaniel B. Emerson's Notes in *Hawaiian Antiquities*, 243.

Papa's birthing of the islands is but one of the many Kanaka origin accounts. In some traditions, it was actually Wākea who formed the islands with his bare hands.⁵⁰ Another tradition claims that Papa gave birth to an ipu (gourd; calabash), the cover of which was then flung upwards, forming the heavens. The flesh and seeds of the ipu became the sky—complete with the sun, moon, and stars. Rain was made from the juice of the ipu, while the land and sea were made with the body of the ipu.⁵¹

Mele a Kamahualele

Mele a Kamahualele refutes Papa and Wākea as being the original progenitors of ka pae moku (the Hawaiian archipelago). According to this tradition,

I ka manawa i holo mai ai o Moikeha mai Tahiti mai, mamuli o ka hoaaia i kana wahine manuahi ia Luukia, no ko Mua olelo hoopunipuni ana ia Luukia no ka hewa i hana oleia e Moikeha, aka ma kela lohe ana o Moikeha ua hana pono ole ia oia, nolaila, haalele oia ia Tahiti, holo mai oia i Hawaii nei, a i ka hookoko ana mai o na waa e pae i Hilo, ia manawa, ku mai o Kamahualele i luna o ka pola o na waa, a kahea mai: (At the time that Mo'ikeha sailed from Tahiti because his lover, Lu'ukia, had become outraged by Mua's false accusations of Mo'ikeha's infidelity; therefore, Mo'ikeha left Tahiti and sailed to Hawai'i, and as the canoes neared the shores in Hilo, Kamahualele stood on the cross-boards of the canoe and chanted:)⁵²

Eia Hawaii, he moku, he kanaka,

He Kanaka Hawaii-e.

He Kanaka Hawaii,

He Kama na Tahiti,

He Pua Alii mai Kapaahu.

Mai Moaulanuiakea Kanaloa,

He Moopuna na Kahiko laua o

Kapulanakehau.

Na Papa i hanau,

Na ke Kama wahine a Kukalaniehu

laua me Kahakauakoko.

Na pulapula aina i paekahi,

I nonoho like i ka hikina, komohana,

Pae like ka moku i lalani,

I hui aku hui mai me Holani.

Puni ka moku o Kaialea ke kilo,

Naha Nuuhiwa lele i Polapola:

O Kahiko ke kumu aina,

Nana i mahele kaawale na moku,

Behold Hawai'i, an island, a man,

A Kanaka Hawaii.

A Kanaka Hawaii,

A child of Tahiti,

A royal descendant from Kapa'ahu.

From Moa'ulanuiakea Kanaloa,

A descendant of Kahiko and

Kapulanakēhau.

It was Papa that birthed,

The daughter of Kūkalani'ehu and

Kahakauakoko.

Sprouts of land in a row,

Residing similarly from east to west,

Situated evenly in a row,

Gathered to, gathered with Hōlani.

Kaialea, the seer, circumnavigated the
islands,

Nukuhiwa is out of sight; gone to

Borabora:

Kahiko is the source of land,

He divided and separated the islands,

Moku ke aho lawaia a Kahai,
I okia e Kukanaloa,
Pauku na aina, na moku,
Moku i ka ohe kapu a Kanaloa.

O Haumea manu kahikele,
O Moikeha ka lani nana e noho.

Noho kuu lani ia Hawaii-a-
Ola! Ola! O Kalanaola.
Ola ke alii, ke kahuna.
Ola ke kilo, ke kauwa;
Noho ia Hawaii a lulana,
A kani moopuna i Kauai.
O Kauai ka moku-a-
O Moikeha ke alii.

The fishing line of Kaha'i is severed
Cut by Kūkanaloa,
The lands, the islands are divided,
Severed by the sacred bamboo of
Kanaloa.

Haumea manu kahikele,
Mo'ikeha is the chief who will reside
there.

My beloved chief dwells in Hawai'i
Live! Live! Kalanaola.
Long live the chief, the priest.
Long live the seer, the servant;
They shall reside calmly in Hawai'i,
There shall be descendants on Kaua'i.
Kaua'i, the island
Mo'ikeha is the chief.

SOURCE: Fornander, *Fornander Collection*, vol. 4, 21

Kamahualele—a well-respected prophet and historian who is credited with chanting *Mele a Kamahualele* in honor of the arrival of his ali'i, Mo'ikeha—suggests that the progenitors of ka pae 'āina Hawai'i sailed to these islands from Tahiti. Therefore, Papa and Wākea were not the progenitors of Kānaka.⁵³

Ancestral Places explores the deep connections that ancestral Kānaka (Native Hawaiians) enjoyed with their environment. It honors the mo'olelo (historical accounts) of the ancestral places of their kūpuna (ancestors), and reveals how these mo'olelo and their relationships with the 'āina (land) inform a Kanaka sense of place.

Katrina-Ann R. Kapā'anaokalāokeola Nākoa Oliveira elucidates a Kanaka geography and provides contemporary scholars with insights regarding ancestral culture—including the ways in which Kānaka utilize cartographic performances to map their ancestral places and retain their mo'olelo. Examples of this include reciting creation accounts, employing nuances embedded in language, and dancing hula.

A Kanaka by birth, a kumu 'ōlelo Hawai'i (language teacher) by profession, and a geographer by training, Oliveira's interests intersect at the boundary where words and place-making meet her ancestral land. Thus, *Ancestral Places* imbues the theoretical with sensual practice. The book's language moves fluidly between Hawaiian and English, terms are nimbly defined, and the work of the field is embodied: geographic layers are enacted within the text and new understandings are created—not just among lexica, but amidst illustrations, charts, terms, and poetry.

In *Ancestral Places*, Oliveira reasserts the validity of ancestral knowledge systems and their impact in modernity. Her discussion offers a new framework in Kanaka epistemology.

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