

PART THREE

The Spirit World

THE THREE SPIRIT REALMS

THERE WERE THREE realms (*ao*) for the spirits of the dead, according to the most learned people in the ancient times of Hawaii, such as the prophets, *po'e kaula*; those who knew the configurations of the earth, *po'e papa hulihoana*; the readers of omens in the heavens, *po'e kilokilo lani*; and the persons who knew sites, *po'e kuhikahi pa'one*. There were, first, the realm of the homeless souls, the *ao kuewa*; second, the realm of the ancestral spirits, the *ao 'aumakua*; and third, the realm of Milu, *ke ao o Milu*, that is, of Owa, Kapokukini, Kapokumano, and the many other names by which the ancients called this realm.

AO KUEWA, OR AO 'AUWANA

The *ao kuewa*, the realm of homeless souls, was also called the *ao 'auwana*, the realm of wandering souls. When a man who had no rightful place in the *'aumakua* realm (*kanaka kuleana 'ole*) died, his soul would wander about and stray amongst the underbrush on the plain of Kani'oma'o on Maui, or in the *wihiwii* grove of Kaupē'a on Oahu. If his soul came to Leilono, there it would find the breadfruit tree of Leiwalo, *ka 'ulu o Leiwalo*. If it was not found by an *'aumakua* soul who knew it (*i mā'a mau iai'a*), or one who would help it, the soul would leap upon the decayed branch of the breadfruit tree and fall down into endless night, the *po pau 'ole o Milu*. Or, a soul that had no rightful place in the *'aumakua* realm, or who had no relative or friend (*makamaka*) there who would watch out for it and welcome it, would slip over the flat lands like a wind, until it came to a leaping place of souls, a *leina a ka 'uhane*. There spirits would be bathing in the sea in an area (*kahi 'oho'a*) where there was a valley in the sea floor (*auwau kai*) below a jutting rock (*po'ohaku 'o'i'o'i*). If it found no *'aumakua*



soul to warn it ('*uhane 'aumakua koku*'), and it leaped from this soul-catching leaping place (*na kawa kai poi 'uhane*, that is, the rock), it would leap into the *po pau 'ole o Miiu*. That was the purpose (*kulema*) of these places that were spoken of frequently by the ancients. Many people who had died and come to life again had pointed them out, and even some people of this age, who have swooned or perhaps lain dead for a few hours or half a day, have related their experiences in these places. There are many stories from the ancients concerning them, and they have been pointed out by prophets inspired by spirits (*po'e kaula i uluhia i na 'uhane*). It became the custom to offer prayers for the dead (*kamene*) and bunches of *pili* grass at such places. The reason they were believed in was because so many had died and come to life again and had told innumerable stories about these places.

The *leina a ka 'uhane* on Oahu was close to the cape of Ka'ena, on its right (or north, '*akau*') side, as it turns toward Waialua, and near the cutoff (*alamii 'ole*) that goes down to Keaoku'uku'u. The boundaries of this *leina a ka 'uhane*, it is said, were Kaho'iho'ina-Wakea, a little below Kakah'e, and the leaping place (*kawa-kai*) of Kilauea at Keawa'ula. At these places would be found helpful '*aumakua* souls who might bring back the spirit and restore life to the body, or if not, might welcome it to the realm of the '*aumakua*. Places within the boundaries mentioned were where souls went to death in the *po pau 'ole*, endless night.

Leilono at Moanalua, Oahu, was close to the rock Kapukaki and easterly of it (*a ma ka na'e aku*), directly in line with the burial mound of Aliamanu and facing toward the right side of the North Star (*a hali i ka 'ao'ao 'akau o ka Hokuyōda*). On the bank above the old trail there was a flat bed of pahoehoe lava, and on it there was a circular place about two feet in circumference. This was the entrance to go down; this was the topmost height (*nu'u*) of Kapapalaka, a place in the '*aumakua* realm. Here at the entrance, *ka puka o Leilono*, was a breadfruit tree of Leiwalo, *be 'ulu o Leiwalo*. It had two branches, one on the east side and one on the west. These branches were deceiving. From one of them, the soul leaped into the *po pau 'ole*; if he climbed the other, it would bring aid from helpful '*aumakua* ('*aumakua koku*). From that branch the soul would see the '*aumakua* realm and the ancestors spoken of, Wakea and all the rest, and those of the entire world who had traveled on this same journey.

The boundaries of Leilono were, Kapapakolea on the east, [with] a huge caterpillar (*pe'e'ehu nui*) called Koleana as its eastern watchman, and the pool Napeha on the west, with a *mo'o* the watchman there. If the soul was afraid of these watchmen and retreated, it was urged on by the '*aumakua* spirits, then it would go forward again and be guided to the '*aumakua* realm. If a soul coming from the Alia (Aliapakai) side was afraid of the caterpillar, whose head peered over the hill Kapapakolea, and who blocked the way, it would wander about close to the stream by the harness shop. This was not the government road (*alamii aupuni*) of former times, but was a trail customarily used by "those of Kauhila'e" [figuratively, the common people; the *lā'ele*, old taro leaves, as contrasted with the *līko*, the new and choicer leaves—that is, the chiefs]. It was said that if a

wandering soul entered within these boundaries it would die by leaping into the *po pau 'ole*; but if they were found by helpful '*aumakua* souls, some wandering souls were saved. Those who had no such help perished in the *po pau 'ole* of Miiu.

On the plain of Kaupē'a beside Pu'uloa, wandering souls could go to catch moths (*pulehūa*) and spiders (*nanana*). However, wandering souls would not go far in the places mentioned earlier before they would be found catching spiders by '*aumakua* souls, and be helped to escape. Those souls who had no such help were indeed friendless (*he po'e 'uhane hauka'e lakou*), and there were many who were called by this name, *po'e 'uhane hauka'e*.

There were *leina-a-ka-'uhane* and '*Ulu-o-Leiwalo* on Hawaii, Maui, Molokai, Lanai, Kauai, and Ni'ihau as well as on Oahu. The traditions about these places were the same. They were where spirits were divided (*mahele ana*) to go into the realm of wandering spirits, the *ao kua'u* or *ao 'auwani*; or to the ancestral spirit realm, the *ao 'aumakua*; or to the realm of endless night, the *po pau 'ole*.

The places said to be for wandering spirits were: Kamā'oma'o for Maui; Uhana for Lanai; Ma'ohelaia for Molokai; Mana for Kauai; Halali'i for Ni'ihau; in addition to Kaupē'a for Oahu. In these places the friendless souls ('*uhane makamaka 'ole*) wandered.

AO 'AUMAKUA

The '*aumakua* realm, *ao 'aumakua*, was a wide, level realm, containing within it many dwelling places—"In my Father's house are many mansions"—but the realm itself was one, with one overlord (*haku*), one god (*akua*), one chief (*ali'i*), one living (*ola ana*), one kingdom (*aupuni*). There were many places to live in, and many overseers, *lana*, to keep things in order, under one great overlord, *Haku nui*. "Narrow is the entrance, many are the dwelling places" (*Ua pili'ika ka puka, a wa nui kahi e nobo ai*).

In the *ao 'aumakua* were a *lani kuke'ā'a* (the highest heaven), a *lani kuanini* [a heaven of myriads], a *lani kuanomanono* [a heaven of multitudes], the *lewa lani* [the heavenly firmament], the *lewa nu'u* [the cloud firmament], *na paina ku a Kane* (the standing walls of Kane), *na kuku'u o ka lani* (the supporting pillars of heaven), those [spirits] of the spread-out earth (*ko ka bonua palabala*), the ever-beautiful sun (*ko ka la mau nani*), the bright-shining moon (*ko ka mabina koha'ihai'i*), the ever-adorning stars (*ko na hoku mau ho'ohi'ahiuwa*), and all the other places, too numerous to mention, that were called realms of the '*aumakua*. What god created them? It was Kanenuiakea, the god who created man. He was called the '*aumakua* who created heaven and earth and mankind, and the ancients of Hawaii called him an '*aumakua*. A god-spirit, *akua*, who had been born as a human being was an '*unihipi'i* [that is, a god created by defecation, as contrasted with the cosmogonic gods].

There were many doors by which to enter the '*aumakua* realm. If a man and his descendants were related to beings in the heavens (*ina ma ka lani ka pili ana*), they were not strangers to their relationship to their rightful place—their *kulema*—

in the heavens. They knew very well that they had a *kuleana* in the heavens. If the *lewa lani* [heavenly firmament] was the *kuleana* of a man and his family, he was prepared to go to the *lewa lani*. If the deep ocean was the *kuleana* of a man and his family, it was known that his *kuleana* was there; and if the pit of Pele at Kilauea was the *kuleana* of a man and his family, it was known that theirs was an irrevocable *kuleana* (*kuleana hemo 'ole*) to go there. If it was at Uluka'a, or at *na pua ku a Kane*, it was known that he would be taken there.*

Each person knew his own *kuleana*; and at the time when a man's last illness came upon him, even before he became feeble he might say to his family, "Kanehikili *ma* have come to take me away." The family might say, "Do not consent to their taking you away; stay with us; no one knows what comforts (*pono*) there will be in that world, and if you go we shall be helpless." "I cannot be held back when it is the god who sends for me. When I die, observe (*malama*) the god." After a few days had passed, he would be just taken away, at times without anyone's knowledge. Some people would be taken bodily, and some while still breathing; but the soul had already been taken away by the *'aumakua* and it belonged to them. It was said that those who were taken to the *lewa lani*, the *lani kukehi*, and so forth, had wings and had rainbows at their feet. They were not in the *ao kaeuwa*, the realm of homeless spirits; they were the beloved of the heavens. If the sick person belonged to an unknown place in Uluka'a (*kahi 'ike 'ole i Uluka'a*; an unknown ancestral land in Kahiki), Hakenakulaina, or Kananiani, then he would say, "Kanehunamoku has sent for me to be taken to Uluka'a." The family might say, "Do not consent to their taking you." Sometimes the sick man would be taken alive into the sea without ever becoming a corpse. And so it was that Pele-Honunamae, Kahō'alii, Kanakaokai, Kamohō'alii, or the "guardian angel" (*anela kiki*; personal *'aumakua*) of every man helped him to go to the *ao 'aumakua*. If it was the dead grandparents or parents that the sick man said had come to get him, this was a "teaching by defiled spirits," *he ki i 'uhinipili ia*. He would be united with the "guardian angels" and be led to the *'aumakua* realm. The faces of these people would be revealed and would be visible to him. This was a common thing with sick persons while laid low with an illness. Sometimes the sick person might be mistaken, but usually he spoke the truth.

Persons with this right, *kuleana*, in the *'aumakua* realm did not fear death or have any misgivings about dying, for what was death to them, or what was the body but a useless thing to those who had seen before their eyes the glory of the place prepared for them? I have seen such a man smiling and his cheeks dimpling with laughter, and if you asked him the reason for his happiness he would tell how the door of heaven had opened and a wondrous beauty not seen in this world had been revealed, and that he heard many voices calling him to go there. For such a person, the *ao 'aumakua* was ready to welcome him, in the heavens, perhaps, or on the earth—at whatever place was prepared for him in his *'aumakua* realm (*ao 'aumakua noma*) by the "guardian angels" and the *luna 'aumakua* (overseeing guardian spirit).

* October 6, 1870.

In the *'aumakua* realm there are many beloved—friends, relatives, and acquaintances—all united in thought and all joined together in the *'aumakua* realm, from the heavens, *lani*, to the firmaments (*lewa lani*, *lewa ni'u*), to the supporting pillars (*kukulu*), and to the standing walls of Kane (*na pua ku a Kane*). Those of the heavens are known to have wings like the wind (*me na 'ehou makani*), and their bounds are above the firmaments of the earth; those of the ocean are gathered together in the deep purple sea of Kane, the *kai popolo huamea a Kane*. So are gathered together those of the whole earth who belong to the *'aumakua* realm; all are united in harmony.

AO O MILU

There are many names in Hawaiian traditions for the realm of Milu: *po pau 'ole*, endless darkness; *po ia Milu*, the dark world of Milu; *po kinikini*, deep darkness; *po manomano*, intense darkness; *ka papa ia 'oua*, the stratum of the cleft [figuratively, of the forsaken]; *ka papa ia ka hooa*, the scorching stratum; *ka papa ia ka halelo*, the rocky stratum; *ka papa ia ka balaka* ['āka], the arid stratum.

It is said of this realm that it is a realm of evil, a friendless realm, one without family; a terrifying, fearful realm, a realm to be patiently endured, a realm of trouble, a realm in which to bear cruel treatment. It is said in the traditions and legends of Hawaii that there is fire there, and that it is not very dark, but rather light. There is a chief, an *alii*; there, to whom belong the fire and the darkness and the dreadful cruelty. Mannū is the chief below of the *po pau 'ole*—Milu is another person. Because of Milu's evil and foul deeds, he was cast into the *po pau 'ole*. He was a chief of Waipō, Hawaii, and he has become well known through the expression *ilalo ia Milu*, "down to Milu."

In the legend and tradition of Mōkulehua, he went to get his wife Pueo from this realm. She had strangled (*kā'auae*) herself and died, and her soul had gone down and come under the rule of Mannū (*a hie i lalo ilio i Mannū*) in the *po pau 'ole*. Pueo was imprisoned there, and Mōkulehua went with his god Kanikani-ā'ula to search for her. He found her through the mana of the god and they escaped from the fire and from many cruel deaths.

In the Hawaiian tradition of Malua'e, it is told how the man Malua'e sought for and found the spirit of his son Kā'alii in the *po pau 'ole*. Malua'e was a planter in the uplands of Manoa, Oahu. Kanaaloa'o'okau was his land. He raised a lot of bananas as food for the gods, and he planted other food, 'ai, for himself, his wife, and his son. Malua'e's son choked while eating of the bananas of the gods without regard to the kapu on them (*i ka 'uia i ka ma'i'a*), and the gods Kane and Kanaaloa cast his soul into the *po pau 'ole*. When Malua'e returned home from his farming, there was Kā'alii, dead, with a banana still in his mouth.

Malua'e grieved for love of his son. The gods revealed to him that the soul of Kā'alii had been cast away (*kiola*), and that it was there under Mannū in the *po pau 'ole* (*uia ilalo o Mannū i ka po pau 'ole*). One would think that when Malua'e heard of the death of his son because of the gods' anger that he would seek pity through penitence and appeals. But instead, Malua'e swore (*ho'ohiki*)

that he would eat no food and would die together with his son. He carried his son into the house, closed the door, laid him down, and lay down beside him. Kane and Kanaloa no longer heard his voice in prayer each morning and evening, making offerings of food to them. Ten days and ten nights passed and the door did not open; 20 days and 20 nights, and the door did not open; 30 days and 30 nights passed. Kanaloa said, "Perhaps Malua'e is dead. We were too hasty in punishing this man who grows 'auu and gathers bananas and offers us food morning and evening. This is the server who has cared for us and cultivated 'auu, bananas, and sugar cane for us. How shall we repay him?" Kane replied, "Let us go and heal Malua'e and let him go and get the soul of his son who has gone down to Manua'."

After 40 or so days, Malua'e grew feeble and darkness settled like cobwebs across his eyes. When Kane and Kanaloa saw this, they were filled with regret. They went and revived him, and Malua'e recovered from the destruction of his starving and fasting for the love of his son. He became strong and well, and his body recovered its vigor, and all the functions of his body were restored. The gods asked, "Do you love your son Ka'ali'?" "Yes, with an endless love." "Can you get the soul of Ka'ali'i from Manua'?" Malua'e denied that he could, saying, "I cannot do it, but you two have the mana that would make it possible for me to get the soul of Ka'ali'i." "We can grant your wish, and this will be our reward to you. You will also see the mana of the god who helps you; I will go down with you, and I will protect you in the fire and in the darkness." Kane considered how Malua'e could fetch the soul of Ka'ali'i from the *po pau 'ole*, and realized that he could not go in human form, so he changed him into a spirit form (*'ano kino lani*). It was this spirit form of Malua'e that fetched the soul of his child and made it possible for him to undergo all the dangers of the *po pau 'ole* of Manua'.

At the time when Malua'e went to get the soul of Ka'ali'i, the god gave him a marvelous cane (*ko'oko'o mana*) called Maku'uko'o. Within this cane were all sorts of food and all the sweet things of the earth; in it were weapons for battle; in it were life and death; in it were fire and lava; in it were the sea and fresh water. There at the entrance, at Leiono in Moanalua at the breadfruit tree of Leiwalo, *ka 'ulu o Leiwalo*, Malua'e went down into the *po pau 'ole* beneath Manua'. It is said that Malua'e encountered many dangers on the way, but was victorious over his enemies and slew them, until he got down under the foundations of the earth to the stratum of the forsaken, the *papa ia 'oua*, and the scorching stratum, *papa ia ka haa*, of the *po pau 'ole*. That was where Ka'ali'i was imprisoned, still expiating the fault of eating the banana that had choked him to death, and for which he was being punished.

It is said of the *po pau 'ole* that there are two separate places in it: one for the people who are being punished for the "venial sins," *bewa hii'i*, of man; and one for the "mortal sins," *bewa make*, of man. There are two heinous sins, *bewa 'ino loa*, for which men are cruelly punished in Kapokuakini [the latter division]. But Ka'ali'i was not imprisoned in Kapokuakini, nor was Pueo, the wife of Mokulehna. Her obtaining had been extremely difficult, but not so that of Ka'ali'i; he was quickly obtained, and was given treatment (*lapanu*) after Malua'e had brought his soul up from the *po pau 'ole*.

Kawelu is another famous woman in Hawaiian traditions and legends. Hiku went down to get the soul of Kawelu, and found her soul under the rule of Manua' (*lilo o Manua'*). It was brought back and she was warmed and revived with 'awapuhi, manie, pala fern, and many other fragrant things to induce the soul to remain in the body, and thus she was restored to life.

There are a great many Hawaiian traditions and legends about spirits and about those whose bodies have died and whose souls have gone down to the *po pau 'ole*. All these stories which are told about people who have gone to get souls and have restored them to life are false and lying tales. They are persistent tales, and the right thing to do is to call them falsehoods and lies. But this is the truth and is to be believed: It is not an unfamiliar thing for Hawaiians to hear of a place of intense darkness, of endless night, a pit of everlasting fire, and a place where people who have done wrong are held fast. This is clearly to be seen from the tradition of Milu. Because Milu was a bad and cruel chief, his soul was thrown down into the *po pau 'ole*, and he fell under the rule of Manua' (*ua haku lilo lilo i Manua'*), to the darkness of Manua' (*ka po ia Manua'*) and the darkness that was Manua's (*ka po lilo ia Manua'*). Because of Milu's evilness, souls were cast down to him and came under the rule of Milu (*a i lilo lilo i o Milu ia*). The *po pau 'ole* was not Milu's; he was only an evil chief who had been cast down into it. The *po pau 'ole* had been well known to the whole Hawaiian race from ancient times; and also in this time, when writing and the Word of God has been brought—these are the new things.

The ancients of Hawaii recognized four realms: this world that we live in; the realm of homeless and wandering souls, the *ao kweua*, or *'anuwana*; the *'aumakua* realm, the *ao 'aumakua*; and the realm of endless darkness, the *po pau 'ole*.*



"View of a Morai of Whymea, Atooi" by John Sykes, Vancouver Expedition, 1790-1795.

Original in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley

Places of Worship and Rituals

HEIAUS

HEIAUS' were not alike; they were of different kinds according to the purpose for which they were made. If it were for peace in the chiefdom, *aupani*, then a house for peace, a *hale o kâ maluhia*, was erected; if for war, then a house for the [war] god in the war heiau, *ka heiau kana*; if for rebellion, then [a house for the rebel's war god] in his own heiau. If it were for blessings to all the land, the well-being of all the people, for "food" or "fish," then the chiefs built heiaus all over the land. The people, *maka'ainana*, erected fishing shrines, *ko'a ku'ula*, all around the islands so that the land would be provided with fish. If there were distress because of trouble with the staple plant food, *'ai*, heiaus called *ipu-o-Lono* were raised up all over the land to revive them.

The *luakini po'okanaka* were large heiaus and were called *'ohi'a ko* and *haku 'ohi'a*. They were built along the coast, in the interior of the land, and on the mountain sides. They were only for the paramount chief, the *ali'i nui*, of an island or district (*moku*). Other chiefs and *maka'ainana* could not build them; if they did, they were rebels.

The *waihau ipu-o-Lono* were comfortable heiaus [did not have the stringent tabus of the *luakini*]. The chief would build one first; afterward the people, the *maka'ainana* and the *kanaka*, of the land would build them so that the land might "live" (*no ke ala o ka 'aina*). The offerings were easy ones.

The *hale ipu-o-Lono* were heiaus to inspire rain, *heiau ho'ouluulu ua*, when the land was parched. After the chief had built a *heiau ho'ouluulu ua* the people built *unu ho'ouluulu ua* to inspire rain and so make ready the land for planting.

Waihau hale-o-Papa were also comfortable heiaus. They belonged to *pi'o* and *ni'aupio* chiefesses, and were for the good of the women and the children borne for the benefit of the land.

Ku'ula were *ko'a* fishing heiaus. The chief would build a *ku'ula*, and when his was freed, the chiefs, and his people, *kanaka*, would build them all around the seacoast of the island. They were for fish—to increase the fish around the island. The tabus were comfortable.

Pohaku-o-Kane were single stones set up in commemoration of Kane. Families would set up these stones at their residences, and to them they would go and make offerings and sacrifices to obtain forgiveness for a wrong done by someone in the family or by the family itself.

In making a heiau, the *kukuhū pu'uone* first told the chief what kind of heiau to build to make his domain secure. Just Kapoukahi said to Kamehameha about Keoua, "Do not go to war lest the skin be hurt; here is the house of the god—it will gain the control for your government."² And as Kaleopu'upu'u said to Kahakili, "Open the sluice gate so that the fish may come up."³

HEIAUS OF HUMAN SACRIFICE

If the chief's *luakini* were to be an *'ohi'a ko*, or heiau for human sacrifice, then it would be one "heavy" with sacrifices, one to cause holding the breath [in fear]. It was known to be a heiau for which men were killed for sacrifices.

When the chiefs and people went up to get the *haku 'ohi'a*, the *'ohi'a* log for the main image, and arrived there, the chief remained at the trunk of the *'ohi'a* tree selected for the image. A pig, red fish, coconuts, *kapa* and *'olua* tapa were laid down, a man killed, the *'ohi'a* cut and hauled down to the lowlands.

First the foundation, the *kahua*, was nicely leveled. Beyond it were seven raised pavements, *kipapa nu'u*, and also seven *paehunnu* fences. Outside the first pavement, by the *paehunnu (mawaho o ke kipapa mua . . . ma ka paehunnu o waho)* was the *lua pa'u*, the refuse pit. Directly in front of it was the *luakini* [or *mana*] house; that house faced the pavements (*oia ka hale e huli pono i na kipapa*). In front of its door was the *lele* altar, where sacrifices were placed. This was made of scaffolding, like a *lanai*.

On that place a dead man was turned face downward, his right arm over a pig, his left hand "holding" a bunch of bananas. If there were four men, each lay on the *lele* with sacrifices. The chief stayed just below the *lele*.

The sacrifice began with the body of a man being brought before the king, *mo'i*; he had been toasted over a fire until reddened. The king hooked him in the mouth with the ceremonial hook called *Mana-ia-ka-lani*, and then pronounced the *'amama* to the gods:

E Ku, e Lono,
E Kane e Kanaloa,
E ola ia'u a kau i ka puaneane;
E nana i ke kipi 'aina,
I ka lelemu o.
'Amama. Ua noa.

O Ku, o Lono,
O Kane and Kanaloa,
Give life to me until extreme old age;
Look at the rebel against the land,
He who was seized for sacrifice.
'Amama. It is freed.

Then the sacrifice was laid on the *lele*. Just beyond the *lele* the kahunas stood in a line and prayed in unison.⁴

Afterward the *kahuna nui* stood forth and gave a short prayer, said the *'amama* and freed it. At the beginning of the prayer all raised their hands alike, and let them remain quietly up there, without letting them down until the end of the prayer, then they let them down. If one were to let down a hand, it meant death.

Inside the *mua* house [equated here with the *hale mana*, or *luakini* house] was a stepped place, an *'anu'u*, and then the *kuahu* altar. Above the *kuahu* altar was the *mo'i* image. On its right hand was the *kuapala* offering stand, and on its left the *mana* [?]. Above the *mo'i* image was set up Ku, the image to be venerated (*he ki'i ho'omana'o*). Only the *ali nui* and the *kahuna nui* entered the house at the start of the heiau tabu.

There was a sign that showed that the god assented to the request of the chief. When the kahuna knelt at the *kuahu* altar to begin his prayers he said, "If one of these beautiful feathers [on the image of Ku] flies forward and rests on the forehead of Ku, or streams upward and waves about like a man talking, you will be victorious."

The *'aha* ceremony (*he kaha'i ana o ka 'aha*) had also to be good. The assemblage listened for the sound of a bird, or of lizard or rat, and watched for the blaze of a fire or a misstep during the *'aha* procession. The assembly was very quiet while the *'aha* ritual inside was going on. The second *'aha* ritual, that of Mailipine, was performed outside, before the assemblage. There was a short prayer, a Kunaloloia, and then the kahuna gave the *'amama* and the ritual was freed. The assembly shouted, "*Maika'i ka 'aha e!*" The *'aha* was successful!" The kahuna turned, and blessed the assemblage, "*I hiki au ola. Life will be yours.*" "*Ola! Life!*" they responded. "*I hiki au ola. 'Ola!*" Here is a prayer of the kahuna:

E ma ka 'ai ku e,
E ma ka 'ai noa e,
E ma ka hele huna e,
E ma ka hele pa'ani e,
Ka uwo, makena ei
O ka Haolina e,
Pa pa'e i Kaluako'i e,
I he mu o-ia e, i he mu,
I he mu o-ia e, i he mu.

To those who eat without ceremony,
To those who eat freely,
To those who go about concealing themselves,
To those who go about playing,
The shout is, Death!
The Haolina [wind]
That blows here and there in Kaluako'i,
Is silenced. So it is; it is silenced.
Is silenced. So it is; it is silenced.⁵

HEIAUS OF THE PEOPLE

The people built their heiaus in different ways. If they were prominent people, their heiaus would be large; if they were humble people, their heiaus would be small.

All the male gods and the female gods would be prayed to, and appeals made to this and that one. Then they would request "life" for the ruler. If

he were a good chief, they would pray for his health. Then they would request blessings for his family.

Here are some words of prayer:

O kau ola e ke akua.

Give life, O god.

E nana mai i kau mau palapala:

Look to your descendants:

E ola a kaniko'o, a haumaka'iole.

[Give me] life until I walk with a staff.

A palahaupala, a kau i ka puaneane:

am blear-eyed as a rat.
Yellowed as hala leaves, and reach
extreme old age:

Alaila, lawe aku oe ia'u i ke alo o Wakea.

Then, take me to the presence of Wakea.

The health of the body was the main thing prayed for by the people of Hawaii. *Ka po'e kahiko* prayed constantly—in the morning, at midday, in the evening, in the middle of the night. They made tabu the place for the ceremonial offering of *ʻawa* to the gods, and that is why the women were kept separate in the house and the men were in the *mua*.*

Heiaus were sites set apart for sacred purposes (*kahua la'a*)—for *haukini*, for *umu*, for houses sacred to the gods, and houses for the gods—where men offered gifts to the gods. The Hawaiian people were accustomed to setting up heiaus, *umu*, *weihau*, *ko'a*, and *kuahu* for the worship of innumerable gods.

The *haukini* were called *hale moku 'ohi'a* or *hale lani*. The tabu rites in them were the *kapu lani*, the *kapu 'ohi'a ko*, and the *kapu haku 'ohi'a*. They could not be freed, *noa* [released from the dedicatory kapu], with offerings of pigs, bananas, and coconuts alone, they also required human sacrifices to free them. They were also called *heiau po'okanaha*, "heiaus of human heads." They could not be built just anywhere, but only upon sites formerly built on by *ka po'e kahiko*. The *kahikahi pu'uanu* were the only people who knew where the ancient heiaus had stood.

The ruler, *mo'i*, also had *weihau* and *umu* heiaus, but chiefs could build these heiaus too. Pigs, bananas, and coconuts were the sacrifices at these heiaus.

Prominent persons, *po'e ko'ihoi'i*, among the people also had heiaus; those who observed a god's *kapu*, *po'e malama akua*; those who [like the farmers] prayed at particular occasions, *po'e haipule akua*; those who constantly invoked their gods, *po'e pa'a akua*; those who used prescribed prayers, *po'e kuli akua*; and those who kept god images in their *mua* houses, *po'e pa'a mua akua*. Some of their heiaus were large, and some were small. Some were surrounded by wooden tabu enclosures, *pa'ahumu la'au*, or sometimes stone walls, with a single house within. Outside of the gable end of the house was an *'amiri* tower, and a *kuapala* offering stand and *lele* altar where bananas were placed. The dedication of these heiaus belonging to the people called for pig eating, and when it was heard that some prominent person had a heiau to dedicate, *ho'okapu*, and that many pigs had been baked, the *po'e pa'a mua akua* came from all about to the pig-eating.

**Ku'uhou*, August 12, 1865.

Heiau ko'a, fishing shrines, were sometimes large, but most of them were small. Some consisted of a house enclosed by a wooden fence, and *baniua* offerings were made in them; but most were exposed to view and were just rounded heaps of stones with a *kuahu* altar where pigs were baked. When the offering had been made and the pig eaten, the *ko'a* was left exposed but the *imu* and its stones were covered over with dirt and packed down. *Heiau ko'a* were close to the beach or in seacoast caves, on lands with cliffs. The purpose of the *heiau ko'a* was important. The *ko'a* brought life to the land through an abundance of fish; there was no other purpose for the *ko'a* but this. There were many kinds of gods of the people who worshiped fishing gods. The people whose god was *Ku'ula* built *Ku'ula ko'a*; those whose god was *Kanemakua* built *Kanemakua ko'a*, and those of *Kiniliu*, *Kamohou'i*, and *Kaneko'a* did likewise, and so there were many, many *ko'a*.

Ko'a were also built to increase the *'o'opu* fishes in streams, rivers, and fishponds. On islets inhabited by birds, the bird catchers who caught birds by imitating their cries and then snaring them (*kono manu*), or who smoked them out of their nesting holes (*puhi manu*), or who drew them out from their holes (*pu manu*) also set up *ko'a* to give life to the land by an abundance of birds.

Heiau ipu-o-Lono were for the increase of plant foods (*heiau ho'oulu 'ai*). Some were large, but most of them were small.

When trouble came to the land because of famine, when the earth lay baked in the sun, the streams ran dry, the land was barren, and many "enemies" (*'enemi*) plundered the growing things, the ruler inquired as to how the land might be revived, and the cultivated things be made to grow. Then those whose hereditary calling it was to inspire growth erected houses to the gods who had to do with rain and the land was revived by rain. There were few such rain heiaus, *heiau ho'oulu'u wa*. *Makuku*, in *Nu'u'uanu*, was one of them. Their functions were not as many as in other heiaus; they were only to bring rain.

The *heiau ipu-o-Lono* constantly maintained by the populace was the *hale mua*, the men's eating house, which every household had. In it was a large gourd container, an *ipu hulu'u*, with four pieces of cord for a handle. Inside the gourd there was "food" and "fish" (*'ai* and *'ia*) and outside, tied to the cord handle, was an *'awa* root. This gourd was called an *ipu kua'taha*, or an *ipu-o-Lono*, or an *ipu 'aumakua*. Every morning and evening the householder prayed and offered food to the god; then he would take the *ipu-o-Lono* from the hanging post, the wall, or the rack—from wherever it was kept—and bring it to the center of the house, take hold of the *'awa* root on the handle, and pray to the god about troubles or blessings, and pray for peace to the kingdom, to the king, the chiefs, the people, his family, and to himself. When the praying was ended, he sucked on the *'awa* root, opened the gourd, and ate of the "food" and "fish" within. This gourd was also called an *ipu 'ai* or an *ipu kai*. It was sacred, and consecrated to the god.

Heiau po'okanaka, "heiaus of human heads," were very large and were

called *luakini*, *waiiau*, and *unu*.⁷ They were built on hills, ridges, headlands, or on level ground (*pu'uhonua*⁸) on the way from the seashore to the mountains where heiaus had formerly been built. It was not right to build them just anywhere. There were many kinds of sites, *kahua*, on which to build heiaus, and they were pointed out by those who knew their locations, the *po'e kuhikahi pu'uone*. There were sites for heiaus for the increase of the population (*heiau ho'oulu kanaka*), for the health of the nation (*heiau ho'oulu lahu*), for peace (*ka maluhia*), or for distant voyaging (*ka holo 'ana i Kahiki*).⁹ A large number of heiaus were built for success in war (*heiau kaua*), or for success in rebellion (*heiau kipi aupuni*). There were a great many of these sites dating mainly from the time of the warring between the chiefs of Hawaii and Maui that could be pointed out by the *po'e kuhikahi pu'uone*. Most of the human sacrifice heiaus (*heiau mohai kanaka*) were "war heiaus," *heiau kaua*, and the corpses of those killed in battle, and those of captured chiefs, were placed on the *lale* altars of these heiaus.

Some people in ancient times died through being falsely accused, and some died deservedly, because they really had broken the personal tabus (*kapu kinu*) of the chiefs, or had eaten things consecrated to a god. In addition, because of the many tabus that were associated with court life, people who lived in the household of a chief frequently encountered trouble, and died because they had been falsely accused of breaking a tabu concerning the chief's tapas, his malo, his "food" or his "fish," or some other thing kapu to the chief. It was the same with things dedicated to the gods. Because they must pay with death for such infringements, people (*kanaka*) were afraid to live in the households of the chiefs in the old days.

When the ruler built a *heiau po'okanaka*, not even sacrifices of great numbers (*lanu*) of pigs, bananas, coconuts, and innumerable offerings could free the *kapu*; only when a man was killed could it be free, *noa*. Therefore, if no law-breaker, *kanaka lauwahala*, or captive were available, one of the chief's favorites, another chief perhaps, or a lesser chief, or even a favorite companion might be accused of breaking a tabu. No one could escape with his life from the envious, or from the false accusers, *ka po'e imi hala*; not even the mana of the ruler could save him. At the 'awa drinking assembly called 'aha 'awa ko'o, the victim would be marked for death by the false accuser when the *lalea* prayer offering the 'awa to the gods was being said. During the progress of the prayer, all would be on bent knees with buttocks against the back of the legs, and when the prayer came to the part called Kumalohia, they had to bend the head and body forward. If one moved, he died; if he coughed, he died; if he cleared his throat, he died; he dared not make a single move. Then the false accuser would dig his victim in the anus, or perhaps run his finger in, or perhaps pinch him. If he moved or made a start, it meant death. Nothing could save him. In this way a victim was obtained for the heiau. A man from the country who came to live at court could easily get into trouble through not knowing the rules and regulations pertaining to a chief's residence.

HEIAU PLANS AND FURNISHINGS

Heiaus were first built at Waolani, in Nu'uano, Oahu; that was where Waka *ma* lived. At that place was the first heiau built in this archipelago, and there at Waolani were named the sacred and the consecrated places within the heiau. This is what was said by *ka po'e kahiko*:

O Waka la ko Waolani,	Waka belonged to Waolani.
O Kukalepe la i Waolani,	Kukalepe [Kukalepa?] was at Waolani.
Ka paeumumu la i Waolani,	The tabu enclosure was at Waolani.
Ka 'ili 'ili la i Waolani,	The pebbled area was at Waolani.
Ka 'anu'u la i Waolani,	The 'anu'u tower was at Waolani.
Ka mana la i Waolani,	The <i>mana</i> house was at Waolani.
Ka hale pahu la i Waolani,	The drum house was at Waolani.
Ka mo'i la i Waolani,	The main image was at Waolani.
Ke kupala la i Waolani.	The offering stand was at Waolani. ⁹

This describes the way in which the heiau was made, and is found in the prayer of the kahuna of ancient times named Mo'i. His heiau was that of Manini'aiake at Honoka'upu in Pelekunu on Molokai, and it was like that of Waolani. The time of Mo'i was much later than that of Waka. Mo'i belonged to the time of Keol'ewanui-a-Kamauaua, and he was contemporary with Hakalanileo *ma* and with Kara and Niheu,¹⁰ but he kept the very ancient type of heiau belonging to the period of Waka *ma*. From the ancient style of Mo'i came the styles made by later people, who combined it with the styles of [the kahuna] Pa'ao and [the prophets] Makuakauamana, Luhaukapawa, Luaho'omoe, and Maithea *ma*.

Heiaus were made in different shapes. Some were rectangular, some square, some long and narrow, and some rounded. The hardest work in making the heiaus of the ancient days was in laying the stones ('o *ka nini'i i ka pohaku*). If the heiau were on a cliff or hillside, stones had to be laid and interlocked (*hahau me ka ho'omihio i ka pohaku*) until they reached the highest level. A heiau on level ground (*heiau pu'uhonua*) did not need as much stone covering, but many thousands of stones were needed just the same. The first thing in making heiaus was to locate a site, and then to raise up the well-fitted stones. The chiefs and those who lived in their households did the work, but if the task were extremely laborious, then it became "public work" (*hana aupuni*) and the people (*maka'ainana*) helped. But it was not a work that concerned the whole island.

When the *kahua* (foundation) of the heiau was finished, a stone wall was built around it, and seven terraces (*'anu'u'anu'u*) made. Then the six *hala* [?] and the *kahua holo hui* [?] of the *luakini* and the other houses inside the heiau were paved with pebbles. Then the 'anu'u tower was built. These were very high in some heiaus and lower in others.*

In the large heiaus the 'anu'u was square-shaped, four or five fathoms high, and three or four fathoms in length and width. Purins were attached to the frame, and pieces of 'oloa tapa hung from them. The 'anu'u stood

*February 17, 1870.

next to the north (or right, 'ohau) *paehumu* of the *pa'pahalo* (level pavement) of the *kahua*. In the space (*houa*) at the south (or left, *hema*) side was the *opu* tower, an *opu hira*.¹²

When all was ready, the ruler taxed the chiefs for images, and they went up to the forests to hew them—the chiefs, images by the forties, the lesser chiefs and prominent people by the twenties—until there were hundreds (*hau*) of images. They were two fathoms long—some perhaps a yard in length—and were carved into resemblances of humans. The heads of some were carved grotesquely, and others were carved with helmetlike ridges; there were many kinds of resemblances. They were carved with wide-mouthed grins, 'ole'ole; protruding stomachs, and thick thighs, angular and bent. The images outside the north (or right) *paehumu* were male, and those outside the south (or left) wall were female. The carved images formed wooden *paehumu* outside of the heiau. The lines of images (*na lalani ki'i*) inside were called Kukalepa. They were better carved than those outside the *paehumu* and had hair, eyes of mother-of-pearl, and real teeth. Some were girded (*ka'ei*) with 'olao tapa, some with *mo'ua*, and some with 'olenu, whichever was suitable to the character of the male or female image. When the images were finished, there remained the obtaining of the timber for the houses.

HAKU 'OHIA RITES

The ritual observance for obtaining the timber for the houses and for the main image was called *haku 'ohia*, *malu 'ohia*, and *'ohia ko*. *Malu ko'i* was another name for the *haku 'ohia* rite.¹³ The *'ohia kumakua* furnished the timber for the wall posts, rafters, ridge posts, lower ridgepoles, side posts of the gable ends, thresholds, upper ridgepoles, purllins, and all the wood needed for the heiau houses.

Before going up to the mountainside to get the wood, the adz was consecrated. If the day were fine and calm, and the sky clear and cloudless, without rain, thunder, lightning, rainbow, fragment of rainbow, misty or floating clouds it signified the god had given his consent to the going for the *haku 'ohia*, the log for the main image. The bark was stripped from the *'ohia ko*, the wood for the house timbers, before it was carried on the shoulders to the lowlands, but the bark of the *'ohia* for the *malu 'ohia* [or *haku 'ohia*, the main image] was tabu, and must not be scraped. If it were, a man died; this was one of the precepts of the *hale haku 'ohia*.

On the day they went up, the ruler, the chiefs, the retainers (*kanaka*), the kahunas, the attendants of the gods (*kahu akua*), and the bearers of the god images and of the drums formed a large and reverent procession. As they went along—and until they arrived at the place where groves of trees grew, or a grove of *'ohia* trees, perhaps—they cut away the underbrush lest the bark of the *'ohia* [*haku 'ohia*] be scraped. Meanwhile the kahuna uttered the prayer for the waving away of obstacles to the *'ohia*, thus:

E Kumauua, e Kulono, e mauele ka, O Kupulupulu, e Kumokuhali'i, e maule ka, E ka i ke alanui, e maule ka,	O Kumauua, o Kulono, clear the brush, cut, O Kupulupulu, O Kumokuhali'i, clear the brush, cut, Cut the main pathway, clear the brush, cut,
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E ka iluna ke ala, e maule ka, E ka hiao ke ala, maule ka,	Cut the pathway going up, clear the brush, cut, Cut the pathway going down, clear the brush, cut,
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E moku 'ohia kumakua, maule ka,	Hew down the 'ohia kumakua, clear the brush, cut,
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E moku 'ohia i ka wao kele, mauele ka,	Hew down the 'ohia of the rain forest, clear the brush, cut, Hew down the 'ohia of the
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E moku 'ohia i ka wao ma'ukele, mauele ka,	Hew down the 'ohia of the rain forest, clear the brush, cut,
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E moku 'ohia i ka wao koa, mauele ka,	Hew down the 'ohia of the koa forest, clear the brush, cut,
--	--

(A pela wale aku.)

(And so forth.)

When the kahuna and the ruler came to the trunk of the *'ohia kumakua*, the kahuna took hold of a suckling pig and made it squeal, and uttered the words of the prayer for the cutting down of the tree. Then the ruler took hold of one of the famous old adzes named Haumapu or 'Olopu that had come down from the gods, and which, it was said, belonged to Kaho'alii.¹⁴ The nature of these adzes was that they could "cut down" the government and make it fall. The ruler touched the trunk of the *'ohia* with it, then a chief who had another adz cut down the *'ohia* tree. When it fell, he cut off the top and pronounced the *'amama* of this rite. The suckling pig, a coconut, and a tapa garment were buried at the stump of the *'ohia kumakua* which had been cut down. Then the men could talk to each other.

Pigs were put to bake while the timber was cut—the large trees in two or three pieces—and the supplies gathered that were suitable for the *luakini* [*mana* house] and all the houses of the heiau. The timber and supplies were given to the chiefs to be carried. The *luakini* [*mana*] house was the house in which the king and his chiefly household companions, *ka po'e alii* 'aialo, were to stay. When the timbers and the rest of the supplies were ready, the imus of the pigs were opened up. As many pigs had been baked as were needed for the chiefs, kahunas, attendants of the gods, and the retainers present. This was the tree-felling feast, *'aha'aina moku lehua*, of the *'ohia ko* heiaus. When the feast was over [the body of] a lawbreaker was carried to the stump of the *moku 'ohia*. The man was called Ke Karaka o Mauha'alelea (Man Left Behind), it was said. The remaining food was buried at the base of some well-known *'ohia* tree or in some other *'ohia* grove.

The return procession to the lowlands was fearful and terrifying. No man dared pass it; a man paid with his life if he encountered this procession. There must be absolute silence; no fire could be lighted, no tapa beater sounded. A solemn stillness must prevail when the *'ohia ko*

procession passed along. A warning was shouted as they returned to the lowlands, and these were the words they used, one uttering the words and the others the responses, thus:

E Kuamu, e Kuamu, muli	O silent ones, silent ones, hold your silence!
E Kuawa, e Kuawa, wai	O loud voiced ones, loud voiced ones, shout aloud!
Wawa i ka lanakila uwai Uwai	Shout aloud of victory! Shout!
Wawa i ke 'auhe'e, he'e, he'e!	Shout to those who must flee, "Flee! Flee!"

This warning they shouted until they entered the enclosure of the heiau and the 'ohi'a wood arrived at the outside pavement, *kahua papahalo*, of the heiau. This was for the building of a *luakini heiau*.

In some heiaus the houses were made of 'ohi'a wood and thatched with *pili* grass; in some the houses were made of *lama* wood and thatched with the leaves of the *lama*. In putting on the thatch, some heiau houses were thatched with bundles of ti leaves, *pe'a lau'i*; some were merely covered over (*kamala*) with leaves of *lama* or of *lehua*—all according to the prescribed rules of the site and of the kind of house, and according to the rules of the god and the ritual services. Also in accordance with prescribed rules, a house faced the front or the back of another, and was nearer to either the 'anu'u or to the *opu hiwi* towers.

There were four or five houses within the heiau. The *mana* house was the most sacred; the *mo'i* image was there. The *mua* [equated here with a *hale umu*, or oven house] was the largest house in the heiau. This house was a *kubalau* [a shedlike structure], and in it the pigs were baked for the "burnt offerings" and "sin offerings" (*mohai kuni, mohai hala*), and where the consecrated work was performed for the offerings on the *kuahu* altar of the god.

The "house to revive life," *ka hale i kamauhala*, was in front of the 'anu'u tower. It was the place to which the ruler and the *kahuna nui* proceeded in the 'aha ritual ('*aha ka'i*). The *hale pahu*, drum house, was the house where the *kahunas* did their work; in it were the large and small *pahu* drums to give pleasure [to the gods], and there the god keepers, *ka po'e pa'a akua*, recited formal prayers, *kuii*, all night long, and called to the gods to the constant beating of the drums, from evening until the bright light of morning.

Between the *mana* house and the *hale pahu* was the *lele* altar, where "burnt offerings" (*mohai kuni*) and "wave offerings" (*mohai ho'ai*) were placed. At the *kuahu* altar just below the *mo'i* image in the *mana* house were "burned" (*kuni*) the sacrifices for the atonement and absolution of sins (*le kuni ai na mohai kalahala me ka huikala*). Awe-inspiring and reverent were the holy services in the heiau.

When the houses inside the heiau were finished, then everything else needed was supplied. The order of *kahunas* who conducted the *kuii*

services were provided with tapa garments and *malo* of *ninkea*, '*ula'ula*, '*oloa* and *kowaha* tapas; tapas were furnished for the houses and the 'anu'u and *opu* towers, and tapas appropriate for the wrapping of each image (*kapa ka'i kamau'u*). Leaves of *pala* fern, '*ie'ie*, and other greenery were hung on the *kuahu* altar. A person seeing this for the first time was filled with awe. The provisions for the heiau consisted of hundreds (*lau*) of pigs, coconuts, tapa garments, '*alga* tapas, mats, red fishes, and *kukui* nut candles. Then began the *kuii* prayers and the calling to the gods at night. The pigs for the "warming" (*hokamahanahana*) of the house of the god were baked in the evening.

It was an established law that the *kahunas* in charge of the *kuii* prayers and the keepers of gods, *ka po'e pa'a mua*, should not trim their hair, but do it up on top of their heads, and not pluck their beards, but let them hang down to the chest. For the duration of the heiau services they were prohibited to sleep with women or to associate with their families. It was prohibited for them to go near corpses, dead animals, or menstruating women. When the *kahuna kuii pule* entered the heiau, they became consecrated to the handling of the sacred things of the gods, and they must have been purified of all defilement before handling these sacred objects. For a few days, or it might be for a month, they were not permitted to return home. The *kahuna nui* was the only one who could stay outside the heiau; he entered it only on special nights.

In regard to the offerings: the pigs had to be fine ones, fattened until the snout almost disappeared and the neck rolled with fat, the ears drooping, and the mouth standing open like a gaping cock. The gods would not eat an offering of poor quality. Three, four, or five pigs were baked for the "warming" offering on the first evening of the *kuii* prayers and the ruler, the *kahuna nui*, and the chiefs and favorite companions of the ruler joined in this "sin offering" feast ('*ahavana mohai hala*). The night passed with the *kahuna kuii pule* and the *po'e pa'a mua* praying. Their prayers were like chants; some sounded sonorous, some deep-throated, some light, and some sounded like the voice of a drum. The praying went on continuously until dawn, and if the *kahuna kuii pule* saw that the praying was "good" (*maikai*), and that it had gone on without interruptions on the nights of the *kuii* services, then on the next night the *kahuna nui* and the ruler took up their duties.

'AHA KA'I RITUALS

When day faded into the evening, this became the night for the '*aha ka'i* ritual; on the next day would be the *kauia nui* ceremony, when the burnt offerings would be placed on the *lele* altar. On the night of the '*aha ka'i* ritual, the ruler, the members of his household, the chiefs, and everyone else were tabu. No man could sleep with a woman; not one thing could be done that was defiling. It was a sacred and tabu time. If the '*aha ka'i* ritual

were not successful (*ina e kai ka 'aha kai a lilo*), and was unsuccessful a second time, a search was made for the ones who caused the failure. The senior attendant of the god carried his god to point out the guilty ones, *ka po'e lawehala*, who had been the cause. If the 'aha were for Kukeolo'ewa, then he would take Kukeolo'ewa to point out the guilty ones, and they would be found. If the 'aha were for Kuhu'one'enu'u, then he took that god to point out the guilty ones, and they would be found. If, however, the 'aha were for Kuka'ilimoku, the ruler himself usually carried the god, or if not he, that god's attendant. However, it was customary for the ruler to go with some companions to the place where the god had pointed out the guilty ones. Sometimes the ruler fulfilled the desire of the god and sometimes his chiefly feelings (*na'au alii's*) took pity on the man. Not so the non-chiefly feelings (*na'au kanaka*) of the *kanaka*; they were quick to punish the wrongdoer, in order that they might be praised for carrying out the commands of their lords. The only way for the spies (*po'e hahilo*) to gain a reward on the night of the 'aha kai ritual was to secure victims for the *lele* altar (*haka lele*). Not even a chief or a favorite (*punahale ahane*) of the ruler would be saved. But, it is said, the retainers or favorites, *punahale*, of the kahuna were not put to death.

If a fire were the cause of the 'aha kai being unsuccessful—as, for instance, the fire on Molokai while a ritual was in progress on Oahu—the kahuna could extinguish that fire by prayer. A fire was seen burning on Molokai from the ravines of Kaluako'i to the plains of Kalae, for five days before the 'aha kai ritual while Kualii was dedicating the heiau of Alala at Kalua on Oahu. On the night of the 'aha kai ritual the ruler was troubled, and remarked to the *kahuna nui*, He'e'a, that the ritual would probably be unsuccessful with such bright red flames glowing in the sky. The kahuna replied, "It remains with the chief to say whether the fire shall burn or die down. If you tell me to put out the fire, it will be put out." The ruler answered, "It is my wish that the fire be put out so that the ritual for the house of the god may be successful (*i maika'i ka 'aha kai o ka hale o ke akua*)." The kahuna prayed to the god, the fire was put out, and the ritual was successful.

Puhiea told me that he was present when Kamehameha I was dedicating the heiau of Hapu'u at Halawa in Kohala, Hawaii. For two days a fire had been burning at Pu'uiki as far as to Koali, in Hana, Maui, and on the third night, that of the 'aha kai, it was still raging. Kamehameha was disturbed lest the burning of the fire prevent the success of the ritual, and he commanded the kahuna to pray to the god to put out the fire. The kahuna prayed, a great rain fell, and the fire was extinguished. This happened in 1802, the year Kamehameha sailed with the *pelelu* fleet of canoes.

When the *kahuna nui* entered the *luakini* with the ruler for the 'aha kai ritual in the heiau, he was invariably dressed in fine white tapas—a white *malo* of *ninika*, an enveloping white garment (*paku ke'oke'o holo'oko'o*), and on his head a thin white tapa (*kopipi ke'oke'o*). The ruler might be adorned

from "head to foot" (*mai luna a lalo*) in red at one time and in another color some other time, but the white garments of the kahuna never changed.

The ruler stood at the sacred place, called *kahi la'a loa* in the *mana* house, to which was brought and set up the symbol of Ku, the god to whom the 'aha kai was believed to belong. His visible symbols were, Kuhu'one'enu'u, Kukeolo'ewa, Kuka'ilimoku, and Kukalani'ehukiki; and Ku revealed himself through these images. There were long flexible bird feathers inserted (*kulepe ia a kunihihi*) on top of their heads to make a narrow crest (*mahole kunihihi*). Feathers like these were not found in Hawaii. It is said that these wondrous feathers came from [the mythical birds] Halulu and Kiwa'a. They were as dazzling as droplets of water in the sun (*Aia ka o na hulu i ka waihanakii'i*). * 15

The *kahuna nui* and the ruler were alone at the sacred place inside [the *mana* house] while the kahuna audibly uttered the Kumuhonua and the Kumalohia prayers. The ruler judged his fortune by the clearness of the words of the prayers as they came from the mouth of the kahuna, and rejoiced if there were no squeak of rat, no sound of lizard or of cockroach. Then they went out in front of the 'anu'u tower, into the *hale i kamauhila* in the passage (*ko'ua*) between the fixed images, the symbols of those chiefs who had become "angels of the god" (*anala o ke akua*) and those "angel" women famous for their deeds of mana [the Kukalepa lines of images]. There should be no sound of bird, no hoot of owl, no cry of night heron, no quack of duck, no red glow at sea or of any object in the sky, no shooting star, no thunder or lightning as the kahuna went there with deliberate step, gradually leaving off his audible praying, and giving the prayer to ward off evil influences. When he stopped, the ruler said, "Amama," and he responded, "Amama." Then the kahuna asked, "How was my prayer?" and the ruler answered, "Lele wale aku la." It went on its way.

The assembly (*ua a 'aha kai'i*) outside of the *paetumu* had been sitting in hushed silence, unbroken by any noise or rustling, murmuring, coughing, or any sound of voices, and when they heard the words "*lele wale aku la*," they all shouted together with a loud voice that the 'aha kai had gone well. The great crowd farther away outside the heiau heard them. They also shouted, "The 'aha kai went well!" and the people in their homes heard that the ritual had been a success (*ua maika'i ka 'aha kai'i*).

At the hour of twelve, night changed to day, and then began a very severe and sacred tabu for the *kauiia nua* ceremony. It was death for anyone to break this tabu; nothing could save him. It was better for one person to die than for hundreds and thousands upon thousands to be taken captive. If the house of the god were erected for war, or to ward off disease, pestilence, or any other trouble that might come upon the people, or if it were to protect from misfortune to the government or to the people, it was right that the one who had violated the sanctity be the sacrifice to appease

*February 24, 1870.

the gods. Only so would the heiau houses bring blessings to government and to the people.

HONO RITUAL

The day of the *kaula nui* ceremonies came on the day following the night of the *'aha ka'i* ritual. The day was sacred to Kane, and Kane was considered to be the head god for whom this service was held. The tabu was called Kane-hono-ka-pa'a (Kane-who-unites-the-people), or *hono*. The day dedicated to the *kaula nui* ceremony was a very sacred and awe-inspiring day, and the *luakini heiau* was beautifully decorated with branches of trees and other greenery. Even so much as to move when the sacred prayers were being said meant death.

The attendants of the gods were there, each carrying an image representing a god (*ki'i ho'ailona*), in an assembly of gods (*puku'i akua*) within the lines of gods (*lalani akua*). The rows of kahunas (*na wa'a lalani kahuna*) were below the *lele*, and the rows of the *hono* service participants (*na wa'a lalani hono*) were directly below the *'anu'u* tower, facing toward the *lele* and the *mana* house, and were in the space (*kawaha*) between the *'anu'u* tower and the leaf-covered "house to revive life" (*ka hale lau i kamauliola*). They were those who had purified themselves in order to participate in this service and to eat of the "wave offerings" (*mohai ho'ali*), and to witness with awe the burnt offerings and the fearful hook ceremony. The ruler, his symbols of a ruler (*ho'ailona mo'i*), his favorites, the chiefs, and those people who were prepared for the *hono* ritual were all there.

For the *hono* ritual, the men were arranged in rows, as though sitting in a canoe, one behind the other, and turned toward the ruler and the *kahuna nui* who were at the door of the *mana* house, which faced the *lele* altar. The men all sat firmly on their buttocks, with the left leg crossed over the right leg, in the position called *ne'epu*, and with the left hand crossed over the right hand. When one of the kahunas called "Hands up!" they all raised their right hands and pointed to the place of the god in the heavens, being very careful to observe the regulations lest they die. The men prayed in unison, and they kept this up for a whole hour, all praying exactly in concert and holding their hands up and bringing them down little by little, without moving the body, lest they die, until the burnt offering was brought forth.

If the sacrifice were a captured chief, then two pigs which had been broiled (*'olani*) over a fire with him, and bunches of bananas and coconuts were also brought in. Then the ruler came forth, and grasped the line from which hung the famous hook called *Manaiakalani*, and hooked it into the mouth of the dead victim—a chief defeated in war, or some other victim perhaps—and said:

E Ku e, e Kunuiakea, E Lononuiakea, E Kanenuiakea me Kanaloa, Eia ka 'alana, ka mohai; He 'ahu ko'o kea, He palaoa pae, He kipi 'aina, he lawe 'aina E molia aku i kipi owaho me loko I ke kunou po'o me ke kahi hima, A i ka lawe 'aina ho'i. E ola ia'u, i ka pouhana o ke aupuni, A me na liti a pau, I ka hu, i ka maka 'ainana, I ke aupuni mai 'o a 'o, 'Amama, ua noa, Lele wale aku la ho'i.	O Ku, O Kunuiakea, O Lononuiakea, O Kanenuiakea, and Kanaloa, Here is a gift [and] a sacrifice; A cape of white tail feathers, A whale ivory cast ashore, [And] a rebel, a grabber of land. Curse the rebels outside and inside, Who, with bowed head and pointing finger, Plot to take the land. Grant life to me, the "ridgepost" of the government, And to all the chiefs, To the masses, to the people, To the domain, from one end to the other. 'Amama, it is freed, The prayer has gone on its way.
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When the ruler ended, two men appeared with their "tools" (*'oihana*) that pertained to the government and to the ruler—coconut fronds representing the *ni'aupii'o* chiefs, the "binding cords" of the chieftdom (*kaula helehonua o ke aupuni*). The coconut fronds were plaited tightly with coconut fiber. The two men went to set up the fronds—one to the right corner of the *'anu'u* tower, and the other to the left corner. Holding the fronds in their right hands, the first one gave the prayer for this *'aha* ritual:

Iaia penei ka 'aha, He 'aha na Ku, na Lono, na Kane, Kanaloa; Molia i kipi i ka liti 'aina, I ke kahi hima i ke kunou po'o, O ka 'oukou ia e molia ai.	Thus goes the 'aha, The 'aha for Ku, for Lono, for Kane and Kanaloa; Curse the rebel who tries to take the land, With pointing finger and bowed head, By you are they to be cursed.
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When the man at the right corner of the *'anu'u* had fastened on one frond, and the second man had responded with this same prayer and had made fast his frond, then the first moved back to the rear corner on his side and recited the same prayer. The second man did the same, until at each of the four corners of the *'anu'u* was fixed a coconut frond pillar tied on at the middle with a band of *'oloa* tapa. Then these two men danced about with bent knees (*kuku mai la ua mau kamaka nei me ka ha'a 'ana*) to the voice of the drums being sounded by the kahunas in the *hale pahu* and these words of prayer:

E Makiki'i, e Makiki'i, E Makiki'i, e lohelohe! Aia i 'ele ka mauna, Aia i 'ele ka moana; Ma kai 'ouli, ma kai akea.	O Makiki'i, O Makiki'i, O Makiki'i, listen! Darkness is on the mountains, Darkness is over the ocean; At sea is an omen, in the wide sea,
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Ki'ēkie ka hoku, hāhāhā The stars are high above, the moon
 ka malamā; is low;
 'E'e ka 'ohiki, 'e'e ka The sand crab comes up, the sand
 'ohiki, pae. crab comes up, it comes ashore.¹⁶

There were many wayer, and when the drums stopped sounding the two men dancing and cawing on the *'ānu'u* (*pa'u ka hā'āhā'a o ua ma'ālapālapa ana ilana o ka 'ānu'u*).

The offerings to be eady prepared. The "wave offerings" (*mohai hō'ali*) had been ead on a tray, *hālo'āpāpā*, covered with ti leaves, and placed on th(*ma ka 'i'i'i'i*). There were whole pigs for the kahunas, for the gods, for the ruler, and for the chiefs. When the feast *wihuna nui* broke off the right thigh of the ruler's pig for the nd [so] free the rest of the pigs for eating. Then the ruler, † the *hono* participants all ate.

The burnt offerings ead on the *lele* altar. The human sacrifice and the pigs wōnward, the man's arms embracing a pig on each side, and tonus and bananas were laid on the right and left. The headnd the pigs lay in the same relation (*monoa like ana*) to the *'āi mana* house. If ten men were laid on the *lele*, the arrangemente, each with a pig on either side. There the burnt offeritnd all the flesh had fallen off and scattered about the *lele*, was not a wrongdoer was ewer placed on the altar, and not all man sacrifices, for there were many ways of dedicating a hei

HEIAUS OF HAWAII

The heiaus for distan *ko'a heiau holomoana*) were separate *kuahu* set up when peopo to other lands of this archipelago, or to lands of Kahiki perknown lands. Their *kuahu* were built well, so that the gods wo in their voyaging. Then they would be able to travel to fornis was an important thing to these people—to go searchingaveal to, the lands of Kahiki.

There were many *heii heiaus* in Honolulu in the ancient days. Waolani was the fby *Wakea ma*, and the heiaus from Hawaii to Kauai follown. Of *heiau po'ōkanaka* there were Pakāka and Kaheiki innnd Mau'oki, Kupalaha and Le'ahi [Papa'ēnā'ēnā] at Wai were a *luakini heiau* built by the Menehune, a numerousfien spoken of in the traditions of *ka po'e kahiko*. Kahanonuiā-Newa] is said to have brought them here; his arms were the ki was made of stones from Kawiwi in Waiānae, and there wenehune that each brought one stone, and Mau'oki was comple^{hiko} called these people Menehune; it is said they came from

Of the many heiaus from Hawaii to Kauai, some were *heiau po'ōkanaka*, most were *heiau waihanu*, and some were *heiau unu*. Most of them have disappeared, but the foundations and the stone walls of some are still to be found. On Maui are the remains of Haluluko'ako'a, Wailehua, Luakona, and Apahu'a in Lahaina; Pihana, Kalui, Malumaluakua, Olopio, and Malena in Wailuku; Kealākā'ihonua in Waihe'e; Kanemalohemo, Lo'alo'a, and Pu'umakā'a in Kaupō; Honua'ula and Kuawalu in Hana. On Hawaii are Mo'okini, Mulei'ula, Hāpu'u, and Kahua in Kohala; Pu'ukohola and Mailekini at Kawaihae; Keikipu'i'ipu'i and 'Abu'ēna at Kailua; 'Ohi'amukumuku and Halekumukalani at Kahalu'u; Hikiau at Kealakekua; Pakini and Punalu'u in Ka'u; 'Aha'ula [Waha'ula] in Puna; Kaipalaoa, Kanowa, and Honokawaiiani in Hilo; Moa'ula and Paka'alana in Waipi'o.

There were many heiaus made famous because of the shine of the grease (*imū*) of burnt offerings from Hawaii to Kauai; they were offered by the hundreds and thousands (*he lau, he kinu, he lehu*). The soil became fertile and saturated with slime from the grease of the heavenly chiefs and from the burnt offerings. It is impossible to count the hundreds and thousands of years of sacrificing.

It is well for the upright to ponder these things, and to thrust away the clouds from the nation, and to separate the nation from them. Then, to eat together with the nations of the world that eat without tabus without disassociating themselves from God. A kingdom that eats without tabus is a good kingdom.*

NOTES TO PART FIVE

¹Kamakau wrote about heiaus on several occasions. His account for the newspaper *Kū'ōko'a* written in 1865, and that for the newspaper *Ke Au 'Ōko'a* written in 1870, are given in full here. Other accounts of his have been published in *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Kamakau, 1961; see also Sterling, 1974).

²See Kamakau (1961, pp. 150, 154).

³Compare Kamakau (1961, pp. 85, 133).

⁴The "prayer" is not reproduced here. It is an excerpt from the chant of Kuaili (Formander, 1917, Vol. 4, pp. 397, 399, lines 87-107).

⁵Compare Malo (1951, Ch. 37, Sec. 30).

⁶See Note 13, Part Four.

⁷Kamakau seems to have made an unintentional error in including *waihanu* and *unu* heiaus as heiaus of human sacrifice. In *Ka Po'e Kahiko*, Kamakau (1964) applied the term *waihanu* to the heiaus for the *mo'o*, or female deities, who were guardians of fishponds, and for the *akua mo'o*, the major gods of the female chiefs (see Malo, 1951, Ch. 23, Sec. 17). He first called *luakini heiaus luakini po'ōkanaka* (1865), and later, in 1870, stated that *luakini* heiaus required human sacrifices for their dedication and so they were also called *heiau po'ōkanaka*. *Waihanu* and *unu* heiau dedications, he says, did not require human sacrifices (compare Malo, 1951, Ch. 37, Sec. 9). Kamakau also says "Of the many heiaus from Hawaii to Kauai some were *heiau*

poi'akanaka, most were *heiau uehau* and some were *heiau unu*,¹³ again distinguishing between *heiau poi'akanaka* and the *uehau* and *unu*. Also, "Most of the human sacrifice heiaus (*heiau mo'oi koo'aka*) were war heiaus, '*heiau koo'aka*' indicating that humans were sacrificed on heiaus other than war heiaus. Malo(1951, Ch. 37, Sec. 10) says "The *luakini* was a war temple, *heiau uehau-uehau*, which the king...built when he was about to make war...also when he wished to make the crops flourish he might build a *luakini*," and Ii (1959, pp.33-45) describes the *kapu loulu* ceremonies on a *luakini heiau*, held "to seek peace and prosperity to the kingdom." Other Hawaiian sources (Mallo, 1951, Ch. 37, Sec. 1-11; Ii, 1959, pp. 33, 35, 39, 42, 45; Kelou Kamakau in Formander, 1919, Vol. 6, pp. 8, 12, 22, 24), all agree that only a ruler of a chieftdom could build a *luakini* and that human sacrifices were necessary during the ceremonies of construction. They show that human sacrifices took place only on *luakini* heiaus, and then only under the rites of Ku. Were we to delete "*uehau* and *unu*" from this passage of Kamakau's, and read "*luakini heiau*" where he merely says "heiaus" here, then the entire passage would conform to what he himself says elsewhere, and to what Malo, Ii, and Kelou Kamakau say concerning *luakini* heiaus.

¹³See Section on Roadways in Part One.

¹⁴Kukalepe(-*oni'oni'o*) is the name given by Kamakau in 1867 to the image "that stood at the sacred drum" (Kamakau, 1961, p. 203). In the present account he defines Kukalepa as the lines of images (*na lalani ki'i*) inside the heiau; they correspond to Malo's *maka'ia* images (1951, Ch.37, Sec.70). The main image, called *mo'i* here, was also called the *haku 'ohi'a* (Mallo, 1951, Ch. 37, Sec.35). See Glossary for *ku'upala*, *kuahu*, *lala*, *pa'uhumu*.

¹⁵See Note 25, Part Four.

¹⁶Andrews (1865, p. 419) defines *nini*: "To lay stones well in a wall; if the stones lie smooth and tight, the stones are said to *nini*."

¹⁷Ii (1959, p.56) describes an *opu* tower as being "just as tall and broad as the 'anu'u. . . . The small *lama* branches at its top were like unruly hair, going every which way." Kamakau's *opu hani* appears to be such a tower, but without the protruding branches. Andrews (1865, p.165) defines *hine* as "The flat or depressed summit of a protuberance."

¹⁸The *haku 'ohi'a* in this context was the log from which the main image was to be carved. Kamakau also calls it the *malu 'ohi'a*, because its bark was protected under tabu (*malu*), and *malu koi*, because the adz used in the ritual cutting had been consecrated, or made tabu (*malu*), for the work. The *'ohi'a ko* was the rest of the *'ohi'a* wood hewn for house timbers.

Kamakau's account of this ritual closely follows Malo (1951, Ch. 37, Sec. 35-40) and Ii (1959, pp. 42-43). He places the main image, the *haku 'ohi'a* or *mo'i*, inside the mana house; Malo places it behind the rows of images in front of the *anu'u* (*lanani'umamao*) (1951, Ch. 37, Sec.70); the spot Kamakau assigns to the *hale i kamauilala*, which corresponds to the *hale waiata* of Malo(1951, Ch. 37, Sec.19) and Ii (1959, p.35). Kamakau does not mention a *hale unu*, or oven house; the pig offerings were cooked, he says, in the *mua* house, and the ruler and his companions stayed in the *luakini* house which, by context, was the *mana* house.

Kamakau received his information from his *kupunakane* (grandfather or grand uncle) Kukialakauakalani(*Ku'oko'a*, October 24, 1868). The latter, because he bore the same name as Kualii, was undoubtedly an Oahu or Kauai priest. We assume therefore that Kamakau incorporated Oahu and Kauai traditions into his heiau account. Malo and Ii, on the other hand, described Hawaii island heiau practices.

¹⁹Kaho'ali'i was the man-god who figured prominently in the *makahiki* and *luakini* ceremonies. He was Kalamunikaleau, the half-brother of Kalani'opu'u through their father Kalaninui'amamao. He had been made a *makahiki* god by Kalani'opu'u and functioned as a man-god for him and for Kamehameha. "Ua lawe o Kalani'opu'u i keia kanaka i akua nona i akua hele makahiki, oia mau a ia Kamehameha i" (Hawaii State Archives genealogy collection, Book G4a, pp.27, 103). For a plausible reason for his being chosen to function as a man-god, see Kamakau (1964, p.70).

¹³Elsewhere (*Ku'oko'a*, June 15, 1865) Kamakau says: "There were fine spindly feathers on the forehead of Kiwaha. Kiwaha was killed by Waikelenuiaku after he had been captured by the bird. These were the very kapu feathers called Hinawaikofi. They became this thing of mana, namely, Kuka'iimoku." Compare Legend of Aukelenuiaku in Formander (1916, Vol. 4, pp. 66, 67).

¹⁶Compare Ii, 1959, p. 38.