Traditional Hawaiian Metaphors

Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa,

Native Land and Foreign Desires

CHAPTER 2

If one is to follow Dening's example of constructing a model of indigenous divisions of space and time, then surely one must *Nānā i ke kumu*, or "look to the source,"[1] to the beginnings in the Kumulipo and ultimately, to Hawaiian genealogies.

The genealogies *are* the Hawaiian concept of time, and they order the space around us. Hawaiian genealogies are the histories of our people. Through them we learn of the exploits and identities of our ancestors —their great deeds and their follies, their loves and their accomplishments, and their errors and defeats. Even though the great genealogies are of the *Ali'i Nui* and not of the commoners, these *Ali'i Nui* are the collective ancestors, and their *mo'olelo* (histories) are histories of all Hawaiians, too. It is Davida Malo, a Hawaiian scholar of the 1840s, who tells us, "Commoners and chiefs were all descended from the same ancestors, Wākea and Papa."[2] The Hawaiian historian of the 1860s, Samuel Kamakau, in his introduction to a genealogical discussion agrees, "In this chiefly genealogy are the ancestors of the chiefs and the general populace of Hawai'i nei."[3] Or as some old Hawaiian wit once proclaimed, "Anyone who doesn't know he is of the great chief 'Umi, doesn't really know who his father is."[4]

The ancestors' deeds of courage inspire our own; their thoughts and desires become the parameters of our ambitions. They are the models after which we Hawaiians have patterned our behavior.

Genealogies are perceived by Hawaiians as an unbroken chain that

links those alive today to the primeval life forces—to the *mana* (spiritual power) that first emerged with the beginning of the world. Genealogies anchor Hawaiians to our place in the universe and give us the comforting illusion of continued existence.[5] The hundreds of generations recounted in Hawaiian genealogies were especially important to Hawaiians after Western contact because by the 1870s, many people, especially foreigners, cruelly predicted the complete demise of the Hawaiian race as inevitable.[6]

Genealogies also brought Hawaiians psychological comfort in times of acute distress. The greatest distress began in 1778, upon contact with the Western world. For one hundred years after the arrival of the first white explorer, Captain Cook, foreign diseases carried off the Hawaiian people.[7] From Cook's low estimate in 1779 of a population of 400,000 (compared with a modern estimate of 800,000), the Hawaiian population declined to 40,000 by the time of the overthrow of the Hawaiian government in 1893.[8] The death toll from Cook's time onward was certainly far greater than those lives offered in sacrifice to the war God Kū. During these years, Hawaiians saw their society falling apart as their friends and loved ones died around them.[9]

By the 1870s, Hawaiian religion and politics had made a very definite shift to Western models wherein genealogies seemed irrelevant. Nonetheless, Hawaiians continued to cling to our great genealogical debates as if the lineages of the *Ali'i Nui* were proof that the race still existed as a great nation. In 1873, when Kalākaua and Emma vied for election as sovereign, one of the more important topics of debate was the purity of their lineages, with each side casting aspersions on the other.[10] From the Western point of view, the real issue was who would make a better sovereign, with regard to the political views of the candidates. From the Hawaiian standpoint, it was genealogy that determined the quality of any proposed sovereign.

Interest in genealogies was again revived after Queen Lili'uokalani was overthrown in 1893 and Hawaiians cried out for sovereignty.[11] *Ka Maka'āinana (The Commoner)*, a Hawaiian language newspaper, began publishing genealogies again in 1896; many other Hawaiian language newspapers had done so from as early as 1834. The editors' rationale was

> It is said, the one who does not know the genealogy is a rustic from the back country, and the one who knows, he is a chief or a person of the court. In Europe, the man who does not know the history and lacks the genealogy of his birth place and other enlightened lands is a recognizable fool. Therefore, will the new generation of Hawai'i nei be changed to a class of backward and ignorant people? In order that this should not occur, quickly seek to understand the true history and genealogy of Hawai'i.[12]

The editors of *Ka Maka'āinana* confirmed what most Western historians writing about Hawai'i have ignored or failed to comprehend: Hawaiian genealogies are the history of the Hawaiian people.[13] *Ali'i Nui* are not merely individuals born into a ruling class; they are the totality of their genealogy, which is comprised of the character of their ancestors. This is the sum total of their identity. From the Hawaiian view, it is pointless to discuss the actions of any character in Hawaiian history without a careful examination of his or her genealogy. It would be tantamount to writing a history of England without presenting the names of the monarchs and their cohorts; without their identities the account would be unintelligible.

Ancestral identity is revealed in the names that Hawaiians carry, for the names of our ancestors continue as our names also. They belong to us alone and should someone outside of the family use our names, it would be a theft of our *mana*. Names of the *Ali'i Nui* are repeated for successive generations to enhance and share the honor of the original ancestor.[14] In this process, the name collects its own *mana* and endows the successor who carries it. It is said that the name molds the character of the child. So the great Māui chiefess Ka'ahumanu was named for her maternal uncle Kahekilinui'ahumanu (the great thundering bird feathers), who as a warlike *Mō'ī* of Māui in the 1790s had gathered under his control all the islands from Māui to Ni'ihau.[15] Because of her name, Ka'ahumanu carried the recollection of her uncle's *mana* from her very birth. The accomplishments of her lifetime were attributed to the *mana* of her name, and further enhanced Kahekili's lineage, adding to the collective identity.

The editors of the newspaper *Ka Maka'āinana* had a political purpose for publishing genealogies, for genealogies are a means of glorifying

one's ancestors and one's past. If the ancestors are glorious, so too are the descendants, especially when compared to the Americans who had overthrown the Queen. Since the lineages of Hawaiian Chiefs could be traced back for nine hundred generations and more, American genealogies were practically non-existent, or at least very shallow by comparison.[16] If genealogies could act as psychological reinforcement, they were just what *Ka Lāhui Hawai'i* (the Hawaiian nation) needed when the kingdom was lost. In addition, genealogies were the lists from which new *Ali'i Nui* could be found, and new leadership was desperately needed at the time.

All Native scholars have agreed that *Ali'i* are Chiefs because they know their genealogies. Malo supposes that as all people have descended from the *Ali'i*, *maka'āinana* must be those descendants who wandered off into the back country and were forgotten by the other *Ali'i*.[17] "Wandering into the back country" is synonymous with acting like a *kua'āina* (lit., back-country or country bumpkin) and not like an *Ali'i*. Perhaps the answer to the mystery of *maka'āinana* origins lies in the refusal of some *Ali'i* to act like Chiefs by ignoring religious doctrine, disregarding their *kapu*, or forming lasting relationships with *maka'āinana* women, leading to their subsequent banishment from the "royal lineage" club.

In any case, genealogies are more than *mo'okū'auhau*, or lists of who begot whom. They are also a mnemonic device by which the *mo'olelo*, or the exploits of the *Ali'i*, are recalled. As the lists of names are chanted, the adventures of each *Ali'i* are remembered, and these, in turn, form the body of tradition by which their descendants pattern their Chiefly behavior. In times past, when a problem arose, the *Ali'i*, usually in council, would send for a *kākā'ōlelo*, an antiquarian and genealogist, who would consider the issue and recount all the pertinent *mo'olelo*.[18] Then the *Mō'i* would know which decision had brought his ancestors success; this would be the path to follow.

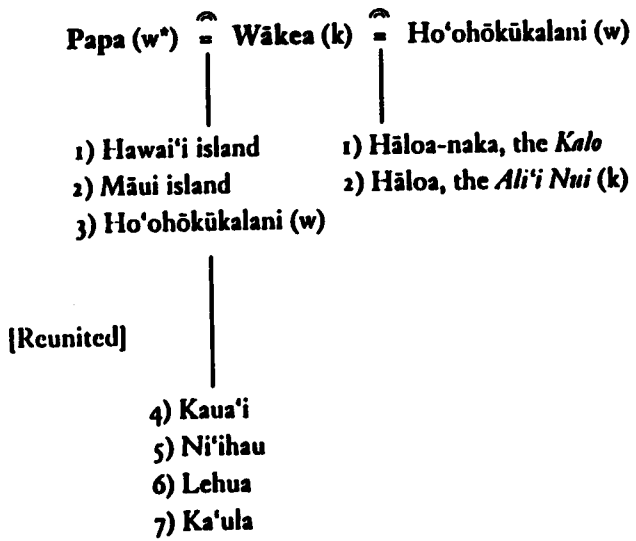
It is interesting to note that in Hawaiian, the past is referred to as *Ka wā mamua*, or "the time in front or before." Whereas the future, when thought of at all, is *Ka wā mahope*, or "the time which comes after or behind." It is as if the Hawaiian stands firmly in the present, with his back to the future, and his eyes fixed upon the past, seeking historical answers for present-day dilemmas. Such an orientation is to the Hawaiian an eminently practical one, for the future is always unknown, whereas the past is rich in glory and knowledge. It also bestows upon us a natural propensity for the study of history.

WĀKEA AND PAPA: THE BEGINNING OF HAWAIIAN TIME

One of the more fundamental patterns for *Ali'i Nui* behavior was established in the epic tradition of Wākea and Papa, the sky-father and earth-mother, who by the 'Ōpūkahonua lineage were half-brother and half-sister. These two were said to be the parents of islands, Hawai'i and Māui (and later Kaua'i, Ni'ihau, Lehua, and Ka'ula), as well as the ancestors of *Ka Lāhui Hawai'i*.[19] According to tradition, their first human offspring was a daughter, Ho'ohōkūkalani (to generate stars in the sky), who matured into a great beauty. A desire for his daughter welled up in Wākea, but he hoped to gratify his desire without his sister and *wahine* (woman, or wife) knowing of it.

It is the *kahuna*, or priest, who provided Wākea with a religious solution. This solution has come to be known as the *'Aikapu* (sacred eating). The *'Aikapu* is a religion in which males and females are separated in the act of eating, males being *la'a* or "sacred," and females *haumia* or "defiling," by virtue of menstruation. Since, in this context, eating is for men a religious ceremony or sacrifice to the male *Akua* Lono, it must be done apart from anything defiling, especially women. (Female *mana*, however, was only *haumia* to the male *Akua*, and not to the female *Akua* whom women worshipped freely.) Thus, men must prepare the food in separate ovens, one for the men, another for the women, and must build separate eating houses for each. Under *'Aikapu*, certain foods, because of their male symbolism, also are forbidden to women, including pig, coconuts, bananas, and some red fish.

The *kahuna* suggested that the new *'Aikapu* religion should also require that four nights of each lunar month be set aside for special worship of the four major male *Akua*, Kū, Lono, Kāne, and Kanaloa. On these nights it was *kapu* for men to sleep with their *wahine*. Moreover, they should be at the *heiau* (temple) services on these nights. When Papa was informed of the priest's new regulations, tradition tells us she accepted them without question.



[w indicates *wahine* (female), k indicates *kāne* (male), ⌒ indicates *pi'o* (incestuous) matings]

Figure 1. Lineage of Papa and Wākea

On one of these *kapu* nights, Wākea was able to be alone with his daughter, Ho'ohōkūkalani, and he seduced her. Being a faithful daughter, Ho'ohōkūkalani told her mother what had occurred. After a dreadful row, Papa left Wākea in anger and took other lovers, although they were eventually reconciled and she would bear him other islands.

The first child of Wākea and Ho'ohōkūkalani was an unformed foetus, born prematurely; they named him Hāloa-naka (quivering long stalk). They buried Hāloa-naka in the earth, and from that spot grew the first *kalo* plant. The second child, named Hāloa in honor of his elder brother, was the first Hawaiian *Ali'i Nui* and became the ancestor of all the Hawaiian people. Thus the *kalo* plant, which was the main staple of the people of old, is also the elder brother of the Hawaiian race, and as such deserves great respect."

What, then, are the lessons, or historical metaphors, that arise from the *mo'olelo* of Wākea?

The first lesson is of man's familial relationship to the Land, that is, to the islands of Hawai'i and Māui, and to the *kalo* Hāloa-naka, who are the elder siblings of the Hawaiian Chiefs and people (see figure 1). This relationship is reflected in the Hawaiian tradition of *Mālama 'Āina*, "caring for the Land." The second lesson of *'Aikapu* is separation of the sacred male element from the dangerous female, thus creating order in the world. The *Kahuna Nui*'s suggestion of *'Aikapu* also allows the Chief to fulfill his desires. The third and final lesson revolves around the *mana* (divine power) that emanates from *Nī'aupi'o* mating (Chiefly incest). These are the three traditional patterns from which all of Hawaiian society flows and the metaphor around which it is organized.

MĀLAMA 'ĀINA: CARING FOR THE LAND

In traditional Hawaiian society, as in the rest of Polynesia, it is the duty of younger siblings and junior lineages to love, honor, and serve their elders. This is the pattern that defines the Hawaiian relationship to the *'Āina* and the *kalo* that together feed *Ka Lāhui Hawai'i*. Thus, the "modern" concepts of *aloha 'Āina*, or love of the Land, and *Mālama 'Āina*, or serving and caring for the Land, stem from the traditional model established at the time of Wākea. The Hawaiian does not desire to conquer his elder female sibling, the *'Āina*, but to take care of her, to cultivate her properly, and to make her beautiful with neat gardens and careful husbandry."

Moreover, throughout Polynesia, it is the reciprocal duty of the elder siblings to *hānai* (feed) the younger ones, as well as to love and *ho'omalu* (protect) them. The relationship is thereby further defined: it is the *'Āina*, the *kalo*, and the *Ali'i Nui* who are to feed, clothe, and shelter their younger brothers and sisters, the Hawaiian people. So long as younger Hawaiians love, serve, and honor their elders, the elders will continue to do the same for them, as well as to provide for all their physical needs. Clearly, by this equation, it is the duty of Hawaiians to *Mālama 'Āina*, and, as a result of this proper behavior, the *'Āina* will *mālama* Hawaiians. In Hawaiian, this perfect harmony is known as *pono*, which is often translated in English as "righteous," but actually denotes a universe in perfect harmony.

How did Hawaiians *Mālama 'Āina*?

In the Hawaiian way of thinking, all directives in society emanate from the *Akua*, who on earth are represented by the *Ali'i Nui*, those Gods visible to humans.[11] The role of *Ali'i Nui*, as mediators between the divine and human, was to placate and manipulate those more dangerous and unseen *Akua* whose powers regulated the earth and all the awesome forces of nature. In Polynesia, proximity to the *Akua* could mean death, and it was the duty of the *Ali'i Nui* to *ho'omalu* the *maka'āinana* from unnecessary death.

From this standpoint, *Ali'i Nui* were the protectors of the *maka'āinana*, sheltering them from terrible unseen forces. Should an *Ali'i Nui* neglect proper ritual and pious behavior, surely a famine or calamity would ensue. Should a famine arise, the *Ali'i Nui* was held at fault and deposed.[12] Alternately, should an *Ali'i Nui* be stingy and cruel to the commoners, the cultivators of the *'Āina*, he or she would cease to be *pono*, lose favor with the *Akua* and be struck down, usually by the people.[13] Thus, the *Ali'i Nui* had to juggle their responsibilities to keep the cosmos in order. To protect themselves, and to maintain *pono* for their people, *Ali'i Nui* lived by those patterns proven trustworthy by their ancestors, the *Akua*. A reciprocal relationship was maintained: the *Ali'i Nui* kept the *'Āina* fertile and the *Akua* appeased; the *maka'āinana* fed and clothed the *Ali'i Nui*.

The *Ali'i Nui* determined the correct uses of the *'Āina*. The *pono*, or righteous *Ali'i Nui*, was one who established order upon the *'Āina* so that it might be more productive.[14] A good example is Mā'ilikukāhi, a *Mō'ī* of O'ahu, elected by the council of Chiefs, perhaps in the fourteenth century. His name became famous because

> He caused the island to be thoroughly surveyed, and the boundaries between different divisions and lands to be definitely and permanently marked out, thus obviating future disputes between neighboring chiefs and landholders.[15]

The reign of Mā'ilikukāhi was renowned for peace, abundance of food, care of the *maka'āinana*, and favorable increase in population. The key to his fame, no doubt, was organization of the *'Āina* and its productivity.

At about the same time, on Māui, under the *Mō'ī Kāka'alaneo* (touched by the clear, serene heavens), a *kahuna* named Kālaika'ōhi'a (carver of the sacred *'ōhi'a* log) is said to have similarly divided, or "carved the *'Āina*" (*Kālai'āina*) into districts, subdistricts, and smaller divisions, appointing to each level an *Ali'i* or *konohiki* as supervisor.[16] On Hawai'i island, several generations later, the *Mō'ī* 'Umi-a-līloa implemented a similar system for the benefit of his people.[17] On each island, as the population increased, central control was required to ensure plentiful food production. Control and direction was the business of the *Ali'i Nui*.

In the Hawaiian system, each island, or *mokupuni*, was divided into large sections, or *moku-o-loko* ("islands within," often known simply as *moku*).[18] According to Malo, the *moku* were further divided into *'okana* or *kalana*—districts.[19] E.S.C. Handy, an American anthropologist who studied Hawai'i in the 1930s, disagreed with Malo, citing historical evidence of missionary land surveyors from the 1840s.[20] Evidently, by that time, *'okana* and *moku* were interchangeable terms and described large districts, such as Kona, Kohala, and Hāmākua on Hawai'i island. Handy also cited examples where the term *kalana* was used interchangeably with *'okana*, and also as a sub-district of an *'okana*. Perhaps these issues were merely a matter of difference in dialect, or simple variation from one island to another. On O'ahu, the term for district was *kalana* and the island had been divided into six *kalana* since ancient times. The O'ahu *kalana* were Kona, 'Ewa, Wai'anae, Waialua, Ko'olauloa, and Ko'olaupoko.[21]

What is known is that each district, whether called *moku*, *'okana*, or *kalana*, was comprised of many *ahupua'a*. The *ahupua'a* were usually wedge-shaped sections of land that followed natural geographical boundaries, such as ridge lines and rivers, and ran from mountain to sea. A valley bounded by ridges on two or three sides, and by the sea on the fourth, would be a natural *ahupua'a*. The word *ahupua'a* means "pig altar" and was named for the stone altars with pig head carvings that marked the boundaries of each *ahupua'a*.[22] Ideally, an *ahupua'a* would include within its borders all the materials required for sustenance—timber, thatching, and rope from the mountains, various crops from the uplands, *kalo* from the lowlands, and fish from the sea. All members of the society shared access to these life-giving necessities.

The *ahupua'a* were further divided into smaller sections called *'ili*, or

'ili'āina, which varied in size and number from one *ahupua'a* to the next. For instance, the *ahupua'a* of Waimānalo on O'ahu had no *'ili*, while other *ahupua'a* may have contained thirty or forty.[14] Besides the *'ili ahupua'a*, there was the *'ili kū pono*, the difference being that the former *'ili* gave tribute to the *Ali'i* of the *ahupua'a*, while the latter *'ili* was independent of the *ahupua'a* and paid its tribute directly to the *Mō'ī*." An *'ili* was not always a single piece; when it was comprised of several separate areas, it was referred to as a *lele* (to jump).

According to Malo:

> *'ili'āina* were subdivided into pieces called *mo'o'āina* [a strip of land], and those into smaller pieces called *paukū 'āina* [joints of land], and the *paukū 'āina*, into patches or farms called *kihāpai*. Below these came the *kō'ele*, the *hakuone* and the *kuakua*."[15]

The *kō'ele* and *hakuone* were portions of *'Āina* cultivated for the *Ali'i* and *konohiki* of the *ahupua'a*, respectively. The *kuakua* was a broad embankment between *lo'i* (patches of wet-land *kalo*), which was also kept well cultivated.

Malo continues for several pages with further descriptions of precise *'Āina* terminologies, as well as of the *Ali'i* hierarchies that ensured maximum cultivation of the *'Āina* at each level of designation. In addition to overseeing the *'Āina*, the *Ali'i* were also responsible for the establishment and upkeep of the extensive *'auwai* (irrigation systems), which were crucial to the production of wet-land *kalo*. Wet-land *kalo* fields, or *lo'i*, produced ten to fifteen times more *kalo* per acre than dry-land *kalo* farms, thereby ensuring efficient support of a large population. The sophistication of the Hawaiian irrigation system was such that adverse environmental impact was kept to a bare minimum, for as the water was diverted from the stream into successive *lo'i* and then returned to the stream again, there was little or no pollution. This system, however, required a high level of maintenance and vigilance on the part of the *Ali'i*."

It is not pertinent to discuss here the intricacies of Hawaiian methods of cultivation and *'Āina* designation, which has already been done so well by Handy, Chinen, and Kelly.[16] Rather, it would be more useful to examine the respective roles of the *Ali'i Nui*, *konohiki*, and *maka'āinana*, for it was this relationship that was most affected by the 1848 Māhele.

The complexity of the Hawaiian agricultural system is reflected in the naming of each *'Āina* parcel, *lo'i*, and fishpond with personal names as well as definitive terms. Furthermore, all of these names and terms were known, understood, and accounted for by all of the *Ali'i*, which is no small feat in a preliterate society.[17] In traditional Hawai'i, memorization and a keen mind were invaluable tools.

It is not surprising, therefore, that an equally complex system of *konohiki* (Land stewards) arose to administer the *'Āina*. While the people who worked the *'Āina* were *maka'āinana*, the *konohiki* who directed their work were *Ali'i* of various degrees of lineage. The *konohiki* were usually of *kaukau ali'i* or lesser rank, belonging in some fashion to the lineages of the *Ali'i 'aimoku*, or *Ali'i Nui* who ruled the large districts. At each level of *'Āina* designation there was a corresponding *konohiki* responsible for collecting tribute and for directing the day-to-day activities of cultivation and fishing.

Collection of tribute by the *Ali'i* centered around the *Makahiki* festival celebrated in honor of the fertility God Lono. Lono is said to have been an *Akua* from Kahiki who visited Hawai'i each year bringing wondrous gifts for the people. His return was signaled by the rise of the Makali'i constellation (Pleiades) in the sky after sunset. This would occur in October or November and the *Makahiki* would continue for three or four months thereafter. During this period, Lono ruled the *'Āina* as supreme *Akua* over all, replacing Kū, the war *Akua* who ruled the *'Āina* for the other eight months of the year.[18] During Lono's reign, war, human sacrifice, and labor were *kapu*. It was a time of rejoicing, leisure, *hula* dancing, and sports.

As the *Akua* Lono made his clockwise circuit around an island, the *maka'āinana* would bring forth their *ho'okupu* (tribute) to the *konohiki* and *Ali'i Nui* in honor of Lono. The *Ali'i Nui* would feed Lono in the *Hānaipū* (feeding together) ceremony, after which the festival games and dancing would begin. This celebration rejoiced in the fertility that the male *Akua* Lono bestowed upon the divine female, the *'Āina*, by his presence. The very term *ho'okupu*, defined in English as "tribute," actually means "to make something grow." In this case, it is the *mana*, the divine power, of the *Akua* which is made to grow, so that he in turn can make life grow in the *'Āina* and in the people. Not only does Lono cause

the fertility of the *'Āina*—and by extension, the quality of life—to increase, but the people by their *ho'okupu* also cause the *mana* of Lono to increase. It is a continual cycle of empowerment.

At the annual *Makahiki* festival, each *konohiki* would collect from his or her *maka'āinana* the tribute that was to be presented to the *konohiki* next up in line. This meant that the *konohiki* would gather tribute from his various *kihāpai* (farms) and present it to the *konohiki* of the *paukū 'āina* (joint of Land), who in turn would pass it on to the *konohiki* of the *mo'o'āina* (strip of Land), and so on to the *Ali'i* of the *ahupua'a* and *moku*.[41] The final presentation would be to the *Mō'ī*, who would symbolically feed the fruit of the *'Āina* to the *Akua* Lono.[42]

After the collection of these gifts, which included pigs, dogs, tapa, and feathers, the wealth was redistributed, predominantly to the many followers of the *Ali'i Nui*.[43] While little probably filtered down to the *maka'āinana*, their benefit, however symbolic, was nonetheless real. Their *'Āina* had been revitalized by the *Akua* in whose honor they had given tribute. The *'Āina* could now feed them, because it had been touched by the *Akua*—who was Lono, and who, in another mystical sense, was the *Mō'ī*.[44]

In fact, many famous *Ali'i Nui* have carried variants of the name Lono. These include Lono-ikamakahiki (Lono of the *Makahiki* festival), Lono-ikahā'upu (Lono in the recollection), Lono-a-Pi'ilani (Lono the son of Pi'ilani), Lono-awohi (Lono of the *wohi kapu*), Lono-ma'aikanaka (Lono accustomed to ruling supreme), Lono-ikaihopukauaokalani (Lono who seizes the rain of the heavens), and so on. These Lono *Ali'i* were by the *mana* of their names *kinolau* (representations) of Lono on earth.[45] Furthermore, it was required that the *Mō'ī* feed the *Akua* with his own hands. In this ritual of *Hānaipū*, the *Mō'ī* was Lono's representative, not only collecting the gifts for Lono, but also symbolically feeding them to him.[46] At the same time, it was the *Mō'ī*'s right to appropriate the tribute to Lono and use it for his own purposes, as he was the representative of the *Akua* and the *ho'okupu* helped to make his own *mana* grow.

In practical terms, the *maka'āinana* fed and clothed the *Ali'i Nui*, who provided the organization required to produce enough food to sustain an ever-increasing population. Should a *maka'āinana* fail to cultivate or *mālama* his portion of *'Āina*, that was grounds for dismissal. By the same token, should a *konohiki* fail in proper direction of the *maka'āinana*, he too would be dismissed—for his own failure to *mālama*. The *Ali'i Nui* were no better off in this respect, for if any famine affected the *'Āina*, they could be ousted for failing to *mālama* their religious duties. Hence, to *Mālama 'Āina* was by extension to care for the *maka'āinana* and the *Ali'i*, for in the Hawaiian metaphor, these three components are mystically one and the same.

The following chant illustrates the mystical union of *'Āina*, *Ali'i*, and *maka'āinana*. It was performed at the birthing ceremonies of Kauikeaouli at Keauhou, Kona, Hawai'i in 1813. He was a son of Kamehameha I, and ruled as Kamehameha III from 1825 to 1854.

O hānau ka moku a kupu
The island is born and it grows
A lau a loa a a'a a mu'o a liko
It leafs, lengthens and roots, sends out shoots and buds
Ka moku iā luna o Hawai'i
The island above Hawai'i
'O Hawai'i nei no ka moku
Hawai'i is the island
He pūlewa ka 'āina, he naka Hawai'i
The land sways and trembles, Hawai'i quivers
E lewa wale ana nō i ka lani lewa
Floating about in the unstable heavens
Hānoa mai e Wākea, pā hano 'ia
Breathed upon by Wākea, glorified by his touch
Malia 'ikea ka moku me ka honua
Then the island and the earth appear
Pa'a 'ia lewa lani i ka lima ākau o Wākea
The heavens are made permanent by the right hand of Wākea
Pa'a Hawai'i, la'a Hawai'i
Hawai'i is established, Hawai'i is sanctified
'Ikea he moku
Behold, an island
'O ka moku lā ho'i kō lalo nei
Indeed, the island is beneath
'O wai lā ho'i kō luna?

Who then is above?
'O wai lā?
Who indeed?
'O ke ao, 'o ia bo'i hā
It is the cloud [the Chief], that's who
Ua 'ike.
It is already known."

In this chant the island, or Land, represents the foetus developing in the mother's womb. The land that "sways and trembles" is the mother of the child giving birth, just as the earth-mother Papa-hānau-moku (Papa who gives birth to islands) has done to the island of Hawai'i. Touched by Wākea, the sky-father, who perhaps acts as midwife, the island/child appears. The Land is Hawai'i, but it is also the child, Kauikeaouli, who is destined to rule Hawai'i, the *'Āina* of his birth and the *'Āina* who has metaphorically given birth to him. It is he who is established as *Ali'i Nui* of Hawai'i and is sanctified. The island, however, is not only the child. Indeed, it is beneath him, for he is the cloud, as indicated by his name, Kauikeaouli (Placed in the dark cloud) who reigns above and upon the *'Āina*. The *moku*, because it is beneath the *Ali'i Nui*, is the symbolic body of the *maka'āinana* (those who live on the Land). Because the *'Āina* is both the *Ali'i Nui* and the *maka'āinana*, as well as the elder and the younger siblings, *Mālama 'Āina*, in traditional times, was truly to care for and serve one another.

This metaphor still existed in 1849 when the *Ali'i Nui* Pāki and Konia applied for certain *'Āina* on Kaua'i, which they said they wanted to continue to "*mālama*."[8] In the lists of *'Āina* compiled in 1850 for a commutation division of *Ali'i 'Āina* required by the government, the *Ali'i*, including Kamāmalu, Kapuāiwa, Ke'elikōlani, Kekūanao'a, Kapa'akea, Kana'ina, Lunalilo, Ka'eo, and Kānoa all stated that they would "*mālama*" the *'Āina* they kept, while giving away (*bā'awi aku*) the rest to the government.[9] In the English text, it says that the Chiefs wanted to "retain" certain Lands, not "preserve or care for" them, as the word *mālama* actually means. In English, and from the Western viewpoint, it might appear that the *Ali'i* were greedy and merely sought to claim such *'Āina* in private ownership. The use of the word *mālama*, however, indicates that the traditional metaphoric category for this term was still operational, if perhaps somewhat violated by the encroaching foreign system of capitalism. It was the *Ali'i Nui* duty to *Mālama 'Āina*, and in the Hawaiian way of thinking, this was not *ālunu* (greedy) behavior—it was *pono*.

This is not to say that the metaphor of *mālama* was not affected by the foreign notion of buying and selling *'Āina*. Certainly it was, since in Hawaiian terms this was equivalent to buying and selling one's elder sister. Buying and selling *'Āina* created by the *Akua* was even like selling one's grandmother, as Papa-hānau-moku was a grandmother to the Hawaiian race. It was most inappropriate behavior, particularly for an *Ali'i Nui*, and yet the *Ali'i Nui* were increasingly pressured into such behavior by foreigners for fear of losing control of all the *'Āina* in the event of an overthrow of the Hawaiian government by some foreign power.[10] However, no matter how corrupting and powerful the capitalist pressures for the private ownership of *'Āina* might have been, the concept of *mālama* endured and still endures in modern times. The evidence for this is the *Mō'ī* Kauikeaouli's declaration of 1847, wherein he claimed to be the *konohiki* of all the *'Āina*.[11] This very significant statement did not mean that he was the low-level overseer of cultivation of the *kihāpai*. It signified, instead, his *konohiki* duty to *mālama*, to care for all the *'Āina* in his kingdom on behalf of his people. In this sense, *konohiki* is a term synonymous with *mālama*, but only with regard to *'Āina*.[12] *Mālama 'Āina* is, then, the first lesson of Wākea.

'AIKAPU: THE SEPARATION OF MALE AND FEMALE, ALI'I AND MAKA'ĀINANA

The second lesson of Wākea is the importance of the *'Aikapu* as a religion and as a central metaphor of separation around which traditional Hawaiian society was organized. On the most elementary level, *'Aikapu* is that which prevents the "unclean" nature of women from defiling male sanctity when they offer sacrifice to the male *Akua*, and which is further observed on the *kapu* nights of the four major male *Akua*.[13]

The foods forbidden to women (pig, coconut, banana, and certain red fish) were not only phallic symbols but also *kinolau* (one of the many physical forms) of the major male *Akua*. The pig is a *kinolau* of the

fertility *Akua* Lono and is certainly a male symbol because its practice of rooting, in an inherently female earth, is a common Hawaiian sexual metaphor.[14] At the *heiau* or temple, too, a pig is a substitute for a man.[15] The coconut, on the other hand, is said to be a man whose head is planted in the ground while his penis and testicles dangle above.[16] The coconut tree is also a mystical body of the war *Akua* Kū. The banana, a *kinolau* of Kanaloa, *Akua* of the ocean, has a large purple flower that droops toward the ground in a classically phallic fashion, and the fruit itself has a phallic shape.[17] The banana trunk was also used in spear-throwing practice to symbolize a man.[18] Certain fish, usually those red in color and also *aku* (bonito) were *kapu* to women because they were used in sacrifices to the *Akua*. Red fish also represented the fishing *Akua* Kū'ula (Kū of the red color).

For women to eat these foods would not only allow their *mana* to defile the sacrifice to the male *Akua*, but would also encourage them to devour male sexual prowess. The latter would include the sexual prowess of the *Akua* Lono (*Akua* of fertility and agriculture), Kū (*Akua* of war and wood carving), Kanaloa (*Akua* of the ocean and ocean travel), and Kū'ula (*Akua* of deep-sea fishing). Given that the word *'ai* means "to eat, to devour" and also "to rule and to control," if women ate the *kinolau* of these *Akua*, they would gain the *mana* to rule the domains represented by these *Akua*; women could then rule male sexual prowess, including war, agriculture, ocean travel, and deep-sea fishing. What would be left for men to do?

The women in traditional Hawaiian literature are incredibly strong and powerful. They give birth to the *'Āina*, *Akua*, and *Ali'i* (e.g., Papa, Pele, La'ila'i, and Haumea), give wisdom to men (e.g., Hina, Kamo'oinanea, and 'Uli), revive men from the dead (e.g., Hi'iaka and Laenihi), and destroy men when angry (e.g., Pele and Kalāmainu'u).[19] Perhaps the *'Aikapu* was much more than a ruse played on Papa by her errant *kāne* (man, or husband), Wākea. On another level, it may have been the only way that Hawaiian men could emerge from under the control of that eternal source of *mana*, the Hawaiian female.

Notice that the word *haumia* (defiling) is very close to the name Haumea, the ancient *Akua wahine* of childbirth, source of all life. She was a sister of the *Akua* Kāne and Kanaloa, who arrived very early in Hawai'i,

and her name is often interchanged with Papa-hānau-moku, the earth-mother. In O'ahu traditions, she is an *Akua* prayed to (under the name Kāmeha'ikana) for war and political control and for abundance of fish in the fishponds. She saves her *kāne* Wākea from being offered in sacrifice to Kū and leads her people in battle to defeat her husband's rival, the male *Ali'i Nui* Kumuhonua.

On the other hand, the term *la'a* (sacred) is also the name of an O'ahu *Ali'i* who had sojourned in Tahiti and brought back with him new traditions and new technology. La'amaikahiki established a new lineage of *Ali'i* in Haumea's homeland at Kualoa, O'ahu around A.D. 1200. Might he have also brought the new custom of *'Aikapu* along with his new *Akua*? Did a new tradition of male sanctity supplant the older one of Haumea wherein females were superior? Perhaps.

However, the tradition related to us by the male writers Malo and Kamakau reveals that Papa agreed to the *'Aikapu*, even though it apportioned to her husband sanctity and made her a defiling influence when dealing with the male *Akua*. As Westerners have pointed to the *'Aikapu* as proof of the inferior role of women in traditional Hawaiian society, we should perhaps examine the practical aspects of this law. What would Papa, the creator of islands, have to gain from giving such power to her husband?

We can only speculate on what actually happened, but we might first consider what is known: because women could defile a sacrifice to the male *Akua*, and because food was a sacrifice to those same male *Akua*, men had to do all the cooking. Men had to build two separate eating houses and prepare two separate food ovens. Moreover, when a human sacrifice was required for the *heiau*, women could not be killed, because they were a defiling influence; only men were sacrificed to the male *Akua* Kū. Finally, the foods forbidden to women did not present any physical hardship, as there was plentiful protein (fish, chicken, and dog) and carbohydrate (taro, sweet potato, and breadfruit) in other forms.

Nor did the *haumia* nature of women make them inferior to men; rather, it made them dangerous and thus powerful. Their *haumia* applied only to situations where sacrifice to the male *Akua* was required and not to all other aspects of life. For example, if a woman, especially an *Ali'i Nui*, were angry with her *kāne*, she could deny him divine favor

from the male *Akua* by defiling his sacrifice. Technically, a male *Ali'i Nui* should kill a woman for such an action, but few would ever contemplate destroying the source of their *mana*, as the next generation of *Ali'i Nui* came from such women. On the other hand, few *Ali'i Nui* women would forsake their *kāne*, who were also their brothers, in such a fashion, for that would invite defeat from another family of *Ali'i Nui*.

As a Hawaiian woman, I can frankly say that I would not mind if I never ate with a man. I can think of many more interesting things to do with men than to eat with them. And, if it meant that men would do all the cooking and that only men would be offered in sacrifice, I would, like my ancestral grandmother Papa, agree to this law. I do not find the *'Aikapu* demeaning. Instead, it seems likely to me that under this religion, men in traditional Hawai'i worked harder than men do in modern Western society. Perhaps Papa felt as I do and decided that eating without men and forgoing certain foods was well worth the exchange of men doing their share of the work!

The metaphor of *'Aikapu*, however, is much more than the separation of male *kapu* from the desecration of female essence. It is the underpinning of the entire *kapu* system. It exemplifies the role of the *kahuna* in separating the divine *Ali'i Nui* from the defiling influence of the *maka-'āinana* by means of the rigid personal *kapu* which arose in conjunction with the *'Aikapu*. Thus, while the *'Āina*, *Ali'i Nui*, and *maka'āinana* are by the genealogies mystically unified, they are also in the practical reality of things quite distinctly set apart. In a world where everyone cannot be both *Akua* and field laborer, such separation is essential for the ordering of society.

It was the *Ali'i Nui* who had to follow the dictates of the *'Aikapu* most closely, because they were the *Akua* on earth who mediated between ordinary humans and the destructive-reproductive forces of the unseen divinities of the cosmos. In order for the *Mō'ī* to be *pono*, that is, a righteous *Mō'ī* who could ensure the well being of the people, he or she must carefully uphold the *'Aikapu*. The people admired a religious Chief.[40] Should a new *Mō'ī* decide not to reinstate the *'Aikapu*, it was predicted such a *Mō'ī* would soon lose the kingdom, along with his or her life.[41]

How does one make an *Akua* on earth? Wākea's *kahuna* reveals the way: create a great distance between the *maka'āinana* who labors and the *Ali'i Nui* who rules. For the *Ali'i Nui* to be an *Akua* he must have the power of an *Akua*, that is, absolute power over life and death. The *Ali'i Nui* must be perceived to be as dangerous as the unseen *Akua*; therefore, to the extent that divine forces are unpredictable and sometimes fatal, so too must be the *Ali'i Nui*. It was the system of strict *kapu* surrounding the *Ali'i Nui* that threatened certain death and established the fear that transformed into reverence.[42]

Thus, in Hawai'i, the personal *kapu* of the *Ali'i Nui* meant that the slightest infraction was death for the transgressor. Should the shadow of a *maka'āinana* fall upon an *Ali'i Nui*, death followed. Should a *maka'āinana* stand above an *Ali'i Nui*, it was death. Should he wear the *malo* (loincloth) of the *Ali'i Nui*, it was death. Should he refuse to prostrate himself before the *Ali'i Nui*, it was death. Should he trespass the boundaries surrounding an *Ali'i Nui*'s household, it was death.[43] A *maka'āinana* near an *Ali'i Nui* was constantly surrounded by the threat of death. As all *maka'āinana* knew that death was the penalty for such infractions, they kept their distance from the *Ali'i Nui*. In normal practice, probably very few *maka'āinana* were killed for breaking an *Ali'i Nui kapu*, because the very threat of these sanctions was enough to preclude such behavior.

Hence, the successive hierarchy of *kaukau ali'i* (lesser chiefs) served as a buffer between the common laborer and the Godlike *Ali'i Nui*. Most of the interaction between *maka'āinana* and *Ali'i* took the form of the farmer or fisherman working in consultation with the *konohiki*, who were of the *kaukau ali'i* class. The *konohiki* were the ones who came into actual contact with the *Ali'i Nui* and were exposed to the dangers of court. Since the *konohiki* were of some *Ali'i* descent and were raised in *Ali'i Nui* households, they were well trained in proper etiquette, although that is not to say they might not make an inadvertent error, exposing themselves to a fatal result.[44] John Papa 'I'i, as a young retainer in Liholiho's court, once dropped the cover of the royal spittoon on his knee, but he caught it before it touched the ground. Had his hand not been so quick, death would have followed.[45]

This mixture of reverence for *Akua* and severe religious sanction was prevalent throughout Polynesia. Polynesians love their Gods because they are dangerous; their very danger makes them powerful and worthy of worship. The Gods who mete out death can also give life. So it was

with the Hawaiians, who loved their *Akua* because they feared them. This is how the separation between *Ali'i Nui* and *maka'āinana* was accomplished. The *Ali'i Nui* became fearful *Akua*, and the *maka'āinana* in their reverence, avoided direct contact with them.

This distinction was furthered by the establishment of state rituals, maintained by the *Ali'i Nui*, that were performed separately from the rituals of the commoner. The *maka'āinana* had their *'Aumākua*, or divine family guardians, as well as the *Akua* pertinent to their various trades, whom they worshipped individually with simple rituals. The *Ali'i Nui*, on the other hand, held elaborate ceremonies at the *heiau* at various times during the lunar month to honor the four major male *Akua*, and also twice each year to honor the *Akua* Lono with the *Makahiki*, and the *Akua* Kū with the *'Aha*. The *'Aha* rituals were very strict, requiring from the audience total silence and absence of movement for hours on end. During this time, the *Mō'ī* and *Kahuna Nui* offered prayers to the *Akua*, and nothing could be allowed to interfere. Should anyone on the *heiau* make a sound or move, the prayer would be broken and death would follow for the offender. Should the *Kahuna Nui* or *Mō'ī* falter in the least in the pronouncement of a prayer, the extensive rituals would have to begin all over again.[46]

In this *'Aha* ceremony, by which the *Mō'ī* petitioned the war *Akua* Kū to save his *'Āina* from sickness and death, and, most of all, from rebellion, the *Kahuna Nui* had a most interesting role.[47] At various points in the ritual, the *Kahuna Nui* would question the *Mō'ī* as to whether all the requirements for the *'Aha* had been met. It was only when the *Mō'ī* responded affirmatively that the *Kahuna Nui* would finally affirm the validity of the *'Aha*, "The *'Aha* was good, and you, your land, the chiefs and all the people shall live."[48] When the people heard the news,

> the shouting resounded everywhere, the voices of the warriors and the commoner rumbled, the celebrated news spread to all the surrounding areas, and the mind of the chief, and the priest, and the chiefs, and all the people were comforted.[49]

The shouting at the culmination of the ceremony was, in fact, a public proclamation that the great *Akua* Kū had approved of the particular *Mō'ī* and would support him in the face of any rebellion during the following year. *Ali'i Nui* received their political power from Kū; therefore, an *Ali'i* must be religious and proclaim the *'Aikapu* upon his ascent to the office of *Mō'ī*. If he did not, his people would reject him as irreligious and other *Ali'i Nui* would be tempted to usurp his position. Moreover, the *Akua*'s approval could not be procured without the *Kahuna Nui*'s agreement. Thus, a *Mō'ī* could not rule for long without the blessing of his *Kahuna Nui*, for this blessing reassured the people that the *Akua* were pleased with their earthly representative. In this way, the *Mō'ī* was made *pono*; he was both religiously and politically fit to rule.

Hence, the traditional religion known as the *'Aikapu* supported and edified every aspect of the political structure and further defined the relationship between *Ali'i* and *maka'āinana*. The entire society could only function properly when

- the *'Aikapu* restriction on men and women eating together was strictly observed by the *Ali'i Nui*;
- the personal *kapu* of the *Ali'i Nui* were maintained to preserve the distance between *Ali'i Nui* and *maka'āinana*; and
- the *kahuna* agreed that the *Mō'ī* was *pono*.

In historical times, the *'Aikapu* endowed the *Ali'i Nui* with the *mana* necessary to confront foreigners on an equal basis. Beginning with Cook's visit in 1778, the Hawaiian sense of *pono*, which was ensured by strict adherence to the *'Aikapu*, was under continual attack by foreigners. Westerners ridiculed Hawaiian religious beliefs as mere superstition and, by extension, denigrated the whole of Hawaiian society. The *Ali'i Nui*, however, did not consider such odd Western opinions too seriously, so long as they themselves remained steadfast in the *'Aikapu*.

The following account of a religious debate between Kamehameha and Captain George Vancouver is illustrative of the tussle for *mana* between Native and foreigner when Hawaiian *pono* was intact. In 1793, Vancouver attempted to convert the *Mō'ī* to Christianity, urging him to abandon Hawaiian *Akua*. When Vancouver expounded on the *mana* of Jehovah, the one "True God," Kamehameha proposed a clever experiment. He suggested that Vancouver's priest and one of his *kāhuna* ascend a steep cliff near Kealakekua, on Hawai'i island, and leap off. The survivor would prove by his continued existence the greater capacity for *mana* and the *pono* of his *Akua*.[50] When Vancouver declined to

participate in this test, his lack of faith left an amused Kamehameha unimpressed with his theological arguments. Thus, Kamehameha confounded that audacious habit of foreigners who feel impelled to foist their customs and religion upon others. In any event, Kamehameha knew that he would have won the contest, as *lele pali* (cliff leaping) was an ancient sport among the Hawaiian *Ali'i*, and *kābuna* were from the *Ali'i* class.

Kamehameha was secure in his dealings with foreigners because he knew that his *pono* and political power came from the *'Aikapu* religion, for Malo tells us:

> From the earliest times down to the time of Kamehameha I, not one of the kings who had subjugated under his rule an entire island has been irreligious; every one of them has worshipped the gods with faith and sincerity.
>
> If the services of religion under any king were conducted in a slack or slovenly manner, it would be the general opinion that government would pass into the hands of a king under whom the services of religion would be strictly and correctly performed."

NĪ 'AUPI'O MATING: THE METAPHOR OF INCEST

The third lesson of the epic of Wākea is that incest is acceptable, even desirable. The brother-sister incest of Wākea and Papa captures the *mana* of the sacred female earth and creates the universe. The father-daughter incest of Wākea and Ho'ohōkūkalani transforms the *Akua* into a wondrous food—Hāloa-naka, the *kalo* plant, the life source of *Ka Lāhui Hawai'i*. Through incest, the first *Ali'i Nui*, Hāloa, was born, and because *Ali'i Nui* are *Akua*, incest is by definition a formula for creating divinity." And, as Wākea and Papa are *Akua*, incest is then an *Akua*-like attribute. How do *Ali'i Nui* gain (and maintain) divine status? By behaving like *Akua*, no doubt. Hence, incest is not only for producing divinity, but the very act of incest is proof of divinity. No wonder the *Ali'i Nui* guarded incest so jealously and refused to allow the *kaukau ali'i* and *maka'āinana* that privilege." For a *kaukau ali'i* or *maka'āinana* to mate with his sister would be a direct challenge to the *Ali'i Nui*'s authority.

Thus, to Hawaiians, the offspring of a *Nī'aupi'o* (brother-sister mating) was an *Akua*." If one was truly the *Mō'ī*, one should seek a *Nī'aupi'o* relationship—as did the *Mō'ī* Kauikeaouli with his sister Nāhi'ena'ena in the 1830s, despite the Calvinist missionaries' abject horror. For him, the only mating that would ensure his divinity and proclaim his right to be the highest *Ali'i Nui* of the *'Āina* was *Nī'aupi'o* mating.

Other incestuous matings, such as that of an *Ali'i Nui* with his half-sister, or with his brother's daughter, could also produce an *Akua* or divine offspring." Uncle-niece and aunt-nephew matings were desirable, too, for in bridging the "generation gap" one imitated the original pattern of Wākea.

The familial terminology of traditional Hawai'i influenced this metaphor as well. *Makuakāne* and *makuahine* denote father and mother, but they also mean uncle and aunt, and can be used when referring to any member of one's parents' generation. By extension, any child can be called one's *keiki* (child), whether son, daughter, nephew, niece, or *hānai* (adopted child)." This means that an uncle-niece mating was in the same classification as that of a father-daughter mating. Wākea is recalled again.

The search for Wākea's *mana*, that divine or miraculous power which fathered islands, *kalo*, and Chiefs, led the *Ali'i Nui* to carefully consider genealogical lines. This was particularly true when arranging the initial mating of a high female *Ali'i Nui*, because it was most appropriate to mate her with a closely related *Ali'i Nui* so that they would together create a child of the highest rank, an *Akua*. Any means of ascending the genealogy, by either the mother's or the father's side, was acceptable so long as the desired result was produced.

A historical example of this genealogical reckoning was demonstrated by the formal mating of Kamehameha with Keōpūlani. She was a very high female *Ali'i Nui* in her own right, being a granddaughter of Kalani'ōpu'u (*Mō'ī* of Hawai'i island) on the one side and a great- granddaughter of Kekaulike (*Mō'ī* of Māui) on the other. Her grandmother was Kalola, daughter of Kekaulike and sister of Kahekili, a Māui *Mō'ī* who in the time of Kamehameha ruled from Māui to Ni'ihau." Furthermore, Kalola was not only the mother of Keōpūolani's father (Kīwala'ō) by Kalani'ōpu'u, but she was also the mother of Keōpūolani's mother (Keku'iapoiwa Liliha) by Kalanikupu-a-pāikalani Keōua, the half-brother of Kalani'ōpu'u."

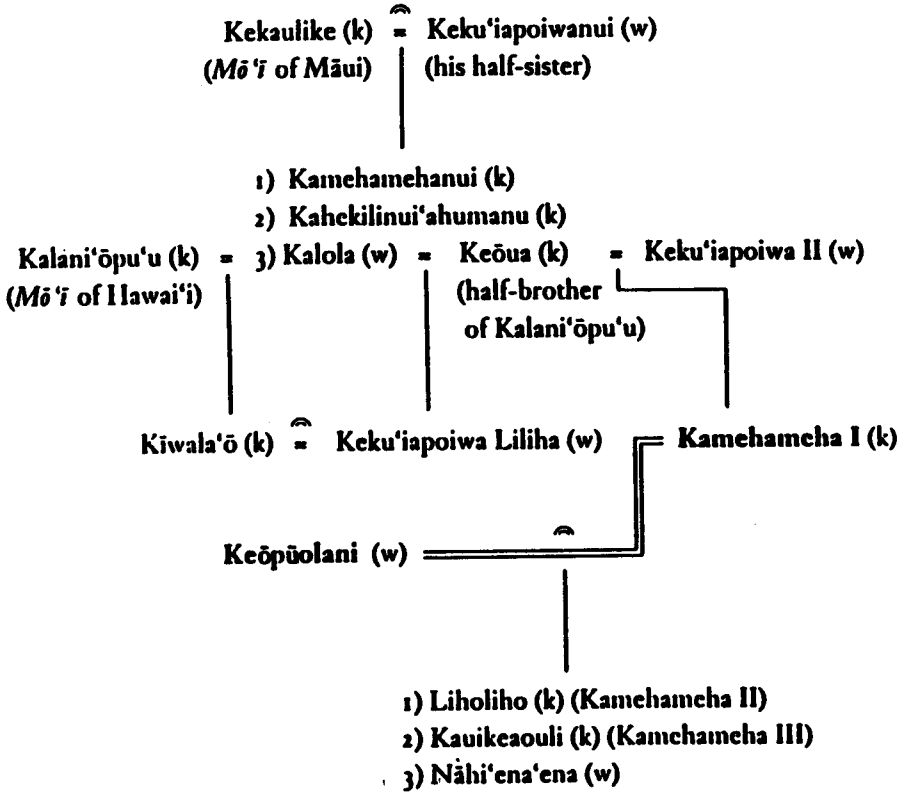


Figure 2. Genealogy of Kamehameha and Keōpūolani

Thus, Keōpūolani's father and mother were half-brother and half-sister by means of two half-brothers mating with the same woman. She was, thereby, a *Ni'aupi'o* Chiefess. Clearly, Keōpūolani was an *Akua*. Yet her children by Kamehameha were raised to an even higher status because Kamehameha and her mother, Keku'iapoiwa Liliha, had the same father, Kalanikupu-a-pāikalani Keōua (see figure 2). Kamehameha by that reckoning was her uncle or, in Hawaiian terms, her father, and the children of their *Ni'aupi'o* mating were the highest *Akua* of the kingdom. Thus, he referred to her as his "daughter" and to their children, Liholiho, Kauikeaouli, and Nāhi'ena'ena, as his "grandchildren."[7] Because their mating followed the example of Wākea and Ho'ohōkūkalani, it was higher than any mating Kamehameha might have had with his sisters.

When the progeny was of a higher rank than the parents, the whole lineage was uplifted. Just as the child was a reflection of the parent's genealogy and gained identity from their glory, so too did the ancestor gain *mana* through the divinity of the child. Just as genealogical reckoning was an important argument for the right to supreme political power, there was also a genealogical imperative for the *Ali'i Nui* to procreate. While Kamehameha was of a good lineage and was the conquering *Mō'ī*, his lineage was further glorified and secured by his producing sacred heirs through his mating with Keōpūolani. His divine offspring proved him a favorite of the unseen *Akua*.

A high female *Ali'i Nui*, after her carefully maneuvered first mating, was usually free to take any *Ali'i Nui* as her lover, and the higher her lineage the greater would be the demand for matings with her. Often she might live with two *Ali'i Nui* at the same time or in close succession, and as a result her child would be considered *po'olua* (two heads).[8] *Po'olua* refers to the Hawaiian belief that both *Ali'i Nui* would be the child's father. *Po'olua*, in genealogical reckoning, raised the child's *mana* because he or she could claim illustrious ancestors from three sides, that of two fathers and one mother.

Kalani'ōpu'u, the *Mō'ī* of Hawai'i island at the time of Cook, was *po'olua* because his mother, Kamaka'īmoku, lived in close succession with Peleioholani, *Mō'ī* of O'ahu, and with Kalaninui-'īa-mamao, an *Ali'i Nui* of Hawai'i.[9] In fact, the name Kalani'ōpu'u refers to the *'ōpu'u* (flower bud) style of carved whale's tooth necklace that was prevalent on O'ahu and worn by Peleioholani.[10]

Besides *po'olua*, another type of relationship arose from the custom of multiple mating. This was *punalua*, literally "two springs," which referred to two lovers who shared one mate, either at the same time or one after the other. The situation might be two men sharing one woman, as with Kalani'ōpu'u's parents, or it might be two women sharing one man. Thus, Ka'ahumanu and her sister Kaheiheimālie were *punalua* to one another because they shared their husband, Kamehameha. *Punalua* was not only practiced by the *Ali'i Nui* but also by the *maka'āinana*.[11] *Punalua* required that the partners of the same sex put jealousy aside and care for

one another's children as their own.[84] While a certain amount of jealousy was inescapable, nonetheless, envy between lovers was considered very bad form and subject to derision. Children from such a mating were often taken in *hānai* by one's *punalua* and treated with every affection.[85] It was by *punalua* right that Ka'ahumanu claimed Liholiho as her *hānai* son, since she shared Kamehameha with Keōpūolani, mother of Liholiho, and this made them *punalua* to one another. Because of the laws of *punalua*, wives and heirs of the *Mō'ī* could live in harmony with one another, at least until the *Mō'ī* died and successors struggled for supremacy.

Despite all the intertwining of lineages and the producing of new *Akua* or divine *Ali'i Nui*, there was little room at the top since there could be only one *Mō'ī* for each island. If the heir to the *Mō'ī* was not politically astute enough to strongly impose his will upon the death of the old *Mō'ī*, war usually ensued. The *Ali'i Nui* in that instance could either challenge the new *Mō'ī* in war, hoping for victory rather than defeat, or they could choose to serve him in some capacity. The first alternative might bring death and the second would most often mean a loss of personal *mana*. As for *Ali'i* of lesser lineages, their path was to choose an *Ali'i Nui* to follow and hope that he or she would lead them to victory. In any case, their lot would also be to serve the *Ali'i Nui*, and their *mana* would only be increased by some great deed in battle or by attracting the eye of some female *Ali'i Nui* for a sufficient time to produce a child by her.

'IMIHAKU: SEARCHING FOR THE TWO PATHS TO MANA OF KŪ AND LONO

Hawaiian society, being dualistic in nature, developed over time a delicate balance between the *Akua* Kū and Lono. Kū, an *Akua* of war and political power that proceeded from warfare, possessed the *'Āina* for eight months of the year. In more elaborate terms, he was known as Kū-kā'ilimoku (Kū the island conqueror), Kū-ho'one'nu'u (Kū the mover of great heights) and Kū-waha'ilo (Kū of the maggot-filled mouth, because of the human sacrifices he devoured). The *Ali'i Nui* gained political power through human sacrifices to Kū, terrifying their enemies, just as this *Akua* terrified his human subjects.[86]

Kū's antithesis was Lono, an *Akua* of Kahiki (probably Tahiti, but also meaning foreign lands) who came to Hawai'i annually, bringing fertility and peace to the *'Āina*. In the four months that Lono was in possession of the *'Āina*, war and hard labor were *kapu*. After an initial *ho'okupu* (tribute) to Lono, peace, feasting, games, and *hula* ensued. Human life was never given to Lono; his was the sacrifice of pigs, foodstuffs, *kapa* cloth, and feathers—that is, of material wealth. Lono, in that sense, was an *Akua* of material wealth, while Kū was the means to achieve such wealth. Lono revitalized the *'Āina* after Kū had devastated it through warfare.

The *Ali'i Nui*, as intermediaries for the *Akua*, accepted the *ho'okupu* from the *maka'āinana* in the name of Lono and performed the *Hānaipū*, the ritual of feeding Lono. *Ali'i Nui* who during most of the year received their political power from Kū had to placate Lono at this time lest he forsake Hawai'i, returning to Kahiki forever.

Therefore, if famine struck, clearly the *Mō'ī* was at fault for offending Lono. Conversely, when an *Ali'i Nui* lost a war, it was thought that a ritual had been neglected, and the favor of Kū had passed to the rival *Ali'i*. In this event the *maka'āinana* and *kaukau ali'i* would transfer their loyalty to the *Ali'i Nui* who had won Kū's approbation to become the new *Mō'ī*. Such a search for a new source of *mana* was called *'imihaku* (to search for a lord). In most instances when there was a change of *Ali'i Nui*, the *maka'āinana* would not be dispossessed of the *'Āina* upon which they lived and worked, regardless of the *Mō'ī*. Only the *konohiki* would change, because the new *Ali'i Nui* would bring in his own people. In this light, loyalty to a deposed *Ali'i Nui* was unwise, if not nonsensical. It was no easy task to be *Mō'ī* in traditional Hawai'i.

The Hawaiian system of hierarchy is somewhat triangular in concept (see figure 3). On each main island, a single *Mō'ī* at the apex of the society served as an intermediary between the *Akua* and the rest of *Ka Lāhui*. Several levels of subordinate *Ali'i Nui* and *Kahuna Nui* were followed by more numerous and lesser ranking *Ali'i* and *kāhuna* who acted as *konohiki*. These people created a buffer between the *Mō'ī* and the vast majority of *maka'āinana* who made up the foundation of the society.

Those at the top were *kapu*, or sacred, and possessed of *mana*. Those at the bottom were *noa*, common or free from *kapu*[87] and, by extension,

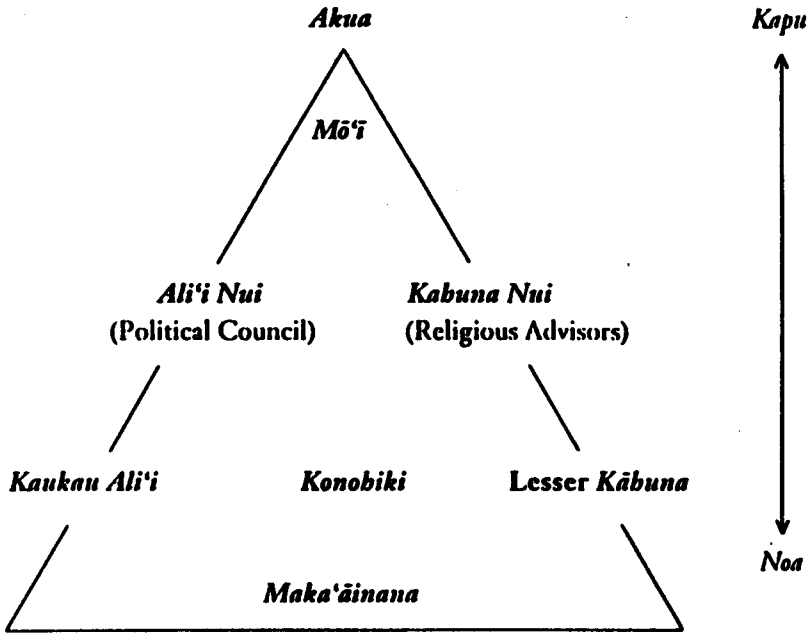


Figure 3. Traditional Hawaiian Society

without the necessary *mana*, or power, to invoke a *kapu*—although even a common fisherman, if successful, had some *mana*. Those in between were on a sliding scale, having less *mana* the farther down the triangle they slipped and the farther away they fell from high lineage. These differentiations in status were designated by birth. There tended to be, however, a constant downward shift away from *kapu* because *Ali'i Nui* found it difficult to mate only with high female *Ali'i Nui*. Those intermarrying with *Ali'i* of lesser rank produced *kaukau ali'i* who, in turn, could descend with the same facility to *maka'āinana* rank.

The object, then, was to elevate one's *mana* in the eyes of the people and escape the pit of commonality; this was another symbolic *'imihaku* (to search for a source of *mana*). There were two ways *mana* could be obtained: through sexual means and through violence. To mate with an *Ali'i Nui wahine*, or a woman of high rank, was to capture the fertility of the *Akua*.[28] Of course, to *Mālama 'Ilina* was also to secure the fertility of

the *Akua*. This was the path of Lono. However, if a male was of low rank, perhaps a *kaukau ali'i* or even a *maka'āinana*, and not closely related to an *Ali'i Nui wahine*, he would somehow have to attract her attention. If he were skilled at sports or, better still, gifted in *hula* and chant, he could be brought to court to entertain the *Ali'i Nui* and perhaps gain an introduction. Alternatively, if a man were handsome and somewhat talented in dance and poetry, he could be kept as an *aikāne*, or male lover, of an *Ali'i Nui*, as they were often bisexual. After living at court for a time, he might get lucky and be taken as a lover by an *Ali'i wahine*. Lono was the patron of the arts that celebrated human sexuality and these were included in his path to *mana*.

The alternative road to *mana* was violence, in the form of warfare, which was the path of Kū. According to Kamakau, the main occupation of *Ali'i Nui* and *kaukau ali'i* was war and the conquest of other *Ali'i Nui* and their territory.[29] Hawaiian *Ali'i Nui* had a great passion for war because it was a major avenue to *mana*. Those victorious in war sacrificed the defeated upon the altar of Kū, thereby collecting his *mana*. The defeated were eventually forgotten, while the victors were made glorious and famous in song and legend. To be terrifying and ruthless ensured success and a prominent place in traditional Hawaiian history.

This path to *mana* was chosen by Kahekilinui'ahumanu of Māui. He was of identical lineage to his elder brother Kamehamehanui,[30] who ruled peacefully for twenty-nine years and had many heirs.[31] Yet the lineage of Kamehamehanui did not retain power. Instead, the descendants of Kahekili prevailed. Kahekili was a ferocious warrior who had one side of his body tattooed from head to toe recalling the lightning bolt, whence his name (Ka-hekili), in honor of Kānehekili, the Māui-O'ahu *Akua* of lightning.[32] Courting danger was his pleasure. Through ruthless cunning and manipulation of relatives, Kahekili gained control over all the islands except Hawai'i. To gain O'ahu, he treacherously murdered Kahahana, who had been a "favorite" nephew. When the O'ahu Chiefs bungled a rebellion against him, he had them all slain in a single day, and their bodies are said to have choked the streams from Kona to 'Ewa (districts of south O'ahu).[33] Through these acts, he increased his *mana* and status as an *Akua* and his name is honored in song and legend today. The peaceful Kamehamehanui, on the other hand, is relatively unknown,

and the names of the defeated O'ahu *Ali'i Nui* have for the most part been forgotten.

Hence, the intermittent warfare observed by Westerners was in part a product of the *Ali'i Nui* search for immortality or fame, as well as their unceasing quest for *mana*. In times of prolonged peace it was too easy for *Ali'i*, especially *kaukau ali'i*, to slip down into the pit of commonality, becoming farmers and fishermen. An *Ali'i*'s function was to make war, and there were many instances where the *Mō'ī* or an *Ali'i Nui* would take his *kaukau ali'i* warriors on a raid simply because they were restless at home and such restlessness could lead to internal treachery and rebellion.[24]

For a *Mō'ī* to fail on either path to *mana* was to prove himself outside the state of *pono*. When a *pono Mō'ī* was religiously devoted to the *Akua*, the whole society was *pono* and prospered. When disaster struck, either through defeat in war or by a famine on the *'Āina*, these were signs that the *Mō'ī* had ceased to be religious, for the society was no longer *pono*.[25] In such instances, the *Mō'ī* would be killed and replaced by another *Ali'i Nui*. Hence, a wise *Mō'ī* gave close attention to his advisors.

In this manner, traditional Hawaiian society, with its diverse and intricate metaphors, functioned extremely well for centuries, in splendid isolation. Upon Western contact, a flood of change and physical destruction of *Ka Lāhui Hawai'i* made for an inevitable transformation of these metaphors and, by extension, for a new interpretation of the Hawaiian model. However, certain behavioral patterns of traditional times are repeated today.

Mālama 'Āina, cherishing the Land, is a foundation of the present movement to halt the U.S. military's bombing of Kaho'olawe island. *'Aikapu*, the metaphor of separation of the sexes and of *Ali'i* and *maka'āinana*, underlies the modern *maka'āinana* belief that everyone has their proper place in society: politics and debate should be left to those "high makamakas,"[26] the *Ali'i Nui* of today, while the *maka'āinana* go about their daily business of earning a living and celebrating life. *Maka'āinana* also expect that so long as they obey the rules, and humbly follow the "powers that be," then the politicians and the state will intervene on their behalf to *ho'omalu* and *hānai* them.

Ni'aupi'o mating, the metaphor of incest, has been made illegal by

Western law and impractical by tainted foreign genes. Yet the idea of *'ohana* (familial relations) and the *mana* of genealogy—which links us as *Lāhui Hawai'i* to our ancestors, to the *'Āina*, and to the beginning of time—is present at every Hawaiian gathering.

As for the dual paths to *mana*, that of Kū and Lono, only Lono has prevailed with strength among the Hawaiian people. Modern Hawaiians celebrate life through sports, *hula*, and sexuality. Hawaiian youth devote themselves to preparation for the many *hula* festivals and canoe races. They dedicate innumerable unpaid hours of sweat and aching muscles to the perfection of these ancestral arts. And, we Hawaiians continue to make the *'Āina* fertile through our tender care of it, assuming that we are able to wrest some part of the *'Āina* from foreign control.

The path of Kū has eluded us. Later I will examine the source of his demise, for the story of *'Āina* in Hawai'i is closely tied to the arts of war and politics. Nor will Hawaiian society ever be *pono* again until we Hawaiian people come to know our history intimately and until we can understand the challenges faced by the *Mō'ī* Kauikeaouli who made the 1848 *Māhele*.

The most important question of Kauikeaouli's life was how he would become a *pono Mō'ī*. What would give him the *mana* to rule? Should he, unlike his father, take the foreigners' advice and live as they did? Or should he find a Hawaiian solution to the problems of the kingdom? In the 1830s, he became an *Ali'i Nui* in a constant state of *'imihaku*: he was in search of the *mana* that protects and empowers. Because *'Āina* was the most important basis of sovereignty for the Hawaiian *Ali'i Nui*, Kauikeaouli's decisions on control and disposition of the *'Āina* were crucial. Ultimately, proper control of the *'Āina* to benefit *Ka Lāhui* could designate the *Mō'ī* as *pono*. We must weigh Kauikeaouli's decisions about the *'Āina* in light of his capacity to *Mālama 'Āina*. It had been the first lesson of Wākea and perhaps it needed to be learned again.