

NĀ HĪMENI HAWAI'I:
TRANSCENDING KŪ'Ē, PROMOTING KŪPA'A

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of a genre of mele (Hawaiian musical/poetic expression) called hīmeni Hawai‘i (Holstein, 1897) and its historical importance. More specifically, I explore its contribution to the notion of aloha ‘āina – a love for one's land – as a fundamental sentiment of Hawaiian identity (Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua 2013:13). Hīmeni Hawai‘i is a specific genre of mele prominent in the late 19th century, identified by characteristic textual and musical attributes. The late 19th century was perhaps the most tumultuous period in Hawaiian political history, with the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and the events surrounding it. Consequently, this period produced a myriad of mele lāhui (nationalist songs), collected and published by F. J. Testa in 1895 (Basham 2007). These mele lāhui bolstered political support for the deposed queen and related issues. However, in stark contrast, hīmeni Hawai‘i, equally popular during the same time (Holstein 1897) seemingly show no trace of this political sentiment, in either lyrics or music. In this thesis, I argue that the characteristic apolitical content of hīmeni Hawai‘i, in fact, served a function during the late 19th century to *transcend* politics and instill the fundamental sentiment of aloha ‘āina, a defining component of modern Hawaiian identity. Through the use of mele analysis, I suggest that hīmeni Hawai‘i, though lacking overt political sentiments, promotes Hawaiian epistemologies of aloha ‘āina through the use of what I term the nahele (forest/wilderness) motif. This strain of aloha ‘āina finds significance in both its initial and contemporary contexts. With influence from the musical structures of Christian hymns, hīmeni Hawai‘i is the result of a hybridized practice that has been localized and eventually accepted as a Hawaiian tradition.

The analysis of selected hīmeni Hawai‘i serves to elucidate this notion of aloha ‘āina, enriching current perspectives on the political climate of the late 19th century. Stokes (1994:3)

argues that music "provides means by which people recognise identities and places and the boundaries which separate them." In the case of hīmeni Hawai‘i, "place" is inherent in identity through the understanding of aloha ‘āina, a love for one's land. The "boundary," then, becomes the context of political turmoil that separates and connects identity and place. That music "can be used as a means of...constructing trajectories rather than boundaries across space" allows readers and listeners of hīmeni Hawai‘i to transcend notions of political status and engage foundational ideals of Hawaiian essentialism: the fundamental ideals of Hawaiian epistemologies. By understanding this, I expand ideals of aloha ‘āina not only to include the kū‘ē (resistant) sentiments of mele lāhui, but the kūpa‘a (steadfast) sentiments of hīmeni Hawai‘i. This study and interpretation of hīmeni Hawai‘i allows us to understand the importance of the nahele motif as it expresses aloha ‘āina and shapes contemporary Hawaiian identity.

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CHAPTER 1

UNDERSTANDING HĪMENI HAWAI‘I

PEBBLES

One can argue that Hawaiians are characteristically retrospective: always looking into the past. It is illustrated in the ‘ōlelo no‘eau (wise saying) "nānā i ke kumu," meaning to look to one's source – that which has come before him/her (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa states 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" (1992: 22). However, in discussing a Hawaiian concept of time, the word "retrospection" eventually fails. This is due to the fact that the binary of future and past that retrospection implies does not apply to a Hawaiian conceptualization of time. Rather, the Hawaiian concept of time is perceived as a continuous and cyclical process.

That time is linear is a Western conceptualization. There is that which comes before you, your present moment in time, and that which comes after you. The Hawaiian concept of time is cyclical. It is based on occurrences rather than the conceptual fabric between them. Hawaiian time is like the many concentric circles that ripple away from the epicenter of a pebble piercing the water's surface. Each concentric ripple is a different version, a different iteration, of the ripple before it and the ripple after it. Though each concentric ripple may vary in size and intensity, they are all related, and ultimately the same, by way of their source: the pebble. Translated to the ocean of Hawaiian history, ripples become waves of change. The pebble becomes the kumu, the source of that which we can perceive: the "past." The more we understand the waves that have already washed ashore, the better equipped we are to anticipate the waves that have yet to arrive.

This is the foundation of a Hawaiian epistemology. Hawaiians are not stuck in the past, but perceive their present in relation to the past. Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa argues that:

[i]t 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 is also bestows upon us a natural propensity for the study of history. (1992: 22-23)

Hawaiians study the past as it allows them to see into the future. They count ripples, waves, and their frequency. They see the similarities of occurrences, the reverberating echoes of the first pebble to drop into the water. They learn from the past, what they and their ancestors have already experienced, to guide their steps into the future.

For Hawaiians, history does not only determine the past. History shapes what they do, what they know, and ultimately, who they are and have become. Once a "dismembered lāhui" (Osorio, 2003), the cultural artifacts they have inherited, whether it be material or in practice, have become the foundational catalysts for remembering who they are. One important cultural artifact is mele, Hawaiian poetic/musical expression. Mele, as defined by Pukui and Elbert, is "song, anthem, chant of any kind; poem, poetry; to sing, chant" (1986: 245). What sets mele apart from the general term "Hawaiian music" is the emphasis on text. Mele are logogenic. Words/lyrics are paramount. Elizabeth Tatar states that "[l]anguage and text meaning are important determinants of Hawaiian music. It has been established that the creative abilities of the *haku mele* (composer of the chant) were primarily channeled toward the composition of poetry" (2012: xlii). Usually ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (in the Hawaiian language), the text of a mele is the foundation of the expression itself. This emphasis on text allows Hawaiians to use mele as vantage points to catch a glimpse of ancestral excellence and the fundamental essence of a Hawaiian identity.

At the center of this essence is aloha ‘āina. It is a love extolling the relationship between Hawaiians and their land, Hawai‘i. I argue that it is a concept so foundational to the core of the Hawaiian being that it was perhaps, at one time, a cultural norm, a way of being that was not intellectualized. Through their growing understandings of mele, hula, farming, fishing, and various other cultural practices, contemporary Hawaiians uncover their way of being via aloha ‘āina. In doing so, we unlock ancestral memories which seem familiar. We remember values that eventually become second nature. These are the deliverables at stake in mele scholarship.¹

This thesis provides another look into the concentric ripples of time by exploring the connection and uniqueness of different types of mele. I focus on the concept of aloha ‘āina in hīmeni Hawai‘i, the pebble we continue to rediscover on various levels. Following works by other Hawaiian scholars such as R. Keawe Lopes (2010), Kīhei de Silva (1997), Leilani Basham (2007), Pua Kanahēle (2011), and many more, I view mele as an apparatus of discovery, a means by which we can study the ripples of time as mele have captured them. Specifically, this project analyzes a certain type of mele, hīmeni Hawai‘i, and how this specific genre has synthesized aloha ‘āina in a specific ripple of time: the politically-tumultuous, late 19th century in Hawai‘i. To understand hīmeni Hawai‘i, and its role both in the 19th century and today, this research project unpacks the multiple layers of aloha ‘āina as it intersects with mele. The next few sections serve to frame the multi-dimensional contexts of hīmeni Hawai‘i before delving into the analyses of hīmeni Hawai‘i.

It is my hope that this thesis offers another pebble, a humble contribution to build upon the kahua (foundation) of collective Hawaiian scholarship. In a time of cultural reconstruction and restoration, every little pebble of who we once were, especially those found in mele, is

paramount. Pebble by pebble, we continue rebuild and redefine intellectual structures of our ancestors, not only for scholarship's sake, but for the future and well-being of Hawaiians.

MELE LĀHUI

The period of time between 1893 and 1898 was arguably the most politically tumultuous time in the history of the lāhui Hawai‘i. In 1893, a group of American businessmen dethroned Queen Lili‘uokalani and proclaimed the instatement of a new provisional government. In 1898, this provisional government attempted to annex Hawai‘i to the United States of America via joint resolution. Though invalid by international law, Hawai‘i was "accepted" as a territory first, and later, state, of the United States of America. This has resulted in the illegal occupation of Hawai‘i by the United States of America that continues today.

Within the period of time between the overthrow and so-called annexation, Hawaiians and other loyalists to the crown responded in many ways, including two rebellions led by Robert William Kalanihiapo Wilcox.² These events inspired a Hawaiian nationalism and activism that has become synonymous with the era. While some, like Wilcox, responded to these atrocities with force, others took to the newspapers to express their disgust at the political situation and its dire implications of stolen land and sovereignty. These cries of injustice and steadfast patriotism by kūpuna (ancestors) are forever recorded in an expression very familiar to Hawaiians: mele, or poetic Hawaiian song. One specific type of mele, mele lāhui (nationalist songs), has become synonymous with the time period.

Leilani Basham explains that mele lāhui consist of "nationalist poetic texts composed in honor of the Lāhui Hawai‘i, our landbase, and our continued independence and sovereignty" (2007). Basham further explains the context in which these mele lāhui were composed:

He wā haunaele nō ka wā i haku ‘ia ai nei [mau] mele ma muli o ka lilo a me ka loli mau loa o ke kū‘oko‘a o ke Aupuni a me ka Lāhui Hawai‘i. No nā kānaka he nui, ‘o ke mele lāhui kahi i hō‘ike ‘ia aku ai ko lākou mana‘o no ia mau hana a me ia wā ho‘i. Ma loko o kā lākou mele i haku ai, mele mai nō lākou no ko lākou aloha i ka ‘āina, ka lāhui, a me ke kū‘oko‘a mau o Hawai‘i. He mea ia mau mele e lana ai ka mana‘o o ka maka heluhelu, a he mea ho‘i ia e mau ai a e ulu ai ho‘i ke kūpa‘a o ka mana‘o a me ka na‘au o ka lāhui (Basham 2007).

Translated as:

The time in which these mele were composed was a time of tumult due to the lost and the permanently transformed independence of the government and the Hawaiian nation. For many people, mele lāhui was the place where their thoughts regarding the occurrences of the time were presented. Within the mele they composed, they truly sing their love for the land, the nation, and the everlasting independence of Hawai‘i. These mele served to uplift the minds of readers and to preserve and grow the steadfastness of the thoughts and feelings of the nation.³

The fact that hīmeni Hawai‘i shares this politically charged context with mele lāhui brings to question the possible connection, or apparent lack thereof, between this context and hīmeni Hawai‘i.

Nationalist sentiments expressed in mele lāhui are obvious. They are direct, most times unveiled in the Hawaiian literary technique of kaona (hidden meaning) (Pukui, 1940: 2). The attitudes expressed feelings of resistance to a foreign, offending, governmental power, and loyalty to the nation and ‘āina. Mele lāhui have allowed scholars to peer into the minds and hearts of their many composers to draw possible conclusions regarding the thoughts and emotions of the lāhui during a challenging period of our history. This retrospection, in turn, gives the opportunity to apply the sentiments of mele lāhui to more current struggles of the lāhui (Hawaiian nation). Noelani Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua mentions these struggles, and the influence of aloha ‘āina, in acknowledging George Jarrett Helm, Jr.:

[He was] a Hawaiian musician, public intellectual, and activist who became a leader of the movement to stop the U.S. Navy's use of the island of Kaho‘olawe as a bombing target.... An eloquent orator and writer, Helm often sang and quoted 'E Mau' [a mele written by Alvin Kaleolani Isaacs] as he talked to others about the importance of aloha

‘āina, loving the land, and the need to defend Kaho‘olawe and Hawaiian culture against further destruction by the U.S. Military. (2014: 6)

"E Mau," she writes, echoes King Kamehameha III's motto "Ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina i ka pono" and "framed it as a comand: 'E mau ke Ea o Hawaii i ka pono.' The life and sovereignty of Hawai'i must continue in pono (justice, balance, goodness)" (2014: 6). In singing this older sentiment in a newer context, Helm renews aloha ‘āina through this mele lāhui. In this way, current understandings of sentiments in mele lāhui allow for the extrapolation of a Hawaiian identity today. A hypothetical ideal like, "If our kūpuna (ancestors) thought/felt/acted this way, we should follow in their footsteps," may be a common, and valid, justification. Ultimately, mele lāhui, and everything below its surface, provides an opportunity for the resurgence of a cultural identity.

Mele lāhui, however, was not the only genre of mele expression prevalent during this time. Hīmeni Hawai‘i, another genre predominant in the late 19th century of the Hawaiian kingdom, widens the scope through which one may look to kūpuna in retrospection. Below are two examples. The first is an excerpt from a mele lāhui, and the second is an excerpt from a hīmeni Hawai‘i. Both will be analyzed later in this thesis.

Hookahi mea nui i ka lahui.
Ke aloha aina e hoolulu nei,

There is one important thing to the nation
The love of the land that waits calmly
(Testa, 1895)⁴

Noe wale mai no ka nahele,
He ua nihi pali,
Luhe ka lau o ka palai,
Elo i ka ua Waahila.

The wilderness is misty
A cliff-creeping rain
The leaf of the fern is heavy
Drenched in the Wa‘ahila rain
(Holstein, 1897)⁵

It is important, at this point, to mention the lack of modern Hawaiian orthography – the use of the ‘okina and kahakō, – in the original texts of the mele presented in this thesis. Because

modern orthography was not yet standardized at the time of the publication of these mele, I present them here in their original state.

Even in short excerpts, contrasts between the two genres appear. While mele lāhui features direct expression of aloha ‘āina, hīmeni Hawai‘i are characterized by more flowery, natural imagery of the ‘āina, often used to express the affection for a loved one. While mele lāhui are structured in strophic couplet form, hīmeni Hawai‘i are characterized by verse/chorus structure. However, what hīmeni Hawai‘i provides mele scholarship does not replace the contributions of mele lāhui. Hīmeni Hawai‘i, instead, contributes to a higher vantage point by which contemporary views of the late 19th century are made more rich with varied expressions of aloha ‘āina.

SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH: AIA I KA MEA E MELE ANA

My motivation to write on hīmeni Hawai‘i is two-fold. The first is to respond to academia's prevalent views of the political climate of the late 19th century in the Hawaiian kingdom as one that is characterized by outward expressions of resistance. The second is to explore the effect of these mele on the views on contemporary Hawaiian epistemologies. While scholars⁶ cite the many accounts of mele lāhui, they effectively historicize the political climate of the time. If Hawaiians look to the past for guidance, historicizing the Hawaiian identity as solely politically reactive will have repercussions in the future. For example, the potential problem surfaces when the identity of a people is defined solely by their political activity. This political sentiment is only a facet of the more fundamental aloha ‘āina sentiment found in hīmeni Hawai‘i.

Historically, the latter half of the 19th century is peppered with political events of unrest, resistance, and protest that are often accompanied by the term "aloha ‘āina," literally translated

as "love of land." Today, those who dispute the controversial use of land throughout Hawai'i often cite aloha 'āina as their proud flag of resistance and solidarity. Many of these pro-Hawaiian, pro-'āina (land) movements and sentiments were recorded through mele.

The aforementioned account by Goodyear-Ka'ōpua regarding George Helm is an example of this aloha 'āina sentiment (2014: 6). Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio also recounts Helm's and his contemporaries' use of the term "aloha 'āina."

Aloha 'Āina became the official motto of the 'Ohana [referring to the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana] appropriate not only for the meaning of the words, to cherish and care for the land, but for the historical symbolism of the name. *Ke Aloha 'Āina* had been the name of Joseph Nāwahī's turn-of-the-century newspaper distinguished by its wholehearted support of Hawaiians and their culture and its biting criticism of the haole [foreigner] elite. Aloha 'Āina as an idea would quickly distinguish the 'Ohana from Hawaiian movements like ALOHA and later organizations like the Office of Hawaiian Affairs that pressed for monetary reparations from the government rather than contesting the issues of land use and land management. (2014, 146).

Existing scholarship on aloha 'āina in mele focuses on responses to the political turmoil of the late 19th century, specifically, 1893-1898, the time of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy by American businessmen with the help of the U.S. military until the so-called annexation of Hawai'i to the United States of America. Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman writes of mele lāhui like "Kaulana Nā Pua" by Ellen Kekoahikaikalani Wright Prendergast and its function as an anthem of aloha 'āina during this time in history until today.⁷ Noenoe Silva writes on the aloha 'āina about which "both ali'i and maka'āinana have composed hundreds, perhaps thousands, of songs."⁸ Leilani Basham has also dedicated her thesis and dissertation to mele lāhui as an expression of aloha 'āina.⁹ Through these mele lāhui, the same expressions of patriotism that were published and sung during the late 19th century echo through the hearts and minds of generations of Hawaiians to follow. The results of such momentous bodies of work and others like them have effectively established understandings of aloha 'āina in mele in the contemporary

minds of academia. These works have described aloha ‘āina in the context of mele lāhui: an overt, reactive expression of one's love of ‘āina.

This thesis explores mele that serve to expand this Hawaiian notion of "aloha ‘āina." I argue that aloha ‘āina, as understood through mele lāhui, is only one expression of a larger aloha ‘āina sentiment. Hīmeni Hawai‘i exemplify another expression of aloha ‘āina through the use of specific thematic imagery from nature. Mele lāhui exemplify more bold statements of aloha ‘āina as an action rather than a fundamental sentiment. Both mele lāhui and hīmeni Hawai‘i are different expressions of the same aloha ‘āina. While the structure, delivery, and intended audiences differ, both serve a function to transmit aloha ‘āina to today's Hawaiians, many of whom must relearn its essence.

The aesthetic principles of the poetic expressions found in hīmeni Hawai‘i promote different sentiments of aloha ‘āina – one that is not of kū‘ē (resistant) sentiments, but of kūpa‘a (steadfast) sentiments. While kū‘ē sentiments in mele lāhui provide action and response to the political climate of the late 19th century, kūpa‘a sentiments in hīmeni Hawai‘i are, in fact, the source of the kū‘ē sentiment. While the kūpa‘a sentiment of aloha ‘āina is the essentially what one feels toward the connection to his/her ‘āina, the kū‘ē sentiment is that which occurs when this kūpa‘a sentiment is challenged. The kū‘ē sentiment, comes from, responds to, and protects the kūpa‘a sentiment. Hīmeni Hawai‘i, thus, enriches current perspectives and historical narratives of the political climate of the late 19th century, and ultimately, the applications of this aloha ‘āina sentiment in a contemporary Hawaiian society.

HĪMENI HAWAI‘I

Pre-existing scholarship on hīmeni Hawai‘i, though sparse, provides a basis for further understanding hīmeni Hawai‘i. Elizabeth Tatar categorizes major historical periods of Hawaiian music in the forward of *Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Encyclopedic History* (Kanahele 2012). Tatar locates hīmeni Hawai‘i in "Period II (1872-ca. 1900)," a time of "Henri Berger, The Royal Hawaiian Band, and the royal music clubs, ... the most famous of which was the Kawaihau Glee Club." She continues her summary of the time period:

The waltz was in fashion. Pianos and zithers accompanied the prolific compositions of royalty. The common folk embraced the guitar. Hawaiian music, by now firmly based in hymn harmony, began discovering wider vistas of melody... That special Hawaiian voice, finally acknowledged in writing, sang songs like "Koni Au I Ka Wai," "Poli Anuanu," and "Aloha ‘Oe." (Tatar, xlii-xliv)

Amy Ku‘uleialoha Stillman (1987:22) categorizes the Westernized styles of Hawaiian music of the late 19th century. Three of her categories are relevant to hīmeni Hawai‘i:

1. Hīmeni: "sacred hymns whose texts were translated into Hawaiian form from American and European sources."
2. Hīmeni-type song: "secular songs that differ from their sacred models only in their text content; in form (alternation of verse and chorus) and melodic style, hīmeni-type songs are indistinguishable from hīmeni."
3. Hula ku‘i: "emerged out of the late-nineteenth-century revival of Hawaiian dance (*hula*), in which practitioners creatively sought to combine (*ku‘i*) features of older Hawaiian music and dance with new Western traditions."

Hīmeni Hawai‘i fall under the category "hīmeni-type songs" that is, songs that are of hīmeni (hymn) musical structure (verse/chorus) but of secular content. Thus they are not hīmeni, but share the same structure.

James Revel Carr adds that this hīmeni-type structure is closely related to sea chanteys, the work songs of sailors and whalers, many of whom were Hawaiian.

In the personal songbooks of Queen Lili‘uokalani and King Kalākaua, as well as in other collections of Hawaiian mele, there are dozens of songs, in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century styles of hīmeni, hula ku‘i, and hapa haole, which clearly show the influence of sailor’s music. The maritime connection is most explicit in the lyrical content of the songs, many of which describe voyages to foreign lands, or the life of a sailor, and others that use maritime imagery such as the ship’s mast, wheel, or sails as metaphors. Many more songs of this era may not share the same lyric emphasis on maritime life and culture, but share musical settings that have the typical stanzaic structure, chord progressions, and European dance music rhythms associated with both hula ku‘i and the music of the whalers. (2014: 217-218)

The relationship of these two seemingly different genres coincides with whaling in Hawai‘i being that whaling also saw its popularity during the 19th century. While acknowledging this connection, the hīmeni structure of hīmeni Hawai‘i is more likely to have been influenced by hīmeni itself, simply based on the fact that hīmeni were sung in churches throughout the islands, while sea chanteys would quite literally come and go.

It is important to further define hīmeni-type songs by comparing them to their 19th century counterpart: hula ku‘i. Besides structural differences between the two genres (hula ku‘i being strophic couplets), Stillman suggests that the difference is also social:¹⁰

Himemi-type songs enjoyed immense popularity in the mid- and late-nineteenth century, particularly among those segments of the Hawaiian community whose members aspired to Westernized lifestyles. Hawaii at the time was undergoing transformation into a cosmopolitan Western society, and the emulation of Western models was considered desirable. (Stillman 1987: 224)

That hula ku‘i is danced and hīmeni and hīmeni-type songs were not is also notable in this comparison. Stillman identifies hula ku‘i as an "unabashed" Hawaiian practice: "The hula was regarded throughout the nineteenth century as an offensive element by those aligned with the Christian and Western segments of the community, so to them, the hula ku‘i was an outcast

genre" (Stillman 1987: 225-26). However, the social divide Stillman presents, represented by hula ku‘i and hīmeni Hawai‘i, may not properly represent the period of time.

Stillman's delineation between hula ku‘i as an "outcast genre" and hīmeni Hawai‘i does not allow for variation within the diverse population of those who appreciate mele. Being that mele were distributed via nūpepa (newspaper), accessibility and appreciation of mele was widespread. Thus, I would add to her categorization the fact that access to hula ku‘i or hīmeni Hawai‘i was based on its publication in the newspaper, and thus, transcended social boundaries.

Additionally, if Stillman's social categorization of these two types of mele held true, I would assume that composers would only compose in the style appropriate to their social class. However, Queen Lili‘uokalani composed in both styles: hula ku‘i and hīmeni Hawai‘i. Perhaps it is necessary to ammend Stillman's delineations of social boundaries represented in the two genres to include a more complicated and diverse description of the soundscape of the time.

As Stillman's definition suggests, hīmeni-type songs are influenced by hīmeni, that is, Christian hymns:

Secular Hawaiian songs by Hawaiian composers used traditional poetic conventions, but melodies were modeled on the form and structure of American gospel hymns, in which verses and refrain alternate; hence it is convenient to refer to these songs as "hīmeni-type" songs. (Stillman 1989:19-20)

Thus, hīmeni-type songs are defined by two criteria: traditional poetic conventions, and identical musical structure to that of Christian hymns. Although Stillman's two-fold definition proves useful to hone in on a definition of hīmeni-type songs, her description of the literary aspects of the mele only *excludes* Christian subject matter and does not explore the actual content of this "secular" genre. However, her description of the musical aspects, that hīmeni-type songs are musically "indistinguishable from hīmeni," holds to be valid (Stillman 1987: 224). Thus, Stillman's categorization of hīmeni-type songs refers more to the musical structure of hīmeni-

type songs, rather than the content of genre itself. It explains more of the structural prerequisites than it does the content of the mele. This musical structure, coupled with the traditional poetic conventions of the Hawaiian language, has made hīmeni Hawai‘i a hybridized musical practice that has eventually become localized and accepted as tradition. However, this tradition is obviously based in innovation. This innovation is one example of how Hawaiians of the time were not necessarily stagnant in their practices.

Therefore my use of the term "hīmeni Hawai‘i" attempts to be more specific than the parameters of Stillman's "hīmeni-type songs," or "mele Hawai‘i" revealing specific salient textual themes on which I expand later in this thesis. Coupled with musical analyses of examples of hīmeni Hawai‘i, the analysis of this genre enriches the knowledge of its popularity in the late 19th century.

KA BUKE MELE O NA HIMENI HAWAII

In search of possible recurrent or prevalent themes, I consulted *Ka Buke Mele o na Himeni Hawaii I haku a mele ia e na kahuli leo lea o ka aina o na Home Hawaii Pono*, a book of hīmeni Hawai‘i compiled by Ed. C. Holstein and published by the Hawaiian News Co. Ltd. in 1897, four years after the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and one year before the illegal annexation of Hawai‘i to the United States of America. In 2003, the collection was reprinted by the Bishop Museum Press as *The Lyric Book of Hawaiian Choral Songs Composed and sung by the joyful-voiced native forest shells of Truly Hawaiian Homes* (Holstein 1897).

Although this publication was compiled by Ed. C. Holstein, a clerk of the Hawaiian News Co. Ltd., it is perhaps the identity of the owner of the company that adds to the context in which this book was compiled. Hawaiian News Co. Ltd. was owned by Col. John Harris Soper, a

marshal of the Kingdom who was responsible for suppressing the Robert W. Wilcox rebellion in 1895. In 1893, the year of the overthrow, "Soper was called upon by the Provisional Government to head their forces, and under his command the monarchy was overthrown" (Day 1984). The political views of Col. Soper may be found in the fact that practically no blatant Hawaiian nationalism is found in *Ka Buke Mele o Na Himeni Hawaii*.

I surmise that perhaps Soper had published such a momentous collection of seemingly apolitical mele as a counter to the popularity of a collection of mele lāhui, *Buke Mele Lahui*. If so, Soper's intentions may have backfired. While trying to suppress the overt aloha 'āina of mele lāhui, he may have unknowingly promoted another type of aloha 'āina found in the hīmeni Hawai'i he had published in *Ka Buke Mele o Na Himeni Hawaii*.

This publication is an ammendment to the 157 mele found in an 1888 publication, *Ka Hoonanea o Na Home Hawaii*, to form a grand total of 297 mele in the 1897 publication of *Ka Buke Mele o na Himeni Hawaii*. The number of mele amassed in one publication makes this book "the largest collection published at the time," and one that may effectively represent the largest collection of hīmeni Hawai'i, which make up over 260 of the 297 mele in this collection (Nogelmeier 2003: iii-v).

In the 2003 reprint of *Ka Buke Mele o na Himeni Hawaii*, Nogelmeier writes that "the absence of explicit political content in one collection [*Ka Buke Mele o Na Himeni Hawaii*] and the intentional presence of such content in another [*Buke Mele Lahui*] of the same period merits further study" (2003). Being that both hīmeni Hawai'i and mele lāhui share the same context in the late-19th century, historiography of mele lāhui will also contribute to historicizing hīmeni Hawai'i. The constructed values assigned to mele lāhui are perhaps the reason why the aloha

‘āina expressed in hīmeni Hawai‘i, and its value toward enriching perspectives of the late-19th century, have been overshadowed until now.

The analysis of hīmeni Hawai‘i found in this collection will expose one of the recurring sentiments of hīmeni Hawai‘i which I refer to as the "nahele motif" later in this thesis. This sentiment exemplifies aloha ‘āina as an appreciation for the aesthetics of ‘āina.

POSITIONALITY

For the majority of the 20th century, parents and grandparents discouraged their children and grandchildren from speaking Hawaiian, as it was considered undesirable in society. It was not until the late 1970s, when a cultural renaissance reinvigorated the restoration of Hawaiian language and practices, that spoken Hawaiian was encouraged. Through the institutionalization of Hawaiian language programs, from preschool to college, generations to follow continue to learn Hawaiian as a second language.

I am a product of this educational system that continues to work toward the restoration of language and culture. Though I grew up listening to mele on the radio, and eventually performing Hawaiian music in school, at home, and in the community, I did not begin to understand the concept of mele until I learned my language: ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language). My formal training in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i did not start until my first year in college. However, I did not start in Hawaiian 101. The placement exam I took prior to the start of the semester suggested that I start at Hawaiian 201. I cannot take credit for this. Because of my knowledge of mele, my access to ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i was more than I had realized. Though I did not know the names of sentence structures, vocabulary, and other articles of the language, mele instilled a certain flow

of lyrics that eventually sounded familiar. Drawing on this familiarity was my first step into reclaiming my language. Mele, thus, was my first teacher of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i.

The access to ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i further augmented my abilities as a performer and composer of mele. Because of various and influential kumu (teachers) in my life, I have come to know mele not only as an artifact of culture, but as a practice itself. Delivering heightened expressions of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i became much more important than the desire to please an audience of one or many. Serving the mele, in this way, brought forth new understandings of the practice itself. Thus, these experiences with mele, both academically and practically, inform my research.

METHODOLOGY

Hawaiian music (save slack key and nose flute) is logogenic: the word, not the music, is of utmost importance. This trait informs my methodology when gathering, aggregating, and analyzing data in two parts: textual analysis and musical analysis. Though musical analysis will constitute and validate this project as fitting in the discipline of ethnomusicology, the study would not be complete, perhaps in majority, without textual analysis. The combination of both aspects will contribute to the study of hīmeni Hawai‘i, not only as a musical apparatus, but a social one.

Due to the logogenic nature of Hawaiian music, translations of the text will also aid in the study of hīmeni Hawai‘i. However, the analysis of the hīmeni Hawai‘i will be through the text itself, in its original appearance in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. In doing so, the lack of fidelity translations provide is avoided, resulting in a more direct analysis of the mele examples. I focus on common literary themes found in hīmeni Hawai‘i. In order to effectively analyze this large body of work, I have chosen exemplary hīmeni Hawai‘i in *Ka Buke Mele o Na Himeni Hawaii* (The Song

Book of Hīmeni Hawai‘i) to represent the corpus of hīmeni Hawai‘i. Those hīmeni Hawai‘i that best present the salient and identifying themes will serve as the subject of analysis. These examples of hīmeni Hawai‘i were chosen based on their ability to demonstrate the common uses of textual and musical themes found throughout the hīmeni Hawai‘i in Holstein's collection. Textually, the main focus of this project is the utilization of "nahele" imagery. Just within Holstein's publication, *Ka Buke Mele o Na Himeni Hawaii*, the word "nahele" is mentioned 112 times. Being that the nahele motif is also based on other ideas of wetness, fragrance, and the upland/mountainous regions of the ‘āina, the 112 mentions are only a fraction of the use of the nahele motif throughout the collection of hīmeni Hawai‘i. Musically, these three examples provide commonalities found in other hīmeni Hawai‘i as well.

Mele, as explained in the second chapter, is more than the sound of Hawaiian music. At its foundation, mele is language. Without language, without the text of the mele themselves, there is no sound. Ironically, the field of ethnomusicology seems to permit the study of mele because of the *sound* it creates and the *culture* that abides. However, in the chapters below, I hope to augment the perception of Hawaiian music so that I, and other Hawaiian scholars to follow, may study mele – so that text may be the primary subject of focus. Though musical analyses of the sounds of mele are included below, my focus remains on that from which the sounds of mele exist: ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. The studying of these texts, as I have learned in my own journey of mele discovery, is of most interest and importance to the culture in which it thrives. I approach the analyses below through both a musical and ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i lens. Though much can be said about the musical attributes of the mele analyzed below, the focused study of its lyrics, in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, seems to yield the most significant findings.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter one introduces "hīmeni Hawai‘i," via literature review, the significance of the research, and my positionality in writing on this subject. This chapter frames the research with a logogenic lens – making the analysis of text paramount. Chapter two analyzes mele, aloha ‘āina, and their intersections in the context of this research. This foundational knowledge sets up the framework for the research and mele analyses conducted in the follow chapters. Chapter three analyzes the texts of three exemplary hīmeni Hawai‘i and discusses the usage of the nahele motif and its internal and external implications. Chapter four analyzes the musical attributes of the same three hīmeni Hawai‘i and discusses the innovation of Western musical forms with Hawaiian texts. Chapter five reviews conclusions from the mele analyses by elucidating salient themes, both textual and musical. These themes support the overall thesis and apply to contemporary notions of Hawaiian epistemology and identity.

CHAPTER 2

MELE AND ALOHA ‘ĀINA

In order to understand hīmeni Hawai‘i, a general understanding of mele, the overall Hawaiian poetic/musical expression, is required. An understanding of aloha ‘āina, as the fundamental topic of this thesis, also provides for foundational knowledge. The intersections of mele and the fundamental sentiment of aloha ‘āina – mele aloha ‘āina – will further provide a foundation for the understanding of hīmeni Hawai‘i, specifically. This chapter serves to elucidate these concepts in preparation for the analysis of examples of hīmeni Hawai‘i in later chapters.

MELE

Mele has proven to be a corpus of knowledge that provides inspiration for the composition of various articles, dissertations, and publications.¹¹ This brief overview of mele here is not to be an exhaustive list of the countless types of mele in existence (Lopes, 2010) and the tangential information that continues to enrich our understanding thereof. Rather, this explanation serves to frame one's understanding of mele, its fundamental traits, and function, in general terms, as to prepare the reader for the mele analyses in the following chapters.

Mele can be understood as being fundamentally based in language, as a cultural transmission, and as a cultural practice. These three attributes provide a framework for understanding mele from a macroscopic, yet valuable, perspective.

There is a difference between Hawaiian music and mele. Hawaiian music is the symphony of various sounds, both endemic and introduced to this archipelago of the Pacific. The sounds of ‘ukulele and steel guitars come to mind, with harmonious voices singing of an island home and the aloha from which it is inspired. This stereotypical sample of Hawaiian music, in

this case, emphasizes the sonic attributes of the music that is defined by anything relating to Hawai‘i.

Mele goes beyond Hawaiian music. Mele, as defined by Pukui and Elbert, is "song, anthem, chant of any kind; poem, poetry; to sing, chant" (1986: 245). Though Hawaiian music may often contain text, mele emphasizes the text. Thus, mele are logogenic. Words/lyrics are paramount. Usually ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (in the Hawaiian language), the text of a mele is the foundation of the expression itself.

That mele be ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i is important on various levels. Ngugi Wa Thing'o states that "any language has a dual character: it is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture" (1997: 13) The same is true for ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, and likewise, both characteristics are integral in mele. This is evident in a well-known ‘ōlelo no‘eau (Hawaiian proverb). Mary Kawena Pukui translates this ‘ōlelo no‘eau, "I ka ‘ōlelo nō ke ola, i ka ‘ōlelo no ka make," as "life is in speech, death is in speech" (1983). This saying is often used in the context of watching what one says: a wrong word or turn of phrase toward a person is equivalent to that of a physical altercation. It is the opposite of the saying, "Sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never hurt me." The ‘ōlelo no‘eau assures Hawaiians that the consequences of the spoken word are equal to, if not worse than, that of a "stick or stone."

One can also interpret the ‘ōlelo no‘eau to address larger ideals. The "‘ōlelo" in "I ka ‘ōlelo nō ke ola, i ka ‘ōlelo nō ka make" can also refer to the Hawaiian language in general. In this translation, "life is in ‘ōlelo, death is in ‘ōlelo." This conceptualization encompasses the importance of the Hawaiian language to include everything between life and death itself.

Based in a traditionally oral society, this all-encompassing attitude toward language, especially when spoken, is perhaps difficult for most Hawaiian speakers and non-Hawaiian

speakers to internalize today. This is primarily due to the fact that we are afforded the technology of the written word. Before missionaries introduced the written word to Hawai‘i in 1820, Hawaiians had no formalized written language. In a time when written, contractual agreements seem to hold more weight than a verbal agreement, we may find it difficult to imagine a world without written language. All the "weight" of language, then, is in its spoken form and its sonic utterances.

The Hawaiian value embodied in language is further exemplified even after the written word is introduced. This new technology of communication found exponential growth in the printed press. While researching Hawaiian language newspapers, termed "nūpepa" by Hawaiians, Puakea Nogelmeier maintains that nūpepa "provided a public setting resonant with an oral tradition" (2010: 81). In fact, this new technology of the written word promoted widespread literacy:

The acknowledgement of full literacy was general among Hawaiians and their foreign contemporaries. Thus, as Hawaiian writers took an active role in writing and publishing text for national distribution, they were aware that they were writing for, and reading along with, a fully-literate, populace. (2010: 72)

That the citizens of a nation would be "fully-literate," in a traditionally oral society, exemplifies the common cultural value of language itself. Ngugi's definition of language, being a "means of communication," is not only exemplified in the above instances, but furthermore emphasized when the values of an oral society are carried over into the practice of written word. Nogelmeier points out this emphasis in the fact that "[t]he archival repository in Hawai‘i includes hundreds of books, vast manuscript resources, and over 125,000 published newspaper pages" (2010: 59). Widespread adoption of written language, especially in that of "the Hawaiian newspaper corpus, emphasizes how different aspects of the repository, more than simply its size, present critical resources for scholars, researchers, and practitioners today." (2010: 58)

Following Ngugi's definition, language carries culture. Language in mele, according to Keawe Lopes, "seem to be for the purpose of transmitting information" (2014, x). With some mele texts predating written record, the cultural transmission of knowledge is lost if not in its original language of expression. Even the translation of this information would result in a loss of fidelity and the characteristic essence of the Hawaiian language in general. Kanahele supports this transmission of knowledge in *Ka Honua Ola* in saying that mele is "a pursuit of knowledge." (2011, xiv).

To understand the many levels of mele, one must digest, believe in, invest in, defend and commit to Hawaiian cultural practices and Hawaiian language arts. The Hawaiian cultural knowledge one possesses, along with the clues presented in chants, creates a stage for enlightenment - a junction where memory and na'au meet and produce instantaneous moments when ancestral knowledge is reborn again. (2011, xv-xvi).

Kanahele suggests that through mele, one may rediscover the ancestral knowledge embedded in the expression itself. Alan Merriam supports this access of knowledge via mele:

[S]ong itself gives the freedom to express thoughts, ideas, and comments which cannot be stated baldly in the normal language situation. It appears, then, that song texts, because of the special kind of license that singing them apparently gives, afford an extremely useful means for obtaining kinds of information which are not otherwise easily accessible. (1964, 193).

This privy information, in the context of hīmeni Hawai'i, are the themes of aloha 'āina that are embedded in the nuanced texts. This information made accessible through song, however, may bear many different interpretations. Kahikina de Silva explains this concept, which I summarize below, of mele consisting of different mana (versions). She uses the hand and fingers as an example.

Each finger is called a "manamana lima," that is, a "version/appendage" of the lima (hand). The lima consists of five manamana lima. Each manamana lima is important and fundamental to the make-up of the lima itself. In other words, the definition of the lima consists

of all the manamana lima. Were one manamana lima to disappear, the entire lima would be different, thus making each manamana lima integral to the whole.

The same is true with mele and its mana ("manamana" is simply a reduplication of "mana"). Mele have many different interpretations because of the possibilities afforded by the Hawaiian language. Though the composer may have his/her own mana of the mele, other readers may formulate their own mana. All mana – all interpretations – contribute to the mele as a whole. This simultaneous validity of multiple, and sometimes even conflicting, interpretations of the same text, calls for a multi-dimensional analysis of mele.

de Silva's explanation of this diverse nature of mele finds its application through the actual cultural practice of *doing* mele. Lopes establishes that,

Hawaiians functioned in a sophisticated oral based society where mele were used to maintain important events in a language that was descriptive in form, poetic in nature and perpetuated by the stewardship and performance of the ho‘opa‘a [retainer/performer of mele]" (2010: 42).

The ho‘opa‘a, thus, is the mele practitioner – he/she who *does* mele.

In performance, traditional mele were in chant (oli) form. Various vocal methods of oli delivery, as would be classified in a modern ethnomusicology realm, make up the "musical" aspect of the oli. However, separating text from delivery becomes problematic in a logogenic practice. The logogenic nature of mele marginalizes the "musical" or sonic aspect of the delivery, because it is simply a byproduct of the text itself.

Below is an example of the chant "Kawika," a name song for King Kalākaua, performed by Andy Cummings. The recording features two settings of the same text below:

Kāwika

Eia nō Kāwika
Ka heke a‘o nā pua

Here is David¹²
The greatest of descendants

Ka uila ma ka hikina
Mālamalama Hawai‘i

The lightning in the east
Hawai‘i is vibrant

Ku‘i ē ka lono i Pelekāne
Ho‘olohe ke kuini o Palani

News has reached Britain
The Queen of France has also heard

Na wai ē ka pua i luna
‘O Kapa‘akea nō ka makua

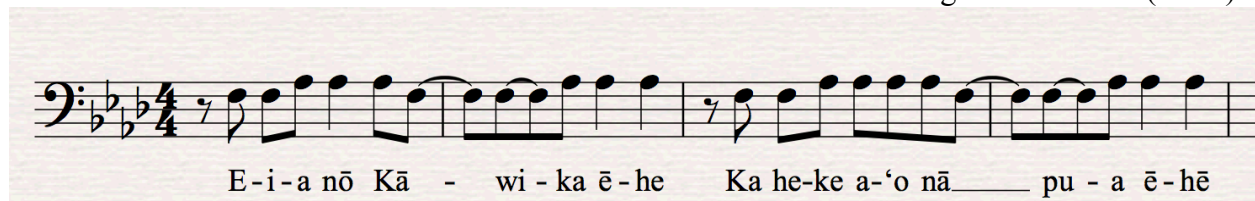
To whom does this descendant belong
Kapa‘akea was the name of his parent

Ha‘ina ‘ia mai ka puana
‘O Kalani Kāwika he inoa

Let the story be told
A name song for David, the heavenly one

Each verse is sung twice. The first time the verse is sung it is delivered in a chant style that would be traditionally danced as an ancient hula. The second time the verse is sung, it is delivered in a modern setting of the same text. This is a transcription of the first verse, sung the first time.

Figure 1: Kāwika (chant)¹³



The melody seen here lacks elaborate melismatic material simply because the melody is based on the syllables of the text. There is no need for extra musical material because the text is paramount. Obstructing the delivery of text with an excess of vocalization defeats the purpose of delivering the mele itself. Also worth noting is the addition of "ēhē." Pukui defines this as "similar in function to the English 'tra-la-la'" (1986: 38). Though it does not carry particular meaning, the aspirated sound serves a rhythmic function in conjunction with the percussive drum or ipu beats.

Even in more modern settings of mele, melodies do not stray too far away from the syllabic setting of the text.

Figure 2: Kāwika (melody)¹⁴



Alongside the vocal capacities of sung/accompanied and chanted text, mele catalyzes text into a directed performance, one that has a specific intention with a multiplicity of outcomes. A mele practitioner, then, is one who "meles" with the cognizance of a cultural practice, perhaps akin to modern-day practices of hula, farming, fishing, etc. Thus, a mele practitioner does not simply create music or sound. A mele practitioner's main focus is to deliver text in a heightened form of oration with the intention of achieving an outcome. The sonic utterance of the mele, then, becomes the integral aspect in which cultural meaning is embedded.

Taking this idea one step further, mele is not only a substance of culture, it is an action and a sonic manifestation of cultural values. A mele practitioner is one who delivers mele in such a fashion that a response occurs. The response could be by the seen, the unseen, or the environment itself. In "Meles of Old Ka'ū," Pukui writes that,

[c]arelessness in the choice of words might result in death for the composer or the person for whom it was composed.... Words and word combinations were studied to see whether they were auspicious or not. There were always two things to consider, the literal meaning and the kaona, the inner meaning. (1940, 1-2).

Both literal and veiled meanings bear consequences, both positive and negative. The skill of the mele practitioner is determined by his/her ability to wield words as powerful and active accoutrements of influence. Already, a culture that holds words in high regard, elevating the delivery of these words even further elevates its influence. Pukui shares a personal anecdote of this type of intentional influence:

A relative of mine, of my grandmother's generation, had a lover who was very dear to her. He came to Honolulu and forgot to return after finding another sweetheart in town. She promptly composed a poem in which she used many words meaning to bind, to make

fast, to nail down securely, and move them in a poem for hula dancing. She chanted it at the first birthday party of a cousin, and so delighted her hearers that she was asked to repeat it several times. In the meantime, a feeling of restlessness came over her lover in Honolulu. A longing to see his Ka‘ū sweetheart seized him, and he took the first boat to Hawai‘i. He could hardly wait to marry her. (1940, 6-7)

Mele, then, have the potential of supernatural force that cause desired reactions. One may say that accounts like Pukui's can simply be a result of conjecture and coincidence. However, returning again to the cultural value of words, especially in the heightened deliveries of mele practitioners, the practice of intentional influences is not farfetched.

In *Nānā i ke Kumu Vol II*, Pukui shares that "the spoken word did more than set into motion forces of destruction and death, forgiveness and healing. The word was itself a force." (1972: 124). Beyond the power of language in sound and semantic meaning, Pukui explains that ‘ōlelo accesses what some may consider the supernatural. One example is a specific practice called "lā‘au kāhea, the "calling" medicine." She explains that lā‘au kāhea,

not only administered lā‘au, plant medicines, it called (kāhea) directly and specifically on the gods, asking them to help the patient. Evidently, these were positive, certain-of-success prayers. We have not been able to obtain them. One Western physician who knew them in his lifetime wrote that, "Our sugar pills cannot possibly be as strong a psychic force as the beautiful and positive prayers of the kahuna kāhea, poetically calling for the disappearance of pain. (1974, 157).

With heightened linguistic practices that are known literally to bring life or death to a person, it is no surprise that mele, another heightened linguistic practice, also carries the same kinds of beliefs and results.

Mele, then, is the heightened delivery of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i by the mele practitioner, performed with an intention of influence. Language, cultural transmission, and cultural practice, the general attributes of mele, allow for the understanding of mele as it relates to the analyses presented in following chapters.

ALOHA ‘ĀINA

It is seemingly redundant to say that the notion of aloha ‘āina includes two major facets: aloha and ‘āina. However, this provides a framework by which one may understand the notion of aloha ‘āina. ‘Āina, first, is the fundamental aspect of this term.

‘Āina is a place-based concept unique to a Hawaiian worldview. Thus, the place to which ‘āina refers is Hawai‘i. According to Mary Kawena Pukui, ‘āina is simply and literally "land, earth" (Pukui 1986). This definition, however, is not limited to the physical/geological attributes of the land. It also includes the organic: the lush verdure that adorns the land as well as the creatures that inhabit it. Anything by which one experiences and interacts with nature is ‘āina. It encompasses everything from Hawai‘i's highest peak, Mauna Kea, to the shores carressed by the expanse of ocean.

Noelani Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua further expands on this definition of ‘āina to include kānaka (people) as well. Demonstrated in countless mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogies), wherein kānaka are descendants of ‘āina, the inclusion of kānaka in the definition of ‘āina can be attributed to the familial and symbiotic relationship kānaka ‘ōiwi have with ‘āina:

Kānaka also recognize our connection to ‘āina as genealogical because we are composed of ‘āina; the organic material of which we are made literally comes from the earth and is constantly returning to it. Our stories come from and are layered upon the land thus, many ‘Ōiwi [natives] assert that we are not only related to the land but also a part of what is referenced when one talks about ‘āina (Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua 2013: 33)

Including kānaka (humans) as a part of ‘āina creates an ecosystem in which everything and everyone is related and interconnected. David Malo supports this idea that kānaka is, in fact, a part of ‘āina in "Ka Moolelo Hawaii":

Ua kapa aku ka poe kahiko inoa no ko ka mokupuni mau mea ma ko lakou nana ana a kupo ko lakou manao ana, elua inoa i kapa ia ma ka mokupuni, he moku ka inoa, he aina kahi inoa, ma ka moku ana ia ke kai ua kapa ia he moku, a ma ka noho ana a kanaka, ua kapa ia he aina ka inoa (Malo 1838: 11)

Translation: The people of old named the islands' contents by what they saw, and their thoughts were suitable. There were two ways by which an island was named: "moku" was a name and "'āina" was a name. A land separated by the sea was called a moku, but with the inhabitation of man, it was called "'āina."

‘Āina, then, represents the kōkua and his/her ecosystem together as one entity. One does not supersede the other. A pono (righteous) relationship between ‘āina and kōkua (though one and the same), is one through which the well-being of both ‘āina and kōkua are maximized. This balance is achieved through aloha.

A dictionary definition of "aloha," though it exists, will forever be insufficient. Words like love, affection, compassion, admiration, and reverence only begin to explain this immeasurable concept. However, aloha does have at least one essential prerequisite: a relationship. Whether it be with another being, visible or not, or with oneself, aloha is as much a feeling as it is a transitive action. This action is not reserved for kōkua. The aloha between kōkua can also be shared with other objects that a Western perspective may consider inanimate: the aloha that kōkua share with each other is the same aloha that kōkua share with their environment, the ‘āina.

In a popular Hawaiian creation story, Hāloanakalaukapalili, the child of Wākea and Ho‘ohōkūkalani was stillborn. He was buried and a kalo grew in its place. A second child was born and was named Hāloa. He was the first man. This brotherly relationship demonstrates a healthy relationship between kōkua and ‘āina. As the younger brother tends to his older brother, the older brother, in turn makes sure the younger brother is fed and well. As kōkua takes care of the ‘āina, the ‘āina reciprocates by taking care of man.

In the context of aloha ‘āina, Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua states that "[i]t is through action, through practicing aloha ‘āina, that we produce ourselves in relation to and as a part of ‘āina"

(2013: 33). Thus aloha ‘āina describes the relationship between kānaka and ‘āina. It is the aloha of kānaka put to action for the betterment of the ‘āina, and vice versa.

I posit a framework for understanding aloha ‘āina. The practice of aloha ‘āina can be categorized into three types of expressions:

1. Mālama ‘āina (taking care of the land): Tending to the cyclical relationship between kānaka and ‘āina through land preservation and cultivation.
2. Kālai‘āina (relating to political aspects of land): acting on and advocating for political rights having to do with the use of land and natural resources.
3. Ho‘ohanohano ‘āina (extolling land): expressions of admiration for the aesthetic qualities of land through ‘ōlelo and various other forms.

While these expressions serve to categorize three major categories embodied in the concept of aloha ‘āina, in no way do they stand independent of each other. All three are interrelated and sometimes interdependent. For example, if a taro farmer practices mālama ‘āina, he may also practice kālai‘āina if the use of the water that feeds his taro is being contested. If a mele, a form of ho‘ohanohano ‘āina, is written about this farmer, this mele may be the catalyst for other farmers to practice kālai‘āina and stand for water rights by continuing and encouraging the practice of mālama ‘āina through farming taro. Numerous situations like this example exist in which these three categories are connected and dependent on each other.

Mele aloha ‘āina (songs of aloha ‘āina) is an inclusive term that embodies a wide range of meanings, especially in the context of aloha ‘āina. Mele can be categorized as ho‘ohanohano ‘āina. Often times, mele aloha ‘āina falls within the kālai‘āina category, due to the politically charged nature of mele aloha ‘āina.

MELE ALOHA ‘ĀINA

The term "aloha ‘āina" finds prominence in relation to the political turmoil of the late 19th century. This notion of aloha ‘āina has become synonymous with resistance to the external forces that threatened the Hawaiian Kingdom and its constituents. Silva further elucidates the idea of aloha ‘āina in this context in *Aloha Betrayed*:

"Aloha ‘āina (love of the land) was the cornerstone of resistance in this era.... [A]loha ‘āina (which continues) encompasses more than nationalism and is not an exact fit with the English word "patriotism," the usual translation. Where nationalism and patriotism tend to exalt the virtues of a people or a race, aloha ‘āina exalts the land. It refers to the appreciation of the beauty of this land, about which both ali‘i [royalty] and maka‘āinana [commoners] have composed hundreds, perhaps thousands, of songs (Silva 2004).

Many of these songs to which she refers, written by "both ali‘i and maka‘āinana" alike, are mele lāhui. Basham's thesis and dissertation were both dedicated to mele lāhui, serving great importance in understanding kānaka sentiments of the time. She explains this type of mele and its catalyst of composition:

Ma ia mau mele i ho‘ohanohano ‘ia ai ka Mō‘īwahine Lili‘uokalani, kona aupuni, a me kona lāhui a i mo‘olelo ‘ia mai ai ho‘i nā mea i hana ‘ia i nā lā ma mua a ma hope o ka ho‘okahuli aupuni. Aia nō he mau mele i haku ‘ia no ka po‘e aloha ‘āina, nāna i kōkua a kāko‘o nui aku i ka Mō‘īwahine Lili‘uokalani, a ua pa‘i ‘ia aku ho‘i he mau mele e ho‘ike aku ana i ka mana‘o kū‘ē o nā haku mele. He kūamuamu a he nemanema ho‘i ko nā mele no ka po‘e ‘enemi o ke aupuni. (Basham 2002: 2)

Translation: Queen Lili‘uokalani, her kingdom, and her people, were exalted in these mele. These mele also recounted the happenings in the days before and after the overthrow of the kingdom. There are mele written for those who love the land, that strongly support Queen Lili‘uokalani, and these mele that expressed the resistant thoughts of its composers were printed. These mele reviled and belittled the enemies of the kingdom.

Many of the "po‘e aloha ‘āina" [those who express/practice aloha ‘āina) to whom Basham refers expressed their "mana‘o kū‘ē," their feelings of resistance, through mele they composed.

The scholarship of Silva on aloha ‘āina and Basham on aloha ‘āina in mele lāhui are vital to understanding the attitudes of Hawaiians in the political tumult of the late 19th century.

Because of this scholarship and others like it, we have come to view aloha ‘āina synonymously with the notion of kū‘ē: resistance. Mele lāhui provided Hawaiians of the time a forum to express their feelings: discontent with foreign intrusion; overwhelming love and support for their deposed queen; and most importantly, love for their land—aloha ‘āina. Today, mele lāhui provide us with windows through which we may observe and analyze this context. They remind and encourage Hawaiians to preserve and perpetuate these values.

Current understandings of aloha ‘āina through mele lāhui are attributed to the tireless work of dedicated scholars. Though it materializes through political unrest in the years surrounded the overthrow, aloha ‘āina is actually a fundamental and essential value that had already existed at the core of the Hawaiian identity long before threats to the Hawaiian Kingdom from the exterior.

Mele lāhui have been well-established as mele aloha ‘āina. This thesis strives to elucidate hīmeni Hawai‘i as mele aloha ‘āina, as well. Though mele aloha ‘āina most often fall into the aloha ‘āina category of ho‘ohanohano ‘āina, intersections with kālai‘āina are also frequent. Below are two examples of mele aloha ‘āina for comparison. The first leans toward the kālai‘āina category of aloha ‘āina. The second leans towards the ho‘ohanohano ‘āina category of aloha ‘āina.

Being that the theme of aloha ‘āina is the point of my analysis, musical analysis is not included in the following two mele aloha ‘āina. With the logogenic nature of mele, the aforementioned thematic material exists solely in the text. The musical attributes of these mele, however, maintain their importance as a vehicle by which the text is delivered.

The first mele is "Hoolulu Ke Aloha Aina"¹⁵, found in Testa's *Buke Mele Lahui*. There is no known tune to this mele. This mele and accompanying analysis promotes the well-established ideas of aloha 'āina in the political sense.

Aia i ka luna o Daimana Hila,
Ke aloha aina e hoolulu nei.

There at the top of Diamond Head
Is love for the land that waits calmly

Diamond Head, or Daimana Hila, has become a fixture of many mele lāhui, perhaps because of its prominent location in Honolulu. As a permanent fixture and landmark, Diamond Head, also known as Lē'ahi, also may refer to the counter-revolution attempts of Robert Wilcox in 1895, being that Diamond Head, including the surrounding area in Waikīkī, was the initial battleground for these events.

The composer's use of the word ho'olulu or ho'olūlū brings forth many ideas. Ho'olulu can mean to make calm. However, it can also mean to throw out chum for fish. Aloha 'āina, then, is the cause for calmness, but also, possibly catalyzing action, as chum would for fish. Ho'olūlū can also mean to sow, or also to donate. In the context of this mele, the sentiment of aloha 'āina is being sowed by many, for the benefit of the lāhui. Aloha 'āina is perhaps being offered to others as a means to strengthen the lāhui. "Ke aloha 'āina" can also refer to "the patriot," a person who embodies aloha 'āina and the actions that abide. The patriot, then, may be the actor in this ho'olulu/ho'olūlū. This patriot is there, at the top of Diamond Head, allowing the mele itself to function as a historical account of events, documenting the beginning of this counter revolution.

As is common with the use of Hawaiian language in mele, and especially when clarifying diacriticals are absent, most interpretations, even contradictory ones, can find validity and contribute to the overall meaning of the mele. If these mele are sung and not simply read in silence, the sonic utterance of the mele embodies the same multiplicity of meanings. No matter

what the intention of the composer, this polyphony of meanings is up to the reader/listener to decode, based on familiarity with the language, the poetic conventions, history/stories/legends, as well as knowledge of the composer and surrounding events. These meanings, however, all contribute to and reference the political nature of the mele.

E kilohi iho au o Kaimuki,
Ka uwahi noe o ka pu raifela,

I gaze upon Kaimukī
At the smoke of the rifles

The "uwahi noe," or smoke of the rifles, is in Kaimukī. This is also a reference to the aforementioned counter-revolution attempts of 1895. The smoke of the rifles serves as a reminder and a symbol for the resistant attitude that must be garnered in the aloha 'āina expressed in this mele.

Ilaila makou i ike iho ai,
I ka hana lokoino a ka hookele,

It is there that we saw
The wrong-doings of the navigator

This verse explains that Daimana Hila, Kaimukī, and the surrounding areas were the site of "hana lokoino," ill actions, of the "hookele." Though ho'okele may refer to the steersman of a seafaring vessel, in this context, the ho'okele may refer to one who may have betrayed his/her initial commitment to aloha 'āina. Perhaps this person once swore allegiance to the crown, later to shift his/her loyalty to the new Republic. This is further elucidated in the following verse.

Wikiwiki ko waha i ka olelo,
He aloha aina ko'u puuwai,

Your mouth is quick to speak
My heart is for the love of the land

This is the first verse written in the second person, addressing the "hookele," the traitor who once professed aloha 'āina at heart. The composer communicates the idea that "you, the enemy, are quick to say that your heart is one of aloha 'āina." It is later seen in following verses that this was not true.

Eia ka oe a he muhee,
A he loli makapaa no ka moana,

You are a cuttlefish
A blind loli from the ocean

According to Pukui, a "mūhe'e" is a cuttlefish, its figurative use suggesting that this person, or people, is "fickle, changable, unsteady" (1986: 255). The mention of loli, or sea cucumber, plays on this idea of unsteadiness, as "loli" also means to change. Makapa'a is one who is blind in one eye. Pukui states that encountering one who is makapa'a is considered bad luck (Pukui 1986). Therefore, being that loli only have one physical maka (eye), a "loli makapa'a" is completely blind. The disgust of the composer for the "hookele" who claims to have aloha 'āina at heart is exemplified not only by his use of offensive terms, but also by the fact that these "loli makapa'a" have no idea of the consequences of their actions. The "hookele," in fact, has no idea of aloha 'āina.

Hookahi mea nui i ka lahui.	There is one important thing to the nation
Ke aloha aina e hoolulu nei,	The love of the land that waits calmly

The composer echoes and accentuates his/her main refrain that aloha 'āina, a love for land, is most important to the lāhui.

Aia i ka hale hooluhi kino,	There in the house that tires the body
Na opuu rose a o Hawaii,	Are the rose buds of Hawai'i

The June 18th, 1864 edition of *Nupepa Kuokoa* refers to "ka Halepaahao" (the jailhouse) as "ka hale hooluhi hoi o ke kino o ke kanaka"—the jailhouse is the house that tires the body. The "opuu rose," or Hawaiians, are being jailed because of their action, their stance for aloha 'āina. This verse is a comment on the dominating power of the government during the time. This verse, and perhaps the majority of this mele, is a result of the composer's discontent with the situation.

E ola Hawaii a mau loa,	May Hawai'i live on forever
A kau i ke ao malamalama,	Placed in the pure, bright light

This penultimate verse leaves the audience with a hope that all of Hawai'i will not only *ola* (live), but will do so in shining glory. The composer remains optimistic that despite all of the

strife contained in the previous verses, Hawai‘i will forever live in all of her glory.

Hainaia mai ana ka puana, Ke aloha aina e hoolulu nei.	Let the refrain be told The love of the land that waits calmly
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As is the custom with this style of mele, "Hainaia mai ana ka puana" brings this expression of aloha ‘āina to a close. The refrain, "Ke aloha aina e hoolulu nei" is repeated again, as one final emphatic idea with which the composer leaves the audience, with aloha ‘āina resonating in the air as a political function—one that informs the composers fellow "lovers of land" to follow suit, to aloha ‘āina.

"Puia Ka Nahele", written by Lili‘uokalani, provides a point of comparison with "Hoolulu Ke Aloha Aina", in that "Puia Ka Nahele" finds itself in the ho‘ohanohano ‘āina category of aloha ‘āina.

No ka uka iu o ka wao, Ke ano halialia, Ke kau ana mai o ka luna ahiahi Hiki pu mai me ke aloha.	For the uplands of the forest Is this time to recollect As evening comes Love accompanies
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"Puia Ka Nahele," is set in the evening. At this time, Lili‘uokalani's thoughts immediately go to the "uka ‘iu o ka wao," the nahele. It is there where she reminisces of the happenings of love, the place to which she escaped for an intimate rendezvous with her beloved.

Hui (Chorus): Puia ka nahele mapu mai ke ala, He nahele nahele ona ia e na manu, E ka Iwi Iwa maka onaona. Hoi mai no kaua e pili e pili.	The wilderness is fragrant A wilderness made sweet by the birds Oh you, the sweet-eyed ‘i‘iwi bird Let us be together
--	--

Here, in the chorus, the nahele theme is most prevalent. The nahele theme is predominantly made up of the imagery of the wet, mountainous regions of the island. Often, this imagery is accompanied by the idea of fragrance, ‘ala. This added sensory feature further enriches understanding of the nahele idea and its function in representing a loved one. Samuel Elbert and Noelani Māhoe describe this ‘ala, along with the other sensory aspects of this verse:

She [Lili‘uokalani] sings of the distant uplands, the forest imbued with fragrance, wafted sweetness, infatuated birds, the sweet-eyed honey-eater, mist rain creeping along the cliff, and ferns---no mention of a loved one, only a companion in the wet and misty forest, but we know that the fragrance and beauty are tributes to an unnamed love. (Elbert 1970: 3-4)

Though this "unnamed love" may remain anonymous, Lili‘uokalani's use of these specific kinds of imagery not only reinforce an ‘ōiwi aesthetic to those who read/hear it, but also provides a space in which those who enjoy this mele can also, momentarily, be a part of the nahele, via mele. On a deeper level, the "wetness" aesthetic of the poetry also makes reference to the wetness of procreation. It is not a vulgar wetness. It is a celebration of lovemaking and the creation of life that results. In the context of the late 19th century, it is no wonder how these kinds of escapes to the nahele were not only valued but kept kānaka ‘ōiwi "grounded" in the ‘āina.

Noe wale mai no ka nahele,	The wilderness is misty
He ua nihi pali,	A cliff-creeping rain
Luhe ka lau o ka palai,	The leaf of the fern is heavy
Elo i ka ua Waahila.	Drenched in the Wa‘ahila rain

Again, more nahele themes imbue this verse. The wetness of the rain that creeps in the pali (cliff) makes the palai fern heavy with dew. This dew is of the ua Wa‘ahila, a specific rain found in Mānoa valley, O‘ahu. There are many reasons why the composer would choose to use this specific rain name: It may have been a special place, or perhaps she uses the name Wa‘ahila to make other allusions only known to her. We see again the palai fern heavy with dew, an aesthetic feature common in the nahele theme.

Hoehoene i ka lai,	Sweet in the tranquility
Ka leo o na manu,	is the voice of the bird
Ai ho‘onu‘unu‘u i ka Lehua,	Eating the lehua until full
Nowelo i ka pua.	Searching for the flower

The auditory senses are activated in this verse. The voices of the birds sing sweetly in the calm. They eat heartily of the lehua that they seek. The image of birds sipping the nectar of the lehua brings forth strong and clear metaphors of lovemaking, where the bird, he who penetrates the flower to sip the nectar, represents the male; and the lehua, she who is laden with mist and sweet nectar, represents the female. Readers/listeners of this mele are now given a clear indication of this intimate rendezvous in the nahele. It also reconfirms that this nahele theme is used to describe not only the individual beauty of a loved one, but also the beauty of the relationship between the composer and her beloved. Just as aloha ‘āina describes the relationship between kānaka and ‘āina, the nahele theme is used here to describe the wetness, the fertility, of making love.

Mele are kīpuka—intellectual oases preserving the contexts of their composition. Like the kīpuka of vegetation formed by the fluid paths of lava surrounding a patch of forest, mele preserve a small but detailed view of what once was. Through the skillful weaving of words and melody, the haku mele (composer) creates a kīpuka of experience based on what he/she sees, smells, hears, tastes, touches, and feels. The haku mele creates this kīpuka to capture these sensory experiences and preserve them so that they may be revisited and re-experienced. It only takes a visit to this kīpuka, when the mele is sung or read again, for all that is preserved within the mele to be accessed, and thus, re-experienced, re-contextualized and made relevant to the listener or reader.

Perhaps Ellen Kehoohiwaokalani Wright Prendergast, upon composing the famous mele aloha ‘āina, "Kaulana Nā Pua," did not foresee her kīpuka as one to be visited so frequently over the 100+ years to follow. What was intended to be a song inspired by the sentiments of resistance to the new government expressed by members of the Royal Hawaiian Band has now become the

quintessential mele lāhui, a proud symbol of loyalty to the land and monarchy and resistance to foreign rule. Even if Prendergast did not intend for her composition to reach such a status of importance for the current lāhui Hawai‘i (Hawaiian nation), the visiting and revisiting of this mele, this kīpuka, has allowed scholars, and ultimately the readers/performers/listeners of mele lāhui, to construct perspectives of the context of its composition, the late-19th century, and its impacts on Hawaiians today.

If mele are kīpuka of expressions of preserved experience, mele lāhui specifically preserve a political context. Mele lāhui have become a well-traversed kīpuka by scholars drawing upon the political aspects of the late-19th century. In doing so, the themes of resistance and aloha ‘āina found in mele lāhui are renewed, re-experienced, and re-contextualized in our current time, informing the attitudes and actions of Hawaiians in current political issues. If Hawaiians continue to utilize this kīpuka, they will continue to reap the inspiration it provides. Though this may seem obvious, it becomes problematic when they realize that mele lāhui is not the only kīpuka through which one may understand the late-19th century. It is not the only ripple from the pebble that drops into the ocean of time. If one were to find a kīpuka consisting of lehua trees in the isolation of a lava field, one may conclude that the entire forest that once existed consisted entirely of lehua trees. It is not until we find another kīpuka, perhaps one of koa, that we enrich our perspectives of the forest now gone. Through the new perspectives afforded to us by learning from different kīpuka—in this case, mele—we are able to draw new inspiration from the past and allow it to shape our present and future. Hīmeni Hawai‘i is a kīpuka that provides another perspective of the late-19th century.

CHAPTER 3

HĪMENI HAWAI‘I: THE TEXT

With the understandings of mele and aloha ‘āina provided in the previous chapter, this chapter offers three textual analyses of hīmeni Hawai‘i. The analyses serve to demonstrate salient thematic features of the text that are unique to hīmeni Hawai‘i.

Hīmeni Hawai‘i evokes aloha ‘āina sentiments in its performers, listeners, and readers. Posited in the previous chapter, aloha ‘āina describes the relationship between kānaka and ‘āina which is, at its very essence, the fundamental aspect of the Hawaiian identity. Hīmeni Hawai‘i very often mention ‘āina in celebration of its beauty, not in political contention. One particular land feature appears consistently in this genre of mele: nahele.

Simply translated as "wilderness" or "forest," the idea of nahele includes visual and conceptual associations with the upland, the frequent rain that falls there, and the alluring scents that beckon one to become a part of the lush scene. In its occurrences in hīmeni Hawai‘i, this specific motif is utilized not only to extol the beauties of the land, but often to use those beauties to describe a loved one. Hawaiian scholar, Kīhei de Silva, maintains that this kind of comparison, between man and environment is fundamentally Hawaiian.

[O]ne could not expect to compose in a traditional Hawaiian manner without transforming people and their emotions into flowers, birds, winds waves, cliffs, place-names... These transformations are more than poetic techniques, more than metaphor and personification. They reflect a fundamental Hawaiian belief in the unity of me and not-me, self and other, this and that. (de Silva 1997: 57)

The nahele motif is one example of this fundamentally Hawaiian aesthetic. The way this imagery is used in hīmeni Hawai‘i reflects the "oneness" of man and environment, thus promoting aloha ‘āina. This aesthetic not only describes the beauty of the ‘āina, but also the beauty of kānaka. As

‘āina and kānaka become interchangeable in these expressions, aloha ‘āina, the relationship between kānaka and ‘āina, is further strengthened.

I have selected the following three mele, "Poli Pumehana," "Lanihuli," and "Ka Oiwī Nani o ke Kamakahala," from Holstein's collection of hīmeni Hawai‘i. These three mele, specifically, were chosen because they are prime examples that utilize this nahele theme in promotion of aloha ‘āina. These three mele do not serve to represent the corpus of hīmeni Hawai‘i in Holstein's collection, but rather, the salient usage of the nahele motif in the majority of the hīmeni Hawai‘i in the collection.

POLI PUMEHANA

The simple and straightforward nature of the lyrics of "Poli Pumehana" seems to be a theme found in many hīmeni Hawai‘i. Sentence structures are limited to verb-subject-predicate statements as is one of the most basic versions of what the English language would consider a complete sentence. Additionally, each verse, though not always grammatically conjunctive, maintains its identity through a coherent theme to which all four lines contribute. An example is the first verse of "Poli Pumehana":

Lia wau i ka moe,	I long to sleep,
Hoolono i ka leo,	But I hear the voice
Leo hone o ke Kahuli,	The sweet voice of the kāhuli snail,
Hone lua i ka poli.	Doubly sweet in the bosom.

The entire verse, with all four lines, can be seen as one thought. Through the analysis of the three hīmeni Hawai‘i, along with the research on Holstein's collection, I have found that this kind of narrative style of composition, especially in the first person, is common in hīmeni Hawai‘i.

Verse one introduces the haku mele (composer of mele) who yearns to "moe," which may mean "sleep" or connote a more passionate experience lovers may share (Pukui, 1986). Haku

mele use specific words that host a multiplicity of meanings. Because of this, there is no one correct interpretation. This does not serve to confuse the reader/singer/listener, but to create the possibility that multiple interpretations are equally valid. The different mana (versions) of the mele enrich the mele with meaning. Whether the haku mele yearns for sleep or a little more action, he hears the sweet voice of the Kāhuli, a land snail that makes sweet sounds – sounds often heard by lovers at night, as told by many accounts in mele. Thus, the common inclusion of the kāhuli in mele is used as a metaphor to refer to lovemaking. The fourth line of this verse supports this idea with a sweetness that is so intimate and close to the body. The fact that this sweetness is doubled in "hone lua i ka poli" suggests that two lovers share this intimacy.

Poli pumehana,	Warm bosom,
Moe lolii o ka po,	Lying at ease at night,
Sweet ke hanu iho,	Sweet to smell
I ke kulukulu aumoe.	In the midnight hours.

The hui (chorus) echoes this intimacy in the refrain and title: "Poli Pumehana." In the context of this mele, this pumehana (warmth) is experienced only in the intimate presence of another. It is this presence that allows them to lie at complete ease during the night as seen in the second line, "Moe lōli‘i o ka pō." It is at this point that the haku mele introduces another sensory attribute to this experience: smell. The use of the English word "sweet" demonstrates the style and sass many haku mele used during the time. This thought of perfect and reposed intimacy is likened to a sweet smell of the midnight hour. Whether the smell is literal or figurative, it becomes the focal point for the rest of the mele.

Moe au a huli ae,	I lie down restlessly,
Honi ana i ke ala	As I smell the fragrance,
He ala kupaoa,	It is a strong, permeating fragrance,
Hanu aala i ka poli.	Sweet breath in the bosom.

Verse two also expresses a lack of sleep, this time, due to a strong fragrance. The first line, "Moe au a huli a'e," can be interpreted as a turning during sleep in restlessness and/or perhaps a searching for this fragrance that has disturbed is the haku mele's sleep. This strong fragrance of the night turns out to be sweet breath of a lover in the last line: "Hanu 'a'ala i ka poli," Because "hanu" refers to smell and to breath, this line, like those of "moe" and "huli," offers two valid interpretations: 1) the sweet breath of a lover in the intimacy of ones bosom, and 2) the sweet smell likened to the intimacy of a lover in ones bosom. Both of which simultaneously contribute to the richness of the mele.

E ake au e ike,	I long to know,
I ke kumu o ke ala,	The source of the fragrance,
I olu pono iho hoi,	So the reposing of the forest,
Ka moena o ka nahele.	Is truly pleasant.

Verse three is perhaps the most rich in content. Though the aforementioned fragrance may be literal, this verse implies its metaphorical value as well. The haku mele's desire to find the source of the fragrance suggests that the fragrance itself represents a beckoning. To find the source of said beckoning, I argue, would mean to fulfill ones desires. In the intimate setting of this mele, 'ala, then, suggests an unwavering infatuation that keeps the haku mele from sleeping. The composer's midnight hours are preoccupied by thoughts of love, in the form of the sweet voice of the kähuli and the sweet fragrance of infatuation. To fulfill this infatuation, the haku mele desires to find the source of this smell, so he may experience its sweet scent for himself. This experience is summarized by the metaphors of the last two lines: "I 'olu pono ho'i, ka moena o ka nahele." Like the "moe" in previous verses, "moena" suggests the passion and intimacy two lovers share. However, they do not rendezvous at home. They meet up in the nahele, the upland forest. It is there where they hear kähuli and smell the sweet fragrance beckoning them to each other. This nahele motif, in "Poli Pumehana," becomes a place of

escape, a lovers rendezvous. It is in the nahele where the source of the fragrance is found, where the desires are fulfilled in cool and refreshing satisfaction.

"Poli Pumehana" presents a simple and direct example of the nahele motif. While the nahele itself provides the backdrop for a midnight love affair, the nahele actually becomes foregrounded as the source of the alluring fragrance and desire. The narrative of the love of kākāka becomes intertwined with the 'āina itself. The source of alluring "scent" that brings two together to rendezvous is actually the nahele itself, where these lovers went in passion.

The nahele in this mele brings forth a sense of that which is natural. For what reason are lovers not meeting at a house, or near the sea, where most live? One may find the simple answer in the uninhabited space that the nahele provides, where two can be alone. However, the attributes of the nahele – fertile, lush, uninhibited growth – also play into the desire for this part of the 'āina. The nahele is not agricultural land. Farmers do not go into the wilderness to maintain their crops. Kākāka in general do not make their residences in the nahele, perhaps due to its inaccessibility. Nature's fertile growth dominates the space. The nahele, then, as an extension of the 'āina, perhaps even serves as an aphrodisiac-like purpose for kākāka. Where all things happen naturally, so shall the meeting of two lovers in the night.

It is easy for today's admirers of this mele to be taken by the sexuality of this mele. Playing in the background, perhaps subliminally, is the contextualization of this story as an extension of the 'āina itself. The fertility of lovemaking is reflected in the 'āina itself, the nahele. However, this juxtaposition of two fertile entities, kākāka and 'āina, not only sends a message of procreation, but also the one-ness aloha 'āina exemplifies.

Contextualizing this mele in its initial publication brings further meaning to this promotion of aloha 'āina. This mele appears in Holstein's 1897 collection, *Ka Buke Mele o Na*

Himani Hawaii. Those who enjoyed this mele had fresh in their minds the rebellion led by Robert Wilcox two years prior, and the overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani two years before that. In the mele-scape of the time, Testa's *Buke Mele Lahui* was first published two years before Holstein's. Discussed previously, mele lāhui, as published in Testa's 1895 publication, promoted a more blatant political stance in regards to the support for the deposed Queen and the land that constituted a nation. What, then, were the possible receptions of Holstein's collection of hīmeni Hawai‘i, two years after Testa's publication?

Readers/singers/musicians of this mele at the time perhaps did not have conscious revelations of the nahele motif as it is presented in "Poli Pumehana." The intended foreground features a nighttime rendezvous that many could enjoy. But the backdrop of this story, the nahele, provided a subliminal feeling: an innate sense of comfort with, maybe even desire for, the uninhibited, lush growth of the nahele. This feeling is aloha ‘āina. It was a feeling of familiarity, whether strong or weak, with the ‘āina in its most natural state. That everything in the nahele is "natural" provided an opportunity for Hawaiians to compare the nahele to their fast-changing environment.

In the context of the politics of its time, the overt messages branded in mele lāhui were not the only mele catalysts of aloha ‘āina. Mele lāhui, in fact, are expressions of a large aloha ‘āina sentiment. Hīmeni Hawai‘i captured a deeper, innate, and more fundamentally embedded sentiment of aloha ‘āina. In the story of a nahele rendezvous of two lovers, aloha ‘āina imbues. In this way, while mele lāhui respond to threats toward aloha ‘āina, hīmeni Hawai‘i celebrate aloha ‘āina as proaction: equipping a quickly changing lāhui with more seeds of aloha ‘āina – both then and now – to later grow into sturdy trees, pillars of Hawaiian identity.

LANIHULI

Uluwehi ka luna i Lanihuli,	The top of Lanihuli is verdant,
Pulupe i ka nihi a ka ua,	Wet by the creeping of the rain,
A o oe a o wau i laila,	You and I are there,
I ke onaona o ka nahele.	In the sweetness of the forest.

"Lanihuli" takes place in the verdant and lush uplands of Nuʻuanu valley. Lanihuli is a peak among the many peaks of the Koʻolaupoko range. It can be seen as one stands at the pali lookout, faces Kailua, and looks to Konahuanui. Lanihuli is the closest peak on the left. This particular peak is also mentioned in other mele like Liliʻuokalani's "Pua Nani o Hawai'i, "He ʻAi Na Kalani," and "Be Still My Heart e Kapalili Nei."¹⁶

Lanihuli is far detached from the town and communities where most live. Going there means leaving the town or neighborhood in which one lives. As the pinnacle of Nu'uanu valley, it is visible from Honolulu as well as Kāneʻohe and Kailua. Those who gaze upon Lanihuli from afar may be drawn to what the peak represents: escape from the normalcy of town, often the setting in mele lāhui. This escape, however, is not made in solitude. The line "A ʻo ʻoe a ʻo wau i laila" shows that the haku mele meets his/her beloved for a rendezvous in the sweetness of the nahele.

Pulupe nei ili i ke anu,	This skin is soaked in the cold,
A he anu mea ole i ka manao,	A cold that I do not mind,
Kuu ike ia oe e ke aloha,	It is the sight of you, my beloved,
Hoi pono ka iini a loko.	That brings back the desires within.

As one can imagine, the pinnacle of a mountain ridge is cold, especially for the meeting of two lovers. However, Kīhei de Silva explains an older understanding of this chill as it was expressed in mele.

What strikes us as noteworthy here is the poet's use of *anu* in an invitation to what we usually think of today as a "hot, steamy, sizzling" activity. But "e anu kāua,"... belongs to an older worldview. "Let's get cold" means "let's get hot" because lovemaking back then was viewed as cool, tingly, and refreshing. (de Silva, 2009)

The haku mele explains this cold to be "mea 'ole," not a thing to worry about. This further supports de Silva's idea that this cold is not just of the environment, but also, the thrill of lovemaking.

It is here that the haku mele makes a direct address to the object of his/her affection. The mere sight of his/her beloved immediately returns the feelings and desires that caused the two lovers to meet incognito. These feelings of desire, again, do not necessarily bring warmth, but rather, the thrill of a chilling experience.

I laila lia ka manao,	It is there where the mind wanders,
Pukui i ke anu a ka ua,	Embracing in the cold of the rain,
Kolonahe aela i ka uka,	Gently creeping in the uplands,
Me ka dew drops o ka nahele.	With the dew drops of the forest.

The rain, mist, and clouds that frequent this upland area are an aesthetic of the nahele motif. Terms related to water mentioned thus far in this mele include "pulupe," "ua," and even "dew drops." Water, in its many forms, becomes a symbol of abundance and fertility of the 'āina. The wetness of a place displays its wealth in its ability to sustain life. This image of fertility is used to describe the fertility of a loving rendezvous. The wetness of the nahele alludes to the wetness of lovemaking. It is from this wetness, both in nature and in sex, that life results. Water, then, implies enriching wealth. This is further supported by the term for wealth in 'ōlelo Hawai'i, "waiwai," which is a reduplication of the term for water, "wai."

Though the cold wetness of the nahele connotes fertility, the cold itself is seemingly an uncomfortable sensation for those who experience it. However, apropos to the older aesthetics of coldness, the second line could be sung as "Pukui i ke anu a kāua," "embracing in the coldness that we share." This further supports the lovemaking and the chills that abide.

As if the water theme in this verse was not prevalent enough, the haku mele utilizes foreign words to further emphasize a wet environment. The use of foreign words not only pops out from the page for readers to notice, but also shows a sassy style that was common in many hīmeni Hawai‘i. The use of English terms, in this case, was not necessarily bait for non-Hawaiian speakers, but more so an appropriation of the language, hybridizing the mele without a second thought of jeopardizing its "Hawaiian-ness."

E maliu mai oe e ke aloha,	Take heed, my beloved,
Kuu dear love o ka po lai,	My dear love of the delightful night,
Buenos once more e ke hoa,	Buenos once more, my friend,
Kou time huli hoi keia.	This is your time to return.

After an enjoyable and intimate experience, the haku mele addresses his/her "dear love" of the night: it is time to return to town, to the normalcy of life. This return further supports the idea of the nahele as an escape. Though the joys of love can occur in the nahele, they are only temporary. As the afterglow slowly fades, it is time to leave these experiences where they belong, in the nahele, in this place of escape. As the stylish inclusions of Spanish and English words accentuate the verse, the overall message of the verse establishes the binary between nahele and town.

This binary is another distinct theme the nahele motif promotes. This comparison takes the theme of nature expressed in "Poli Pumehana" and now more firmly juxtaposes this aesthetic with that of the environment in which most Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians live during the latter half of the 19th century: town. In the sense of the Hawaiian land divisions, ahupua'a, town is most often located nearer to the shore than to the mountains. Geographically, Lanihuli is a prime example of this juxtaposition. If one lived anywhere in the valley of Nu‘uanu or any place seaward, one could easily see Lanihuli. If one lived anywhere between Kailua and Kahalu‘u on the windward side of the island, one would still be able to see Lanihuli. This specific peak, then,

becomes a visual reminder, for a large population of people on O‘ahu, of the nahele. In this way, one could go about his/her daily life in any of these areas and still revel in the sights of the uplands and the clouds and rain that bring fertile wetness. Through the composer of this mele is unknown, it very possible that the haku mele's view of Lanihuli came from this town area.

In the context of the 1890s, I argue that this mele shows readers the function the nahele can have for those who weather the realities of everyday life in town, not only as a physical escape, but an intellectual one, accessed by the very mention of the nahele in hīmeni Hawai‘i. In the context of a gradual loss of land and culture, the nahele provides an opportunity to recharge in the natural beauty from which we trace our identity – ‘āina. Alan Merriam explains how song texts function in these types of social environments:

Song texts, then, can be used as a means of action directed toward the solution of problems which plague a community. While this can take the form of ridicule and shame, or sanctioned legal action, it is also apparent that song texts provide psychological release for the participants. Indeed, because of the freedom of expression allowed in song, texts seem clearly to provide an excellent means for the investigation of the psychological processes of the people who constitute a culture. (1964, 201)

Most importantly, however, is the fact that one cannot permanently reside in the nahele. Whether it is for the passion of lovemaking, or for a more sincere searching for one's self, the nahele only provides temporary inspiration and relief. Once intimate moments are over, once recharging is complete, once one recenters himself/herself, one must return to reality. This can function as a metaphor for engaging in the burdens of reality. While escape provides temporary refuge, using that opportunity to recharge fuels the return to an undesirable reality. A return to town, then, is a return to action, inspired by the nature of the nahele.

That the nahele was separated from town perhaps also provided inspiration for resilience. While the lowland areas housed the metropolitan population of the 1890s, the natural, uninhibited growth of the nahele made accessibility and populating the space more difficult. As a

metaphor for the Hawaiian identity, though outside forces obtain material culture, even land, the fundamental attributes of Hawaiians, as is the nahele, maintains sovereign despite any foreign imposition. Returning momentarily to where the ‘āina remains sovereign provides inspiration for the city-dwelling kānaka which results, again, in the feelings and expressions of aloha ‘āina. This feeling of aloha ‘āina unites the lāhui, both then and now.

Another important characteristic of this particular mele is the use of wetness. The nahele constitutes many watersheds throughout the islands, encouraging fertile growth throughout. As mentioned previously, the fertility of the nahele is likened to that of kānaka – people who meet there to make love. That this nahele motif promotes the procreation of the lāhui is at the surface of this metaphor. More profound is the simple comparison between kānaka and ‘āina. When the attributes of the ‘āina are reflected in kānaka, and vice versa, the two become one and the same. This union, this relationship, is aloha ‘āina.

Those who read this mele in Holstein's publication in 1897, like those who read "Poli Pumehana," probably did not consciously make these connections. Instead, they enjoyed the love affair that takes place in the seclusion of the forest. The cold that brings the chills of lovemaking is reflected in the damp nahele, only momentarily, as the lovers eventually return back to their normal lives. This is the easily enjoyable part of this mele, and many hīmeni Hawai‘i. Though readers/listeners may not have noticed the aloha ‘āina expressed within, I argue that this sentiment was felt through the nahele motif.

Subliminally and simultaneously, these images of the nahele have the potential to catalyze the aloha ‘āina sentiment in its readers/performers/listeners. Juxtaposing the nahele to the normal living of town brings readers to acknowledge the divide between the two spaces, creating an escape from reality. The divide also brings forth ideas of the untouched purity, and

ultimately, the unmoved sovereignty, of the nahele. Wetness brings ‘āina and kānaka together in fertility and the forwarding of the lāhui in general. All these aspects effectively, and maybe even unconsciously, plant seeds of aloha ‘āina in readers of these mele. This fundamental sentiment, though perhaps not intended for political activation, served to remind its readers of that which makes them Hawaiian. These aloha ‘āina sentiments find relevance when it was much needed. Hīmeni Hawai‘i, alongside mele lāhui, fueled readers/singers/listeners with aloha ‘āina, ultimately contributing to their outlook, and even actions, thereafter. This remains important as these understandings of aloha ‘āina inform more overarching concepts of a collective identity of Hawaiians.

KA OIWI NANI O KE KAMAKAHALA

I ke ahiahi Poakolu,
 Kuu ike ana iho,
 He elele waha ole,
 E i mai ana ia‘u.

On Wednesday evening,
 I came to know,
 A letter,
 Saying to me.

The language of the first two lines is very direct and perhaps colloquial. However, the poeticism Lili‘uokalani’s mele lacks in the first two lines is compensated for by the use of "elele waha ole," literally, "mouth-less messenger." Lili‘uokalani could have used the Hawaiianized version of "letter" (leka), but instead, chose to demonstrate ability to imbue even colloquial speech with poetic sentiment.

Hui (Chorus): E i mai ana, e i mai ana,
 Aia ke ala i ka nahele,
 Kahi i walea ai,
 I ka nani o ia uka.

Saying, saying to me,
 The fragrance is in the forest,
 The place to repose,
 In the beauty of that upland.

The composer introduces the nahele motif in this chorus. Continuing the story from where the first verse left off, the chorus invokes the letter as the messenger telling her to look to

the nahele (forest). The fragrance, something so sweet and enjoyable, beckons her to escape to the nahele, to the place of enjoyment, to the beauty of that upland. The phrase "aia ke ala i ka nahele," then, is an invitation to rendezvous. That fragrance and nahele are used here in the same manner as they are used in "Poli Pumehana" and "Lanihuli" further supports my theory that alluring smells are likened to that of a desire for a loved one in the seclusion of the fertile nahele.

A he nani io no ia pua,	That flower is truly beautiful,
Me he la-i pala ala ka memele,	Like the ripened yellow of the ti leaf,
Ka oiwi nani o ke Kamakahala,	Such is the beauty of the Kamakahala,
Lamalama i ka uka o Lanihuli.	Radiant in the uplands of Lanihuli.

The Kāmakahala shrub, an endemic species to Hawai‘i, bears beautiful yellow/orange flowers, and it is this flower that is the subject of this verse, and possibly the entire mele. Lili‘uokalani likens its yellow/orange color to that of ripened ti leaves. More importantly, the flower represents her beloved: an ‘ōiwi nani (handsome beauty). The term, ‘ōiwi nani, is a description beautiful features of the kāmakahala blossom. However, ‘ōiwi (native) is also used to describe the kāmakahala, and the person represented by the kāmakahala, as a native of the land.

The Queens Songbook includes a theory on the identity of this kāmakahala:

[I]n 1885 and 1886, many references appear in Lili‘uokalani's diaries to someone cryptically alluded to as "my friend." The identity of the individual has never become public knowledge, though at one juncture Lili'uokalani "came very near parting with my dearest friend on account of tattlers." Allen [author of *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani*] suggests that the friend---and presumably lover---was band director Henry Berger. (Hui Hānai 1999: 15)

The suggestion that the kāmakahala represents Henry Berger is interesting because Berger was not a native of Hawai‘i. He was a Prussian bandmaster who helped establish the Royal Hawaiian Band and contributed his own compositions to the mele repertoire of the time. To describe Berger as a kāmakahala may imply that he was made a native son of Hawai‘i by Lili‘uokalani.

However, Lili‘uokalani also named Berger the "Father of Hawaiian Music," suggesting high respect for this foreigner-turned-native. "Kāmakahala" may be a play on words as "hala" can mean to leave, just as Berger would have to depart from a rendezvous with Lili‘uokalani.

Lili‘uokalani places her kāmakahala in the uplands of Lanihuli, perhaps physically and metaphorically. As discussed earlier, Lanihuli provides a quintessential nahele scene, perfect for a temporary lovers retreat. Metaphorically, Lili‘uokalani's kāmakahala at Lanihuli represents the nahele motif and its many applications. Lanihuli, the verdant, fertile, and fragrant mountain peak, embodies the nahele motif and the intimate passion that lovers share there. Though this relationship between Berger and Lili‘uokalani may have been "forbidden," the nahele provides a space where love can be as natural as the courtship of water and ‘āina.

This third hīmeni Hawai‘i serves as another prime example of the treatment of the nahele motif. This mele supports the use of the nahele motif in the previous examples of "Poli Pumehana" and "Lanihuli." The nahele, again, made reference to a place for lovers to meet, a secluded escape in secret. Though the love affair is not so heavily laden in wetness as seen in previous examples, Lili‘uokalani's invitation via letter supports the secrecy of reposing in the nahele with a special friend. The fragrance, as used in "Poli Pumehana," serves as a symbol of desire. Coming upon the source of that sweetness, "ke kumu o ke ala" in "Poli Pumehana, would thus be the fulfillment of those desires.

Compositions of the deposed queen, published in *Ka Buke Mele o na Himeni Hawaii* in 1895, shortly after the overthrow, must have held more weight for readers. Whether she wrote this song prior to or after the crown was taken, her thoughts and words, via mele, were surely sources of inspiration for those who supported the crown. Thus, a composition that seems to simply revel in the joys of a nahele rendezvous perhaps set readers at ease, as did the many other

hīmeni Hawai‘i of Holstein's publication. At a deeper level, however, Lili‘uokalani provides an account of aloha ‘āina via the nahele motif. That the queen herself, despite the turmoil she personally faces for herself and on behalf of her people, that she could still find joy in the occasional love letter inviting her to the nahele demonstrated a sense of normalcy may have allowed readers to feel similarly.

The mention of the nahele motif, in the form of the word itself, and even mention of Lanihuli, a verdant, upland peak mentioned in many songs, may seem like a small example of the usage of the nahele motif in hīmeni Hawai‘i. However, its brief mention is among many within Holstein's publications. In fact, throughout *Ka Buke Mele o Na Himeni Hawaii*, the word "nahele" is mentioned 112 times. Being that the nahele motif is also based on other ideas of wetness, fragrance, and the upland/mountainous regions of the ‘āina, the 112 mentions are only a fraction of the use of the nahele motif throughout the collection of hīmeni Hawai‘i.

AIA KE ‘ALA I KA NAHELE - THE FRAGRANCE IS IN THE WILDERNESS

As we study the ripples in this ocean of time, we further understand the epicenter, the pebble from which this findings originate. In the case of the text of these three hīmeni Hawai‘i, "Poli Pumehana," "Lanihuli," and "Ka Oiwī Nani o ke Kamakahala," all present related usage of a prevalent theme: the nahele motif. This motif not only includes the term itself, but also the sensuous sights, smells, and feelings that are related to the nahele. Upland forests, alluring scents, and fertile wetness are not only found in these three hīmeni Hawai‘i, but in a large number of hīmeni Hawai‘i in Holstein's 1897 publication.

These attributes of the nahele capture aloha ‘āina sentiments in a few ways, demonstrated in the examples of hīmeni Hawai‘i. The nahele motif compares the cold, wetness of the uplands

with the uninhibited lovemaking of a nahele rendezvous, suggesting that ‘āina and kānaka are one in the same. The separation of nahele and town provides a temporary escape from reality, both physically and mentally, allowing kānaka to find themselves, their inherent identity, in the sovereign, untouched upland forest. As readers enjoy the chilly accounts of lovers meeting in the uplands, the environment becomes a source of inspiration, reminding and reinstalling certain truths fundamental to the Hawaiian identity. In a time of political turmoil, these seeds of aloha ‘āina were sewn. Though the intention of this publication may never be known for sure, its impacts are seen through the juxtaposition of its content and context of its release. Whether readers pointed out these aloha ‘āina features in their mele or not, the familiarity of the nahele, explained in hīmeni Hawai‘i, reassured the steadfast relationship with the land, that is, aloha ‘āina.

CHAPTER 4

HĪMENI HAWAI‘I: THE MUSIC

In academic writings on hīmeni Hawai‘i, the genre itself has been characterized predominantly by its musical attributes. Stillman categorizes hīmeni Hawai‘i as "Hīmeni-type song[s]." She establishes that these hīmeni-type songs are "secular songs that differ from their sacred models [hīmeni] only in their text content; in form (alternation of verse and chorus) and melodic style, hīmeni-type songs are indistinguishable from hīmeni [haipule]" (1987: 22).

Stillman continues her explanation:

Secular Hawaiian songs by Hawaiian composers used traditional poetic conventions, but melodies were modeled on the form and structure of American gospel hymns, in which verses and refrain alternate; hence it is convenient to refer to these songs as "*hīmeni*-type" songs. (Stillman 1989:19-20)

Thus, hīmeni-type songs are defined by two criteria: traditional poetic conventions, and identical musical structure to that of Christian hymns.

Although Stillman's two-fold definition proves useful to hone in on a definition of hīmeni-type songs, her description of the literary aspects of the mele *excludes* Christian subject matter and does not explore the actual lyrical content of this "secular" genre. However, her description of the musical aspects, that hīmeni-type songs are musically "indistinguishable from hīmeni," holds to be valid (Stillman 1987: 224). Hīmeni are sacred Christian hymns that are identified by a verse/chorus structure. Thus, Stillman's categorization of hīmeni-type songs (the structure of hīmeni Hawai‘i) refers more to the musical structure of hīmeni-type songs, rather than the content of genre itself. It explains more of the structural prerequisites than it does the content of the mele. As discussed in chapter three, the various thematic literary idiosyncracies of the nahele motif already promote aloha ‘āina, as demonstrated in three exemplary hīmeni Hawai‘i. This chapter serves to analyze the musical content of the same three hīmeni Hawai‘i.

Though the musical content itself may not overtly promote aloha ‘āina (based on the logogenic nature of hīmeni Hawai‘i), that composers utilized this musical structure with their own traditional poetic conventions contributes to a larger discussion on contemporary notions of Hawaiian-ness.

Stillman's musical definition highlights the connection between hīmeni Hawai‘i and hīmeni haipule (Christian hymns). This point of contact is further elucidated in Merriam's descriptions of cultural change. He explains that cultural change "can be viewed as it originates from within a culture, or internally, as opposed to change which comes from outside a culture, or externally. Internal change is usually called "innovation" while external change is associated with the process of acculturation" (1964: 303). The musical attributes of hīmeni Hawai‘i, as supported previously by Stillman, are practically identical to that of Christian hymns. Merriam would consider this a process of acculturation. However, with the arrival of Christianity and ultimately Christian hymns (hīmeni) in 1820, it is safe to say that composers of hīmeni Hawai‘i in the later 19th century were familiar with hymns – not as something foreign, but commonplace in Hawaiian society. Thus, for those composers who did not differentiate the foreign from the indigenous, the use of this hymn structure was perhaps a form of *innovation* - change from within the culture. Being that mele composition primarily concerns the text, this innovation of the musical delivery does not compromise the fundamental nature of the mele as a traditional practice.

Merriam further explains the process of innovation:

Types of innovation include variation, invention, tentation, and cultural borrowing. An innovation remains an individual habit, however, until a second process occurs, that of social acceptance, in which the innovation spreads from the originator to other persons until it may become universally practiced by all members of the society. But every socially accepted innovation must also undergo the process of selective elimination in which it enters into "a competition for survival"; here the rewards associated with it are

weighed against the rewards given by alternative behaviors, ideas, or things. Finally the socially accepted innovation which has withstood the process of selective elimination is integrated with other elements of the culture and becomes an accepted part of the functioning whole. (1964: 303-304)

In the case of hīmeni Hawai‘i, the process of becoming an "accepted part of the functioning whole" is evident in Holstein's large publication of hīmeni Hawai‘i, from which the three examples analyzed in this thesis is taken. Perhaps in the "competition for survival," hīmeni Hawai‘i remained "rewarding" by the fact that mele were logogenic: as long as the words remained intact in their delivery, the acceptance of various melodies/deliveries of those words was more flexible. In more contemporary settings, this seems to remain true, as ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i expressions utilize different musical structures/genres.

Stillman states that "[q]uestions of authenticity, traditionality and indigenous versus non-indigenous origins with respect to Christian hymnody were of little or no concern to Hawaiians; it did not apparently matter to the converted that 'Christian' was 'not indigenous'" (1996: 483). In other words, many Hawaiian composers and musicians of the mid-late 19th century did not discriminate the influences that brought forth their compositions and performances based on the influence's indigeneity as something "Hawaiian" or not. It was "of little or no concern to Hawaiians" that Western ideas influenced their work. The notion that the indigeneity of their work would be questionable did not exist. This further supports the idea that the use of the hīmeni Hawai‘i musical structure was innovation, not acculturation – it came from within the culture. The use of this "foreign" structure was utilized to support this culture, not degrade it.

In continuing to further define the musical attributes of hīmeni Hawai‘i, it is important to review the comparison with their 19th century counterpart: hula ku‘i (see Figure 1 and 2). Besides structural differences between the two genres (strophic couplets in hula ku‘i, and verse/chorus structure in hīmeni Hawai‘i), Stillman also views this difference as a social one:¹⁷

Himēni-type songs enjoyed immense popularity in the mid- and late-nineteenth century, particularly among those segments of the Hawaiian community whose members aspired to Westernized lifestyles. Hawaii at the time was undergoing transformation into a cosmopolitan Western society, and the emulation of Western models was considered desirable. (1987: 224)

A notable part of the Hawaiian community who "aspired to Westernized lifestyles" are the upper echelon of society, especially the aliʻi. This is evident in the fact that many aliʻi of the 19th century wrote in the hīmeni Hawaiʻi style. In fact, four royal siblings, Liliʻuokalani, Kalākaua, Likelike, and Leleiōhōkū, known as "Nā Lani ʻEhā," translated as "The Royal Four," held choral competitions, featuring their own compositions. That these expositions would be a social gathering further suggests that an affinity for hīmeni Hawaiʻi may have permeated throughout the upper society of Hawaiʻi at the time.

Most notable is the fact that hula kuʻi are danced and hīmeni and hīmeni-type songs, in majority, are not. Stillman identifies hula kuʻi as an "unabashed" Hawaiian practice: "The hula was regarded throughout the nineteenth century as an offensive element by those aligned with the Christian and Western segments of the community, so to them, the hula kuʻi was an outcast genre" (1987: 225-26). While the upper class, especially Nā Lani ʻEhā, composed primarily in the hīmeni Hawaiʻi style, did the aliʻi who "aligned with the Christian and Western segments of the community" think that the hula kuʻi was an "outcast genre?" Perhaps Stillman's descriptions on hula kuʻi and hīmeni-type songs can be augmented to include other composers of hīmeni Hawaiʻi - Nā Lani ʻEhā, being exemplary. These composers may demonstrate that the social implications that hula kuʻi and hīmeni Hawaiʻi provide may not be as simple as Stillman delineates.

Further complexity is found in one of the "Royal Four:" Liliʻuokalani. Deposed in 1893 by American businessmen, Liliʻuokalani was imprisoned in her own palace. It is there where she composed many songs - both in the hula kuʻi style *and* the hīmeni Hawaiʻi style. Being that

hīmeni Hawai‘i belonged to the upper class, while hula ku‘i belonged to the lower class, Lili‘u utilized either of the structures to reach more segments of society. The difference between the two genres is based in musical structure. Perhaps not coincidentally, the majority of mele lāhui are, in fact, composed in the hula ku‘i structure. Thus, on a social level, the implications Stillman presents surrounding hula ku‘i further supports the nationalist sentiment of aloha ‘āina, as expressed in mele lāhui.

This thesis, thus far, has argued for the fact that hīmeni Hawai‘i provides another avenue for aloha ‘āina expression. This expression however, is solely captured in the lyrical content of hīmeni Hawai‘i, as analyzed in chapter three. The widespread use of hīmeni Hawai‘i as a musical structure (verse/chorus), as it is apparent in the sheer volume of hīmeni Hawai‘i in Holstein's publication, allows the musical structure itself to contribute to the furthering of this aloha ‘āina expression.

The musical structure provided a vehicle for this aloha ‘āina expression that hula ku‘i could not access. While mele lāhui expressed the sentiments of the middle class, hīmeni Hawai‘i delivered a more foundational aloha ‘āina to the upper class: the ali‘i and their contemporaries. Hīmeni Hawai‘i's accessibility also transcends generations in a way that mele lāhui do not. The simple fact that, in general, more songs known/sung today come from Holstein's publication than Testa's *Buke Mele Lahui* (whose melodies are either lost or reset) shows the functionality of hīmeni Hawai‘i to maintain its ability to express these aloha ‘āina sentiments over a longer period of time, thus affecting more readers/listeners.

Though the use of this musical structure contributes to the furthering of this aloha ‘āina sentiment in its various intended audiences, it is also important to acknowledge the musical

content *within* the structure, and the possible common idiosyncrasies they share. The three hīmeni Hawai‘i previous analyzed in chapter three are presented below for musical analysis.

POLI PUMEHANA

Figure 3: Poli Pumehana

40 ^{† KBNH 018}
_{182 KBLM}

POLI PUMEHANA. ^{98.13}
_{55d Tdrn + 5m}

DEAR HEART

JAMES KAAHIKI. D. NAPE.

Andante.

ff

solo

p

Li - a wa - - - u i - - - ka mo - - - e, Ho - o -
 Mo - e - a - - - u a hu - li - - a - - - e, Ho - ni
 In the night so plain - ly seem - - - ing Comes thy
 Warm is thy dear bo - - - som, Ri - sing

lo - no i - ka le - - - o, Leo ho - - ne o - ke ka - -
 a - na i - ke a - - - la, He a - - la ku - - pa - -
 tones of won - drous glad - - - ness I wake to find I am
 with thy gen - tle breath - - - ing; Close - ly to - me

hu - - - li, Ho - ne lu - a i - - ka po - - - li.
 o - - - a, Ha - nu a - ala i - - ka po - - - li.
 dream - - - ing And the night turns black with sad - - - ness.
 nest - - - ling, In the dead of night by me sleep - - - ing.

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Figure 4: Poli Pumehana (cont.)

Chorus. 41

The musical score is arranged in three systems. Each system contains a vocal line (treble clef), a bass line (bass clef), and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor), and the time signature is 4/4. The music features a steady piano accompaniment with chords and moving lines in both hands. The vocal line is marked with a forte (ff) dynamic. The lyrics are written below the vocal line, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes.

Vocal Line:

ff Po - - - li pu - - - me - ha - - - na, Mo - e
In the night, a long - - - ing Seems to

lo - - - li - i o - ka po, Sweet ke - ha - nu
come, a wondrous sweet - - - ness, Per - - - fumes round me

i - - - ho, I - ke ku - - lu - - ku - lu a - u - - mo - - - e.
throng - - - ing Come and go with ma - gic fleet - - - ness.

Being that Charles K. Hopkins' *Aloha Collection of Hawaiian Songs* (1899) contains the earliest tune source found for "Poli Pumehana," a song by Jas. Kaahiki, this sheet music is regarded as a trustworthy source for the musical aspects of this song. In his preface, Hopkins explains the purpose of this collection:

Before these good old melodies pass away it may be interesting to many if an effort be made to preserve them. In this "ALOHA COLLECTION OF HAWAIIAN SONGS" I have endeavored to select those of the highest and most representative type of our melodies. They form a rare and unique selection of the songs of the best recognized Hawaiian composers.

Thus, Hopkins himself, noted as the "Editor and Arranger," can be held responsible for the musical notation of "Poli Pumehana."

This andante melody consists of rhythms based almost completely on the setting of the text as it would be spoken. This contributes to the logogenic nature of Hawaiian music. The melody, in the comfortable vocal tessitura provided by the key of F major, also consists of conjunct and disjunct intervals no larger than a perfect 5th. Non-harmonic tones include passing tones, neighbor tones, and brief, but defining, appoggiaturas found before every cadence (mm 7, 11 15, and 19). Both the verses and the chorus, though containing head motives unique from each other, are made up of two melodically-identical periods, with each period consisting of a two-measure antecedent phrase (mm 5-6, 9-10, 13-14, and 17-18) and a two-measure consequent phrase (7-8, 11-12, 15-16, and 19-20).

It is also interesting to note that throughout the entire piece, each consequent phrase is melodically identical. This perhaps invokes familiarity to the listener that bridges the relationship between the verses and the chorus. The simple piano-accompaniment throughout the piece is a mere harmonic reflection of that which is already established by the melody of the verses and chorus and harmonies found in the homophonic setting of the chorus. The harmonic

progression is simple, consisting of I, IV, and V7, which repeats twice in each verse. The harmonic progression in the chorus varies slightly with I, IV, I in both antecedent phrases. The established progression in the consequent phrases of the verses then appears in the consequent phrases of the chorus.

The rhythmic setting of the melody is primarily based on the syllables of the text. Melismas are present, however, seem to only function for aesthetic purposes. As expected, the pace of the phrasing is elongated in the first and third phrases of the chorus, making the tune more salient and "catchy," only to return to the familiar consequent phrase found in the verse.

The two verses are noted as "solo" with a dynamic of *piano* while the chorus is set in 4-part choral arrangement at a dynamic of *fortissimo*. The decision to include a choral setting was probably the result of Hopkins' artistic license rather than a reflection of the mele's original intentions for performance. However, this inclusion of the choral setting, along with the mele's other attributes, is indistinguishable from hymns.

LANIHULI

King's Book of Hawaiian Melodies (1916) provides the oldest arrangement of "Lanihuli." This song is a waltz, a meter not found in Hawaiian music until Western influence. The waltz was probably not used because it did not coincide with ideas of duality and the even amount of steps needed for basic hula choreography. Thus, the waltz was not intended for hula, and perhaps intended for singing in Hawaiian homes. The fact that this mele uses a triple meter (waltz) demonstrates a hybridity of Western styles of music with Hawaiian poetic text.

King's version of this mele contains one chorus and two verses. *Ka Buke Mele o Na Himeni Hawaii* includes one more verse. In terms of melody and harmony and phrase structure, the chorus and verses are identical. The only thing that distinguishes the chorus from the verses is that it is marked "CHO." for chorus. In performance, this chorus would be sung between each verse, perhaps emphasizing the textual content of the chorus.

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PULUPE NEI ILI I KE ANU
(or Lanihuli)

Arranged by Chas. E. King

Tempo di Valse

1. U - lu - wehi ka lu - nai La - ni - hu - li, Pu - lu - pe i ka ni - hi a ka u - a, A o
2. I - la - i - la li - a ka ma - na - o, Pu - ku - i i ke a - nu a ka u - a, Ko - lo -

CHO. Pu - lu - pe nei i - li i ke a - nu, A he a - nu mea o - le i kama - na - o O ka

o - e a o - wa - u i - la - i - la, I ke o - na - o - na o ka - na - he - le.
na - ne a - e - la i ka u - ka, Me ke ke - ha - u o ka - na - he - le.

i - ke ia o - e e kea - lo - ha Ho - i po - no ka i - i - ni ia lo - ko.

ritard

Copyright, 1916, by Chas. E. King

Figure 5: Lanihuli

The melody uses predominantly conjunct motion with the largest interval being a perfect fourth. The harmony uses only I, IV, and V, however, the melody is such that the seventh scale degree is a passing tone sung over a IV chord. This harmonic tension is one unprecedented in Hawaiian music prior hīmeni Hawai‘i. Genres like hula ku‘i usually maintained a melody of three scale degrees. Chant, though not always falling into the Western conceptualization of "melody," also maintained two to three scale degrees.

Each verse contains two periods, both containing a four-measure long antecedent phrase, and a four-measure long consequent phrase. Both antecedent phrases in the first and the third are identical. The first consequent phrase ends in a half cadence, and the second consequent phrases finishes with an authentic cadence. Rhythmically, there are no melismas throughout the mele. Each syllable is allocated on note in the melody. This further promotes the logogenic nature of this hīmeni Hawai‘i.

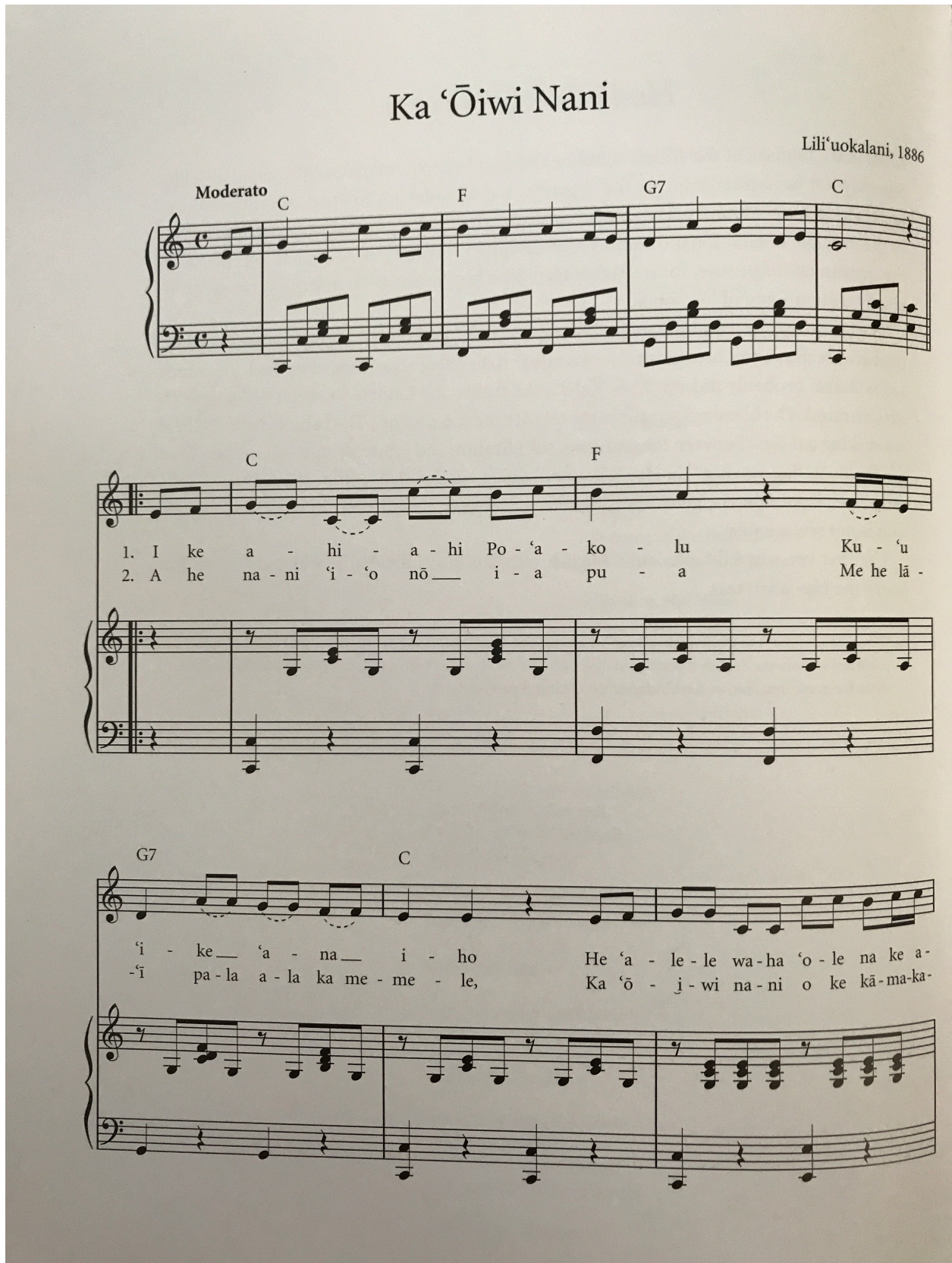
Compared to pre-contact Hawaiian mele, the musical structure of this song is completely borrowed from Christian hymns. Though the Western conceptualization of the verse/chorus structure is usually based on melodic and harmonic content, "Lanihuli" blurs this delineation by maintaining the same melodic and harmonic structure between both the chorus and verses. While one may initially assume that this song would thus be considered strophic, the fact that the chorus is marked, directing performers to return to that chorus after every verse, maintains its "chorus" function. Thus, "Lanihuli" maintains its verse/chorus attributes by the fact that the chorus is sung between each of the verses, even though the melodic and harmonic content remains the same. This is a version of the verse/chorus structure, perhaps even an innovation, that "Lanihuli" presents. Innovation *is* present, however, with the textual richness offered by the Hawaiian language.

Figure 6: Ka Oiwi Nani o ke Kamakahala

Ka 'Ōiwi Nani

Lili'uokalani, 1886

Moderato



C F G7 C

C F

G7 C

1. I ke a - hi - a - hi Po - 'a - ko - lu Ku - 'u
2. A he na - ni 'i - 'o nō i - a pu - a Me he lā -

'i - ke 'a - na i - ho He 'a - le - le wa - ha 'o - le na ke a -
'i pa - la a - la ka me - me - le, Ka 'ō - j - wi na - ni o ke kā - ma - ka -

Figure 7: Ka Oiwi Nani o Ke Kamakahala (cont.)

The musical score is divided into three systems. The first system includes a vocal line with lyrics and a piano accompaniment. The second system is labeled 'Chorus' and features a vocal line with lyrics and a piano accompaniment. The third system continues the piano accompaniment with lyrics.

System 1:

Chords: F, G7, C

Vocal line:
-lo - ha E ĩ mai a - na i - a - 'u:
-ha - la, La - ma - la - ma i ka u - ka o La - ni - hu - li.

Piano accompaniment includes a *p* (piano) dynamic marking.

System 2: Chorus

Chords: G7, C

Vocal line:
E ĩ mai a - na, ĩ mai a - na, A -

Piano accompaniment includes a *f* (forte) dynamic marking.

System 3:

Chords: D7, G7, C

Vocal line:
-i - a Ke - 'a - la i ka na - he - le, Ka - hi i wa - le - a

Piano accompaniment includes a *f* (forte) dynamic marking.

Figure 8: Ka Oiwi Nani o Ke Kamakahala (cont.)

The image shows a musical score for the song "Ka Oiwi Nani o Ke Kamakahala" (continued). It consists of three systems of staves. The top system is a vocal line with lyrics: "a - i, I ka 'o - lu o i - a u - ka." The chords indicated above the staff are F, C/G, G7, and C. The middle system is a bass line. The bottom system is a piano accompaniment with a treble and bass clef. The music is in a key with one flat (F major or D minor) and a 4/4 time signature. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and chord symbols.

The song "Ka 'Ōiwi Nani", written by Lili'uokalani, comes from *The Queens Songbook* (1999: 48). Intervals of perfect fifths and octaves create a sharp contrast to the conjunct melodic motion that is found in the majority of the mele. Both verses consist of two periods, each consisting of one antecedent phrase (mm. 5-6, 9-10) and one consequent phrase (mm. 7-8, 11-12). The antecedent phrases are melodically identical. Though the first consequent phrase ends in an authentic cadence, the resolution of the melody on the third scale degree suggests a less conclusive cadence than the cadence found in the second consequent phrase, where the melody ends on the first scale degree in the tonic key. Harmonic variety in the verses remains within the chords I, IV and V7. The seventh scale degree is a passing tone over the IV chord, creating unprecedented harmony for the time (mm. 6, 10).

The chorus introduces new melodic and harmonic material. A salient, step-wise melodic line starts near the top of the melodic range of the song and descends over the V7 chord (m. 13). The consequent phrase brings new melodic material similar in nature to the salient melody of the

preceding phrase (m. 14). This phrase also brings the new harmonic material of the V7/V. The third phrase of the chorus then returns to the same melodic and harmonic material of the verse antecedent phrases (mm. 17-18). This recapitulation makes the verses and chorus cohesive while still allowing for melodic variety during the chorus. The final phrase of the chorus (m. 19-20) is harmonically identical to the antecedent phrases of the verses, however, the melody takes place, and is resolved, in the higher octave.

Composed in a duple meter, the text is set to melody based on the syllables. The few instances of melismas seem to serve a more aesthetic purpose. Overall, the rhythm of the phrasing of the text follows the colloquial nature of hīmeni Hawai‘i, where appropriate syllables fall on proper emphases.

Compared to other hīmeni Hawai‘i, whose verses and choruses may share identical melodic and harmonic material, "Ka ‘Ōiwi Nani" stands out due to its dynamic musical attributes.

MUSICAL ATTRIBUTES OF HĪMENI HAWAI‘I

There are three notable features in each of these hīmeni Hawai‘i worth acknowledging. The first, and perhaps most notable, is the melodic structure of each song. All three songs are heavily grounded in stepwise motion, in contrast to other genres such as oli (monotone) or hula ku‘i (consisting of two-three different notes). The first phrase of the verses in "Poli Pumehana" move stepwise between the first scale degree, down to the seventh, and back up to the fifth, covering a lot of musical material. "Lanihuli" also features a descending, stepwise melodic line in the first and third phrases of the verse and chorus (both phrases are musically identical. Even "Ka Oiwī Nani," while featuring intervals of perfect fifths and octaves in the verses, uses

stepwise motion in the chorus, going from the third scale degree, up to the fourth, and descending all the way to the 5th scale degree in the octave below.

The majority of the stepwise motion seems to happen at the beginning of phrases with important words. In "Poli Pumehana" the majority of the stepwise motion occurs in the lines "Lia wau i ka moe," "Leo o ke kahuli," "Moe au a huli ae," "He ala kupaoa," and, in the chorus, "Poli pumehana," and "Sweet ke hanu iho." In "Lanihuli," aside from the occasional perfect fourth interval, the vast majority of the melody is stepwise, making the sung lyrics discernable to listeners. In "Ka Oiwi Nani," the first line of the chorus, "E i mai ana i mai ana," with its descending melodic line at the higher part of the tessitura makes for a memorable "hook" in the song: a beckoning to be understood by those who enjoy the song.

These lines are the antecedent phrase of each period. Were these lines more difficult to sing, the understanding of the lyrics is compromised. Whether it is a conscious decision of the composer or not, this feature promotes the "sing-ability" of the lyrics. If intervals are too expansive, they tend to overshadow the lyrics themselves. Stepwise motion, thus, supports the logogenic nature of hīmeni Hawai'i. While disjunct/intervallic motion is also present in these melodies, they are perhaps more for aesthetic value, and do not compromise the delivery of the lyrics. The accessibility of these songs, in its easiness to sing, makes accessible the aloha 'āina sentiment to those who sing them.

The second notable musical attribute of these hīmeni Hawai'i is the lack of melismatic material. Though this may not be unique to hīmeni Hawai'i, it is important to mention due to its function to emphasize lyrics. In all three examples, every syllable is allocated, at most, two melodic notes. Where melismas do occur, they seem to serve momentary aesthetic value in the

melody. That there are no drawn out words over a long succession of melodic notes further emphasizes the logogenic nature of hīmeni Hawai‘i.

The third notable musical attribute of these hīmeni Hawai‘i is the simple harmonic structure that maintains its progressiveness when compared to the simple I, V, I harmonies of hula ku‘i. Harmonies vary from I, V, IV and even V7/V in "Ka Oiwi Nani." The hīmeni Hawai‘i structure lends itself to the use of more progressive harmonies that go into secondary dominant chords or unusual progressions. Only so much harmonic structure can be used in the couplets of hula ku‘i. Verses and chorus provide fertile ground for more harmony. While harmony progresses, however, the melodic lines are still void of any accidentals. While venturing into pre-dominant chords, hīmeni Hawai‘i maintains the diatonic scale degrees, again, lending itself to a more logogenic delivery.

These three attributes seem to permeate, not only in these three examples, but in other hīmeni Hawai‘i whose melodies are known. Besides its Christian counterpart, in the time of its popularity, there are no other song forms that are as musically developed, both melodically and harmonically, than hīmeni Hawai‘i (Stillman, 1987: 22). Thus, if text painting were present through the melody, it would exist in this musical structure. One may put forth conjectures as to how a certain melodic line may represent the love of the composer, or perhaps another harmony creating the feeling of desire, however, this further research on the musical idiosyncrasies of Hawaiian melodies, in general, would be outside of the scope of this particular project. What can be said about these examples, so far, is that there are notable musical commonalities. These attributes contribute to the musical characteristics of hīmeni Hawai‘i that ultimately contribute to the delivery of aloha ‘āina sentiments.

Because these hīmeni Hawai‘i exist in publication forms like *Ka Buke Mele o Nā Hīmeni Hawai‘i* (Holstein, 1897), transcriptions of live performances of these songs are not necessary. Though a part of an oral tradition, the written word, as a new technology to the Hawaiian people of the 19th century, allowed for traditions of orality to exist in writing. This was also true for mele. That Holstein's publication was a collection of the *texts* of mele does not necessarily allow one to assume that the melodies of these hīmeni Hawai‘i were already well known. Text itself was the most important aspect of the expression. The vocal delivery, though important, exists outside of the scope of this thesis.

The use of hymn structure in hīmeni Hawai‘i has even more application in contemporary narratives of Hawaiian-ness. Referring back to Stillman's assertion that "[q]uestions of authenticity, traditionality and indigenous versus non-indigenous origins with respect to Christian hymnody" were of no concern to Hawaiian in that time, composers of hīmeni Hawai‘i, many of whom were of the royalty and upper class, did not limit their actions as to abide by what was thought to be "Hawaiian" (1996: 483). They did not worry about "being Hawaiian." Consequently, the innovative compositions of these composers and musicians have led to songs and performance practices that are now considered standard in traditional Hawaiian music.

In the current climate of cultural revival, though Hawaiians may strive to speak their mother tongue and model their actions to their ancestors' in an attempt to regain what has been lost, a Hawaiian identity has, and will always remain. The Hawaiian who becomes a doctor and lives on the continent for the rest of his life is no less Hawaiian than he who dedicates his work to cultivating kalo in the fertile soil of our ancestral lands. This fundamental cultural facet remains inherent, no matter what influences the way one lives.

One does not choose the influences that shape his/her world. Thus, one's discriminations of those influences are, perhaps, problematic. As we study the ripples in time, as hīmeni Hawai'i has captured them, we gain an enriched view of the influences that shape contemporary perspectives. Like the composers of hīmeni Hawai'i who took new influences and made them their own, encouraging a "cross-fertilization" of cultures allows our ancestral knowledge, and ultimately, identity, to thrive in a global context.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis provides an analysis of hīmeni Hawai‘i, a genre defined macroscopically by its politically charged context in the late 19th century, and microscopically by its textual and musical content. These findings present a specific function of hīmeni Hawai‘i to promote aloha ‘āina, a fundamentally Hawaiian sentiment. Hīmeni Hawai‘i serve to further enrich understandings of aloha ‘āina, as expressed in mele, in the late 19th century. These understandings of aloha ‘āina during that specific time period also finds relevance in contemporary narratives on Hawaiian identity.

In understanding aloha ‘āina, Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua states that "[i]t is through action, through practicing aloha ‘āina, that we produce ourselves in relation to and as a part of ‘āina" (2013: 33). The knowledge and practice of hīmeni Hawai‘i allows Hawaiians to "produce" themselves in the context of the ‘āina, in this case, the nahele. The nahele motif brings forth feelings of aloha ‘āina. Understanding this sentiment, this feeling, allows Hawaiians to contextualize themselves as "a part of ‘āina." Thus aloha ‘āina promotes the relationship between kānaka and ‘āina. It is the aloha of kānaka put to action for the betterment of the ‘āina, and vice versa.

In review, the practice of aloha ‘āina can be categorized into three types of expressions:

1. Mālama ‘āina (taking care of the land): Tending to the cyclical relationship between kānaka and ‘āina through the land preservation and cultivation.
2. Kālai‘āina (relating to political aspects of land): acting on and advocating for political rights having to do with the use of land and natural resources.

3. Ho‘ohanohano ‘āina (extolling land): expressions of admiration through ‘ōlelo and its various forms for the aesthetic qualities of the land.

While these expressions serve to categorize three major facets of aloha ‘āina, in no way do they stand independent of each other. All three are interrelated and sometimes interdependent. For example, if a taro farmer practices mālama ‘āina, he may also practice kālai‘āina if the use of the water that feeds his taro is being contested. If a mele, a form of ho‘ohanohano ‘āina, is written about this farmer, this mele may be the catalyst for other farmers to practice kālai‘āina and stand for water rights by continuing and encouraging the practice of mālama ‘āina through farming taro. Numerous situations like this example exist in which these three categories are connected and dependent on each other.

Mele aloha ‘āina (songs of aloha ‘āina), can be categorized as ho‘ohanohano ‘āina. Often times, mele aloha ‘āina falls within the kālai‘āina category, due to the politically charged nature of mele aloha ‘āina.

Hīmeni Hawai‘i very often make mention of ‘āina, not in political contention, but in celebration of its beauty. One particular land feature appears consistently in this genre of mele: nahele. These three examples of hīmeni Hawai‘i, "Poli Pumehana," "Lanihuli," and "Ka Oiwī Nani o ke Kamakahala," all present related usage of a prevalent theme: the nahele motif. Simply translated as "wilderness" or "forest," the idea of nahele includes visual and conceptual associations with the upland, the frequent rain that falls there, and the alluring scents that beckon one to become a part of the lush scene. In its occurrences in hīmeni Hawai‘i, this specific motif is utilized not only to extol the beauties of the land, but often to use those beauties to describe a loved one. Hawaiian scholar, Kīhei de Silva, maintains that this kind of comparison, between man and environment is fundamentally Hawaiian.

[O]ne could not expect to compose in a traditional Hawaiian manner without transforming people and their emotions into flowers, birds, winds waves, cliffs, place-names... These transformations are more than poetic techniques, more than metaphor and personification. They reflect a fundamental Hawaiian belief in the unity of me and not-me, self and other, this and that. (de Silva 1997: 57)

The nahele motif is one example of this fundamentally Hawaiian aesthetic. The way this imagery is used in hīmeni Hawai‘i reflects the "oneness" of man and environment, thus promoting aloha ‘āina. This aesthetic not only describes the beauty of the ‘āina, but also the beauty of kānaka. As ‘āina and kānaka become interchangeable in these expressions, aloha ‘āina, the relationship between kānaka and ‘āina, is further strengthened.

This motif not only includes the term itself, but also the sensuous sights, smells, and feelings that are related to the nahele. Upland forests, alluring scents, and fertile wetness are not only found in these three hīmeni Hawai‘i, but in a large number of hīmeni Hawai‘i in Holstein's 1897 publication.

These attributes of the nahele embody aloha ‘āina sentiments in a few ways, demonstrated in the examples of hīmeni Hawai‘i. The nahele motif compares the cold, wetness of the uplands with the uninhibited lovemaking of a nahele rendezvous, suggesting that ‘āina and kānaka are one in the same. The separation of nahele and town provides a temporary escape, both physically and mentally, allowing kānaka to find themselves, their inherent identity, in the sovereign, untouched upland forest. As readers enjoy the chilly accounts of lovers meeting in the uplands, the environment becomes a source of inspiration, reminding and reinstalling certain truths fundamental to the Hawaiian identity. In a time of political turmoil, these seeds of aloha ‘āina were sewn. Though the intention of this publication may never be known for sure, its impacts are seen through the juxtaposition of its content and context of its release. Whether readers pointed out these aloha ‘āina features in their mele or not, the familiarity of the nahele,

explained in hīmeni Hawai‘i, reassured the steadfast relationship with the land, that is, aloha ‘āina.

The musical three attributes seem to permeate not only in these three examples, but in other hīmeni Hawai‘i whose melodies are known. Besides its Christian counterpart, in the time of its popularity, there are no other song forms that are as musically developed, both melodically and harmonically, than hīmeni Hawai‘i, when compared to hula ku‘i or chant. What can be said about these examples, so far, is that there are notable musical commonalities. These attributes contribute to the musical structure of hīmeni Hawai‘i that ultimately contribute to the delivery of aloha ‘āina sentiments in the text. The musical structure, then, is the important vehicle, without which, aloha ‘āina would not live on the tongues of Hawaiians then and now.

Existing scholarship on aloha ‘āina in mele focuses on responses to the political turmoil of the late 19th century, specifically, 1893-1898, the time of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy by American businessmen with the help of the U.S. military until the so-called annexation of Hawai‘i to the United States of America. Through mele lāhui, the same expressions of patriotism that published and sung during the late 19th century echo through the hearts and minds of many Hawaiians today. This is due to the fact that scholarship on mele during the late 19th century, thus far, predominantly concerns mele lāhui.

The aesthetic principles of the poetic expressions found in hīmeni Hawai‘i promote different sentiments of aloha ‘āina – one that is not of kū‘ē (resistant) sentiments, but of kūpa‘a (steadfast) sentiments. The kū‘ē sentiments of mele lāhui are more reactive and responsorial. The kūpa‘a sentiments of hīmeni Hawai‘i transcends the political narrative at the time, not directly responding to political turmoil, but fortifying the understanding of the fundamental sentiment that inspires the fight for one's homeland: aloha ‘āina. Hīmeni Hawai‘i, thus, enriches current

perspectives of the political climate of the late 19th century, and ultimately, the applications of this aloha ‘āina sentiment in a contemporary Hawaiian society.

While this thesis provides a brief survey of hīmeni Hawai‘i as a genre of mele aloha ‘āina, it is in no way definitive research. The limitations of this short thesis provided the opportunity to analyze three examples of hīmeni Hawai‘i that effectively demonstrate the salient features found in many of the hīmeni Hawai‘i in Holstein's publication. Future research on hīmeni Hawai‘i may include a survey of all the hīmeni Hawai‘i in Holstein's publication. One may not only find the nahele motif as a salient theme, but other themes that also have implications in the politically tumultuous time period of the late 19th century. Even more research can be done in the analysis of the melodic and harmonic structures of hīmeni Hawai‘i. Special attention to what seem to be popular intervals in melodies may yield findings on the musical aesthetics of hīmeni Hawai‘i and the influence it had on genres of mele to follow. A dissertation amalgamating these points of research, based on the foundation this thesis provides, would be a next step in works pertaining to hīmeni Hawai‘i.

RIPPLES TOWARD THE FUTURE

The inspiration for this thesis is the aforementioned, eye-opening quote by Amy Ku‘uleialoha Stillman (1996: 483) that suggests that authenticity and indigeneity were of little concern to Hawaiians, especially those composing hīmeni Hawai‘i. Composers of hīmeni Hawai‘i, many of whom were of the royal and upper classes, did not limit their actions as to abide by what was thought to be "Hawaiian." They did not worry about "being Hawaiian." The idea that Hawaiian-ness was not questioned by those composers who inspired a canon of "traditional" Hawaiian music today may be initially shocking to today's Hawaiians. This is

perhaps due to the fact that, currently, Hawaiians strive for authenticity via their understandings of their ancestors and the history that frames them.

"Hawaiian-ness" has become the measure of quality in Hawaiian cultural practices. Presentations of hula are considered excellent when the "Hawaiian-ness" is maximized. Farming practices of kalo and fishponds are celebrated for using ancient technologies as they were preserved for generations. Mele, when sung the manner it was composed/intended, are the best in honoring the Hawaiian succession of knowledge mele represent. The foundational 'ōlelo no'eau (wise saying), "nānā i ke kumu," meaning to look to one's source – that which has come before him/her (Pukui & Elbert, 1986), supports these ideas of honoring the traditional. While these ideas seem to honor tradition, they potentially become problematic in a culture of creativity. Tradition provides a foundation for culturally-rooted innovation. The composers of hīmeni Hawai'i show that innovation is a Hawaiian practice.

At the time of its popularity in the 19th century, hīmeni Hawai'i was not a traditional Hawaiian style of composition. While poetic conventions used in hīmeni Hawai'i are rooted in older, more fundamental ideals, the structure of its delivery – the musical structure – is completely influenced by Christian hymnody. Hīmeni Hawai'i is a culturally-rooted innovation, a hybridized expression from which mele results. Composers of hīmeni Hawai'i were not *forced* into composing in this style. In fact, it was quite the opposite. Kamana Beamer suggests the idea of native appropriation:

I believe that native appropriation is possible... I would say it *has* to be possible. A prerequisite for accepting this argument is to accept that the ali'i were able to adapt to foreign systems while maintaining their Hawaiianness. Those who think a people must act identically to their ancestors to preserve their identity may have serious problems with my argument and conclusions.... I believe that living cultures are dynamic and always in a state of change. *I believe the dichotomies of the traditional and modern, with all their connotations, are false.* They compose the conceptual shackles that preserve European

hegemony and often reinscribe links between the colonizer and the colonized, occupier and occupied. (2014: 13-14)

The false binary of "traditional" and "modern," then, maintains the need for the authenticity of Hawaiian practices. Referring back to Stillman's original statement, in which "[q]uestions of authenticity, traditionality and indigenous versus non-indigenous origins with respect to Christian hymnody were of little or no concern to Hawaiians," (1996: 483) composers of hīmeni Hawai'i were not plagued by Beamer's mention of the idea that "a people must act identically to their ancestors to preserve their identity" (2014: 13). Composers of hīmeni Hawai'i – those ali'i and members of the upper class who lived in a time where all things Hawaiian were challenged – were free of Beamer's "conceptual shackles" (2014: 13). This demonstrates that innovation is not only a Hawaiian cultural practice, but has been, and always will be, a Hawaiian tradition. How, then, does this practice of hīmeni Hawai'i, inform any generation who strives to "act identically to their ancestors to preserve their identity[?]" (2014: 13)

Hīmeni Hawai'i should remind Hawaiians today that their ancestors were innovative. While poetic conventions remained, composers of hīmeni Hawai'i utilized a completely foreign musical structure to compose these mele. The result was a hybridized expression of mele that are considered classics of Hawaiian music today. Yesterday's innovation has become today's tradition. However, if innovation stops, new traditions do not emerge. Don Niles supports this in saying that "pushing people to hold on to their traditions will not only limit the authenticity of the traditions but will turn these people into living museums" (2004: 138). Too much tradition, unbalanced with innovation rooted in tradition, creates a static, and undynamic culture.

However, culture is always dynamic, changing and adapting with time. Anthony Giddens explains that in traditional societies, like that of Hawai'i,

the past is honoured and symbols are valued because they contain and perpetuate the experience of generations. Tradition is a means of handling time and space, which inserts any particular activity or experience within the continuity of past, present and future, these in turn being structured by recurrent social practices. (1990: 37-38)

Stuart Hall compares Anthony Giddens description of tradition with modernity, augmenting the idea as not only

the experience of living with rapid, extensive, and continuous change, but [also] a highly reflexive form of life in which 'social practices are constantly examined and reformed in the light of incoming information about those very practices, thus constitutively altering their character' (Giddens, 1990, pp. 37-8)." (1992: 599).

A balance of both traditionality and modernity, as explained above, occurs in hīmeni Hawai‘i. The hybridization of the two attributes allows mele to become a living expression, constantly changing and remaining steadfast, simultaneously. This balance, I argue, will maintain a healthy Hawaiian culture, rich with confidently hybridized and unapologetic practices, connected to tradition while thriving in innovation.

Thus, I return the metaphor of the many concentric circles that ripple away from the epicenter of a pebble piercing the water's surface. Each concentric ripple is a different version, a different iteration, of the ripple before it and the ripple after it. Though each concentric ripple may vary in size and intensity, they are all related, and ultimately the same, by way of its source: the pebble. Translated to the ocean of Hawaiian history, ripples become waves of change. The pebble becomes the kumu, the source of that which we can perceive: the "past." The more we understand the waves that have already washed ashore, the better equipped we are to anticipate the waves that have yet to arrive. We learn from the past, what we and our ancestors have already experienced, to guide our steps into the future. The pebble, the source we hope to learn from, is aloha ‘āina – that which we continue to rediscover and live out on various levels. Mele

provide an apparatus of discovery, a means by which we can study the ripples of time as hīmeni Hawai‘i have captured them.

It is my hope that studying the attitudes of Hawaiians past, through hīmeni Hawai‘i, allows Hawaiians today to evaluate their own attitudes toward traditionality and innovation. As the collective body of Hawaiian scholars continues to drop more pebbles of knowledge into an ocean of ancestral memory, ripples of epiphany become waves of understanding. All the while, beneath the waters surface, we continue to rebuild and redefine intellectual the structures of our ancestors, pebble by pebble.

ENDNOTES

¹ See de Silva (1997), Basham (2007), Lopes (2010), Kanahale (2011)

² Robert William Kalanihiapo Wilcox led "a band of Native Hawaiians loyal to the deposed Lili'uokalani" on Sunday, January 6, 1895. "This royalist Counterrevolution was an initiative to achieve militarily what was not forthcoming diplomatically: that is, the restoration of the Monarchy" (Stillman, 1989).

³ Translation by **author.**

⁴ This is an excerpt from the mele is found in Testa credited to D. K. Kaumiumi.

⁵ This is an excerpt from the mele, "Puia Ka Nahele, by Lili'uokalani, published by Holstein in 1897.

⁶ Stillman (1989, 1999, 2002), Basham (2007), Nordyke and Noyes (1993), Elbert and Mahoe (1970), Sumida (1997), Dudoit (1999).

⁷ Stillman, Amy Ku'uleialoha. "Aloha Aina: New Perspectives on "Kaulana Nā Pua." *Hawaiian Journal of History* Vol. 33:83-99. 1999.

⁸ Silva, Noenoe K. *Aloha Betrayed Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

⁹ Basham, J.J. Leilani. *He Puke Mele Lāhui: Nā Mele Kūpa 'a, Nā Mele Kū 'ē A Me Nā Mele Aloha O Nā Kānaka Maoli*. M.A. thesis. University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2002.

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¹⁰ See Stillman (1987, 225) for a description of the structure of hula ku'i.

¹¹ Stillman, Amy Ku'uleialoha. "Aloha Aina: New Perspectives on "Kaulana Nā Pua." *Hawaiian Journal of History* Vol. 33:83-99. 1999.

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¹² Translation by Lum

¹³ Transcription by Lum

¹⁴ Transcription by Lum

¹⁵ This mele is credited to D. K. Kaumiumi.

¹⁶ See Liliuokalani. *The Queen's Songbook*. Honolulu: Hui Hanai, 1999.

¹⁷ See Stillman (1987, 225) for a description of the structure of hula ku'i.

GLOSSARY

‘Āina - land, landbase

‘Ōlelo - language

Kānaka - man, human

Mele - song, poetry

Lāhui - nation, people

Hīmeni - hymn

Nahele - forest, wilderness

Haku Mele - composer of mele

‘Ōiwi - native

Kū‘ē - resist, stand against

Kūpa‘a - steadfast, stand firmly

Kīpuka - oasis

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