O KUALOA, O NA KANAWAI NO IA O KO MAU KUPUNA:

REVIVING BURIED IDEAS OF ‘ĀINA THROUGH MO‘OLELO, MO‘OKŪ‘AUHAU, AND ALOHA ‘ĀINA

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Abstract

The ahupuaʻa of Kualoa of Windward Oʻahu was considered one of the most sacred places on the island traditionally. Understanding that ahupuaʻa is a system of land management that perpetuates natural abundance, recent scholarship proposes their palena (place-boundaries) connect people to spiritual resources as well. This thesis attempts to explore wahi kapu through place-based analysis, and contextualize why this analysis is important in a larger Kānaka Maoli national consciousness. Structured around three key themes: moʻolelo, place, and aloha ʻāina as Hawaiian nationalism, this research uses existing literature to help frame how Kualoa is wahi kapu, and what it means for a place to have spiritual abundance.

As a result of loss of language, land, and culture, Kānaka Maoli experience historical trauma that is perpetuated by persisting discrimination and oppression. However, explicit research is sorely needed in trans-generational transmission studies focusing on the strengths that are passed down to descendants. By adopting a strengths-based perspective, the concept of inherited resilience is carried into how aloha ʻāina and nationalism is defined and explored to comprehend a uniquely Hawaiian nationalism. Moʻolelo from Kualoa are used to expand on ways to see ourselves as a Lāhui, and methods of *how* to see ourselves as a Lāhui. Resulting conclusions drawn in this research are part of a purposeful strategy to combat historical trauma by embracing inherited resilience in order to transform the violence of trauma into strategies of restoration and empowerment.

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Introduction

During my time in elementary school, our Papahana Kaiapuni instruction included a lengthy ahupuaʻa unit. Using the large, Kamehameha Schools-published Ahupuaʻa Poster taped to the classroom wall as reference, we were taught that ahupuaʻa were pie-shaped divisions of land our Hawaiian ancestors created that run from the mountains to the sea, and even beyond into the ocean to the outer reefs. As eager nine and ten year olds, we traced the water falling from the forested mountains onto the valley floor, forming streams that flowed into loʻi, then into the sea; a picture perfect image of abundance, the ahupuaʻa had everything the people needed.

Following assignments had us identifying our moku and three ahupuaʻa we spent the most time in. All three of mine are in the Koʻolaupoko moku of Oʻahu: Kāneʻohe, where my ʻohana on my mom's side lived and where our school was, and Hakipuʻu and Kualoa, where I lived and had grown up. Then, we all had to choose one ahupuaʻa to render an image similar to the Ahupuaʻa Poster. Excited to bring to life my image of Kualoa onto paper, I weaved shades of green and deep brown into its cliffs. I drew its long, flat valley floor, and the peninsula that jut out into Kāneʻohe Bay. Finally, browns, grays, and some green went into drawing Mokoliʻi offshore. It was this elementary assignment that helped me realize how Kualoa had no water; there were no streams, or springs, on my poster, so unlike the other Koʻolau ahupuaʻa represented in my classmates drawings. My nine-year-old self was not yet at a point to question anything beyond how, if without water, could this ahupuaʻa of mine achieve the forms of natural abundance represented in that classic Ahupuaʻa poster?

Twelve years later, I enrolled as an undergrad in HWST 307: Mālama ʻĀina Resource Management Visual Technologies at UH Mānoa. In this class we were assigned to read an article by Lorenz Gonschor and Kamana Beamer titled "Toward an Inventory of Ahupuaʻa in the

Hawaiian Kingdom: A survey of Nineteenth and eartly Twentieth-Century Cartographic and Archival Records of the Island of Hawaiʻi." In it, the authors state how "[O]ne of the most persistent myths in popular narratives is the idea that ahupuaʻa are usually stream drainages bounded by watersheds. Equating ahupuaʻa to watersheds is problematic because it empties the ahupuaʻa of its cultural context."[1] This is when that distraught nine-year-old in me jumped at the opportunity to revisit the question: if moʻolelo show Kualoa as a place that is kapu, then why is it, if there is no water?

This became the motivation to pursue graduate study, and would become the basis for following research that now culminates into this thesis. Revered as one of the most sacred places on the island, Kualoa is prominent in history and mythology, and is also a symbol of sovereignty and independence for Oʻahu.[2] However, when it comes to the the sanctity of Kualoa, tidbits of information shine through in commonly used resources, but a comprehensive study and analysis has not been done yet. The purpose of this study is to analyze the significance of this revered place as a seat of power, and the potential of this analysis toward reviving buried ideas of ʻāina.

Research Questions

Kamana Beamer states that "... palena created places — spaces of attachment and access to both the metaphysical and physical worlds. They delineated the resource access of makaʻāinana and aliʻi on the ground, literally connecting to the material and spiritual resources of these places."[3] The questions posed have to do with examining palena to offer another way to relate to ʻāina through moʻolelo and moʻokūʻauhau. The first question addresses genealogy as described in moʻolelo: what moʻolelo are there about Kualoa, and how do their genealogies contribute to, or create, significances of this place? The moʻokūʻauhau of Kualoa is of course attached to key characters from moʻolelo, but it is the relationships these key characters have to place that define the genealogy and bestow mana on this ʻāina, establishing connections to metaphysical worlds. The second question addresses another way to relate to ʻāina. What does kapu mean in the context of ʻāina, and how is Kualoa defined as such? Defining the sacred allows also spiritual resources to be defined and described. Then finally, this research attempts to reconnect kanaka to our ancestral places. How can this knowledge and strengthened worldview be used to empower and restore communities today?

Theoretical Framework

According to Linda Tuhiwai Smith, "Indigenous peoples have been, in many ways, oppressed by theory;"[4] indigenous origins have been examined, analyzed, dissected, and distorted to suggest theories as both unsympathetic and unethical to us as indigenous scholars. However, indigenous scholars grounded in indigenous identities are implementing their own new ways of theorizing. This allows for organization and development of strategy. It allows for interpretation and growth, creating a space for new ideas and perspectives. It is also protective; theory suggests ways of making sense of reality and putting that reality into perspective.[5]

Julie Kaomea describes a modern indigenous framework for research that draws from various theoretical perspectives to develop a hybrid research methodology, one that utilizes both indigenous and Eurocentric ways of knowing. This methodology allows for the innovation and flexibility post-colonial study demands; the values and concerns of kūpuna are honored, and integrated with other theoretical approaches in order to address both traditional and contemporary views. This framework utilizes also an ethical and respectful strategy, ultimately speaking to the potential for strengthening the community by giving voice to previously silenced perspectives. Within it a kuleana of sharing knowledge is embedded; that is, sharing the critical theories and analyses that come out of research with community in a culturally appropriate manner and using language appropriate for specific audiences. Constantly developing in progressive ways, an indigenous framework for research bridges the knowledge of a Eurocentric world with traditional wisdom in order to reconcile the disconnected aspects of being that exist within us all.[6]

This hybridity aligns with the purposeful effort of "conscientization." Modeled after a revolutionary shift in the mindset of Māori in the 1980's that accompanied phenomenal initiatives in language revitalization, Graham Smith describes the term as "the freeing of the indigenous mind from the grip of dominant hegemony."[7] This shift was toward reawakening Māori imagination and reviving the indigenous ability to conceptualize freedom, or futures, free of the colonizer. Conscientization moves away from a consciousness that was strategically smothered by colonization, but rather is a way of thinking grounded in being proactive and positive concerning indigenous worldview, focusing on transformation through confrontations with both the colonizer and ourselves.[8]

I ground and structure my research in moʻolelo and moʻokūʻauhau. Moʻolelo as literature and histories, and moʻokūʻauhau as genealogies, explain the perspectives Kānaka Maoli[9] have on various elements: cosmogonic creation, landscape and islands, and humankind. They also record ʻike kupuna, and an incredible extensive history within which cultural values and theories are embedded, that guide and offer lessons as indigenous people of Hawaiʻi.

The word moʻolelo is derived from two words; the first being moʻo, meaning "succession, series, especially a genealogical line, lineage," and the second being ʻōlelo, meaning "language, speech, word, statement, utterance; to speak, say, converse." Therefore, moʻo ʻōlelo is "a succession of talk, as all stories were oral, not written."[10] We enthusiastically embraced the innovative technology of writing after its invention in the early 1800's, and successfully recorded moʻolelo in Hawaiian language newspapers. This is how literature in the Hawaiian language flourished for around one hundred years. The preservation of this literature allows indigenous scholars to learn, understand, and perpetuate the moʻolelo of our ancestors and be empowered with the traditional ʻike kūpuna preserved in them. By utilizing moʻolelo in indigenous research, Kānaka Maoli perpetuate traditional moʻolelo by creating and composing new stories, allowing the communication of modern thought, feeling, and experience, as well as the establishment of a record for future generations; just as our ancestors left their moʻolelo for their descendants.[11]

Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa defines moʻokūʻauhau as "an unbroken chain that link those alive today to the primeval life forces to the mana (spiritual power) that first emerged with the beginning of the world. Genealogies anchor Hawaiians to our place in the universe …[and] are a means of glorifying one's ancestors and one's past."[12] Moʻokūʻauhau is a fundamental element to Hawaiian epistemology. Beyond being a simple ancestral pedigree, moʻokūʻauhau encompasses a deep significance in the Hawaiian language referring to human connection to spiritual and geographic elements. The succession of our ancestors as outlined in genealogy, as well as the mana within their bones buried in the land, create a foundation that establishes our identity as connected to our places. Genealogical lineage also asserts political power; moʻokūʻauhau asserts ancestry, as well as the rights and responsibilities we have in Hawaiʻi as their descendants.[13]

Methodology

Indigenized methodologies are defined by Nalani McDougall simply as "'new-old' culturally relevant ways of reading and discussing our ancestral and contemporary literatures."[14] This research honors moʻolelo and moʻokūʻauhau by utilizing primary sources, while also integrating contemporary scholarship to develop a critical discussion across Hawaiʻi literatures. By celebrating the wisdom of our kūpuna, this research continues on a path of Kānaka scholarship that illustrates how their ʻike forms the foundation of modern scholarship, and in this case, allows for exploration of new perspectives of ʻāina.

In October of 1865, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* printed an article titled "Na mea Kaulana o ka wa Kahiko i hala aku" by Kamakau in which he writes about Kūaliʻi. In the article, he notes that:

> Elua wahi i hanaiia'i o Kualii, o Kailua, a o Kualoa. O na pahu kapu o Kailua. O Mahinui ka pahu kapu komohana, o Kaohao ka pahu kapu hikina ; he okoa na pahu kapu iloko ... O Kahoowahaokalani ke Alii o Kailua, he kupunakane o Kualii, ka mea nana i oki ka piko. O Kaahuulapunawai ka pahu kapu hikina hema, o Kapahuulu ka pahu ka pahu kapu komohana hema o Kualoa. Mauka ke alanui o Hakipuu, ma ka nahele o Kalehuloa a iho ma Loike i Kahana. Kapu ka waa pea makai, a Makawai kulai ke kia, a Kaaawa hoala ke kia. O Kaaawa ke kai lumalumai a kaiheehee o Kualii, kai mahunehune o Ku. Ilaila ka limu-lana o Kawahine, oia na kauwa makawela. O Kauakahi a Kahoowahaokalani ke Alii o Kualoa, nana i kii ke kapu moe i Kauai.[15]

This short excerpt describes how Kualoa is one of two places celebrated Oʻahu aliʻi Kūaliʻi was raised. The pahu kapu of Kailua were Mahinui to the west, and Kaohao to the east. Kahoʻowahaokalani, Kūaliʻi's grandfather, was the Aliʻi of Kailua. Kaʻahuʻulapunawai was the pahu kapu to the southeast, and Kapahuʻulu to the southwest in Kualoa, which was on the mountainside of the road in Hakipuʻu, in the forest of Kalehuloa until descending into Loike in Kahana. During his time there, waʻa sailing past were required to lower their sails at Makawai, and not allowed to raise them again until they reached Kaʻaʻawa. The practice of drowning kauā is described here as well, and we see key terms that will later come to play in the conflict between Kahahana and Kahekili: Kaahuulapunawai, Kapahuulu, kai lumalumai, kaiheehee, and Kauakahiakahoowaha.

These emerging parallels allow for further analysis of representations of sanctity assigned to Kualoa. The information from this article partially answers the first research question, which addresses genealogy as described in moʻolelo, because it adds another layer to the moʻokūʻauhau being built on Kualoa and the key characters that establish moʻolelo there. Kūaliʻi takes a place alongside other aliʻi we will see in moʻolelo, including Haumea and Wākea, Hāloa, and Laʻamaikahiki. Furthermore, it also addresses the second research question, concerned with defining and describing sanctity, since the presence of an aliʻi of high status like Kūaliʻi further confirms this ʻāina as wahi kapu and in this moʻolelo representations of sanctity are presented through sacrificial drowning of kauā and the kapu of lowering sails past this ʻāina. This brief analysis is one example of how the methodology of this research will be structured: utilizing primary material as a foundation of ʻike kupuna to analyze as a modern Kānaka scholar to explore theories of ʻāina and wahi kapu.

The historical narrative of Hawaiʻi has long been commanded by a preference for English-language sources, following the decline of Hawaiian language speakers and writers during a large part of the 20th century. This hegemonic narrative that cast Kānaka Maoli as incompetent citizens of an American territory was but one effort in an attempt to extinguish and integrate the Hawaiian nation into the foreign United States.[16] However, an effort by established and recognized scholars to prioritize primary-source materials in the extensive Hawaiian language archive revives a narrative that reflects a powerful, literate, and informed Hawaiian national identity spearheaded by intellectuals, political powerhouses, and a vigorous population.[17]

This research is a continuation of this effort as a part of the 'conscientization' process; it encompasses the purposeful approach of actively engaging in practices of resurgence to reconnect to land- and water-based cultural practices.[18] Through modest study, this is a small contribution in ushering forward our historical views as we revitalize the voices of our kūpuna.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 serves as a review of literature covering resources that contribute to this research according to the main themes of this thesis: moʻolelo, moʻokūʻauhau, and aloha ʻāina. In moʻolelo we see the key historical figures that are associated with Kualoa, and we learn about the representations of sacred status assigned to this place. By further incorporating aloha ʻāina as Hawaiian nationalism, this literature review serves as the foundation for arguments made in the following chapters.

Chapter 2 delves deeper into the concept of wahi kapu; I attempt to define the term by incorporating various resources, and provide an analysis of Kualoa as wahi kapu through naming traditions and moʻokūʻauhau. In this chapter I also look into how the history and politics of ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, especially concerning place names, has a direct impact on Hawaiian geography.

In Chapter 3, I discuss aloha ʻāina and nationalism to show what makes aloha ʻāina a uniquely Hawaiian nationalism. Through close analysis of moʻolelo, I will expand on the concept to show how, through moʻolelo, we are able to see ourselves as a Lāhui and carry those lessons into proactive efforts in the aloha ʻāina movement today.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

“The land of Kualoa was sacred in ancient times. It was a place of refuge, and was also under a special kapu. When a chief was residing there, canoes lowered their sails at Makawai and kept them down until reaching Kaʻaʻawa. Young aliʻi were brought to Kualoa to be trained in the traditions of Hawaiian aliʻi … because of its sacredness, Kualoa was coveted by the aliʻi and played an important role in politics …”[1]

Moʻolelo, a shortened version of moʻo ʻōlelo, is one of the forms of ʻike kupuna that pass information through oral traditions, as a succession of words organized into narratives that form our history.[2] The short description provided above is a succinct depiction of important symbols of the ahupuaʻa of Kualoa. A well-established network of moʻolelo describes Kualoa as one of the most sacred places on Oʻahu. Beyond the physical ability to inspire awe and wonder, sacred sites, symbols, akua and kānaka contribute to its mana over time. I begin with a discussion of where this ʻāina sits at the intersection of moʻolelo, place, and nationalism, three key themes that will serve as lenses for later critical analysis.

Background

The northernmost ahupuaʻa in the Koʻolaupoko moku of Oʻahu, Kualoa stretches from Kāneʻohe Bay to the top of the Koʻolau mountain range from east to west and from Hakipuʻu ahupuaʻa to Kalaeokaʻōʻio[3] point, which marks the boundary between the two Koʻolau moku, from south to north. The ridge here, which juts east as a semi-independent mountain system that is a spur of the Koʻolau range, is called Palikū, and reaches an elevation of 579 meters at Kānehoalani, its highest peak. The near-vertical cliff faces descend into a long, flat plain, bounded by a broad, shallow reef that extends out to Mokoliʻi; beyond the island, the reef drops off into the open sea.[4] No permanent streams or freshwater springs are present in Kualoa, unlike the permanent water courses in adjacent land units; there are coastal ponds, but these are brackish water so unsuitable for intensive agriculture.[5]

Moʻolelo structures Kānaka geography and worldview. Cosmogonic genealogies as oral traditions form land, life, the gods, and people, describing and reaffirming relationships between them all. While there are multiple accounts that describe the cosmogonic origins of Hawaiʻi, the common thread they share is the articulation of the familial, genealogical relationship that exists among the foundational triad that forms Hawaiian society: ʻāina, akua, and kānaka.[6] The Kumulipo, as a well-known cosmogonic genealogy, traces divine origins of aliʻi to deified ancestors, the first Kānaka, the gods, animals, plants, and elements to the beginning of the universe.[7] Over sixteen wā (epochs) that span eons of time, the birth of the heavens, earth, and all known things within them is recounted; the first eight wā occur in pō (night), the time of the gods. Dawn breaks at the end of the eighth wā. It is during ao, the time of light, that kanaka are born. Ultimately, the Kumulipo establishes a moʻokūʻauhau as a foundation of culture, identity, and worldview for Kānaka.[8] The Kumulipo also plays a significant role in Hawaiian national consciousness when examined politically, as a source of pride and identity for Kānaka Maoli.[9] As "the great cosmogonic genealogy,"[10] the Kumulipo guides the Kānaka relationship with the world, as it shows how everything in a Kānaka world is related and part of one lineage.[11]

Ancient patterns of Polynesian voyaging complement the genealogical origins outlined in cosmogonic traditions like the Kumulipo. Approximately 3,500 years ago, through technological advances and strengthened navigation strategies, a wave of migration set out from closely-spaced, inter-visible islands of Southeast Asia to systematically explore remote and uninhabited regions of the Pacific on double-hulled voyaging canoes, leading to the discovery of every habitable island in the Pacific Ocean.[12] Through careful environmental surveillance, newly discovered islands were mapped mentally according to celestial observations. This is how directions were provided to future voyages.[13]

Establishing a system of land division

Polynesian voyagers would make landfall in Hawaiʻi around 1600 to 1700 BP[14], or a few centuries earlier at most[15], transporting living landscapes as cargo necessary for reestablishing life on new lands. Arguably, middle-aged islands Oʻahu and Kauaʻi would have offered "the best combination of resources" for voyagers: fertile soils in broad valleys to plant crops, freshwater streams flowing from the mountains for irrigation, and extensive, well-developed coral reef systems that protect their shorelines from ocean swells and support a diverse ecosystem of marine life.[16] The population would experience exponential growth, production intensification, and increased social stratification.[17] In order to address an increasing population, strategic agricultural and aquacultural techniques were implemented to expand the carrying capacity of watersheds[18] and build a highly developed economic system based on intensive farming and aquaculture.[19] Food crops were cultivated in loʻi, terraced pondfields with systemic irrigation mechanisms, and acres of dryland fields. Loko iʻa, stone-walled fishponds, farmed fish on shallow reef flats built against the shoreline.[20] Ultimately, Kānaka would come to organize a complex civilization of economic, political, and religious sophistication.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, aliʻi established a land division system on their respective islands due to a variety of factors.[21] Māʻilikūkahi on Oʻahu, a prominent aliʻi whose reign was known for prosperity and wealth,[22] divided Oʻahu to create structured and systemic divisions: moku, ahupuaʻa, ʻili kūpono, ʻili ʻāina, and moʻo ʻāina.[23] By carefully dividing land into sections, boundaries were established to yield greater productivity, provide mōʻī with greater control, and allow makaʻāinana to establish sustained relationships to land.[24] The foundation of this land reform was palena, bounded areas and resources that resulted in a series of land divisions, each created in a specific context to define a place that has unique functions.[25]

While ahupuaʻa were generally similar in geography to land units found in other Polynesian societies, ahupuaʻa as a term does not correspond to any other terms for land units in Polynesia, and holds a different socio-political function.[26] Ahupuaʻa were carefully delineated through palena to establish boundaries that were "culturally appropriate, ecologically aligned, and place specific,"[27] and focused on the management of resources to ensure self-sufficiency.[28]

Administered by konohiki (resource managers appointed by aliʻi nui), ahupuaʻa function as units that offer tribute to a centralized government; each is designated by an altar, upon which tribute and hoʻokupu (offerings) are offered. The altar is positioned at their boundaries and are decorated with the head of a pig.[29] In fact, in an excavation as a part of an archaeological study of the beach area in Kualoa, the intact skeleton of a pig was unearthed, lying in a narrow pit. The position of its limbs suggested that it was bound, and his snout pointed in a direct line along the boundary separating the Kualoa ahupuaʻa and its neighbor, Hakipuʻu. This could arguably represent an offering intended as a boundary marker, and was the first of its kind found in an archaeological context.[30]

Inspiring modern scholars have reanalyzed ahupuaʻa to resurrect historical ideas of a complex system of land division that transcends physical boundaries, reviving cultural significance and significances in resource management as a part of an entire functional system to perpetuate abundance.[31] This emerging scholarship allows for necessary re-analysis of problematic myths concerning ahupuaʻa, such as: pie-shaped units stretching from the mountains to the sea, bounded by watersheds, and containing "every resource."[32] For example, the generalization of the "mountain to the sea" metaphor leads to the imagery of flowing rivers, and implies that a feature such as this is typical. However, not every ahupuaʻa had flowing surface water[33], such as Kualoa.

Nā moʻolelo ʻo Kualoa, kūkulu ʻana i kona moʻokūʻauhau

The ahupuaʻa of Kualoa sits in the moku of Koʻolaupoko, which translates to "the short windward"; it is suggested that this name reflects the relatively short distances from the sea to the cliffs of the Koʻolau mountains, which seem to tower directly over much of this district. Today, Kualoa is known as one of the two most sacred places on Oʻahu, next to Kūkaniloko. Attempting to reconstruct patterns of significance draws heavily from wahi kapu, an offshoot of wahi pana[34]. Kapā Oliveira describes wahi kapu as often defined by the physical presence of aliʻi who, with their akua, bestow mana on places they revere and hold in high regard. These places are inscribed with distinct and rigid boundaries that reflect the same unyielding boundaries between a sacred aliʻi and profane makaʻāinana.[35] Carlos Andrade further helps to define sacred places by describing how the importance of ʻāina lies not *when* something happened, but where, how, and in what sequence. According to Andrade,

> Hawaiian traditions pinpoint places as landing spots of ancestral navigators, as locations where the people emerged into the world, or as arenas in which they lived, fought battles, engaged in love affairs, and buried the dead. These named places were, and still are, considered sacred by the Hawaiian people. They preserve the memories of many generations, forming a repository, a foundation for their identity as a people.[36]

Our Polynesian ancestors were able to navigate throughout the Pacific for millennia by tapping into their abilities to sense subtle changes in our environment; these sense abilities, combined with thousands of years of ancestral experiences, led us to develop a deep consciousness and appreciation for the environment around us.[37] This relationship and heightened awareness led to the investment of preserving the legendary and historical significances of places that are held in place names and moʻolelo, which are transmitted across generations.[38]

Numerous moʻolelo associated with Kualoa form a remembered landscape that establishes over time a detailed record of events in the epics of Haumea and Wākea, Hāloa, Pelehonuamea, La‘amaikahiki, and Kahahana. In her archaeological study of Kualoa Beach Park, Jo Gunness suggests that early settlers of Kualoa formed first temporary campsites for fishing, gathering resources from the reef, and other shoreline activities. Agricultural use of slopes adjacent to the beach most likely intensified first. Afterward, the sandy peninsula would become home to a community of artisans specializing in crafts and stonework, including adzes, fishing equipment, and kapa. Evidence of ali‘i and kāhuna residence lies in the form of lei niho palaoa, leisure activity areas, heiau, and other artifacts supporting the worship of Lono.[39]

In the Kumulipo, we learn that it is in Palikū[40], upon the land of her ancestors, that Haumea defeats the Kumuhonua lineage, and marks the point where rule of O‘ahu is surrendered to Haumea and Wākea.[41] The mo‘olelo begins with Haumea and Wākea living in Kalihi, but after conflict with ali‘i Kumuhonua, the two escaped to Palikū, which Poepoe notes is the previous name of Kualoa. Following would be a series of significant events including: Kumuhonua’s soldiers slaughtered twice by Haumea from the cliffs, Haumea calling the ocean to rise high and engulf the shores of the Ko‘olau districts, Kamoawa advising Wākea to erect a heiau with his hands at sea, and rallying support from Waimea to Waimanālo to travel to Kilohana, inland of Kalihi, to wage a final battle against Kumuhonua. Kumuhonua is killed at this final battle, and afterward, Wākea became ruling chief of O‘ahu.[42]

Descending from these two primordial ancestors is Hāloa; the ridge of Kualoa is called Ka Mo‘okapu O Hāloa, in honor of his rule in O‘ahu. It was said that if Kualoa was lost then control of half the island of O‘ahu will be lost, including Ko‘olauloa. Interestingly, the name Kualoa is considerably new in the genealogy of the area. There are two documented sources of the name. Poepoe poses that the area is named for Kualoakalailai, from the matriarchal line of

Kākuhihewa[43], while Pukui lists in *Place Names* that Kualoa refers to the “long back” of a moʻo slain by Hiʻiaka in this area.[44]

We can discern a connection to the Pelehonuamea genealogy through the mountain peak, Kānehoalani. The father of Pele, Kānehoalani represents her connection to the sun and personifies a symbol of migration upon the landscape.[45] Landmarks in Kualoa are also reminiscent of one of the numerous times Kamapuaʻa attempts to seduce Pele in his human form. This time, Pele refused, leading to an argument of hurled insults. This particular courtship ends with Pele attacking Kamapuaʻa with flames and lava; Kamapuaʻa flees and hides in a hollow below Kānehoalani, burrowing through the ridge to avoid her wrath. The hollow will be known as Holoapeʻe, referring to the chase and Kamapuaʻa hiding from Pele.[46]

Later, Laʻamaikahiki establishes himself as the ancestor of chiefly lineages in Hawaiʻi from Kualoa. In his old age, Moikeha sent his favorite son Kila to summon Laʻa, who was living in Kahiki. ʻOlopana was the aliʻi there, and Luʻukia his wife. However, ʻOlopana refused this request, saying instead that Laʻa will wait until ʻOlopana dies, because Laʻa will inherit the kingdom. After Olopana’s passing, Laʻa recalled how Kila described Hawaiʻi as ʻāina momona, a nation strong in farming and raising fish in fishponds, and it was Oʻahu that was the most fertile of the islands. Because of this, Laʻa felt strongly about sailing to Hawaiʻi. He came ashore in the place now called Nāonealaʻa, in Kāneʻohe; however, he lived in Kualoa, and was called Laʻamaikahiki. While living at Kualoa, he lived with three chiefs: Hoakanuikapuaʻihelu, Waolena, and Mano.[47] All three wahine were hāpai at the same time, and all three gave birth on the same day: Hoaka in Kualoa, Waolena in Kaʻalaea, and Mano in Kāneʻohe. The children were ʻAhukinialaʻa, Kūkonaalaʻa, and Lāulialaʻa.[48] According to Kamakau, “[m]aanei mai i loaa mai ai kekahi mau kupuna alii o Oahu a me ko Kauai a me ko Hawaii a me Maui;” here, he identifies that while he was in Kualoa, living with these wahine aliʻi, Laʻamaikahiki becomes the head of chiefly lineages of not only Oʻahu but Kauai, Hawaii, and Maui as well.[49]

Through moʻolelo we also learn about significant representations of sacred status assigned to Kualoa. In the March 10, 1870 publication of *Ke Au Okoa*, as a part of his serial column "Ka Moolelo Hawaii," Kamakau writes:

> "O ka puuhonua o ka poe kahiko, he ahupuaa okana, o Kailua, o Waikane ko Koolaupoko, a o Kualoa he aina laa kapu maoli ia a he puuhonua maoli no ka poe make a komo i laila ola, a pela a puni o Oahu"[50]

He describes that the puʻuhonua of the ancestors were Kailua, Waikāne, and Kualoa in Koʻolaupoko. He writes that Kualoa is a very sacred place, and a true puʻuhonua for those who were sentenced to death, but if they entered it they would live; that is how it was around Oʻahu.

He also describes an infamous hidden cavern on Oʻahu, Pohukaina, in a following column published on October 6th in the same year:

> Hookahi anahuna kaulana ma Oahu. O Pohukaina ka inoa, aia ma ka pali o Kanehoalani mawaena o Kualoa a me Kaaawa, aia ka puka i manao ia ma ka pali o Kaoio e huli la i Kaaawa, a o ka lua o ka puka, aia ma ka punawai o Kaahuula-punawai. He anahuna alii keia, a he nui ka waiwai huna iloko a me na ʼlii kahiko. O hailikulamanu, oia kekahi puka, aia a kokoke makai o ke ana o Koluana, i Moanalua, aia ma Kalihi, a ma Puiwa, aia na puka ekolu o Pohukaina ma Kona, a o Waipahu ma Ewa, aia ma Ka-huku i Keolauloa kekahi puka, a o kauhuhu o kaupoku o keia hale anahuna, oia no ka mauna o Konahuanui a iho i Kahuku. Ua olelo ia ma ka moolelo a kanaka, ua nui ka poe i komo iloko me na ihoiho kukui, mai Kona aku nei a puka i Kahuku.
>
> A maloko o keia anahuna, he mau halokowai, he mau muliwai a mau kahawai, ua hana kinohinohi ia, a ma kauwahi aku, he mau aina palahalaha.[51]

In this excerpt, Kamakau describes that there is an opening to the cave in the cliff of Kānehoalani, between Kualoa and Kaʻaʻawa; it was thought to be in the cliff of Kaʻōʻio facing Kaʻaʻawa. A second entrance is at the spring Kaʻahuʻula. Pohukaina is a hidden cavern for aliʻi, and within it great wealth and aliʻi kahiko are buried. There are numerous entrances all over the island: Hailikulamanu is one, close to the cavern Koluana in Moanalua, there is an entrance in both Kalihi and Puiwa, three entrances in Kona, one in Waipahu in Ewa, and one in Keolauloa in Kahuku. It was said in moʻolelo that many people entered with kukui torches in Kona, then emerged in Kahuku. This hidden cavern had many ponds, many rivers, and many streams, was decorated, and there were a few flat sections of earth.

Kualoa also plays a significant role in the moʻolelo of Kahahana; raised in Maui by his uncle and makuakāne hānai, Kahekili, Kahahana was summoned to rule in Oʻahu. Kahekili requested of his adopted son the lands of Kualoa, but Kaʻōpulupulu advised against it.[52] Kamakau writes Kaʻōpulupulu's proclaimation against this:

> O Kualoa, o na kanawai no ia o ko mau kupuna, o Kalumalumai a me Kekaihehee ; o na pahu kapu o Kapahuulu me Kaahuula-punawai ; o ka pali kapu o Kauakahi-akahoowaha o Kualoa. O ka palaoa pae, aole oe e hai ana i ko akua, i na heana a me na kaua kuwaho, ua lilo ia Kahekili, aia ma Maui e hai ai, nolaila, ua lilo ke aupuni ia Kahekili, a o oe hoi, aole oe he alii.[53]

This section is interesting to interpret. At first glance, a surface interpretation could be Kaʻōpulupulu saying how Kualoa is where the kānāwai, or laws, of his ancestors are, their names being Kalumalumai and Kekaihehee, because Kamakau capitalizes these terms. Here is also where the sacred drums of Kapahuʻulu and the spring of Kaʻahuʻula are, and the sacred cliff of Kauakahiakahoʻowaha. Because he loses too the ivory that washes ashore, he will not be able to offer to his akua the human sacrifices and the foreign kauā; Kahekili will make these offerings in Maui and control of the government would be his. If Kualoa is given to Kahekili, Kahahana would no longer be aliʻi. A second interpretation will be provided in the third chapter, where it would be more relevant.

Ultimately, Kualoa would be at the center of a struggle that would mark the beginning of Oʻahu's downfall. As a place where mana and sanctity are assigned according to events or beings associated with it, we see the placement of growing kapu over time.[54]

Kumulipo as a tool of Hawaiian national consciousness

The Kumulipo, as a tool of Hawaiian national consciousness, clearly identifies the spiritual and emotional attachment Kānaka have with land. Careful analysis of the Kumulipo reveal themes of Hawaiian nationalism grounded in aloha ʻāina as the genesis of Hawaiian cultural identity. In the book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* Benedict Anderson describes nations as imagined, limited, and sovereign communities. Anderson supports this definition by explaining the origins of the nation and its rise in popularity; through its origins, examples of the rise of national consciousness, and a discussion of how people develop an attachment to their imagined community, he addresses this attachment of members to their community, and how this deep-seated attachment leads to a willingness to die for their nation.[55]

Craig Womack concisely states how "a key component of nationhood is a people's idea of themselves, their imaginings of who they are. The ongoing expression of a tribal voice, through imagination, language, and literature, contributes to keeping sovereignty alive in the citizens of a nation …"[56] As discussed in an ealier section, I pointed out that the story of Papa and Wākea in the Kumulipo marks the point when the genealogies of land and our people are forged together; producing this sincere connection of aloha ʻāina, a deep and unfaltering sentiment of love for the land.[57] Aloha ʻāina, often used interchangeably with Hawaiian nationalism, celebrates tradition, history and modernity, and is what perpetuates a Hawaiian consciousness founded in the Kumulipo. In the moʻolelo of Papa and Wākea's overthrow of Kumuhonua, we know that their victory is grounded in the ahupuaʻa of Kualoa; the genealogical and spiritual relationship Papa has with this ʻāina allows for her to draw the strength she needs to overthrow the oppressive Kumuhonua genealogy. She sets an example for Kānaka to connect with our kūpuna, as embodied in ʻāina, to navigate the challenges we face as a nation. This moʻolelo and the role Kualoa has in it as a wahi kapu, has the potential to illuminate factors of nationalism through the fundamental way it frames Kānaka worldview and describes aloha ʻāina as a selfless, self-sacrificing spiritual and political love we have for our Lāhui, and as a Lāhui.[58]

Discussion

At the beginning of this chapter, Kualoa's sacred status is said to be described through a well-established network of moʻolelo. This review is an effort to gain more understanding of that aforementioned 'well-established network' through existing material that is relative to the questions this research makes an attempt to answer. Through the knowledge built in this review, we are able to locate this particular research within the context of existing literature across multiple disciplines, including primary-source Hawaiian language material, modern scholarship by Kānaka authors, scholarship from the larger Indigenous Peoples community, and archaeology. This chapter largely answers the first part of the first research question: what moʻolelo are there about Kualoa? Here, we begin to learn about the key characters attached to this place through moʻolelo, and start to gain insight into the relationships they have to this place. As we learn more about these akua and the role Kualoa has in their moʻolelo, we are able to conceptualize how place connects to the metaphysical, and contains spiritual resources. While there is a great deal of potential for extensive analysis of so much of the subject matter in this chapter, the review was framed to elaborate on the key themes relative to this particular research: moʻolelo, place, and aloha ʻāina as Hawaiian nationalism.

Chapter 2: Defining Wahi Kapu

In the previous chapter, it was identified that the ahupuaʻa of Kualoa has no permanent streams or freshwater springs, unlike adjacent land units. This is evidence *against* the generalization of every ahupuaʻa having flowing surface water and the material resources that come with it. This encourages exploration into other kinds of resources that ʻāina could possess, such as *spiritual* resources, following the trend of metaphysical attachments outlined in the previous chapter. This chapter will attempt to define kapu in the context of ʻāina, and address translation issues that arise in defining kapu as ʻsacred.ʼ Following will be an exploration of wahi kapu; using existing scholarship as a framework, elements that contribute toward defining the ahupuaʻa of Kualoa as a wahi kapu are identified: naming traditions, and moʻokūʻauhau. Through naming traditions, a remembered landscape is established by encoding memories of people and their stories onto place. Moʻokūʻauhau allows a space to not only expand on the ʻcommon knowledgeʼ moʻokūʻauhau we know that descends from Papa and Wākea, but further into the past when Hawaiian genealogies overthrow each other, and beginning to discuss what that means.

A deeper look into the cultural significance of place names specifically is also explored, especially the damage it causes when Kānaka Maoli are disconnected from the history and traditions place names carry. Kimura states that the philosophy of power in Hawaiian language is its most important cultural function; the basis of this concept is the belief that "saying the word gives power to cause the action."[1] The ʻōlelo noʻeau, "I ka ʻōlelo ke ola; i ka ʻōlelo ka make," meaning ʻin language is the power of life and death,ʼ codifies this belief. In the context of place names, they link people to their place since place names preserve imagery, history, and traditions. By intertwining the politics of language, place names, and sovereignty, I will look into how the power of naming is eventually wrestled away from Kānaka Maoli in the midst of cultural and political turmoil, and used as a method of control.

The near extinction of Hawaiian language had a devastating impact on Hawaiian geographies; if place names are not understood or properly pronounced, their power is diminished.[2] People are disconnected from the ancestral knowledge within those place names, leading to a disconnection from the memories of kūpuna and their histories encoded onto place through place names. Furthermore, English names being asserted in an attempt to create an American environment transplants other meanings and significances, creating a further disconnect in an effort to replace Hawaiian names entirely. Although the power of naming was one way foreign powers tried to assert dominance over Kānaka Maoli, our language, culture, economy, and sovereignty, cultural revitalization in the past three decades led to an inspiring upswing in accessing traditional knowledge systems. This revitalization in the ways to access ancestral knowledge is one method to battle the trauma our communities inherit because of the injustices committed against our kupuna.

The Hawaiian term ‘kapu’ is translated in Puke Wehewehe as taboo, sacred, holy or consecrated; however, this is problematic considering the Hawaiian and English understanding of ‘sacred’ and ‘kapu’ exist in entirely different epistomologies.[3] The dictionary definition of ‘sacred’ is as follows:

1. dedicated or set apart for the service or worship of a deity
2. holy; entitled to reverence and respect
3. or or relating to religion
4. archaic
5. highly valued or important

The definitions of sacred contribute to the Eurocentric worldview of sacred as separate, or even archaic, making a distinct disconnection not only in space but time as well. The core of a

Eurocentric understanding of sacred is of it parceled out in small pockets of time or places (ie prayer, religious holidays, church, etc) in a largely profane lifestyle.[4]

In contrast, Hawaiian spiritualiy does not recognize distinctly separate natural, divine, and supernatural worlds. Rather, an excerpt from Handy and Pukui shows Hawaiians spiritual positioning in a natural world: “A Hawaiian’s oneness with the living aspect of native phenomena, that is, with spirits and gods and other persons as souls ... is not ‘extra-sensory,’ for it is partly-of-the-senses-and-not-of-the-senses. It is just a part of natural consciousness for the normal Hawaiian – a ‘second-sense’ ...”[5] Furthermore, Herb Kane describes how “Polynesians did not share the European vision of the supernatural as a sphere separate from the natural universe and there is a general absence of equivalent words to concepts such as divine, sacred, etc. in Polynesian dialects,” pointing out how there is no seperation between the ‘divine’ and ‘supernatural.’[6]

Understanding that kapu was a powerful regulator of Hawaiian society historically,[7] kapu then would not so simply equate to a played down ‘sacred’ with its aforementioned translation as taboo, holy, or consecrated, and their connotations of being distinctly separate and divided. Rather, kapu, as the Hawaiian sacred, defined everything relative to the gods and the spirit world. [8] And while we already consider all ‘āina as kapu, what makes some places more sacred than others? What causes varying degrees of kapu in different areas? Degrees of kapu could differ between objects and places, and kapu could increase or diminish depending on certain factors.[9] While ‘āina is sacred, some places are more sacred than others, their degree of kapu varying depending on the mana of that place. Mana could be set upon place through the renowned endeavors of ali‘i and kahuna, or grand natural events. Furthermore, it is people who decide the degree of sanctity a place would possess, causing the appearance and disappearance of kapu places over time as people are influenced by akua and other circumstances.[10]

Since kapu has been defined in the context of this research, it is also necessary to discuss the difference between wahi pana and wahi kapu. Both are terms that address specific types of spiritually abundant places, but for different reasons. Wahi pana are defined generally in the Puke Wehewehe as "legendary places."[11] Pana, in isolation, means "pulse." When paired with wahi or "place," wahi pana has a metaphorical definition of "places with a pulse." This expresses a Hawaiian sense of place that identifies earth as charged with animated and energized life force. Earth embodies Papahānaumoku, a kūpuna that feeds and cares for us; who gives us life.[12] Upon the earth, people establish their lives. Hawaiian cartography is alive and sentient because of its symbolic incorporation of cultural significance with the environment; as a part of Hawaiian cartography, wahi pana serve as mnemonic devices triggering historical events that are set upon places.[13] Contemporary scholarship has also built upon the term across multiple fields to provide further definitions: geographic features with historical significance and genealogy, or places with names in which place-based knowledge systems are embedded. Ultimately, wahi pana strengthens identity and well-being for the people from their areas, if we know and understand the moʻolelo attached to them.[14]

Contemporary scholarship suggests that wahi kapu are an offshoot of wahi pana.[15] Listed within Pukui's definitions of kapu, wahi kapu is defined as "sacred place," but there is no simple template to define a place as kapu; kapu places hold different significances. Some that immediately come to mind include Kūkaniloko, Kahoʻolawe or Mauna a Wākea, all places that are kapu for distinctly different reasons. To expand on the term, it would be helpful to include a discussion of the similar Māori term, waahi tapu. Translated loosely as "sacred place," the translation of tapu as “sacred” may, like the initial discussion at the beginning of the chapter, fail to portray its spiritual value as “windows to the past,” as representing the beginning of a continuum moving through history to the present, and being physical symbols that genealogically link people to the past.[16] More specifically, “their whakapapa (genealogy) and history are identified by reference to land features with names that recall the tipuna (ancestors) who preceded them, and the events which shaped their lives.”[17] Through waahi tapu, we may draw similarities to apply to wahi kapu as also “windows to the past,” that represent people and events throughout genealogical history. Arguably, another crucial element that could set wahi kapu apart from wahi pana is the physical presence of aliʻi[18] as akua living on earth, who serve as channels between the physical and metaphysical realms.[19]

Mountains in particular are seen as sacred expressions of deeper reality all over the world; as high and impressive landmarks, mountains have a natural power that evoke senses of mystery and strength.[20] Themes that are common in sacred mountains across the world apply here in Koʻolaupoko, to the pali of Kualoa. As places of power, both natural and supernatural, mountains act as centers – whether as centers of the cosmos, the world, or local regions – where geographical and psychological orientations exist in relation to them. This power comes from the presence of akua, whether in, on, or embodied by, the mountain.[21] Among the largest, therefore the most prominent, of sacred sites, mountains are links that naturally connect the heavens and the earth.

In an effort to define Kualoa as wahi kapu, Iokepa Salazar’s description of Mauna a Wākea in his chapter “Ka Piko Kaulana o Ka ʻĀina: Mauna a Wākea and The Sacred”, will serve as a framework upon which similar explanations will be explored in a parallel analysis since both are integral representations of akua upon the landscape as mauna. He offers an examination of archived material that demonstrates the composition of Mauna Kea as sacred by earlier Kānaka and how it informs contemporary articulations of sacred in order to understand how Mauna Kea is a sacred place through history and to today. Salazar prioritizes moʻokūʻauhau as a method for shaping an understanding of the sacred, explaining how Kānaka and Mauna a Wākea share the same genealogical line, which represents a claim to land established historically.[22]

Naming Traditions

Traditions of naming places in Hawaiʻi reveal the integral relationship between Kānaka and ʻāina; power is attached to these names that map practices and events, and narrates history, encoding meaning and inscribing the landscape.[23] Place names are important cultural signatures placed onto the landscape, transforming geographic spaces into cultural places enriched with meaning and significance. They are one part of the ongoing reciprocal relationship that affirms the attachments between Kānaka and ʻāina, which is a crucial element for our survival and well-being.[24] Mauna a Wākea is named so because it reaches into the "realm of Wākea," and relates to the mountain's genealogical descent from Papa and Wākea. He is the first-born mountain on the first-born island child of Papa and Wākea, and is described as the ʻaha hoʻowili moʻo that ties earth to the heavens; there is extensive significance as both the piko and the hiapo.[25] A sacred meaning is conveyed in moʻolelo that explain how Wākea becomes the namesake of the mauna.[26]

While Poepoe's serial column printed in 1906 is titled, "Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko: Ka Moolelo O Ko Wakea Ma Noho Ana Ma Kalihi," the series is more about the talents and incredible deeds of his wahine, Haumea. It begins with the pair living mauka in Kalihi; when Haumea is in Heʻeia shore fishing one day, Wākea is arrested by guards of Kumuhonua after picking a bunch of maiʻa. He is taken to Nuʻuanu, and they prepare for his execution. Haumea observes hōʻailona revealing his arrest, and rescues him. They, along with an entourage, move to Palikū (Kualoa), which becomes her base as she wages war against Kumuhonua. After multiple battles and many more parts, Haumea, Wākea, and their entourage defeat Kumuhonua to begin their reign of peace on Oʻahu.[27]

Toward the beginning of the series, Palikū is identified as Haumea's ancestor.[28] In a later column, Haumea describes Palikū as follows: "A o Paliku, oia kela pali e pale ana ia Koolau-poko ae nei ame Koolau-loa. Ua heaia kela pali mamuli oia kupuna o'u, a o ke poo nohoi o ko'u mookuauhau." We see from her description the cliff that divides Koʻolaupoko and Koʻolauloa, and that this cliff was named Palikū after her kūpuna, who is the head of her moʻokūʻauhau.[29] Later still in the series, Poepoe notes that Palikū is the former name of Kualoa.[30] As we learn in the moʻolelo, Haumea retreats here as the base for her battles against Kumuhonua; here she is connected to her ancestors through the landscape.[31]

The narrative directly addresses and honors Haumea as the central figure and as a powerful female force with many strengths, among them intelligence, ʻike pāpālua, aloha, and a genealogical relationship to her ancestors as represented through land forms in Palikū.[32] There are numerous accounts that describe the cosmogonic origins of Hawaiʻi. Kamakau notes that, the Kumuuli, Kumulipo, and Ololo genealogies are brought together in Palikū, the genealogy of the ancient ancestors.[33]

Later in that same column, Poepoe writes a version of the Hāloa moʻolelo, a story that is integral to the worldview of Kānaka:

> O Haloa, oia ke keiki a Wakea, i kona pi'o ana me Hoohokukalani, kana kaikamahine, wahi a kekahi mau kuauhau. Ma ka moolelo e pili ana i keia keiki, ua oleloia, he muli mai oia no kekahi keiki mua aku a Wakea me Papa. O ka inoa o ia keiki, oia o Haloa naka, a i kapaia no hoi o Laukapalili. O keia keiki mua, he keiki alualu wale no ia i kona hanau ana mai. Ua kanuia keia keiki kino eepa ma kekahi hakala o ka hale o Wakea; a ma

> ia wahi i kanuia ai ua keiki nei, ua ulu ae la he kino kalo; o kona lau, ua kapaia o Laukapalili; a o kona kumu, o Haloa.[34]

In this section, we read the classic story of Hāloa, who is the product of Wakea and his piʻo relationship with (according to some genealogies) his daughter, Hoʻohōkūkalani. In the story about this child, it was said that he was born after Wākea and Papa's children. His name was Hāloa naka, and he was called Laukapalili. Born premature, his extraordinary and mysterious body was buried at the end of Wākea's hale, and where he was buried, a kalo plant grew. His leaves were called Laukapalili, and his stalk, Hāloa.[35]

Following details the birth of his younger brother: "I ka hanau ana mai o ka lua o ke keiki o Wakea oia kela keiki a Hoohokukalani, kana kaikamahine, ua kapaia iho la kona inoa o Haloa mamuli o ka inoa o kela keiki mua."[36] This describes how when the second child of Wākea and Hoʻohōkūkalani was born, he was called Hāloa after his older brother. He was the first aliʻi nui and became the ancestor of Kānaka. It is from this lesson that our familial relationship to ʻāina is established, to the islands and to kalo.[37]

It is at this point in Poepoe's serial moʻolelo that the name Ka Moʻokapu ʻo Hāloa is bestowed upon the cliffs of Kualoa in honor of this prodigal aliʻi, Hāloa:

> Ua oleloia no hoi ma o keia keiki la i kapaia ai ka pali o Kualoa, ma Koolau-poko ae nei, o Ka Moo-kapu o Haloa. O ka inoa Kualoa e heaia nei no kela pali, he inoa hou loa ia. Ua loaa ia inoa Kualoa, no loko mai o Kauanui (w), ka wahine a Kaihikapu-a-Manuia, a puka o Kualoa-ka-lailai (w) ka makuahine mai ai o Kakuhihewa, Moi o Oahu nei.

In this section Poepoe discusses how because of this child the cliffs of Kualoa in Koʻolaupoko were called Ka Moʻokapu ʻo Hāloa. He states that the name Kualoa is new, and that it is from Kualoakalaʻilaʻi, the daughter of Kauanui and Kaihikapu-a-Manuia, who is the mother of Kākuhihewa, Mōʻī of Oʻahu.[38]

It is significant that the cliffs here are named for Hāloa to commemorate not only Haumea and Wākea, but his rule on Oʻahu and his role as an ancestor of all Kānaka. On June 28th of 1906, Poepoe writes:

> "Ua nohoalii o Haloa ma ka mokupuni o Oahu nei. Mamuli o kona noho alii ana no Oahu nei, ua lilo ka pali o Kualoa e oleloia nei o ka Mookapu o Haloa, he pali kapu. Ua moe ka iwi kuamoo o keia pali a hoea i Waianae. A ua oleloia, ke lilo o "Kualoa" kahi e ku nei keia Mookapu o Haloa o ka lilo no ia o ka akahi hapalua okoa o ka mokupuni o Oahu nei …"[39]

In this paragraph, he explains that Hāloa's reign was on Oʻahu. These cliffs at Kualoa, called Mookapu o Haloa, became kapu because he ruled from here. The spine of these cliffs ran horizontal all the way to Waianae. It was said that once control of Kualoa, where Mookapu o Hāloa stood, was lost, then control of half of the entire island of Oʻahu would be lost.[40] After reading this, we recall the proclamation of Kaʻōpulupulu during the moʻolelo of conflict between Kahahana and Kahekili over control of Kualoa, and how if this ʻāina was lost, sovereignty over the whole island would be lost.

Like Poepoe states, the name Kualoa is relatively new in the history of Hawaiʻi. Named for Kualoakalailai, daughter of Kauanui and Kaihikapuaʻamanuia, she is the mother of famous Oʻahu mōʻī, Kākuhihewa,[41] Fornander states that Kualoakalailai is the grandmother of Kākuhihewa.[42] Nevertheless, Kualoakalailai is a maternal force for the Oʻahu mōʻī, who Fornander describes as: "… the noblest epitaph to his memory is the sobriquet bestowed on his island by the common and spontaneous consensus of posterity - 'Oahu-a-Kākuhihewa."[43] Moʻolelo chronicle his reign as one of prosperity, splendor, and glory. Peace prevailed, the ʻāina was abundant, there was thriving industry, and it was a time that the population and wealth of Oʻahu grew exponentially.[44] To honor his maternal relative (be it his mother or grandmother) by bestowing her name on this place has important significance, and adds to the history and narrative of his moʻokūʻauhau, as well as continues the female power established here through Haumea.

Another source is noted as coming from the moʻolelo of Hiʻiakaikapoliopele. In the February 13, 1862 issue of Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika, a segment of "He Moolelo no Hiiakaikapoliopele" describes the event:

> E kamailio ana no laua [Hiiaka laua o Wahineomao] nei, hoolale mai ana o Mokolii i ka hakaka, i nana aku ka hana o Hiiakaikapoliopele, e ku mai ana ka hiu o ua moo nei i luna o Mokolii, ko laua nei hakaka iho la no ia me Mokolii, a make o Mokolii ia ia nei, e oki ae ana keia i ka hiu o ua moo nei, kukulu ia ae iluna, oia no kela puu e ku la iloko o ke kai a hiki i keia wa, aia ma waena o ke kai o Kualoa kela puu i kapa ia kona inoa o Mokolii.[45]

In this section, Hiiaka and Wahineomao are traveling up the windward coast of Oʻahu. While they were having a conversation, the moʻo of the area, Mokoliʻi, urges them into battle. The two women defeat Mokoliʻi, and chop off his tail, which becomes the island offshore of Kualoa with the same name.[46] Kualoa would refer to the "long back" of Mokoliʻi, after being slain by Hiʻiaka in this area.[47]

Moʻokūʻauhau

Iokepa Salazar's use of the mele hānau for Kauikeaouli, "No Kalani Kauikeaouli Kamehameha III," in his chapter is a substantial resource. As the moʻokūʻauhau that describes his descent from progenitor akua, Papa and Wākea, and royal children Hoʻohōkūkalani and Hāloa. The final verse notes Mauna Kea and Hāloa, from whom the chiefly line descends. Through this mele the genealogy of the mountain is presented as a child of Papa and Wākea, and thus sibling and ancestor to Kauikeaouli and Kānaka.[48] This claim that the mountain is family, and more than a native "possession" comes from the idea of ancestral descent from a place that is an ancestor and sibling.[49]

Mele, oli, and other performance forms of cartography are ways Kānaka reference their constructed places, legitimize their existence, and reinforce their legacies. These modes of expressions were in the form of mental maps, orally referencing spatial understandings and features of place, which holds memory for us that are embodied and grounded in place.[50] These performance cartographies are a foundational concept in Hawaiian identity as representative of a unified lāhui to genealogical and land-based value systems, offering an important window into an ancestral worldview and value systems of our kūpuna.[51]

The moʻokūʻauhau of Papa and Wākea is among the foremost of our cosmogonic genealogies, and would descend from the moʻokūʻauhau of Palikū, who is the ancestor of Haumea. While the moʻolelo of Papa and Wākea is one of the most influential origin accounts, and the paeʻāina derived from their divine union,[52] it can be argued that Palikū as the ancestor of Haumea is the kūpuna of Kānaka, forefronting even the moʻokūʻauhau of Papa and Wākea, and favors the female power of Haumea.

As discussed earlier, it is in Palikū that Haumea defeats Kumuhonua. Poepoe describes his defeat at the end of Kali'u's barbed spear: "I keia kaua ana mawaena Wakea ma a me Kane-ia-Kumuhonua. Ua make oia maluna ae o kela kuwa auau o Kalihi, nona ka inoa o Pahu-Kikala. Malaila, i ku ai ke kikala o Kane-ia-Kumuhonua i ka ihe laumeki a Kaliu. A mamuli o keia make ana o Kane-ia Kumuhonua, ua lilo holookoa ae la ka Mokupuni o Oahu nei."[53] This section lays out how, during the battle between Wakea and Kumuhonua, Kumuhonua was killed at Pahu-Kikala in Kalihi. There, Kumuhonua's hip was struck by Kaliʻu's barbed spear. Because of Kumuhonua's death, the island of Oʻahu was relinquished to Haumea and Wākea.[54] Kumuhonua's defeat represents a crucial shift in Hawaiian history; the Kumuhonua genealogy is overthrown, the sovereignty of Oʻahu is surrendered to Papa and Wākea as a result, and they become the prodigal ancestors who would rise to prominence.[55]

This is where Kikilo'i's "unified Hawaiian consciousness" comes into play, especially in regards to the moʻokūʻauhau of Kualoa. He states how:

> Their [Papa-hānau-moku and Wākea] story takes place during a pivotal point in our native cosmology, when a remarkable shift is made toward the establishment of a progressive social order that would define our collective values and way of life here in these islands for generations. The union of this couple results in not just the 'birthing' of the archipelago but also the 'birthing of a unified Hawaiian consciousness – a common ancestral lineage that forges links between the genealogies of both land and people. Since that point on in our history, this archipelago and its people became inseparable, as the well-being of one becomes invariably connected to the well-being of the other.[56]

Kumuhonua's defeat, in which the island of Oʻahu is relinquished, is when social stratification is formed during this period of progressive social change.[57] Since ʻāina has been so far established as supreme and crucial to our origin as Kānaka and noted for the events that happen, it is significant that Kualoa is the place where Haumea connects to her ancestors and defeats Kumuhonua, which will ultimately lead to this unified Hawaiian consciousness that Kikiloi presents.

O ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi ka wehi o ka ʻāina

Kimura states, in his report as a part of the Native Hawaiian Study Commission, that "Place names are used as displays of wit to express a great deal in a few words."[58] Furthermore, in his book *Hawaiʻi Place Names,* John Clark states that "one of the important rules about place names in the Hawaiian language is that you never know the true meaning of a name unless you know the moʻolelo, or story, that goes with it."[59] A genealogy of names set onto the landscape of Kualoa shows a detailed account of a place being named for ancestors over generations, these names codifying a fluidity between Hawaiian society, views of nature, and spirituality.[60] First is Palikū, the poʻo of Haumea's moʻokūʻauhau. Second is Hāloa, the first aliʻi. And last, Kualoaikalaʻilaʻi, a maternal force of Kākuhihewa. Within these names are encoded vast meaning that address key figures in cosmogonic creation events and in modern history. Furthermore, Kimura attributes the evocative power of Hawaiian language place names to aloha ʻāina, defined simply (for now) as love of land and pride of place, in Hawaiian culture.[61]

Place names would endure political and cultural turmoil after the onslaught of problematic foreign interests in Hawaiʻi well into the Kingdom era. Thanks to ʻŌiwi selective appropriation of Eurocentric cartographic tools and techniques, it was Kānaka Maoli who conducted many land surveys and produced maps for the Hawaiian Kingdom.[62] These surveys and maps were intentional, and successful, strategies that helped develop the Hawaiian State as well as preserve Hawaiian geography and its embedded body of knowledge.[63] Through the initiation of moving the Kingdom toward Eurocentric mapping technology, aliʻi made sure aspects of Hawaiian geography were incorporated, including place names.[64]

While this purposeful and innovative process was being carried out on the ground, the dark side of the coin that was the forced transformation of Hawaii-centric political and cultural economy during the Hawaiian Kingdom era into Eurocentric capitalism. At this point, place names were being used as a method of control and means to unravel Hawaiian geography.[65] Inscribing American family names onto streets and places, the role of language in establishing (or more appropriately, asserting) meaning is a tool of domination prominent in recent political history in Hawaiʻi.[66] The permeation of businessmen into every level of Hawaiian society included a common practice brought from the US to commemorate "fathers" and "captains of industry" by transplanting their names onto the growing urban landscape of Hawaii, transforming Hawaiian space into American as foreigners asserted control over a territory of which they unlawfully sought to gain dominance.[67]

The political history of Hawaiian language is an important factor to consider in the context of using place names as a tool of domination. After the introduction of print language through a sixteen-page Hawaiian primer printed by the missionaries in 1822, Kānaka achieved a rapid and remarkable transformation from an oral to literate culture. Written literature bloomed after this, Kānaka taking command of writing as a method to preserve their knowledges for themselves and their future generations in a powerful literary tradition to translate moʻolelo from memory into print through newspapers, novels, and letters.[68] Lucas states that, given this transformation, "Hawaiʻi had the opportunity to become a bilingual nation comparable to some European countries."[69] By 1850, English was by no means the sole medium of communication, instead being tolerated in Hawaiian government policy. However, an "English-mainly" attitude infiltrated the public education realm through former missionary Richard Armstrong, who served as the second minister of public instruction for the Hawaiian Kingdom from 1848 to 1860.

In 1864, during Kekūanāoʻa's tenure as President of the Board of Education, he employed political tactics, including nationalist rhetoric, in a report on the status of the school system to the Kingdom legislature to support the Hawaiian language as the medium of education.[70] Approved by the King and the Privy Council, the report was submitted to legislature. However, this report had minimal influence and did not lead to stronger laws strengthening Hawaiian as the medium of education. Instead, the legislation left open the possibility of having English medium schools that would be subsidized by the government, leading to an increase in English schools in the following decades.[71] After the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, an oppressive "English-only" campaign was carried out in the education system, to include physical violence against children, teachers, and families speaking

Hawaiian. This would leave Hawaiian language to burrow underground in pockets of Hawaiian communities.[72]

Also after the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom government, authority of geographic knowledge was placed in the hands of Americans. Publications such as the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey's "Hawaiian Place names," and "Hawaiian Place Names" by the Hawaiian Headquarters Department of Military Intelligence, emphasized (in stark opposition to the fluidity of Hawaiian geography) the uniformity and fixity of geography in Hawaiʻi, while degrading the meanings of place names by deeming them "unimportant."[73] This, coupled with the previously mentioned forcing of Hawaiian language nearly to extinction after the overthrow, led to Hawaiian place names as a commodity; when, at a point in time that the understanding of place names was mostly limited to those few underground communities, and then-virtually inaccessible Hawaiian language print archive.[74]

A strange, bastardized anti-conquest emerged at this horrifying intersection: Hawaiian-language schools were being closed and children were harshly punished for speaking Hawaiian, while at the same time Hawaiian words were used to name streets and other urban landmarks during the Territorial period. Imposed words coined "place names in Hawaiian," or "exotic" English names for Hawaiian places[75], a practice that continues well into the present, so observed by Pukui et al. in 1974 when they stated how:

> on the island of Hawaiʻi, streets in areas that are for sale ... have names tailored to the convenience of newly arrived visitors or of persons who have never been to Hawaii and are unable to master Hawaiian words other than aloha, Kona, lehua, Lei=lani, and tiki ... In general, the new names for institutions and development areas are short and easy to say. Rarely is an effort made to search in *Indices of Awards* or in the State archives for the ancient name of a place or for names of original Hawaiian owners, for fear such names might be hard to say or have unpoetic or risqué meanings.[76]

This quote can be found in the Appendix of the foundational book *Place Names of Hawaii*, a source compiled by native speakers and Hawaiian language scholars. *Place Names* began to return to reflecting a Hawaiian approach to place names, and made the effort to reclaim meaning in order to also reclaim Hawaiian identity.[77] Language revitalization efforts, and their consequent resistance, show the intertwining politics of language, place names, and sovereignty, for "the cultural capital of Hawaiian language and place names is mutually exclusive with real Hawaiian power."[78] The oppression and near extinction of Hawaiian language had a devastating impact on Hawaiian geographies, and what followed was the attempted assertion of an American-imposed environment trying to suffocate it. However, language revitalization and increased access to traditional knowledge systems gives us a chance to revive these buried meanings of place names that we inherit.[79]

Historical Trauma, Inherited Resilience

The trauma of being separated from our ʻōlelo and ʻāina are being inherited by the Hawaiian community today because of the injustices committed against our kupuna, to include subjugation and oppression in all societal realms: social, political, cultural, and physical.[80] Although we experience this historical trauma that we inherit, we inherit resilience as well and make the effort to incorporate the knowledge we revive to move forward as a nation.

Historical trauma is defined as: "cumulative emotional and psychological wounding, over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experiences."[81] The study of trans-generational transmission of trauma began with Holocaust victims and their descendants, then extended into other political and social traumas.[82] However, literature about trauma in Indigenous Peoples communities specifically has emerged only fairly recently, and was rare prior to the 1990's.[83] Not only have Indigenous Peoples experienced massive group trauma that is pervasive, cataclysmic and intergenerational, there is the added discrimination, racism, and oppression that persists today. Ranked higher in health disparities, commmunities impacted by historical trauma face challenges in mental health including depression, substance abuse, unresolved grief, PTSD, and other problems within independent lifespans and across generations.[84]

The history of Kānaka Maoli are somewhat similar to that of the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas.[85] Despite the hundreds of distinctly unique cultures, both larger groups share congruent worldviews and values, and similar historical and contemporary experiences.[86] Both groups also underwent social, political, and cultural subjugation in their ancestral lands, causing historical trauma to be transmitted across generations.[87] Therefore, historical trauma is relative to Kānaka Maoli health as well.

Studying the challenges that Indigenous Peoples, including Kānaka Maoli, face in the context of historical trauma is important. [88] However, trans-generational transmission studies and literature is missing research that accounts for the *strengths* that are also transmitted to following generations. To transform the violence of trauma into restoration, the capacity of the transmission of strengths needs comprehensive attention,[89] and there would be greater benefit for communities when those studies also emphasize the strengths of Indigenous Peoples, such as powerful oral and storytelling traditions, histories, and strategies for resilience.[90]

According to the American Psychological Association, resilience is defined as “the process of adapting well in the face of adversity, trauma, tragedy, threats or significant sources of stress.”[91] However, more than simply ‘bouncing back’, resilience has also come to include the concept of renewal and innovation relative to thinking about nature and the environment. This renewal and innovation would seem most relevant to the intergenerational transmission of resilience.[92] Indigenous Peoples scholar Joseph Gone's declares that "Native peoples ability to maintain culture and sense of who they are in the face of such a traumatic history suggests an inherited resilience that bears scientific examination."[93] This speaks to the intrinsic understanding in Indigenous Peoples' communities that, although modern medical and psychological studies choose to focus on the inferiorities of historical trauma, we are capable of acknowledging, understanding and embracing ancestral knowledges. In the specific case of Kānaka Maoli, reviving buried familial connections with ʻāina would be an alternative response to historical trauma as one of the trans-generational *strengths* we inherit; by focusing on creating and maintaining narratives that integrate a fragmented past, and adopting a strengths-based perspective, historical trauma can be redirected and used to strengthen communities experiencing historical trauma.[94]

Discussion

In this chapter, kapu is defined as (for the sake of this research in particular) everything relative to gods and the spiritual world, and wahi kapu as places that represent akua, aliʻi, and their events throughout genealogical history. Kualoa is defined as wahi kapu because of the names encoding those akua and aliʻi onto this place, and where these names are positioned in Kānaka Maoli genealogies. Over time, significant names are bestowed upon the landscape: Palikū, for the poʻo of Haumea's moʻokūʻauhau and her source of strength, then Moʻokapu o Hāloa, for prodigal aliʻi Hāloa's rule, then Kualoakalaʻilaʻi, in honor of Kākuhihewa's matriarchal line. While those previous names, and the meanings that come with them, have been virtually lost to most of the general public, the name Kualoa has survived the previously outlined political and cultural turmoil that included the loss of language, the assertion of an American environment, and the imposition of "place names in Hawaiian" or "exotic" English names.

At this point, I return to Kameʻeleihiwa's discussion of moʻokūʻauhau, and how ʻgenealogies anchor Hawaiians to our place in the universe.ʼ According to her, the Hawaiian perspective of time

> It is as if the Hawaiian stands firmly in the present, with his back to the future, and his eyes fixed upon the past, seeking historical answers for present-day dilemmas ... for the future is always unknown, whereas the past is rich in glory and knowledge. It also bestows upon us a natural propensity for the study of history.[95]

As a descendant that inherits historical trauma because of injustices committed against our kūpuna, it is a privilege to define these terms and explore these concepts in the contemporary academic realm in order to answer carefully vetted research questions, according to that ʻnatural propensity for study of historyʼ Kameʻeleihiwa proposes. Education, and resulting conclusions drawn in this research, are part of a purposeful strategy to combat that historical trauma by embracing the resilience I know we inherit as well. By turning to ʻāina and moʻokūʻauhau in a scholarly environment, I am following the example of the generations of Kānaka Maoli that come before us; we have done it before.

Also according to Kameʻeleihiwa, "[g]enealogies also brought Hawaiians psychological comfort in times of acture distress." Kānaka Maoli turned to genealogies when the population was being decimated by foreign diseases introduced in the late 1700's. Genealogies were used to determine the quality of proposed sovereigns during the era of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Hawaiian language newspapers published genealogies after the 1893 overthrow of Liliʻuokalani, in order for readers to "understand the true history and genealogy of Hawaiʻi."[96]

Kualoa is an example of a genealogy that couples geographic discourse and language politics. By bringing forward this knowledge and its analyses, we are doing just as our kūpuna did: seeking historical answers for present-day dilemmas in moʻokūʻauhau. Today we are only beginning to scratch the surface of what our kūpuna knew as we inherit a powerful cultural, ancestral, and spiritual endowment.[97] Today, we look to them and their actions, and make the effort to rebuild our worldview in the trend of resilience we inherit.

Examining naming traditions and mo‘okū‘auhau in relation to Kualoa contribute toward the overall purpose of this thesis to analyze the significances of Kualoa as wahi kapu. Extensive analysis, such as the work attempted in this chapter, is necessary considering that wahi kapu is grounded in the spiritual, and the theory of the spiritual resources of ‘āina continue to be explored in this research. Wahi kapu and spiritual resources are both concepts that I would argue are buried ideas of ‘āina this thesis works toward reviving.

Chapter 3: Mo‘olelo, Aloha, ‘Āina (Nationalism in the Tradition of Papa and Wākea)

In the last chapter I discuss how places are spiritually elevated for different reasons; because different places can have varying levels of mana, Kualoa is defined as a wahi kapu through naming traditions and mo‘okū‘auhau. It is important to understand kapu in the context of ‘āina, especially Kualoa, because we are able to understand its significances, and how they contribute toward Kualoa as wahi kapu. However, because we lose our connections to place, we are also disconnected to the meanings associated with them and the mana they carry; through reconnection to ‘āina and ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, we can re-learn those meanings, re-learn their mana, and explore lessons they carry.

Nations are characterized as imagined, limited, and sovereign communities. Through the rise of national consciousness, people develop attachments to their imagined communities. This chapter will examine nationalism and aloha ‘āina; by understanding what it means to imagine ourselves as a Lāhui, we can delve deeper into the different ways of *how* we see ourselves as a Lāhui. Through a comparative analysis, nationalism is defined and we are able to see clearly how it compares, or contrasts, to aloha ‘āina. The mo‘olelo of Haumea and Wākea is examined to show aloha ‘āina, and lessons in other mo‘olelo of Kualoa are utilized to explore other ways of how to imagine ourselves as a Lāhui. Finally, a review of aloha ‘āina in the contemporary context expresses how Kānaka Maoli live aloha ‘āina today and imagine its successes as a result.

“O Wakea, he kanaka maoli no ia; a o kana wahine oia o Papa, i kapaia nohoi o Haumea …”[1] So begins a telling of the tradition of Papahānaumoku and Wākea, the two primordial ancestors of Hawai‘i who are in the center of Hawaiian genealogies. Joseph Moku‘ōhai Poepoe wrote and published this series called “Ka Moolelo Kahiko” in *Ka Na‘i Aupuni* in 1906. The moʻolelo within it begins with Haumea and Wākea living together in Kilohana in Kalihi. While Haumea was shore fishing one day in Heʻeia, Wākea is assaulted by soldiers of Kumuhonua, condemned to death, and taken to Nuʻuanu to be killed. Haumea returns and rescues her kāne. Afterwards, they move to Palikū, where Haumea wages war against Kumuhonua, ultimately defeating him to establish peace and prosperity on Oʻahu.[2] In other versions of this tradition, we learn of Wākea's desire for their daughter Hoʻohōkūkalani. The first child of Wākea and Hoʻohōkūkalani was born premature; naming him Hāloanaka, they buried him in the earth, and the first kalo grew from that burial. Their second child, named Hāloa also in honor of his elder brother, became an ancestor of all Kānaka Maoli.[3]

Kekuewa Kikiloi in his article "Rebirth of an Archipelago: Sustaining a Hawaiian Cultural Identity for People and Homeland," utilizes this moʻolelo in examining the foundations of Hawaiian existence and identity. Through underlying principles of a unified Hawaiian consciousness and aloha ʻāina, the origin of Kānaka Maoli spiritual and emotional attachment to land is clearly identified in the moʻolelo of Papahānaumoku and Wākea. While his discussion is not about nationalism in a pointed way, Kikiloi's careful research of the genesis of Hawaiian cultural identity has an obviously political edge, and themes of Hawaiian nation and nationalism are unmistakable.

While Anderson's *Imagined Communities* is a critique of nationalism, Kikiloi works to reclaim Hawaiian nationalism through his pointed discussion and analysis of the Papahānaumoku and Wākea tradition. His effort aligns with recovering ancestral knowledge in the 21st-century in order to regain traditions to restore our community through empowerment.[4] Here I use Anderson's *Imagined Communities* as a framework to illuminate ideas of Hawaiian nationalism described in Kikiloi's "Rebirth of an Archipelago" through a 'lens comparison' method. ‘Lens comparison’ uses one text through which to view another; the first text acts as a framework in order to understand the second text, and results in changing the way the second text is understood.[5] Comparisons and contrasts will be discussed by utilizing a point-by-point organizational structure to alternate points between the two works; this structure is the most effective in drawing attention to these similarities. Using this method I illuminate foundation of Hawaiian nationalism is illuminated by three main factors: the moʻolelo of Papa and Wākea, a unified Hawaiian consciousness, and the concept of aloha ʻāina. Aloha ʻāina, as a worldview rooted in the cosmogonic tradition of Papahānaumoku and Wākea, has been the basis for society throughout Hawaiian history. It is one of the metaphors that form traditional society,[6] and frames Kānaka empowerment and resistance movements in the Hawaiian Kingdom era. Aloha ʻāina also was the cornerstone of activism and protest in Hawaiʻi in the 20th-century,[7] and today as living, modern movement toward strengthening social, cultural, and environmental relationships in Hawaiʻi.[8] Aloha ʻāina, often used interchangeably with nationalism, is what perpetuates the unified Hawaiian consciousness founded in the moʻolelo of Papa and Wākea. Through moʻolelo we inherit aloha ʻāina in the vast treasury of collective memories passed down through oral tradition, and actively participate in the movement today.

In the moʻolelo of Papahānaumoku and Wākea, we know that their overthrow of Kumuhonua is grounded in Palikū. As described in the previous chapter, Palikū is the poʻo of Haumea’s moʻokūʻauhau. Of her many powers and abilities, the relationship Papa as Haumea has with this ʻāina is paramount in this particular case. Her genealogical and spiritual relationship to her ancestors, embodied in the cliffs of Palikū, is a metaphorical expression of the connections between people, land, land forms, life forms, and the spiritual world. By connecting physically to her kūpuna in the ahupuaʻa of Palikū, she gains the strength to overthrow the oppressive Kumuhonua genealogy, and sets an example for Kānaka today to connect with our kūpuna as embodied in ʻāina to navigate challenges we face as a nation.

Comparative Analysis: Imagined Communities and "Rebirth of an Archipelago"

Anderson proposes the definition of a nation as an "imagined political community,"[9] characterized by four defining elements; the first is the nation as *imagined*, because its members will never know most of their fellow members. However, the existence of a nation is founded in how a group formed by a significant number of people imagine themselves to create or behave as a nation.[10] The second is the nation is characterized as *limited* because of finite, elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations, and none imagines itself as encompassing all of mankind. The third is the nation imagined as sovereign. Although Anderson uses discourse from the Enlightenment and Revolution Ages concerning freedom of the sovereign state, the main point here is that "nations dream of being free."[11] Lastly, it is imagined as a community, originating in deep comradeship and fraternity. This community is what makes it possible for a nations members to willingly make sacrifices for this imagined concept of the nation.[12]

The origins of Anderson's nation are rooted in the decline of religious modes of thought in eighteenth century Western Europe, as a concept suited to address the need for secular transformations of religious theories. He proposes that nationalism has to be understood by aligning it with preceding cultural systems;[13] analyzing religious and dynastic systems, he argues that the nation rose out of fundamental changes taking place in methods of understanding and perceiving the world.[14]

While three factors are contributed to the rise of national consciousness, Anderson leans more heavily on two: print-capitalism and administrative centralization. This particular analysis will focus primarily on print-capitalism. The production of printed material set the stage for mass consumption and standardization as sellers sought out literature of interest to the largest possible audience, in one of the earliest capitalist ventures to maximize circulation and make a profit.[15] Capitalism caused the abandonment of limiting elite languages and created a vernacular print-market, increasing the accessibility of printed material, which led to the creation of larger reading communities.[16] The bases for national consciousness lay in these print-languages: they created unified fields of exchange and communication, they gave fixity to language that build an image of antiquity, and finally, they created languages-of-power different from older administrative vernaculars.[17]

It is widely understood that the story of Papahānaumoku and Wākea is one of the creation stories of the Hawaiian archipelago; it is also identified by Kikiloi as the origin of a "unified Hawaiian consciousness," when the genealogies of land and people are forged into a common ancestral lineage. This story is one memory in a pool of collective memories that, through oral traditions, act as a treasury in which traditional society is continued and reproduced from one generation to the next. In Hawaiʻi, ʻike kupuna takes form in various methods of verbal testimonies and orally transmitted customs that pass information. In genealogies, mythologies, place names, chants, songs, narratives, proverbs, riddles, and other customs, social blueprints concerning our world are ingrained, with land acting as a point of reference for each generation to process these memories of the past.[18] Kikiloi identifies two types of testimonies: fixed, and free texts. Fixed texts, such as oli, mele, and ʻōlelo noʻeau, are often shorter and easier to memorize, therefore also often unchanging. Free texts on the other hand, such as moʻolelo and kaʻao, are longer, which allows for flexibility and interpretation. Through numerous literary devices, authors use kaona to create intricate, layered meanings that act as veiled expressions transmitting ancestral knowledge.[19]

Anderson's nation rose out of changes in understanding the world through secular transformations of religious theories, and gained popularity by the messages spread through the unified fields of communication of print-capitalism. Print-capitalism rose purely as a capitalist venture to maximize profit, but because of these unified fields, print-capitalism gave fixity to language and built antiquity. Anderson identifies this language fixity and antiquity as "so central to the subjective idea of the nation."[20] Ultimately, print-capitalism made it possible for large populations to not only perceive themselves, but to relate themselves to others, in new ways by linking the fraternity of the community, power, and time together in a meaningful way.[21]

Hawaiian oral traditions encompass numerous verbally transmitted customs, within which social blueprints concerning our world are ingrained. This ʻike kūpuna, or ancestral knowledge, is information passed down for generations. Done so with amazing accuracy, it reproduces traditional society and continues a collection of memories that comprise an inherited culture.[22] The fixity of Hawaiian oral tradition lies in the purposeful maintenance of the integrity of verbal testimonies; there is an understanding between recorders and observers of these oral traditions that their transmission is rooted in a collective effort to continue the flow of tradition.[23] ʻIke kupuna are expressions of the core of Kānaka Maoli as individuals that make up larger communities and a Hawaiian nation, or Lāhui.[24] In the 19th-century, print-capitalism will arise among Kānaka Maoli as a strategy of resistence to form a Hawaiian nation somewhat similar to a Eurocentric nation, but still grounded in Kānaka Maoli cultural identity.[25] Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* spearheaded nationalist resistance through print[26] by connecting readers across the archipelago to nationalist thought. The paper became a model for following nationalist publications in Hawaiian language press to communicatee national identiy based in cosmology and the realm of the Hawaiian sacred, which foreign readers would not share.[27] In this way, print-capitalism was received, then commanded by Kānaka Maoli as a weapon in nationalist resistance.[28]

After in-depth analyses concerning the social change and different forms of consciousness in relation to nationalism, Anderson acknowledges the lack of clarity concerning peoples attachment to their nation as inventions of their imaginations.[29] He does so by outlining various points of connection between people and their nation, beginning with how nations inspire profoundly self-sacrificing love, which is shown very clearly in thousands of different forms and styles in cultural products of nationalism, such as poetry, music, and arts.[30] This idea of political love can be deconstructed from how language is used to describe the nation using vocabulary of kinship and home, both kinship and home as concepts that people are naturally tied to and unchosen, therefore inspiring disinterestedness and solidarity.[31] Furthermore, the appearance of languages as rooted beyond contemporary society establishes an affective connection between the living and those who came before us, while at the same time suggesting contemporaneous community through poetry and songs. This connection to the past and to fellow members of the imagined community inspires unity and selflessness,[32] further anchored by a characteristic privacy to all languages.[33] This all culminates to support his statement that nationalism requires people to think in terms of historical destinies,[34] defined for the sake of this discussion as the preservation and transmission of historical culture for the purposes of realizing a shared destiny.[35] Through the inspiration of deep-seated love rooted in this attachment, language, and the concept of historical destiny, the nation can ask for sacrifices; the purity of this attachment resulting in willingness to make the ultimate sacrifice through fatality.[36]

Previously, I noted Kikiloi's argument that the story of Papa and Wākea marks the point when the genealogies of land and our people are forged together, forming a common ancestral lineage and cultural identity. What lies in this sincere connection is aloha ʻāina, a deep and unfaltering sentiment of love for the land.[37] Hawaiian identity, continuity, and well-being are perpetuated by ʻāina, upon which meaning and significance is applied through the histories and stories that document cultural signatures validating an emotional and spiritual attachment between people and land. Aloha ʻāina is a concept of great antiquity originating from the ancient tradition of Papahānaumoku and Wākea, as well as the formation of the Hawaiian archipelago through their union.[38]

Numerous common themes emerge in both of these works concerning attachment of people to their communities. Anderson's statement of nations inspiring love is compared with how vocabularies of kinship and home are used to describe the nation. However, in Kikiloi's article, this attachment and sentiment of aloha ʻāina is not only described through vocabulary and language, but *inscribed* also onto the physical landscape that is the Hawaiian archipelago. Place names are embedded in every form of oral tradition; the landscape acts as fixed and lasting reference points in remembering the treasury of collective memories from the past.[39]

Anderson's discussion of language as establishing a connection to the past and to fellow members of the imagined community is similar to Kikiloi's strong declaration to preference accounts recorded in ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi or written by Kānaka Maoli, in order to honor narratives from Hawaiian perspectives and worldview in understanding ancestral knowledge and traditions.[40] ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi is an important factor of culture; in the cultural context, ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi must be valued above all else as the bearer of culture, history, and traditions of Kānaka Maoli as its speakers.[41]

Second, Anderson notes that all languages are limited to the communities that speak them, and those that do not are excluded; thus, each is somewhat private. This parallels the important issues to consider concerning the interpretation of Hawaiian oral traditions: an insider understanding of cultural context, meaning, and metaphor, a level of fluency in ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi, a familiarity with ʻāina, and giving preference to traditions in ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi or written by Kānaka Maoli.[42] This linguistic privacy is strengthened by the difficulty, or impossibility, of translating purposeful, multi-layered veiled expressions and hidden meanings in oral traditions.[43] This intense personalization and consequential subtlety of language, due to the use of symbolism and veiled references, are purposeful devices to emphasize values and lessons in accounts of ancestral knowledge.[44]

In this comparative analysis, the factors of nationalism defined by Anderson is illuminated in Kikiloi's article through four points. The first is the fundamental change in understanding our world when the genealogies of Kānaka and ʻāina are forged in the moʻolelo of Papahānaumoku and Wākea. Second is the unified communication and messaging embedded in ʻike kupuna. Third is the importance of language toward building national identity. Finally, aloha ʻāina as a selfless, disinterested, self-sacrificing spiritual and political love we have for our Lāhui, and as a Lāhui. Through this comparative analysis, I am proposing a form of empowerment we can gain from this discussion in helping define Hawaiian nationalism through the lens of unified Hawaiian consciousness, lessons embedded in ʻike kupuna, the crucial importance of language, and aloha ʻāina.

Moʻolelo, Aloha, ʻĀina

Moʻolelo are one of the forms of ʻike kupuna passing information through oral traditions, as a succession of words organized into narratives that form our history.[45] As a way to articulate the past, moʻolelo engages ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi as a structure for full intellectual expression,[46] which was carried into written form. Written literature was established in Hawaiʻi after the first printing press arrived in 1819; Kānaka Maoli appropriated writing as a method to preserve moʻolelo and cultural perspectives not only for themselves, but their future generations in a powerful literary tradition to translate moʻolelo from memory into print.[47] As previously mentioned in the comparative analysis, moʻolelo as ʻike kupuna act as a vehicle to transmit tradition and are a part of a treasury of collective memories carrying the values, lessons, and messages of the Hawaiian perspective and worldview. Furthermore, it is moʻolelo, in its oral and written forms, that reflect how the Lāhui is imagined in the minds of Kānaka Maoli. The succession of Hawaiian expressions through language, and literature contribute toward maintaining nationalism as defined internally, by Kānaka Maoli as members of the Lāhui Hawaiʻi.[48] Through moʻolelo, we are able to see how the genealogical and spiritual attachment to Kualoa to accomplish great and significant deeds in history.

So far, we explored themes of Hawaiian nationalism through analysis of the moʻolelo of Papahānaumoku and Wākea. As a point of fundamental change in understanding our world in the formation of a unified Hawaiian consciousness, the moʻolelo reflects the Lāhui as imagined in the members of our Lāhui, and articulates origins of aloha ʻāina. In his article, Kikiloi states that, "their [Papahānaumoku and Wākea] story documents an important period and shift in Hawaiian history when the sovereignty, as well as control over the islands, is lost by the descendants of the oppressive senior line of the Kumu-honua genealogy."[49] We know that it is at Palikū where Haumea launches her attack against Kumuhonua, and eventually succeeds.

In Poepoe's telling of the tradition about the war against Kumuhonua, Haumea is the central figure.[50] As the earth and symbolic mother of all life forms, Haumea is the most significant female form in the Kumulipo.[51] The moʻolelo presents many of her strengths; fertility and procreativity, intelligence in battle strategy, ʻike pāpālua, aloha for her people, and restoring pono through warfare among them. But most significantly in this case is the genealogical and spiritual relationship to her ancestors, embodied in the cliffs of Palikū. Haumea retreats to Palikū to wage war against Kumuhonua as the place where she is connected to her ancestors.[52]

Here, it is beneficial to revisit the ancestral connection Haumea has to Palikū as described in her pule kūʻauhau kupuna. When she asks Kaliʻu to help her conduct an ʻawa ceremony, he agrees, but says that there is no source to draw water. She finds a pali pohaku, and offers this pule:

> O kokolo ke aa i ka po loa
> O puka ka maka i ke ao loa
> O oukou i ka po.
> O wau nei la i ke ao:
> E —hoolono—ulono ana—e,
> He—noi—he uwalo aku ia oe,
> E Palilaa ia Palikomokomo
> E Palimoe ia Palialiku
> E Palihoolapa ia Palimauna
> E Palipalihia a pale ka pali
> Ia Paliomahilo—
> Ku ka pali ia Paliku,
> Hoololo ka pali ia Ololo
> Hele ololo ka pali ia Paliku
> Mana o Paliku ia Palihai
> Kaa ka Palikaa ia hiolo pali…[53]

Afterward, the water of Pūehuehu springs forth for them to use in the ʻawa ceremony. In "O oukou i ka po. O wau nei la i ke ao," we see her addressing her kūpuna in Pō as she stands in Ao, then naming them: Palilaa, Palikomokomo, Palimoe, Palialiku, Palihoolapa, Palimauna, Palipalihia, Paliomahilo, Palikū, and Palihaʻi. Coming upon Palipalihia is where Paliomahilo delivers Palikū, who is followed by Ololo, then Palikaa. When compared to Rubellite Kawena Johnson's version of the Kumulipo, we see how this aligns with the succession of Pali in the twelfth wā:

"Palelaʻa ke kāne, i noho iā Palikomokomo ka wahine, hānau Palimoe.

> Palimoe ke kāne, i noho iā Palialiku ka wahine, hānau Paliho‘olapa.
> Paliho‘olapa ke kāne, i noho iā Palimau‘u a ka wahine, hānau Palipalihia.
> Palipalihia ke kāne, i noho iā Paliomahilo ka wahine, hānau Palikū.
> Palikū ke kāne, i noho iā Paliha‘i ka wahine …”[54]

In this version, Palila‘a and Palikomokomo are toward the end of the twelfth wā, where through ‘Ololo, Wākea is born twenty-six generations later.[55] In the thirteenth wā, we see how Haumea is twenty-nine generations descended from Palikū:

> “Palikū ke kāne, Paliha‘i ka wahine, hānau Palika‘a …
> Kahakauakoko he wahine, i noho iā Kulani‘ehu, hānau Haumea he wahine …
> O Haumea kino paha‘oha‘o
> O Haumea kino papawalu
> O Haumea kino papalehu
> o Haumea kino papamano
> I manomano i ka lehulehu on na kino.”[56]

This is where the many forms of Haumea are honored, from Haumea of the eight-fold body to Haumea of four-thousand-times-four-thousand body.[57] Haumea’s ancestors as spiritual beings, as well as embodied in landforms as cliffs, is a way to express metaphorically connections between people, land, land forms, life forms, and the spiritual world.[58] After defeating Kumuhonua’s soldiers twice from the cliffs of Palikū, Haumea and Wākea rallied support from Waimea to Waimanālo, and in a final battle, traveled inland of Kalihi, where Kumuhonua is killed. Following this final battle, Wākea became ruling chief of O‘ahu, and Papa and Wākea as primordial akua ascend to the influential positions they hold in the mo‘okū‘auhau and mo‘olelo of Hawai‘i.

We will also revisit the mo‘olelo of La‘amaikahiki. When La‘a inherited the kingdom from Olopana, La‘a recalled how Kila described Hawai‘i and its people as “he ‘āina momona ka po‘e ‘āina Hawai‘i, he lāhui kanaka ikaika i ka mahi ‘ai, ua hānai ‘ia nā i‘a i loko o nā loko, ‘o O‘ahu ka ‘āina ‘oi o ka momona, no laila ko La‘a mana‘o ikaika e holo mai i Hawai‘i nei.”[59] Because Kila described the Hawaiian nation as strong in farming and raising fish in fishponds, La‘a was drawn to Hawai‘i, especially O‘ahu since Kila describes it as the most abundant of the islands. In Kawena Johnson’s first volume of *Kumulipo: Hawaiian Hymn of Creation,* she points out that descendants of Luanu‘u settled in Kualoa, and after many centuries, the area “became one of the most sacred.”[60] When La‘a, a descendant of Paumakua, Luanu‘u, and Hema arrived, and lived with the Luanu‘u group of Kualoa chiefs, the Luanu‘u and Hema lineages were reconstituted through their descendants. Kamakau credits Kālaikuahulu with the following oli:

> *‘O ‘Ahukai ‘o La‘a,*
> *‘O La‘a, ‘o La‘a,*
> *‘O La‘amaikahiki ke ali‘i,*
> *‘O ‘Ahukiniala‘a,*
> *‘O Kūkonaala‘a,*
> *‘O Lāuliala‘a makua,*
> *‘O nā pūkolu a La‘amaikahiki,*
> *He mau hiapo kapu na La‘a,*
> *Ho‘okahi nō ka lā i hānau ai*
> *Pohā mai ke ēwe, ka nalu, ka inaina,*
> *Ō ahulu mai ka piko,*
> *Ka piko ali‘i ka pikopiko i loko,*
> *Ka ewēwe ali‘i, ke ēwe o ka lani.*[61]

The oli names Ahukiniala‘a, Kūkonaala‘a, and Lāuliala‘a as the triplets of La‘amaikahiki, and describes their birth all on the same day. From the wai of birth bursting forth (prebirth discharge, amniotic fluid, and afterbirth), the piko of La‘amaikahiki is cultivated and endures, a chiefly piko that integrates the lineages of their three mothers[62]. They are of exalted lineages of very high chiefs.[63] These “Laamaikahiki chiefs,” as Johnson calls them, would then possess enviable prominence and distinction; regarded as relatives to the Lō, ‘Ehu, and Kalona high chiefs of ‘Ewa, they would have the esteemed lineage that allows access to Kūkaniloko and Ho‘olonopahu in Helemano on O‘ahu. Even descendants of ‘Umi would claim direct descent from La‘a after ‘Umi’s daughter, ‘Akahi-ili-kapu, lived with Kahakumakalina, a descendant of Ahukini-a-La‘a.[64]

In the introduction chapter, the October 1865 excerpt about Kūaliʻi describes a few key points. First, that Kualoa is one of the two places Kūaliʻi is raised. Second, the pahu kapu of Kailua and Kualoa are named and positioned. Third, Kahoʻowahaokalani is named as his grandfather and aliʻi of Kailua. Fourth, waʻa sailing past Kualoa while he was there were required to lower their sails. And finally, the customs of kai lumalumai, kaiheehee, and kai mahunehune were carried out by drowning kauā in Kaʻaʻawa. For the sake of this analysis, I will recall Kaʻōpulupulu's protest againt Kahahana giving Kahekili the lands of Kualoa:

> O Kualoa, o na kanawai no ia o ko mau kupuna, o Kalumalumai a me Kekaihehee ; o na pahu kapu o Kapahuulu me Kaahuula-punawai ; o ka pali kapu o Kauakahi-akahoowaha o Kualoa. O ka palaoa pae, aole oe e hai ana i ko akua, i na heana a me na kaua kuwaho, ua lilo ia Kahekili, aia ma Maui e hai ai, nolaila, ua lilo ke aupuni ia Kahekili, a o oe hoi, aole oe he alii.[65]

An intial interpretation was discussed in Chapter 1: The Literature Review. Here, I will provide a second interpretation, focusing on key terms. The Puke Wehewehe definition of kānawai suggests that since some early laws concerned water rights, the word derives, of course, from water. This makes sense when taking a closer look at Kalumalumai and Kekaihehee.

Parceling out first ʻkai lumalumai' and ʻkaiheehee,' nupepa help to clarify and define these terms. The November 27, 1875 issue of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* prints the words of Kamakau: "E noho aupuni ana kekahi alii Moi o Kualii Kunuiakea, ke keiki a ka Moi Kauakahiakahoowaha ... O na kanawai o ka make ; He kaihehee, he lumalumai, he kai mahunehune." Here he is talking about Kūaliʻi, the son of Kauakahiakahoowaha, and to him belongs the ʻkanawai o ka make,' then lists the three types of kanawai, all involving ʻkai,' or the sea. In the October 9, 1893 issue of *Nupepa La Kuokoa*, the serial column "Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko," writes in a subsection titled "Na Kapu o na Lii a me ke akua":

> I ka wa kahiko, he nui na kapu o ke alii, aia ma na lima o na lii ka nui o ke kapu, a ua maheleia ke kapu ma ke kulana o ke lii, pela no ka pili pono ana o ke kapu o kela a me

> keeia alii ... I ko Kualii, Kunuiakea, Kuikealaikauaokalani, iaia loaa mai ke kapu moe, ke kapu puhi kanaka, ke kai hehee a me kai lumalumai ...”

This section of the column describes how ali‘i had many kapu, and kapu were assigned according to their rank. This way, each and every ali‘i had the right kapu. Kūali‘i had the prostrating kapu, and the kapu to sentence death by burning, or sentence death by ‘kai hehee’ and ‘kai lumalumai’. Then, in the June 22, 1865 issue of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* an article titled, “No Ke Kaapuni Makaikai i Na Wahi Kaulana a me Na Kupua, a me Na ’Lii Kahiko Mai Hawaii a Niihau” writes: “O Kewalo kahi lumalumai o na kauwa i ke Kanawai o Kekaihehee,” naming Kewalo as a place where kauā were drowned according to the Kanawai of Kekaihehee.

It is interesting that these kanawai are assigned to not only people, like Kūali‘i, but to places as well, like Kualoa or Kewalo. I interpret that kai hehee, kai lumalumai, and kai mahunehune are all kapu as kanawai, or having the kuleana of, sentencing people to death by drowning. More specifically, kauā would be the onces sentenced to death as stated in the “Ilaila ka limu-lana o Kawahine, oia na kauwa makawela,” section of the October 1865 excerpt and “kahi lumalumai o na kauwa” in the June 1865 article. The ‘ōlelo no‘eau "Ka limu lana o Kawahine" uses the metaphor of floating seaweed as a term to describe the kauā drowned at Kualoa before being sacrificed. [66] Considering kauā[67] is of multi-layered nature, the focus of this representation is the reason for which they were ritually drowned: to be sacrificed as part of the luakini ritual, in order to consecrate the hole that the ki‘i of Kū would stand. This ritual establishes the rule of Mō‘ī.[68]

Another term that deserves closer analysis is pahu kapu; in the October 1865 excerpt about Kūali‘i, there a two pahu kapu named in Kailua: Mahinui to the west and Kaohao to the east, and two in Kualoa: Ka‘ahu‘ulapunawai in the southeast and Kapahu‘ulu to the southwest. Pahu kapu could mean at first glance ‘sacred drums’ but a closer look at their names make for an argument otherwise. Mahinui and Kaʻōhao are *place names*; Mahinui is said to be in Mōkapu toward Kāneʻohe,[69] and Kaʻōhao (the old name for what the general public knows today as Lanikai) on the other end of Kailua closer to Waimānalo.[70] We learned earlier, in Kamakau's description of Pokukaina, that Kaʻahuʻula is the name of a spring on the Kaʻaʻawa side of Kualoa. Kapahuʻulu is described in this October 1865 excerpt as "Mauka ke alanui o Hakipuu, ma ka nahele o Kalehuloa a iho ma Loike i Kahana," which seems like a place on the mountain-side of the road in Hakipuʻu, in the forest of Kalehuloa until it descends at Loike in Kahana. This description leads me to believe that Kapahuʻulu is the name of a place on the Hakipuʻu end of Kualoa. Therefore, while I do not make a confident direct translation of the term pahu kapu at this time, pahu kapu in this context describes *places* that mark the boundaries of wahi kapu.

Another important element of Kaʻōpulupulu's protest is the palaoa[71] pae, the whale ivory that drifts ashore. The ivory obtained from whales that washed ashore belonged to the aliʻi. The material was very valuable,[72] and was fashioned into lei niho palaoa.[73] On February 9, 1900, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* printed an article titled "Pae ka Palaoa i Waimea, Kauai" that wrote: "O ka inoa paha o ke Kohola ia Hawaii nei i ka wa kahiko, he palaoa, a no ia mea i kapaia ai ka niho kohola e lei ia ai e na alii, he niho palaoa."[74] Here we learn that during the ancient days, whales were called palaoa, and this is why the ivory made into lei for the aliʻi is called niho palaoa. This is reiterated when Kamakau also describes the different shapes of lei niho palaoa between Oʻahu and Hawaiʻi: "ʻO ka lei aliʻi o ko Oʻahu mau aliʻi mōʻī, ʻo ia ka niho o ke koholā i ʻānai ʻia me ka ʻōpuʻu niho koholā, ʻo ia hoʻi ka lei palaoa aliʻi o ko Oʻahu poʻe aliʻi. ʻO ko Hawaiʻi lei palaoa aliʻi, ua hana ʻia me ke elelo, me he makau ʻea lā."[75] He writes how the lei of the rulers of Oʻahu was the bud-shaped whale ivory, this was they style of the lei niho palaoa of Oʻahu's chiefs. The style of Hawaiʻi's lei niho palaoa was tounge-shaped, like a fishhook.[76]

The value of palaoa is further discussed in a few September 1906 issues of *Ka Na'i Aupuni*, as a part of Poepoe's "Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko" serial column. While writing the moʻolelo of Makuakaumana, he describes that when he was living in Hauʻula, a whale had washed ashore. The community thought to kill it, but chose to wait for his advice, since he was a prophet and read omens.[77] Makuakaumana says, "Aohe kena he ia maoli aka he kanaka kena. Nolaila mai hana ino oukou i ka i'a, o pilikia ka aina."[78] He says that the whale is not a fish, but a person, so do not mistreat it or the ʻāina would fall into adversity. In this section of the moʻolelo of Makuakaumana, a force of nature is elevated to the point where if the whale is mistreated, it would cause problems for the ʻāina and its people.

My second interpretation of Kaʻōpulupulu's protest against Kahahana giving Kahekili the ʻāina of Kualoa would then be that Kahahana should not surrender the ʻāina of Kualoa because it is where Kūaliʻi carried out the kuleana of drowning kauā according to the Kanawai Kailumalumai and Kekaihehee he possessed. Kualoa is also marked as wahi kapu because of the places that mark its boundary as such: Kapahuʻulu and th spring of Kaʻahuʻula. Kahahana would surrender the the sacred cliff of Kauakahiakahoʻowaha, father of Kūaliʻi, the paloaoa that washes ashore that is used to make the lei niho palaoa, and the right to offer kauā as a sacrifice to his akua. All of this would fall under the control of Kahekili, so the government would be his, and Kahahana would no longer be aliʻi after surrendering all these crucial representations integrated onto the landscape at Kualoa.

Three moʻolelo were analyzed above, but all are important in expressing lessons that reflect how we imagine ourselves as a nation. The moʻolelo of Laʻamaikahiki shows the ancestral abundance of Hawaiʻi we are capable of; so drawn was he to the skill in farming and fishing that he sailed to Hawaiʻi and established himself in its genealogies. By analyzing those certain terms in the moʻolelo of Kahahana, we learn of the sovereignty that is encoded onto Kualoa in symbols that hold so much power that if Kualoa is surrendered, the sovereignty of Oʻahu is surrendered as well.

Aloha ʻĀina

In the moʻolelo of Papa and Wākea, we learned how aloha ʻāina emerges when the genealogies of ʻāina and Kānaka Maoli become intertwined. Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa describes aloha ʻāina and mālama ʻāina as one of the traditional metaphors that form Hawaiian society. Aloha ʻāina addresses the relationship between ʻāina and kānaka as a reciprocity between an elder and younger sibling; the kuleana of the elder is to hānai, love, and protect the younger, who in turn loves, serves, and honors the elder. More specifically, as the younger sibling, Kānaka Maoli incorporated our kuleana in this reciprocal relationship into every strata of society, from religious, to political, to social, and to economic practices.[79]

Today, aloha ʻāina is a movement toward the unification of culture and the environment to achieve social, cultural, and ecological justice in Hawaiʻi in an effort to integrate the knowledge and practices of traditional systems into contemporary management of land and people.[80] Aloha ʻāina, as the selfless, disinterested, self-sacrificing spiritual and political love that is at our core as a Lāhui continues to thrive and drive Kānaka Maoli in every strata of society: education, language, literature, ancestral arts, mental health, political activism, and economic activism to name a few. We turn to ka wā mamua, when our kūpuna found strength in aloha ʻāina as a platform for empowerment, resistance, and the fight for self-rule during the Kingdom era and after the overthrow.[81] kuʻualoha hoʻomanawanui suggests that "while ʻŌiwi aloha ʻāina political and cultural activism seemed to disappear in the territorial period, it never completely dissolved."[82] After the Hawaiian cultural renaissance and modern Hawaiian movement in the 1960’s to 1980’s, aloha ʻāina re-emerged as the motivation behind political and social change today; many Kānaka Maoli carry out aloha ʻāina at all levels of society. As Iokepa Salazar describes:

> As a political philosophy, aloha ʻāina grounds the contemporary Hawaiian movement — tbe it centered on a negotiated sovereignty or more progressive independence — and fuels the legal battles in which ʻŌiwi fight for protections and limits. It is also a source of motivation for the many restoration and revitalization projects such as loʻi kalo and loko iʻa around the islands.[83]

He also discusses the kuleana of aloha ʻāina. Our connection to ʻāina embrace both symbolic and material realms; driven by an ethic of respect, kuleana also includes the spiritual and familial responsibilities of this worldview.[84]

The values and practices revitalized in a Hawaiian cultural renaissance of the 1960’s led to the continuation of the links between land, language, cultural practice, and political activism in Kānaka Maoli communities.[85] In 1971, the “modern Hawaiian Movement” began with the non-violent protest of community members in Kalama Valley against development.[86] Aloha ʻāina is identified by Haunani-Kay Trask as the cultural value that characterized the series of land struggles that would follow in the 1970’s and 80’s: Waiāhole-Waikāne, Niumalu-Nāwiliwili, Kahoʻolawe, Mākua, and Mokauea to name a few.[87] In 2019, we continue to wage war against the oppressive structures that still attempt to dismiss aloha ʻāina and Kānaka Maoli in Hawaiʻi. Following will be an outline of how modern scholarship articulates and informs aloha ʻāina in the contemporary Hawaiian movement.

In her book, *Voices of Fire,* kuʻualoha hoʻomanawanui discusses how our lands, culture, and lifestyle is under constant threat by government and big businesses. In the uphill battle Kānaka Maoli face for social, cultural, and environmental justice to aloha ʻāina, aloha ʻāina warriors (a term hoʻomanawanui credits Walter Ritte for) model a culturally-based ethic toward the environment as a guide to making better decisions for ʻāina and ourselves.[88] New expressions of Hawaiian nationalism and aloha ʻāina through ancestral language and arts are a conscious decision not to forget the tradition, beliefs, and practices of our kūpuna.[89] We recognize they are who embodies the culture they created, and we look to them as the role models we actively choose to uphold, honor, protect, and defend. It is a matter of moʻokūʻauau, aloha ʻāina, and kuleana that motivates us"[90]

Nālani McDougall discusses how the Kānaka Maoli sense of belonging to Hawaiʻi is based on our kuleana to aloha ʻāina. To fulfill that responsibility, we fight for land and sovereignty. Through modern literature, new expressions of aloha ʻāina are a contribution to the body of existing literature and serves to encourage and remind ourselves to embrace the familial connection we have to ʻāina, our ancestors are in the environment that surrounds us, and fulfill that kuleana of aloha ʻāina. This is expressly political — aloha ʻāina requires the power to stop ongoing devastation and gain full access to ʻāina and its resources. The struggle for sovereignty now is smothered because of our status as a nation under prolonged occupation by the United States, but active efforts in aloha ʻāina is the deep hope Kānaka Maoli have for our future generations.[91]

In the introduction of *The Seeds We Planted: Portiraits of a Native Hawaiian Charter School*, Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua discusses aloha ʻāina as the "foundation of an intellectually rigorous project-based and place-based educational program" at Hawaiian culture-based charter school Hālau Kū Mana. She states aloha ʻāina as more than a feeling or belief, but an active and purposeful practice.[92] Goodyear-Kaʻōpua also offers a framework of "aloha ʻāina as a multiplicity of literacies." The first literacy of this ʻmultiplicityʼ recognize Kānaka Maoli mastering reading, writing, and printing as a way to form Hawaiian nationalist consciousness, and conventional literacy today. The second literacy describes aloha ʻāina as a reminder that we are made of both our moʻokūʻauhau and our actions. The third describes overcoming the anthropocentric hegemony within a large part of educational curriculum in the United States.[93] She describes how her understanding of aloha ʻāina was strengthened as a member of the Hālau Kū Mana by "practicing with my colleagues and friends customs that recognized our living connection to ʻāina, ancestors, and each other in the context of our lives in and beyond school."[94] This would include teaching and learning together genealogy research, birthing practices and childcare, hoʻoponopono, among other customs.

Although it seems tough to see past the constant threat of development and big business, and the uphill battles we face in achieving justice in Hawaiʻi, Noenoe Silva points out how:

> a child can conceivably now receive an education from a Hawaiian immersion preschool in Pūnana Leo to a PhD in programs conducted in Hawaiian or which are Hawaiian-centered, and spend her spare time in voyaging, loʻi farming, hula, or other Hawaiian arts, and thus, while still surrounded by a hegemonic American culture, live a life that is substantially based in Hawaiian culture.[95]

Through these few articulations of aloha ʻāina in modern scholarship, we are able to express how Kānaka Maoli live aloha ʻāina today and imagine its success in the situation described above. Aloha ʻāina is doing what it takes to fight for Hawaiʻi; our land, people, and customs. It is our actions in fulfilling the kuleana we have in the reciprocal relationship between us and ʻāina. It is embracing our experiences and transforming them into new expressions to continue building our growing body of knowledge. It is the active and purposeful practice of learning and teaching *together* as a community.

On March 8th in 1975, Hōkūleʻa was being prepared for launch; decorated with maile, ʻieʻie, and Tahitian ti, a kāhili and kiʻi were secured on the manu. The canoe and paddlers were blessed with pī kai, and puaʻa, iʻa, and maiʻa were offered to Mokuhaliʻi, Kupaʻaikeʻe, and Lea.

Once the ceremony was done, Hōkule‘a was launched into Kāne‘ohe Bay.[96] The site of this launch was the on the shores of Kualoa. Below Kānehoalani and Ka Mo‘okapu o Hāloa, the broad expanse of beach was chosen because it was the home of La‘amaikahiki and Kaha‘i, two famous voyaging chiefs.

The wa‘a would come to be a beacon, renewing Indigenous Oceanic peoples pride and faith in our ancestral knowledges. From the outside, Hōkūle‘a seems to be a purely cultural initiative and successful ‘scientific experiment’ in wayfinding. However, Kānaka Maoli and aloha ‘āina very easily see the combined efforts a cultural initiative like Hōkūle‘a, has with struggles that are viewed as political, like the land struggles throughout the 70’s in the modern Hawaiian movement, or battling the anthropocentric hegemony of educational curriculums. Because, as Noelani Goodyear-Kā‘opua states: “culture is political, politics are cultural.”[97]

By choosing Kualoa as the location for Hōkūle‘a’s launch in 1975, we are following the example of our kūpuna, who stage their greatest deeds and accomplishments from here because of the spiritual abundance and attachment to the metaphysical. It only makes sense; Haumea overthrew a genealogy from here. La‘amaikahiki established chiefly lineages in Hawai‘i, and Ka‘ōpulupulu proves that the sovereignty of O‘ahu is held here. It’s only fitting that Hōkūle‘a found her way here to become an icon of the Hawaiian cultural renaissance, a canoe of change that had a profound effect on Hawai‘i.[98]

Discussion

In this chapter, we examine the foundations of Hawaiian existence and identity to define and understand aloha ‘āina, a concept that originates from the mo‘olelo of Papa and Wākea; a concept as ancient as the formation of the Hawaiian archipelago. Often used interchangeably with nationalism, nationalism as defined by Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* may not exactly parallel aloha ʻāina but we see in this chapter aloha ʻāina being a uniquely *Hawaiian* nationalism.

Aloha ʻāina as Hawaiian nationalism is a worldview rooted in the moʻolelo of Papa and Wākea, which teaches us the spiritual, emotional, and familial relationship to land. When the genealogies of people and place are intertwined, a unified Hawaiian consciousness emerges and shapes the way we relate to ʻāina and each other. We then are all apart of a Lāhui that has an incredible body of knowledge to draw on that is inscribed on our landscape, passed to us in our language, and is continuously being expressed in new ways today.

While in the moʻolelo of Papa and Wākea is the foundations of Hawaiian identity, the way we see ourselves as a lāhui can be drawn from any part of this incredible body of knowledge that is ʻike kupuna. In the moʻolelo of Laʻamaikahiki we have a description of ancestral abundace that draws Laʻa from the kingdom he inherits and here to Hawaiʻi. Laʻa becomes another aliʻi that turns to the kapu of Kualoa to forge genealogies significant to not only Oʻahu, but the entire archipelago. In the moʻolelo of Kahahana, we learn of the ways sovereignty over land is kept not only in the hands of aliʻi, but is also inscribed onto place because of specific symbols, landmarks, and natural processes. Even though in this moʻolelo, Kualoa is at the center of a conflict that results in the downfall of Oʻahu, it still gives us the hope that when we reclaim these moʻolelo, moʻokūʻauhau, place names, and symbols of sovereignty, so too will sovereignty be claimed.

I again bring forward Kameʻeleihiwa’s Hawaiian orientation in regards to the past, present, and future, with the past as ka wā mamua, or “the time in front/before,” while the future is ka wā mahope, or “the time which comes after or behind.”[99] In this way, Kānaka Maoli look to the past in order to seek answers in history for present challenges, for the future is unknown and the past is where knowledge is kept.[100] In these moʻolelo, Kualoa is a place with the spiritual abundance and resources that allows for the akua and aliʻi that connect to it overthrow genealogies, forge them together, and ground sovereignty.

Through a review of modern scholarship, we see how aloha ʻāina is articulated in contemporary settings to enact social, political, and cultural change toward justice for people and place in Hawaiʻi. Today, we embrace the reciprocal relationship at the core of aloha ʻāina, that teaches us the familial and genealogical connection we have to the environment around us. In fact, we contribute to it in different ways over time; Kānaka Maoli during the Kingdom era and after the overthrow sought aloha ʻāina as a platform upon which to launch a campaign of empowerment and resistance. Building on the example of our kūpuna, we produce and utilize new expressions of aloha ʻāina today. Although these expressions may be new, they are still grounded in the body of knowledge we inherit and act as the conscious decision to engage with the tradition, beliefs, and values of our kūpuna every day.

Conclusion

I like to think that I made the nine-year-old in me proud. After all, she began to wonder seventeen years ago about the questions I ask in this research. She asked, while sitting at an elementary school desk in Kāneʻohe, whether this ahupuaʻa of hers could achieve the forms of natural abundance she saw in the classic Kamehameha Schools-published Ahupuaʻa Poster taped to the classroom wall. By examing different ways to relate to ʻāina that explore ideas of spiritual resources and connection to metaphysical worlds, I could tell her, "Yes, even though it seems like on the surface Kualoa has no water, Kualoa is an ahupuaʻa with *spiritual* abundance, and that is important."

The first chapter reviewed existing literature about Kualoa that would add to the key themes of this research: moʻolelo, place, and aloha ʻāina as Hawaiian nationalism. Moʻolelo in nupepa, the works of modern Kānaka Maoli scholars, in scholarship of the larger Indigenous Peoples community, and other disciplines, helped build an archive of sources that teach us about the ancestors that are attached to the ʻāina of Kualoa in different ways. The second chapter defined kapu in the context of this research, which is kapu of ʻāina. Since there is no simple template that defines a place as wahi kapu, existing literature helped to frame how Kualoa is explained as such.

Between the moʻolelo reviewed in chapter one and this discussion of kapu and wahi kapu in chapter two, we are able to understand better what it means for a place to have spiritual abundance through the relationships akua and aliʻi establish in places. In these relationships, and the ways akua and aliʻi set themselves onto the landscape through moʻolelo and moʻokūʻauhau, they create ways to be attached to the metaphysical. The knowledge embedded in these moʻolelo, kapu and relationships to place was violently attacked when language was suffocated by foreign influences. As a result of this loss of language, land, and culture, Kānaka Maoli experience historical trauma that is perpetuated by persisting discrimination and oppression. However, explicit research is sorely needed in trans-generational transmission studies focusing on the strengths that are passed down to descendants. By expanding on that knowledge of inheriting strengths and resilience, the violence of trauma could be transformed into strategies to restore and empower communities.

The third chapter, aloha ʻāina and nationalism is defined and explored to comprehend a uniquely Hawaiian nationalism. Here, moʻolelo from the first chapter were revisited in order to expand on ways to see ourselves as a Lāhui, and methods of *how* to see ourselves as a Lāhui. Aloha ʻāina and Hawaiian nationalism is the Kānaka Maoli way: looking to the past in order to seek answers in history for present challenges. Today aloha ʻāina is also political philosophy, kuleana, movement, fight for sovereignty, teaching tool, learning tool, and activism that is being practiced by the Lāhui every day.

The future I hope for by writing this research is one imagined through conscientization: reawakening the imagination, and using the strengths and resilience we inherit to conceptualize a future free of the colonizer. Not only is it proactive but allows for transformation to the positive. This is but a small contribution toward a vast body of ancestral knowledge that continues to grow through new expressions of aloha ʻāina. However, I acknowledge my limitations as a junior Kānaka Maoli scholar by recalling the issues discussed by Kikiloi in interpreting Hawaiian oral traditions.

There are numerous standards that an interpreter must uphold to have an insider understanding when interpreting moʻolelo in ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi or written by Kānaka Maoli: cultural context, meaning and metaphor, a level of fluency in ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi, a familiarity with

ʻāina, and deciphering the multi-layered veiled expressions and hidden meanings.[1] As a researcher that prioritizes moʻolelo in ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi or by Kānaka Maoli, by no means am I achieving these standards to their full potential. For example, I already recommend further research on the presence of water at Kualoa. An archaeological report concluded the lack of water in Kualoa, albeit *on its surface*. The discussion of Pohukaina revealed many ponds, many rivers, and many streams within the hidden cavern in the mountains of Kualoa, speaking to possible subterranean sources of water. Even if an expert did interpret in the conditions of all these standards, moʻolelo and the places in them deserve to be revisited numerous times to interpret those veiled lessons, which may depend on the context of the experiences we are going through in our lives. The second, more complex interpretation of Kaʻōpulupulu's moʻolelo in the third chapter was the result of reading, and re-reading, this paragraph and section of moʻolelo multiple times over years. It is not until in this work was I confident in the interpretation, and still yet am not entirely confident and plan on returning to it multiple more times.

With that, I will leave readers with a few lessons drawn from this research and the moʻolelo within it. The premise of this research, as stated in the introduction, is to analyze the significance of place, and the potential for this analysis toward reviving buried ideas of ʻāina. I know now that what I learned an ahupuaʻa to be in fourth-grade was a generalization; a broad definition applied to all ahupuaʻa in the complex land system of Hawaiʻi. Only until recently did scholars like Beamer and Gonschor, and Preza, to name those referenced in this work, reanalyze ahupuaʻa to address these myths. The 'mountain to the sea' image of flowing water may be a regular feature, like the ahupuaʻa of Hakipuʻu and Kaʻaʻawa on either side of Kualoa, but not a typical feature. An archaeological report states there are no permanent streams or freshwater springs in Kualoa, As an example against the generalization of ahupuaʻa, this provided an opportunity to situate the ahupuaʻa of Kualoa according to studies of palena — that they are specific to place, and aligned to the ecology and culture of those places.[2] This re-analysis of ahupuaʻa encouraged my own scholarship to continue in this trend of returning to an ancestral archive that was ʻburied' by foreign interests asserting control in Hawaiʻi and disconnecting us from our place, language and culture. There are also numerous place names in this work that comes from a hybrid research technique that combines scholarship and personal, place-based knowledge. In an effort to model taking ownership of our places, their names, and the meanings behind them, this work strives to bring forward and normalize ancestral place names in order to strengthen our relationship with ʻāina. By utilizing ancestral place names, we will be able to foster a deeper understanding in our communities of our places. Returning to the ancestral archive, we question and investigate what we think we know in new and innovative ways that speaks to the resilience we inherit, and to a body of knowledge that grows everyday in a Lāhui of members who do the same.

Over time, ancestors have inscribed themselves and their events onto the landscape of Kualoa. This demonstrates spiritual resources growing more and more, and stronger and stronger, over time. An important point to make was what causes varying degrees of kapu in different areas, in a worlview that already considers all ʻāina as kapu? The answer is in the *who* and the *what*. *Who* is the ancestor that is creating a relationship with this place; why are they important? And *what* are they doing to add mana onto place? By answering these questions within the larger context of defining Kualoa as wahi kapu, we see the ancestors that created Kualoa's status as wahi kapu over time: Palikū, Haumea, Hāloa, Laʻamaikahiki, Kūaliʻi, Kualoakalaʻilaʻi, and the symbols that do so as well: puʻuhonua, the Kānāwai of Kūaliʻi, palaoa pae, and pahu kapu.

Finally, I suggest that Haumea is able to defeat Kumuhonua, ultimately leading to his overthrow, because of the strength she is able to draw from the landmarks at Kualoa that embody her ancestors. If Haumea did not retreat there, would she and Wākea have succeeded? Would they have rose to become the prominent ancestral figures of all Kānaka Maoli today? The point here is that Kualoa plays a major part in the aloha ʻāina we participate in. Following their example, we connect to ʻāina as our kūpuna physically through purposeful action but use it also as a basis to articulate Hawaiian cultural and national identity in order to navigate the challenges throughout history into modern efforts of reclaiming and resurgence of ancestral knowledge. The moʻolelo of Papa and Wākea arguably offers to us today a prediction; ultimately, it is the relationship our kupuna have to ʻāina that allows them to accomplish these incredible feats. By continuing to follow their example through active engagement in aloha ʻāina as a way to strengthen relationships between each other and ʻāina, we use the past as a guide to move forward and do the same, which would result in the eventual success overthrow of oppressive structures to gain sovereignty over life, land, and nation.

Endnotes

Introduction

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[3] Kamana Beamer, *No mākou ka mana: Liberating the nation* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Publishing, 2014), 32
[4] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, “Imperialism, History, Writing, and Theory,” in *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples,* 2nd ed. (London & New York: Zed Books, 2012), 39.
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[6] Julie Kaomea, “Dilemmas of an Indigenous Academic: A Native Hawaiian Story.” *Decolonizing Research in Cross-Cultural Contexts: Critical Personal Narratives* (2004)*:* 28-42.
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[9] Throughout this thesis, when referring to the native people of Hawaiʻi, the terms Kānaka and Kanaka Maoli are used interchangeably.
[10] kuʻualoha hoʻomanawanui, “Ha, Mana, Leo (Breath, Spirit, Voice): Kanaka Maoli Empowerment through Literature,” *The American Indian Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (2004): 86.
Today, the term moʻolelo also encompasses written literature.
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[16] Ronald Williams Jr., “ʻIke Mōakaaka, Seeing a Path Forward: Historiography in Hawaiʻi,” *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being* 7 (2011): 68.
[17] Jon Osorio, “On Being Hawaiian,” *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being* 3(1) (2006): 21.
Williams, “Ike Mōakaaka”, 68.
[18] Jeff Corntassel, “Re-envisioning resurgence: Indigenous pathways to decolonization and sustainable self-determination,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1(1) (2012): 89.

Chapter 1

[1] Kapulani Landgraf, *Nā Wahi Pana O Koʻolau Poko* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994): 2.
[2] kuʻualoha hoʻomanawanui, *Voices of Fire: Reweaving the Literary Lei of Pele and Hiʻiaka*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014): 39.
[3] Mary Kawena Pukui et al., *Place Names of Hawaii* (University of Hawaii Press, 1974), 72.
Landgraf, *Nā Wahi Pana ʻo Koʻolau,* 4. Ka-lae-o-ka-ʻōʻio, also called Ka-lae-ʻōʻio (literally translated to “cape of the bonefish”) is listed as the boundary point beteen Koʻolau Poko and Koʻolau Loa. Long-time activist and treasured community member Calvin Hoe calls it Ka-lae-o-ka-*ʻoiʻo*, ʻoiʻo meaning

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‘processsion of ghosts of a departed chief and his company.’ In the cliffs of this point was one entrance to Pohukaina, a royal burial cave; it is possible Uncle Calvins pronounciation hints at this.

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[5] M. T. Carson and J. S., *Archaeological Monitoring and Data Recovery at Kualoa Regional Park, Kualoa Ahupuaʻa, Koʻolaupoko District, Oʻahu Island, Hawaiʻi.* (Honolulu: International Archaeological Research Institute, Inc., 2006): 17.

[6] Oliveira, *Ancestral places,* 1-2.

[7] Ibid.

[8] hoʻomanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, 5-6.

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[12] Kerry R. Howe, *Vaka Moana: Voyages of the Ancestors: The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press): 16-21.

[13] Ben Finney, “Colonizing an Island World” in *Prehistoric Settlement of the Pacific*, ed. W.H. Goodenough (1996): 71-116.

[14] Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks: An Introduction to Hawaiian Archaeology and* Prehistory. (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1985: 87. BP, which stands for Before Present, is a scale used in scientific fields to measure time. Standard practice is using January 1, 1950 as the start of the scale, since radiocarbon dating began in the 1950’s. Since archaeological sources will be used throughout this research, this is the scale that will be utilized throughout.

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[18] Konia Freitas, “Hawaiian spatial liberation: Kanaka ʻŌiwi contribution to the old (k)new practice of indigenous planning” (dissertation, University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, 2015), 62.

[19] Kirch, *A shark going inland:* 8.

[20] Kirch, *On the Road of the Winds:* 293-5.

[21] Donovan Preza, “The empirical writes back: Re-examining Hawaiian Dispossession Resulting from the Māhele of 1848 (thesis, University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, 2010): 60.

[22] Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race: Its Origins and Migrations,* Vol. 2. (Trubner & Company, 1880): 89-90.

[23] Gonschor and Beamer, “Toward an Inventory of Ahupuaʻa”, 55-56

[24] Beamer, *Nō Mākou Ka Mana,* 33.

[25] Ibid., 32.

[26] Gonschor and Beamer, “Toward an Inventory of Ahupuaʻa”, 48.

[27] Ibid., 71.

[28] Ibid., 71-4.

[29] Ibid., 55.

[30] Gunness, “The Kualoa research project,” 56-7.

[31] Gunness, “The Kualoa research project,” 70.

[32] Oliveira, *Ancestral Places,* 53; Gonschor and Beamer, "Toward an Inventory of Ahupuaʻa," 70; Preza, "The empirical writes back”, 61-2.

[33] Preza, “The empirical strikes back,” 62.

[34] Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, 63-64.

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[36] Carlos Andrade, “Chapter One: Origins,” *Hāʻena: Through the Eyes of the Ancestors* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2008), 2.
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Chapter 2

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"O ka hui ana o na kumu o keia mookuauhau (Kumuuli, Kumulipo, a me Ololo), o ka Paliku pakiki keia, o ka mookuauhau o na kupuna kahiko."
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[45] M.J. Kapihenui, "He Moolelo No Hiiakaikapoliopele," *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika,* February 13, 1862.
[46] Interpretation and summary provided by the author.

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[47] Pukui et al, *Place names of Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1974): 118, 177.
Silva, *Aloha Betrayed,* 73-79
It is interesting to note that this is the first time "He Moolelo no Hiiakaikapoliopele" was published, spanning weekly serial colums for nearly seven months. Publication of this epic, among others, was a purposeful effort by authors and editors of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* to foster pride for native language and culture in their readers.

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[75] Ibid., 92-3.

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[79] Ibid., 96.

[80] Pallav Pokhrel and Herzon, Thaddeus, "Historical Trauma and Substance Use among Native Hawaiian College Students," *American Journal of Health Behavior* 38, no. 3 (2014), 421.

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[83] Maxwell, "Historicizing historical trauma," 411.
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[84] Brave Heart et al, 283.
[85] Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart et al. “Historical Trauma Among Indigenous Peoples of the Americas: Concepts, Research, and Clinical Considerations,” *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* 43, no. 4 (2011), 282.
The term ‘Indigenous Peoples of the Americas’ is utilized in this article, by indigenous scholars and scholars dedicated to historical trauma, to describe over 500 recognized tribes in the United States and over 400 in Latin America. Moving forward, the full term or ‘Indigenous Peoples’ will be used interchangeably, in line with how the authors of this article addresses this group.
[86] Brave Heart et al., 283
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Chapter 3

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[23] Ibid.
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[64] R. Kawena Johnson, *Kumulipo: Hawaiian Hymn of Creation, Vol. I*, Honolulu: Topgallant Publishing Co., Ltd, 1982, 58-59.
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[67] Makana Kāne Kuahiwinui, "Ka Waimaka Lehua: Mensturation Through a Hawaiian Epistomology" (thesis, University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, 2018), 86-89. Careful research by Kuahiwinui includes a discussion about the role of kauā in historical context. Ultimately, she argues that one of the responsibilities of kauā is to "care for the commands they receive," which could include both caring for clothing of commoners and handling the regalia of a high chief in his presence.
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[73] Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni,* 11.
[74] "Pae ka Palaoa i Waimea, Kauai," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, February 9, 1900. The article begins with "Mamuli o ka oluolu ame ka lokomaikai o Mr. J. M. Kapuniai, ko makou hoaloha o "Ka Wai ula-ili-ahi o Makawehi," ua loaa mai la ia makou keia lono mahope ae nei." (Thanks to the generosity of Mr. J. M. Kapuniai, who is our friend, we have the news that follows)
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[76] Interpretation provided by author.
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[81] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed,*
kuʻualoha hoʻomanawanui, *Voices of Fire,* 17-23
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Conclusion

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