

HANOHANO WAILUANUIAHO‘ĀNO: REMEMBERING, RECOVERING, AND WRITING PLACE

ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui

While the cultural and spiritual importance of Wailuanuiaho‘āno in traditional times was obscured by rapid Western colonization in the 19th and early 20th centuries, this region of Kaua‘i is a major place in Hawaiian history, culture, and mo‘olelo (stories). Wailua’s prominence as a significant wahi pana (storied place) extends from the ancient to the historical past, and into the present for Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) today. Remembering, recovering, and writing place provides an indigenous framework for cultural studies that complements other academic disciplines where memory is not always considered a relevant resource.

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Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being Vol.8 (2012)
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FIGURE 1 East face of Wai'ale'ale from the back of Nounou, showing Kaipuha'a (Wailua Homesteads area) today



2005, KU'UALOHA HO'OMANAWANI

He 'āina kaulana nō 'o Kaua'i i nā wahi pana, a he mokupuni i kāhiko 'ia e ka nani, a i ō wale ai nō kona mele kaulana, "Maika'i Kaua'i Hemolele i ka Mālie"

*Kaua'i is indeed a land famous with sacred legend-filled sites, it is an island adorned in beauty, of which the famous song says, "Beautiful is Kaua'i, Perfect in the Calm"*¹

Wailuanuiaho'āno is an important wahi pana (storied place) and the most sacred region on Kaua'i. Its rich history is documented by many mo'olelo (histories, stories, literature) attached to particular places. This article focuses on the ahupua'a (land division) of Wailua, Kaua'i, and the importance of remembering, recovering, and writing about place as another dimension of 'ike 'āina, knowledge from and about the lands we live on, and to which Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) are culturally and genealogically connected. In a previous *Hūlili* article on 'āina (land) and culturally based literature (2008), I argued that the connection

between Kānaka Maoli and 'āina forms the basis of indigenous literacy. I raised the challenge issued by 19th-century Native Hawaiian educator J. H. Kānepu'u to other school teachers to collect and publish information about their own 'āina, concluding that doing so would “be a great benefit to enlighten the people [and]... teach our students about the different aspects of our lands.”² Kānepu'u recognized the value of such knowledge to Hawaiian students educated in a colonially designed public school system that lacked texts celebrating Hawaiian intellectual traditions, which contributed to the erosion of Hawaiian well-being. Over the past 30 years, culturally centered Hawaiian education has grown in response to the overall dismal performance and experience of Kanaka Maoli students in a colonially constructed public educational system. Beginning with the establishment of Hawaiian language immersion education in the 1980s, much has been done to reestablish Native Hawaiian education for the well-being of individual students and their families and the health, prosperity, and well-being of our lāhui (nation). Yet more remains to be done, as many Hawaiian students still do not attain widespread success in the typical Department of Education (DOE) classroom, a setting that still doesn't privilege or value Native Hawaiian intellectual knowledge.³

Raised in the upper mountainous region known today as “Wailua Homesteads” (see Figure 1), I spent much time with family and friends interacting with our 'āina. We experienced things on the 'āina we couldn't describe in words, heard stories passed down from kūpuna (elders) about the past, and encountered the physical remnants of a history before our time here. Like many Kānaka Maoli connected to our rural 'āina, we lived aspects of culture without describing it in such terms, and acquired cultural and experiential knowledge that was not validated at school.

As a student at Kapa'a Elementary, Middle, and High School, the only DOE campuses serving the Wailua region at the time,⁴ nothing about this famous and mana-filled (spiritual power, authority) wahi pana, or any of the surrounding ahupua'a where the students lived was taught. Such cultural knowledge is still not taught in the DOE in any meaningful way. This is not uncommon in the vast majority of DOE and other schools across the pae'āina (archipelago), where the lands they sit on and the indigenous culture and history connected to those lands are woefully underrepresented—if at all—within an Americanized curriculum that separates indigenous students from their 'āina. This is particularly egregious in areas like the Kapa'a school complex, which will soon serve two Department of Hawaiian Homelands (DHHL) residential communities with predominantly Hawaiian students (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2005, p. 2).⁵ Kānaka Maoli and supporters have resisted the further development of this important wahi pana,

and have struggled to restore and protect our sacred cultural sites here. Without more education and a better understanding of the need to reconnect to our sacred places in culturally meaningful ways, this will continue to be a difficult challenge.

Since its inception in the early 19th century, writing and *ka palapala* (literature) have become an integral and indigenized Kanaka Maoli practice for remembering, recovering, and perpetuating knowledge, including *‘ike ‘āina*. During this period, orally transmitted knowledge was written down as a way to remember, share, and perpetuate knowledge, with the purpose of keeping the language, culture, and traditions strong and vibrant in the onslaught of Western colonialism that challenged Kanaka Maoli worldviews. Writing, including *mo‘olelo*, *oli* (chant), *mele* (song), *‘ōlelo no‘eau* (proverbs), and *pana no‘eau* (sayings that celebrate place⁶) celebrated *‘āina*, like Wailua, and demonstrated a high degree of Kanaka Maoli poetics. These writings document the long genealogy of Kanaka Maoli intellectual history, which is being recovered and utilized through indigenous research and education in this century.

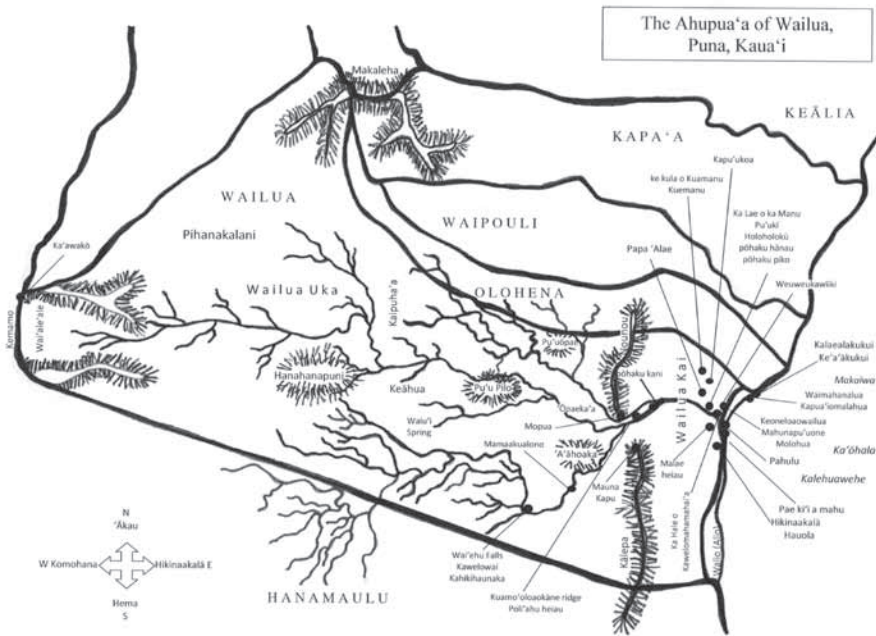
Such indigenized research often requires time—on the *‘āina*, at the *kai* (ocean), feeling the wind on your face, the sun on your back, the mud in between your toes, the rain on your skin. Time to sit and listen to stories; time to remember and re-tell them. Time to dig into the libraries and archives, to scroll through oft-forgotten Hawaiian language sources; time to digest an expansive Hawaiian worldview unfamiliar to many of us educated in English.

Kānepu‘u’s 19th-century challenge complements contemporary indigenous research practices, such as Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s “decolonizing methodologies” (1999) and the Native American Literary Nationalism movement that identifies the sociopolitical dimension of recovering indigenous intellectuals, places, and writing as part of sovereignty movements, self-determination, and cultural well-being. Such goals have also been affirmed by the United Nations and the passing of the Declaration of Rights of Indigenous Peoples (DRIP) in 2007.⁷ At a time when modern pressures of development and urbanization (such as the development of the Ke Ala Hele Makalae Bike Path along the sands of Wailua) continue to threaten traditional practices (such as traditional Hawaiian burials in the sands of Wailua), there is a temptation to completely disregard indigenous concerns. Thus, the recovery and assertion of indigenous knowledge is timely. As 21st-century indigenous people, understanding the intellectual traditions of our ancestors, particularly about *‘āina*, can only benefit Kanaka Maoli students and the larger *lāhui*, today and into the future.

KAHI O WAILUA: WAILUA, THE PLACE

Wailua is one of twelve ahupua'a in the moku (district) of Puna, Kaua'i. The mountains of Wai'ale'ale and Makaleha mark the north and northwest boundaries, Kālepa is to the south, and Wailua opens up to the sea on the east (see Figure 2). It is a large ahupua'a, encompassing roughly 20,000 acres that extend ma kai (from the ocean) to the summit of Wai'ale'ale, 5,080 feet above sea level. The Wailua River is a major feature, one of the largest navigable waterways in the pae'āina.

FIGURE 2 A map of the Wailua ahupua'a



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A variety of historical sites indicate the political and cultural importance of this land. In an archaeological survey of Kaua‘i, Wendell Bennett (1931/1971) noted it contained more heiau (traditional temples) than any other ahupua‘a on the island. Yet despite its abundant historical sites and myriad literary traditions, little attention is given to this important wahi pana today. For kama‘āina (native) and malihini (visitor) alike, Wailua is often nothing more than a scattered collection of beach parks and tourist attractions, something to drive through on the way to somewhere else. The recovery and sharing of cultural knowledge about Wailua is needed to educate people today about its prestigious history and to inspire renewed efforts to protect it and reconnect with the ‘āina in meaningful ways.

The connection between naming, place, and story is an intimate one in Hawaiian culture. Names carry story and history in them, which is why Kānaka Maoli named many things from large land areas to small or specific objects. Myriad mo‘olelo and poetry in the form of oli, mele, hula, and pana no‘eau celebrate the region as well as specific wahi pana in and around it, the historical figures who lived and visited there, and the various deeds associated with them. *Wailua* can be translated into English as “two or doubled (lua) fresh water (wai),” a name that speaks to the abundance of rainfall and freshwater in the region. Two branches of the Wailua River converge north of the lower river valley, and a second tributary, ‘Ōpaeka‘a stream, feeds into the Wailua River just north of Holoholokū and Ka Lae o ka Manu Heiau. Kuamo‘o (loa o Kāne; “The [long] backbone [of Kāne]”) ridge, site of a large pōhaku kani (bell stone) and Poli‘ahu Heiau, is flanked by these two rivers. Walter Smith (1955), a Hawaiian kama‘āina of this region, wrote that “Wailua means two waters into one, or two branches running to the sea by one outlet” (p. 55). Ethel Damon (1931) writes that it means “water pit” because of the many pools of water under the myriad waterfalls along the river (p. 360). However, this rudimentary definition is unsatisfactory from an indigenous perspective.

Wailua also means “spirit, ghost; remains of the dead,” considered by many to be the more culturally appropriate rendering of the name (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 379). This interpretation is reflected elsewhere in Polynesia, indicating it is an old and important name. Wairua (spirit, soul) is a place in Aotearoa (New Zealand), including the name of a major river (<http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz>).⁸ Fredrick Wichman (1998) discusses the spiritually connected meaning of Wailua as

spirits of the dead indeed gathered together on the upland plains and on certain moonlit nights marched in great processions accompanied with drums and nose flutes down to the river. These night marchers entered waiting canoes and paddled down the river into the sea and around the coast until they reached Polihale at Mānā. Here they leaped from the cliffs into Pō, the land of the dead, which lay beneath the sea. (pp. 67–68)

Located on the east side of the island, Wailua is far from a known leina (leaping point of spirits into Pō) on the west side of the island. However, such a connection of Wailua to leina is seen elsewhere in Polynesia, such as Te Rerenga Wairua in Aotearoa, a leaping place for spirits into the afterworld (rendered into Hawaiian, it is Ka Leina Wailua, literally, “The Spirit Leaping Place”). A Māori story also explains that Te-hono-i-Wairua (“The Joining Place of Spirits”) references the equator, as “The spirits (Wairua) of man go north to the equator, thence west with the setting sun, to the night (Po)” (Hongi, 1908, p. 106).

Wailua is geographically divided into a lower sea-level area generally called Wailua Kai, and an upper mountainous region generally known as Wailua Uka. The lower river valley region is also named Wailua-[Nui-a]-Ho'āno, the “Great Sacred Wailua [of chief] Ho'āno” (Dickey, 1916, p. 15). The identification of 'āina with an ali'i (chief) is not uncommon, and such association reinforces the sacredness of the 'āina. Links between 'āina and ali'i occur at more localized levels, as with Wailua. Wailuanuiaho'āno extends from Mōpua (the south part of Nounou mountain, located north of the river) to Mauna Kapu (northern cliff of the Kālepa mountain range) on the south side of the river, “and all land ma kai of this line” (Dickey, 1916, p. 14); the “heart of this area” is the Wailua River (Joesting, 1984, p. 5; see Figure 3). There are a number of significant sacred sites in Wailuanuiaho'āno, including burials, heiau, birthing stones, a bell stone, fishponds, canoe landings, and petroglyphs.

FIGURE 3 A view of Wailua River looking ma kai (toward the sea), taken from Kuamo‘oloaokāne Ridge



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Ali‘i lived in this area from traditional times through the 19th century, perhaps explaining an alternative name, Wailuanuilani (Great Chiefly Wailua). In the mo‘olelo of ‘A‘āhoaka (the name of a prominent hill there; see Figure 4), Olōlokū, an older brother of ‘A‘āhoaka and the son of the Ko‘olau district ali‘i Kalalea (also the name of the mountain in Anahola) and his wife Koananai were hānai (raised) by Wailua ali‘i Kaikihauna and Olohena in Wailua (“He Mo‘olelo no Aahoaka,” February 3, 1877, p. 1). The name of the district, Puna, is also the name of the father of Ho‘oipoikamalanai, wife of the voyaging chief Moikeha. Kaumuali‘i, the last ali‘i nui (high chief) of Kaua‘i before it was ceded to Kamehameha I, was born at Holoholokū, the birthing stones there. Around 1835 (after Kaumuali‘i was captured by Kamehameha I and married to Ka‘ahumanu on O‘ahu), his wife Kekaiha‘akūlou (Queen Deborah Kapule) resided there with her second husband Simeona Kaiu, Kaumuali‘i’s half-brother. Devout Christian converts, they started a church near Holoholokū.⁹ Kaiu died soon after, although Kekaiha‘akūlou remained in Wailuanuiaho‘āno, her home amply supplied with fish from several loko i‘a (fishponds) and poi from the dozens of lo‘i kalo (irrigated taro gardens) on and near her property, sustenance for herself and the many visitors she hosted.

FIGURE 4 The pu'u (hill) 'A'āhoaka from Wailua, looking south to the Hā'upu mountain range in the distance



2005, KU'UALOHA HO'OMANAWANUI

There are varying interpretations of Ho'āno's identity as well as variant spellings of the name; in some historical accounts, Ho'āno is a male chief, while in others, Ho'āno is a female, an alternate name of Moikeha's wife Ho'oipoikamalanai (Kamakau, 1976, p. 7). In other mo'olelo, Wailuanuiaho'āno is the mother of the kupua (demigod) hero 'Iwa (B. K. H., 1861, p. 4), and the mother or grandmother of Ka'ililauokekoa (Hināu, "Kaililauokekoa," *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, December 12, 1861, p. 1). Variants of the name Ho'āno are mentioned in the Pele and Hi'iaka literature. In Moses Manu's (1899) mo'olelo "Pelekeahi'āloa" ("Pele of the Eternal Fires"), Ho'oipoikamalanai is also known as Wailuanuiaho'āno (p. 4). In most versions of "Pele and Hi'iaka," beginning with J. N. Kapihenui (1861; the first published account), Wailuanuiaho'āno is the wife of Malaeha'akoa, the lame fisherman of Hā'ena who offers Hi'iaka and her companions hospitality when they arrive there in search of Pele's love, Lohi'au (p. 1).¹⁰ While the couple resided in Hā'ena on the north side of the island, the name of Wailuanuiaho'āno as a sacred area within Wailua, and Malaeha'akoa, a large heiau on the southern bank of the Wailua River near the sea, bear their names, demonstrating a connection between them. Wailuanuiaho'āno is named as a wahi pana in the extensive oli makani (wind chant) performed by Pele upon her arrival in Hā'ena in Ho'oulumāhiehie (1906) and Poepoe (1908–1911).¹¹ The naming of Wailuanuiaho'āno as a wahi pana by Pele indicates it is a very old name. Its use by Ho'oulumāhiehie and Poepoe in the early 20th century indicates the desire of Hawaiian intellectuals of that time to remember, write, and perpetuate such knowledge.

It is commonly believed *maka'āinana* (commoners) lived outside the district of Wailuanuiaho'āno along the coast and in the vast upland *kula* (open fields, dry lands) region of Wailua, whose rich and fertile soil easily supported agricultural production. Mahele records, however, indicate *maka'āinana* who were already living and farming there were awarded small lots (mostly *lo'i*) through Queen Deborah Kapule. As late as 1835, Simeona Kaiu addressed “na *makaainana o Wailua nei*” in a letter to *Ke Kumū Hawaii* inviting them to hear him preach (August 19, 1835, p. 136). Mahele records indicate Wailua Kai was divided into a number of smaller, named *'ili* (subdivision of an *ahupua'a*), including Ohalike, Pāpōhaku, Ku'emanu, Kulahulu, and Pākole. A village called Kauakahiuu was also located there. Kuamanu was the name of the *kula* (plain) that was served by at least two *'auwai* (irrigation ditches), Kawīiki and Kahihei. Tumultuous changes in population and land tenure were already affecting Wailua during this early period of settler colonialism. In a 2004 Cultural Impact Assessment (CIA) for the Kapa'a (highway) relief route, Tina Bushnell, David Shideler, and Hallet Hammatt write,

Within decades of western contact, Wailua lost its ancient importance, and likely its population also. The *ali'i* who enjoyed and benefitted from their contact with westerners spent more time in Waimea—the preferred anchorage for visiting ships. Also the complex of *heiau* at Wailua lost its significance after the abolishment of the *kapu* system. By the mid-1800s, only a small population, decimated in part by disease, existed in the Wailua River Valley within a mile of the sea. Indigenous farmers would be displaced within decades by larger scale commercial agriculture and associated immigrant laborers. (pp. 44–45)

The shift and decline in population could explain why few Kānaka filed LCA (Land Commission Award) claims during the Mahele (land division of 1848–1853), and not all of these claims were awarded.

When it was the religious, economic and social center of Kaua'i, more land would have been under cultivation, not only for *lo'i* and *kula*, but other traditional crops (i.e. *kula* crops), such as *wauke*, *noni*, bananas, and timber trees. The

fact that so few claimed land in Wailua at the time of the Mahele may reflect Wailua's changed status after trading ships and missionaries arrived. Communities grew up around the new social and economic centers, especially on the south side of the island, and drew people away from their former establishments. (Bushnell, Shideler, & Hammatt, 2004, p. 40)

The impact of the development of a Western capitalist economy devastated the community of Wailua. In 1895, Eric A. Knudsen, a rancher for the south side of the island, noted the extensive cultivation of kalo and rice; by 1935, ethnologist E. S. Craighill Handy (1940) noted that no kalo was under cultivation, and that Wailua's agricultural capabilities were severely underutilized. Bennett's 9-month long archaeological survey (1928–1929), while not specific to Wailua, bemoaned the fact that a great number of heiau and other sites were already destroyed by plantations and road construction on the island (Bennett, 1971).

Wailua uka is generally known today as “Wailua Homesteads,”¹² an expansive valley stretching between the mountainous boundaries of Wai'ale'ale, Makaleha, Nounou, and Kālepa. An alternative traditional name for this region is Kaipuha'a. A number of mo'olelo, heiau, and other sites connect Kaipuha'a to Wailuanuiaho'āno. The poetical connections of this and other places in Wailua are evident throughout Hawaiian thought and writing.

WAILUA, WRITTEN

Kaiu's letter in *Ke Kumu Hawaii* is the first mention of Wailua in Hawaiian publications. Unfortunately, the next mention of Wailua is two months later, when Kaiu's death was reported by two separate sources to the newspaper (*Ke Kumu Hawaii*, October 14, 1835, p. 164). The following year, an article on some of the ancient ali'i of Kaua'i was published in the same paper, including mention of Keaka and Kanaloa as ali'i of Wailua (March 30, 1836, p. 26).

The next reference to Wailua in print is in the 1850s, when Beniamina K. Holi reported on the clearing of land and the planting of sugar and rice in the district,

the first indications of Western settlement and agricultural practices in the area.¹³ Combined with other Western influences, such as the shifting of the political center of government to Honolulu, O‘ahu, and Christianity, the cultural and spiritual devaluation of Wailua was well under way at this time. When Queen Kapule converted to Christianity, she contributed to the destruction of Wailua’s sacred sites when she ordered the dismantling of Malae Heiau (around 1830) to make an enclosure for cattle, a relatively new and destructive introduction to the islands.

The first traditional mo‘olelo that mentions Wailua is a brief account of Kūapaka‘a by S. K. Kuapu‘u. Published in *Ka Hae Hawaii* (1861) as “He Wahi Moolelo” (“A Little Story”), it includes an oli makani for Kaua‘i, Ni‘ihau, and Lehua that names over fifty winds and the ‘āina they belong to, including the Wai‘ōpua wind of Wailua (April 16, 1861, p. 1). This mo‘olelo was quickly followed by the publication of other mo‘olelo connected to Wailua, such as “Kawelo,” “Pele and Hi‘iaka,” and “Ka‘ililauokekoa.” Mo‘olelo are important because stories “act as psychic frames within which we make sense of the events of the world [and]...translate experiences and the actions of ourselves and others into understandable narratives based on the stories we hold in our minds” (Edelman quoted in Silva, 2007, p. 160). Thus the recovery of mo‘olelo is important for revitalizing Hawaiian education and well-being. One of the most important aspects of mo‘olelo (and mele) is the preservation of place names not recorded on Western maps, and the celebratory poetry of place Kānaka Maoli expressed for their ‘āina.

KA WAI HĀLAU O WAILUA: THE POETRY OF PLACE

As the metaphoric connections of Wailuanuiaho‘āno indicate, Wailua and more specific locations within and around it are well represented in Hawaiian poetic thought. Throughout the 19th century, for example, Wailua was often poetically referenced as a place name in kanikau (chants of mourning) published in the Hawaiian language newspapers, because of its association with spirits, not necessarily because the composer or subject of the kanikau was from that ‘āina.

Kawaikini (“The Numerous Waters”), the highest peak on Wai‘ale‘ale (“Rippling Water”), is a place name succinctly manifesting the region’s hydrological abundance.

Wailua's plentiful rainfall is reflected in a pana no'eau, *Ka wai hālau o Wailua*, "The great expansive waters of Wailua" as "this region is a land of large [and many] streams" (Pukui, 1986, p. 178). An oli in the mo'olelo of Lā'ieikawai refers to *ka wai hālau* as a specific place name in Wailua (Hale'ole, 1919, p. 142). The pana no'eau is found throughout a variety of genres of 19th-century Kanaka Maoli writing, from letters to newspaper editors to kanikau for ali'i and maka'āinana, and in mele such as the one beginning "O ka wai hālau i Wailua lā" (The expansive waters of Wailua) collected by Mary Kawena Pukui (Bacon & Nāpōkā, 1995). This mele is classified as a hula aloha, or love dance, and uses nature imagery, particularly mists and rains like those associated with Wailua, as common metaphorical references to love. Within the mele, the "Expansive waters of Wailua" are "wai 'āwili pū me ke kai" (freshwater mixed with seawater). The rainclouds (nāulu) "i ke ano o Pihanakalani" (in the stillness of Pihanakalani) are mentioned, as are the "Wai pua hau o Maluaka" (the waters of Maluaka where the hau blossoms are reflected) and the "kalukalu moe ipo o Kēwā" (the kalukalu grass of Kēwā where lovers sleep; Bacon & Nāpōkā, 1995, p. 200). Such poetic imagery not only demonstrates the poet's skill in composing a love song with beautiful metaphors, but also the poet's knowledge of the 'āina and elements associated with the specific place being described. Because of its clear association with wai (freshwater), highly regarded in poetic composition for its life-affirming properties and association with growth, Wailua and specific places within it, its abundant waters, lush vegetative growth, and ability to sustain life, would be attractive subjects for Kānaka Maoli to weave into poetic compositions.

Wailua's plentiful waters are evoked in other mele, such as "Hoa Kākele o Nā Pali" (Traveling Companion along the Nā Pali cliffs). Composed by Luina (1895/2005), it was published in the *Buke Mele Lāhui* (Hawaiian National Songbook) in 1895. Poetic language reflecting the beauty of nature is found throughout, which comes across as a mele aloha 'āina (patriotic song) expressing the poet's appreciation of the 'āina. Lines 15–16 proclaim, "Ilihia i ka nani a'o Puna lā / I ka wai hālau a i Wailua," (Overcome by the beauty of Puna there / In the expansive waters of Wailua), which sums up the poet's central thought in the mele (p. 96). Contextualized within the *Buke Mele Lāhui*, aloha 'āina as both "love for the land" and the more directly political ideals of "patriotism" and "nationalism" are intertwined. Used in other poetic compositions such as kanikau, the expansive waters of Wailua seem to connote a depth of emotion, an expression of aloha for the subject of the composition.

“Kūnihi ka Mauna” (Steep stands the mountain [Wai‘ale‘ale]) is considered an oli kāhea (calling chant) used to request permission to enter. It references six place names within and next to Wailua. The lines in the chant can be charted to reveal a directional map of the specific places named and their relationship to each other.

Kūnihi ka mauna i ka la‘i ē
Steep stands the mountain in the calm

‘O Wai‘ale‘ale lā i Wailua
Wai‘ale‘ale there at Wailua

Huki a‘ela i ka lani
Drawn up to the heavens

Ka papa ‘auwai o Kawaikini
The foot bridge of Kawaikini

Ālai ‘ia a‘ela e Nounou
Obstructed by Nounou

Nalo Kaipuha‘a
Vanished is Kaipuha‘a

Ka laulā ma uka o Kapa‘a ē
The broad expanse above Kapa‘a

Mai pa‘a i ka leo
Don’t be silent

He ‘ole kahea mai ē.
No voice in reply.

(‘Ōiwi: A Native Hawaiian Journal, vol. 2, opening pages)

“Kūnihi ka Mauna” is a well-known chant found in several Hawaiian language newspaper and English language sources originally published between 1861 and 1928. It first appeared in print in 1861 as part of Kapihenui’s Pele and Hi‘iaka mo‘olelo, although numerous other versions exist.¹⁴

The name Kaipuha'a can be broken into three parts: *ka* (the) *ipu* (gourd) *ha'a* (low) and translated as "the low gourd." The meaning becomes clear from within the valley: the broad, wide, relatively flat grassy plain of the circular valley floor is reminiscent of the hollow interior of an ipu gourd. Other clues come from the chant itself: when one stands anywhere in the seaside town of Kapa'a, the region Hi'iaka refers to as Kaipuha'a is 'ālai 'ia e Nounou, blocked by Nounou mountain; *the laulā ma uka o Kapa'a*, or vast region located above Kapa'a town is thus *nalo 'ia*, vanished, blocked.

The 72-line oli "Maika'i nā Kuahiwi" (Beautiful are the Mountains), a mele pana (place name chant) for the island of Kaua'i, contains this and other poetic expressions. Nine lines are dedicated to the Wailua region, and poetic references to less well-known place names are also noteworthy in this mele.

Huikau nā makau a ka lawai'a i Wailua,
And at Wailua the fishermen's hooks become entangled

Lou mai 'o Kawelowai iā Wai'ehu
Kawelowai hooks into Wai'ehu

Ua wela 'o Kahikihaunaka i ke ahi a ka pō
Heated is Kahikihaunaka in the fire that burns at night

I ke ālai a Nounou
There Nounou hides it from view

Nalo Kaipuha'a ka laulā ma uka o Kapa'a
*Hidden is Kaipuha'a, the wide plain above Kapa'a*¹⁵

He ākea ma kai o Puna
Broad indeed is the lowland of Puna

'O ke kalukalu moe ipo o Kēwā
Covered by the kalukalu grass of Kēwā among which lovers sleep

He pākū ahiahi ka nalu no Makaīwa
The surf of Makaīwa rolls quietly in

Ei aku ke ‘awa pae lā o Waimahanalua.
And just before is the canoe landing, Waimahanalua.

(Bacon & Nāpōkā, 1995, pp. 64–67)

Eleven places are named in this section of the mele, including Wailua, in a line commonly referenced as a *pana no‘eau* in other contexts, “Huikau nā makau a ka lawai‘a i Wailua” (The fishermen’s hooks become entangled at Wailua). A note in the text explains that this indicates “a small sexual current” (f. 65). In other literary contexts, such as letters to newspaper editors on various topics, the line is evoked as a metaphoric reference to something (action or thought) considered problematic by the writer.¹⁶

“Ke kalukalu moe ipo o Kēwā” (The *kalukalu* grass of Kēwā where lovers lie) is another popular *pana no‘eau* that poetically describes the nearby marshy, grass-covered plains of Kapa‘a; *kalukalu* was a famous sedge-like grass associated with the area and now considered extinct. It is also a Kaua‘i-specific fine kapa (traditional cloth) reserved for ali‘i because of its high quality.

The surf of Makaīwa is also poetically referenced in Hawaiian mo‘olelo and mele as it was a famous surf break on the north side of Wailua bay, and is associated with ali‘i who loved to surf there, although most references to Makaīwa include mention of “Keke‘e e ka nalu o Makaīwa” (“The twisted surf of Makaīwa”).

Wai‘ehu is an old name for Wailua Falls. Some of the places named, such as Kawelowai (a cave behind Wai‘ehu falls), Kahikihaunaka (home of Kawelo), and Waimahanalua (a canoe landing) are not well known outside specific mo‘olelo; Kahikihaunaka, for example, is where the ali‘i Kawelo lived.

Another well-referenced area of Wailua uka is Pihanakalani, “The Fullness of Heaven,” often described in mo‘olelo such as “Ka‘ililauokekoa,” “Lepeamoā,” and “Kawelo” as the home of akua (gods) and ali‘i. It is also closely associated with Queen Kapi‘olani, whose genealogy is connected to Kaua‘i (her grandfather was Kaumuali‘i), and she was often honored with mele filled with Kaua‘i references. One example, “Hanohano Pihanakalani” (Esteemed is Pihanakalani), directly references Ka‘ililauokekoa and begins—

Hanohano ka uka i Pihanakalani
Distinguished is the upland at Pihanakalani

I ka leo o ka 'ohe, Kanikawī
In the voice of the bamboo flute, Kanikawī

Nana ho'oiipoipo ke aloha
Love is made to the sweetheart

A loa'a o Ka'ililauokekoa
Ka'ililauokekoa is obtained

5 Ke kuini i ka home o nā manu
The queen in the home of the birds

Ke 'ala anuheā pua mokihana
The cool fragrance of the mokihana blossom

Ke kona piliahi no Kawaikini
A powerful one of Kawaikini

He uila i ka luna Wai'ale'ale
The lightning above Wai'ale'ale

Aneane nō au [e] la'iwale
I am almost calm

(Yardley & Rogers, 1985, p. 48)

The mele makes explicit reference to Ka'ililauokekoa, whom Yardley summarizes as follows:

Ka-'ili-lau-o-ke-koa whose name appears in line four is a legendary woman of Kaua'i. One night her attendant awakened her to listen to the beautiful music of a mysterious nose flute. Night after night she was awakened to listen to the music. Fascinated by its beauty she began to look for its source. Her search took her to Pihana-ka-lani 'the abode of supernatural beings.' There she found the musician, a handsome young chief. Needless to say it was the beginning of a famous romance. (p. 48)

In the mele, which Roberts identifies as being composed by Kalala, Kapi‘olani is compared to Ka‘ililauokekoa, who symbolically represents her, although the mele concludes, “Ha‘ina ‘ia mai ana ka puana / ‘O Hali‘alaulani kou inoa” (Thus the story is told / Hali‘alaulani is your name;¹⁷ Yardley & Rogers, 1985, p. 48). Tatar describes “Hanohano Pihanakalani” as “a well-known mele pana which also functions as a name chant [mele inoa] for Kapi‘olani” that is “one of a set of three chants composed for the queen while she was on Kaua‘i...Pukui believes these chants to have been composed between 1874 and 1876” (pp. 288–289). It was around that time that Kapi‘olani “visited Kaua‘i to survey the needs of the people” (Yardley & Rogers, 1985, p. 48).¹⁸

The *Buke Mele Lāhui* (Testa, 1895/2005) includes a mele for Kapi‘olani entitled “Makalapua.”¹⁹ It is informally divided into three related sections, each opening with a reference to the aforementioned “Hanohano” chants strung together into one longer mele, the first being “Hanohano Hanalei.” From here, places are named moving northwest, from Lumaha‘i to Nōhili (p. 83). The second movement begins with “Hanohano Waimea.” Beginning with Waimea on the west side of Kaua‘i, the mele names places around the island from the north and includes references to areas in Wailua on the east side, starting with Pihanakalani, before ending with Lihu‘e to the south—

Nani wale ka uka o Pihanakalani
The uplands of Pihanakalani are truly beautiful

40 Ka leo o ka ‘ohe o Kanikawī
The voice of the bamboo flute of Kanikawī

Nāna i hooipoipo ke aloha
For whom lovemaking

A loa‘a o Ka‘ililauokekoa
Is had by Ka‘ililauokekoa

Ke kuini i ka home o nā manu
The queen of the home of the birds

Ke ala anuheā hua mokihana
The sweet wafting fragrance of mokihana

45 E paihī i ka wai o Kawaikini
The trickling of the waters of Kawaikini

E uwila i ka luna o Wai'ale'ale
As lightning flashes above Wai'ale'ale

(E. C., 1895/2005, pp. 84–85)

Each of the 34 two-line paukū (stanzas) reference Kaua'i place names. Four of these directly address three significant mountain regions of Wailua—Pihanakalani, Kawaikini, and Wai'ale'ale. Thus while another mele, “Hanohano Pihanakalani,” was composed for Kapi'olani, the area is referenced again in “Hanohano Waimea,” reiterating the importance of this region and its association with chiefly women, such as Ka'ililauokekoa and Kapi'olani.

Within this poetic composition, Pihanakalani is associated with the mo'olelo of Ka'ililauokekoa through the sounding of the 'ohe of Kanikawī, which was used by Kauahiali'i to woo her (Hināu, 1861). The flashes of lightning about Wai'ale'ale are hō'ailona (signs) of chiefly or godly presence, and do not have the same sense of tragedy or foreboding that storms signify in Western literature.

“Kau Lilua i ke Anu o Wai'ale'ale” (“Wai'ale'ale rises haughty and cold”), is a special mele inherited by Kapi'olani that also employs rich images associated with the Wailua region. Pukui describes it as one that “was and still used as a hula pahu, the most popular of all” (Tatar, 1993, p. 103). Like “Kūnihi ka Mauna,” there are many variants of the mele in multiple collections in the Bishop Museum Archives. Kamakau notes that the chant was composed by Ka'umealani, “a chiefess of Kaua'i and O'ahu [who] lived during the time of Kamehameha I” (Kamakau in Tatar, 1993, pp. 105–106). Pukui noted that the chant “was originally composed for Kaumualii of Kauai and after his death it was ascribed to Kalakaua” (Pukui m.s., 1936, p. 57). Emerson had a difficult time understanding the nuances and kaona (metaphoric or hidden meaning) of this hula pahu (pahu drum dance), stating that its imagery “is peculiarly obscure and the meaning difficult of translation. The allusions are so local and special that their meaning does not carry to a distance” (Emerson, 1997, p. 106). However, there is so much depth to the poetry that Tatar devotes nearly one hundred pages to its documentation and study (pp. 103–177).

‘A‘āhoaka is a pyramid-shaped pu‘u (hill) located between the north and south forks of the Wailua River. The name can be translated to “Glowing Fire,” although many other relevant translations are possible: ‘a‘ā – hoaka – crescent shape, shining, flash, second day of the month, *fig.* glory; to drive away, frighten, spirit, ghost. It is speculated that ‘A‘āhoaka was one of three signal fire sites (the other two being Hikinaakalā and Kukui Heiau) that guided fisherman; a State of Hawai‘i Final Assessment report on well-drilling there notes that “The fact that Hoaka is also a phase of the moon that is favored for night fishing further supports this idea. Additionally, the name ‘A‘āhoaka could also suggest that certain fires were lit during certain phases of the moon” (Interview with Kehau Kekua, Appendix C, Wilson Okamoto Corporation, 2004, p. 2.17).

Named for a young kōlohe (rascal) ali‘i born in Anahola, a number of mele reference this pu‘u, including “Hikikaueia ke Malama” (Sirius the Light), a wānana (prophecy) composed by Kekuhaupi‘o for Kamehameha I predicting his rule over the pae‘āina (*Ka Na‘i Aupuni*, June 26, 1906, p. 1). Many pana no‘eau that mention ‘A‘āhoaka include references to light (malama, malamalama).

NĀ MAKANI O WAILUA (THE WINDS OF WAILUA)

Specific names of rains and winds for different places across the pae‘āina are very common. It is somewhat surprising and ironic that while the Wailua region is recognized and celebrated for its abundant rainfall, no rain names are recorded in traditional mo‘olelo. There are, however, several wind names for this region. The name of the wind at Wailua is *Wai‘ōpua*, literally, “cloud water.” It is featured in an extensive oli collected by Fornander (1915/1999), “Ke Ko‘olau o Wailua” (“The Ko‘olau Wind of Wailua”).²⁰

The first publication to name the Wai‘ōpua as the wind of Wailua is a letter by T. W. P. Kahaekirikiano (1861); it is identified as a makani ‘olu (pleasant wind) of Wailua (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, October 17, 1861, p. 3). The next reference is by M. Apahu in a mele inoa for Queen Emma (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, March 20, 1862, p. 1). A version published in 1864 as part of a kanikau for Mō‘ī (King) Alexander Liholiho is attributed to Lucy Moehonua and Hana Lilikalani (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, January 16, 1864, p. 4). It is also referenced in a letter to the newspaper published

by L. K. Kala'iopuna in 1866 (November 10, p. 3); another version published in the same paper in 1868 identifies it as a “mele koihonua no Kekauluohi” (genealogical chant for Kekauluohi) composed by Keaweheulu Kalanimamahu (August 29, 1868, p. 1). Wai'ōpua is named as the wind “ko Wailua” (belonging to Wailua) in Moses Nakuina's *The Wind Gourd of La'amaomao* (1902, p. 59). The Bishop Museum Archives has six versions of the mele. Its catalog identifies Pamahoa as the composer, and it is categorized as a kanikau.

References to the Wai'ōpua wind are found in other mele, such as “A Wai'ale'ale a nui ta hele kua” published by Roberts in 1977; it is also included in Tatar (1993) with a translation by Pukui (Roberts, 1926/1977, 233; Tatar, 1993, 281). This wind name is also mentioned in an extensive 75-line wind chant for Kaua'i in the Kūapaka'a mo'olelo, which also identifies wind names for the surrounding areas.

He Waipua'a'ala ka makani kūla'i hale no Konolea
*Waipua'a'ala is the wind that knocks down the houses
 of Konolea*

He Wai'ōpua kō Wailua
Wai'ōpua is of Wailua

He Waiolohia kō Nahanahānai
Waiolohia is of Nahanahānai

He Inuwai kō Waipouli
Inuwai is of Waipouli

He Ho'olua makani kō Makaiwa
Ho'olua is the wind of Makaiwa

(Nakuina, 1902, p. 59; Mookini, 1992, p. 53)

Presented here in context with the wind names associated with areas around Wailua, clearly freshwater is stressed in the number of wind names that contain the word *wai*. While a wind name chant from the Pele and Hi'iaka mo'olelo also identifies the Wai'ōpua as a wind of Wailua, it is described differently from the Kūapaka'a version:

He Hauola ka makani he'e nalu o Kalehuawehe
The Hauola is the surfing wind of Kalehuawehe

He Malua ka makani lawe pua hau o Wailuanuiho'āno
*The Malua is the wind that bears away the hau blossoms
of Wailuanuiho'āno*

Lawe ke Kiukehau makani o Holoholokū
The Kiukehau, wind of Holoholokū, carries away

He kapu nā pōhaku hānau ali'i
Sacred are the birthstones of the chiefs

O holo i ka lani, i 'ōpu'u i loko o 'Ikuā, 'ae.
Rising heavenward are those who budded in 'Ikuā, yes.²¹

He wā nui ho'i kēia o nā pōhaku hānau ali'i
A noisy time is this, for the stones where chiefs are born

Hānau Hawai'i moku nui ākea
Born is Hawai'i, great, wide island

Hānau o Kaua'i nui Kamāwaelualani
Born is great Kaua'i of Kamāwaelualani

Hānau o Wailuanuiho'āno
Born is Wailuanuiho'āno

Mō ka piko o nā māhoe
Cut are the umbilical cords of the twins

Hānau ka Wai'ōpua makani o Moanalaha
Born is the Wai'ōpua, wind of Moanalaha

Kahe ka wai 'ula, kuakea ka moana
The water runs red, the ocean white capped

Lawe ke au miki me ke au kā
Moves the ebb tide and the neap tide

He Waiakualawalawa ka makani o Konole'a
The Waiakualawalawa is the wind of Konole'a

He Wai[o]loh[i]a ka makani o Nahanahānai
The Waiolohia is the wind of Nahanahānai

He Inuwai ka makani o Waipouli
The Inuwai is the wind of Waipouli

He Ho'oluahē'enalu ka makani o Makāiwa
*The Ho'oluahē'enalu that raises the surfs for riding, is the
 wind of Makāiwa*

(Ho'oulumāhie, 1906/2006, pp. 9–10).²²

In this oli makani, Malua is identified as the wind of Wailuanuiaho'āno, while the Wai'ōpua wind is specifically associated with Moanaliha, an area within the region. Holoholokū also has its own wind, the Kiukehau, as do two surfing spots outside of Wailua, Makāiwa to the north and Kalehuawehe directly east. The 1861 letter by Kahaekirikiano mentions “companion” (hoa aloha) winds, the Kikewewai and the Kikewepuahau of Maluaka (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, October 17, 1861, p. 3).

Wailua is also represented in 'ōlelo no'eau. In Rice's “Pele a me Kona Kaikaina Hi'iakaikapoliopēle” (Pele and Her Younger Sister Hi'iakaikapoliopēle; “Ke Ki'i Pōhaku ma Kaua'i,” 1908), when Hi'iaka lands on the shores of Wailua, she and her companions desire to bathe in the freshwater of Wailua; Hi'iaka tells the kama'āina there, “We will stay awhile and bathe here in the fresh water of Wailua until we are clean and recovered a bit [from the voyage] at this beloved place” (p. 1).²³

In recounting Moikeha's time on Kaua'i, Kamakau writes that when Moikeha's son Kila sailed to Kahiki and the chiefs there inquired about Moikeha, Kila replied,

He is enjoying surfing at the stream mouth, body surfing from morning to night on the waves of Ka'ōhala in the sheltered calm of Waimahanalua—the openness of Kēwā and its swaying kalukalu—the two hills that bear Puna like a child in arms—the diving place at Wai'ehu where the taro grows as big as 'ape—the curling of the waves at Makāiwa—his beautiful wife, my mother Ho'oipo-i-kamalana. Mo'ikeha will die on Kaua'i; he will not return to Kahiki lest his feet be wet by the sea. (http://www2.hawaii.edu/~dennisk/voyaging_chiefs/moikeha.html)

During Kamehameha I's reign, he made several attempts to conquer Kaua'i by force. In a rally cry to his warriors, he made reference to the famous areas of the island, including Wailua. Historian Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau (1992) wrote, "Kamehameha's ho'ohiki (watchword) for this expedition was, 'Let us go and drink the water of Wailua, bathe in the water of Nāmolokama, eat the mullet that swims in Kawaimakua at Hā'ena, wreath ourselves with the limu [sea-lettuce]²⁴ of Polihale, then return to O'ahu and dwell there,' none of which wishes were ever realized" (p. 187). Prior to Kamehameha's departure to conquer Kaua'i, Lonohelema, whom Kamakau (1992) describes as "a kind of prophet," appeared before Kamehameha, and urged him not to attempt the expedition, as there would be "a great pestilence" (p. 188). But Kamehameha refused to listen, intent on "drinking the waters of Wailua." Kamehameha's forces, numbering over one thousand, stayed on O'ahu for a year. During this period, a sickness called 'Oku'u swept the island, killing most of Kamehameha's men. Kamehameha's thoughts turned away from conquering Kaua'i by force, and he attempted to negotiate with Kaumuali'i for power. Kaumuali'i eventually agreed that upon his death, Kaua'i would be ceded to Kamehameha.

WAHI PANA WAILUA: NĀ MO'OLELO

A number of traditional mo'olelo are set in Wailua, with characters who were born, lived, or visited there. Passed down orally through chant, dance, and storytelling, many mo'olelo were first written and published in 19th-century Hawaiian language newspapers by Kānaka Maoli, like Kānepu'u, who valued such traditions and recognized the importance of publishing and sharing them.

One of the first mo'olelo published was for Kaweloleimākua, an ali'i born and raised in Wailua. "He Moolelo no Kawelo" (A Story of Kawelo) was first published by S. K. Kawaili'ilā in 1861 (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, September 26–December 5). A later, much longer version, "Ka Moolelo Hiwahiwa o Kawelo" (The Esteemed Story of Kawelo), was published by Ho'oulumāhiehie in 1909 (*Kuokoa Home Rula*, January 1–September 3). English language translations of this and other mo'olelo were later collected and published by Abraham Fornander, Thomas G. Thrum, William D. Westervelt, William Hyde Rice, and Martha Warren Beckwith, among others. A chant detailing the birth of Kawelo and his brothers in the Ho'oulumāhiehie text references Wailua[nuia]ho'āno as where he is born and lives (p. 1).

Kaweloleimākua (“Kawelo, beloved by his parents,” also known as Kawelo) was the grandson of the great Kaua‘i ali‘i Kawelomahamahi‘a. Kawelo was born on the same day as two first cousins, Kawelo‘aikanaka (known as ‘Aikanaka) and Kauahoa, a giant of Hanalei. All three boys were taken by their grandparents and raised in Wailua. The three boys excelled at sports like boxing and kite flying, although they also developed a jealous rivalry that continued into their adulthood.

‘Aikanaka became the ali‘i ‘ai moku (chief who rules a moku) of Kaua‘i, residing near Nounou in Wailua. Kawelo moved to O‘ahu where he learned the art of hula and became a famous dancer. He later returned to Kaua‘i where he fought against ‘Aikanaka and Kauahoa, and became the ali‘i nui of the island after defeating them.

Mo‘olelo for Ka‘ililauokekoa were published in the Hawaiian language nūpepa (newspaper) at least twice, in 1861 and in 1908. In 2002, ‘Aha Pūnana Leo released a live action DVD of the popular romance, the first of its kind in modern media of traditional Hawaiian mo‘olelo.

As a major and beloved figure of Wailua, Ka‘ililauokekoa is also celebrated in mo‘olelo, as well as the subject of many mele. One such mele is “E Pi‘i i ka Nāhele” (Ascending into the Forest). It is identified by Emerson as a mele aloha (love song) and hula ‘ohe (dance accompanied by the bamboo flute), a musical instrument which plays a key role in the mo‘olelo of Ka‘ililauokekoa, as it is used by her suitor Kauakahiali‘i to woo her.

E pi‘i i ka nāhele
Ascending into the forest

E ‘ike iā Kawaikini
To see Kawaikini

Nānā iā Pihanakalani
And gaze on Pihanakalani

I kēlā manu hulu ma‘ema‘e
At the pristine plumage of birds there

Noho pū me Kahalelehua
Dwelling together with Kahalelehua

Punahēle iā Kauakahiali'i
A favorite of Kauakahiali'i

E Ka'ili, e Ka'ili ē
O Ka'ili, o Ka'ili ē!

E Ka'ililauokekoa
O Ka'ililauokekoa

Mo'opuna a Ho'oipoikamalanai
Granddaughter of [chiefess] Ho'oipoikamalanai

Hiwahiwa a Kalehuawehe
Precious one of Kalehuawehe

Aia ka nani i Wai'ehu
There is the beauty at Wai'ehu

I ka wai ka'ili pu'uwai o ka makemake
On the surge that enralls desire

Makemake au i ke kalukalu o Kēwā
I desire [to be with you in] the kalukalu grass of Kēwā

E he'e ana i ka nalu o Makaīwa
Surfing the waves of Makaīwa

He 'iwa'iwa 'oe na ke aloha
You are the exalted one in love

I Wailuanuiho'āno
In all of sacred Wailua

Anoano ka hale, 'a'ohe kanaka
Forlorn and empty of people is the house

Ua la'i 'oe no ke one o Alio
You take pleasure on the beach of Alio

Aia ka ipo i ka nāhele
While the sweetheart is up here in the forest.

(Emerson, 1997b, pp. 135–137)

There are eight places named in the mele, including two famous surf sites, Makaīwa and Kalehuawehe, located in Wailua bay. Pana no'eau already discussed, such as the surf of Makaīwa and the kalukalu grass of Kēwā and Wailuanuiaho'āno, lend a heightened poetic aesthetic to the mele. Alio (or Walio) is the sandy beach area between the Wailua river mouth that extends south to the area of Nukoli'i (Nukole), bordering the neighboring moku of Hanama'ulu. Ka'ililauokekoa is remembered in more modern mele compositions, such as the mele inoa "Ka'ililauokekoa" composed by Henry Waiiau, which references her home, Pihanakalani.²⁵

Episodes in many Pele and Hi'iaka mo'olelo, some of which are discussed elsewhere in this article, also occur here. It should be noted that the name of the district Wailua belongs to is the same as the district on Hawai'i Island where Pele's home Halema'uma'u is located.

In the mo'olelo of Lā'ieikawai (1863, 1918), the Kaua'i ali'i 'Aiwohikupua and his sisters, Maileiha'iwale, Mailekaluhea, Mailelauli'i, Mailepakaha, and Kahalaomapuana are from Wailua. Because the royal court is located here, a number of ali'i in the mo'olelo begin and end their sea voyages here. Just up the hill from the beach area, on the ridge of Kuamo'oloakāne is the heiau Poli'ahu, named for the snow goddess on Mauna Kea. When 'Aiwohikupua is enroute to Paliuli on Hawai'i to woo Lā'ieikawai, he meets up with two women along the way, Hina in Hāna, Maui, and Poli'ahu. When he fails to keep his promise of marriage to Poli'ahu, she exacts her revenge on him. She travels to Kaua'i in search of 'Aiwohikupua. When she discovers that he has promised to marry Hina, she steps aside. But the "jealous Poli'ahu disturbs the new nuptials by plaguing their couch first with freezing cold, then with burning heat, until she has driven away her rival. She then herself takes her final departure" (Hale'ole, 1919, p. 50).

The story of Lepeamoā, whom Westervelt describes as the "chicken girl of Kapālāma," was first written by Samuel Kapohu and published in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* as "He Kaa no Kauilani, ke kupueu o ka uka waokele o Kawaikini i Wailua, Kauai" (The Tale of Kau'ilani, the hero of the upland forest of Kawaikini in Wailua, Kaua'i; September 18, 1869–February 12, 1870). Westervelt's English version focuses primarily on the birth of Lepeamoā, Kau'ilani's older sister, in Keāhua, Wailua uka; her father's battle against Akuapehu'ale, a fierce enemy who lived ma kai; her being raised by her paternal grandparents at Kapālāma, O'ahu; Kau'ilani's birth and eventual defeat

of Akuapehu'ale; and his search for his sister. Lepeamoā is born as an egg. When she hatches, she is born as a chicken, with beautiful feathers that are every color of the rainbow. However, this is only part of the longer tale.

While incomplete, Kapohu's original version goes on to describe how the Maui and O'ahu ali'i love to bet against each other in chicken fights, and how the O'ahu chief Kakuhihewa is about to lose his life in a bet. Lepeamoā defeats Mauinui's champion cock, Ke'auhelemao. This is an interesting turn of events, since she is a small hen who has no experience fighting, and Ke'auhelemao is a large, strong, experienced fighting rooster who also happens to be an older relative. Kapohu's mo'olelo goes on to describe Kau'ilani getting married and having a child, and their bird ancestors, such as Keaolewa.

Of importance is that family members carry significant place names in the mo'olelo. Their father is Keāhua, located in the mountainous region of Pihanakalani, below the peak of Kawaikini. Keāhua's parents are Kapālama (w)²⁶ and Honouliuli (k), who live at Kapālama, O'ahu, and raise Lepeamoā there. This demonstrates a connection between the two islands and their chiefly lineages. Lepeamoā's maternal grandmother is named Pihanakalani, and her great-grandfather is Manokalanipō, legendary chief of Kaua'i.

As an adult, Kau'ilani (possibly named for a spring in Pihanakalani called Waiu'i, which ages him from infant to young man almost overnight when he is bathed in its waters) marries 'Ihi'ihilauākea of O'ahu (this is also a place name near Hanauma Bay). Their daughter is named Kemamo, a location on the heights of Wai'ale'ale. Also raised on O'ahu, Kemamo marries Waiālua (whose younger brother is Mokulē'ia), and together they have a daughter, Kawaikini. It is unfortunate that the mo'olelo doesn't come to a definitive conclusion, something all too common in the 19th-century papers.

The pu'u separating the two branches of the Wailua river is called 'A'āhoaka. Wichman (1998) notes that it was "named after a young chief who lived here. He was particularly handsome, and it was said that he shone and flashed and his brightness was like lightning or the brightness of the second night of the moon" (p. 79). A mo'olelo for 'A'āhoaka was published in the nūpepa *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* in 1877 ("He mo'olelo," 1876–1877).

This mo'olelo details the events leading up to the birth of 'A'āhoaka, the son of Kalalea (k) and Koananai (w) of Anahola. Kalalea is the tall peak of the mountain of

that 'āina that now bears his name, and Koananai is the name of the shorter peak of that mountain (December 30, 1876, p. 1). This is a relatively unknown mo'olelo featuring many characters named for different mountains and 'āina on the east and north sides of Kaua'i.

It is unfortunate the final installments of the mo'olelo are missing, as the issues of the nūpepa are no longer preserved. The author's identity is also a mystery, since it was either unsigned or signed at the end where the author's identity was lost along with the missing nūpepa installments. Surely more information of 'A'āhoaka the chief and the 'āina would be discovered in these missing installments.

Mo'olelo such as these help us recover traditional place names, such as Keāhūa (now referred to as "Loop Road" or the "Arboretum") and Koananai (now "King Kong's Profile"), and allow us to name places often ignored (such as the pu'u 'A'āhoaka). Such recovery acknowledges and values Kanaka intellectual history and contributes to the well-being of our lāhui.

Pikoiaka'alalā is the kupua rat-child born in Wailua into a kupua family; his father is 'Alalā and his mother is Koukou. When some boys of the area are jealous of his skill with kō'ie'ie (a water toy), they throw it in the river and he jumps in after it. He is carried out to sea and arrives at Kou, O'ahu. Here he is reunited with his sisters, and joins a rat-shooting competition, in which he is declared the champion.

Another well-known mo'olelo set in Wailua includes Kalapana. *Moolelo Hawai'i o Kalapana, ke keiki ho'opāpā o Puna* (A Hawaiian Story of Kalapana, the Riddling Child of Puna) was first published by Moses Nakuina in 1902, one of the rare mo'olelo published in a book form. The story is incomplete and has not been translated into English; a revised version with an ending composed by Pila Wilson was published by Hale Kuamo'o in 1994 under the title *No Kalapana, Ke keiki Ho'opāpā o Puna (Kalapana, a Riddling Child of Puna)*.²⁷ While Kalapana is from Puna, Hawai'i, he travels to Wailua to challenge the ali'i Kalaniali'iloa to ho'opāpā, a riddling competition. Born into a family known for its skill in this area, Kalapana's father Kānepōiki is killed by Kalaniali'iloa in Wailua. Kalaniali'iloa is famous for his skills in ho'opāpā, and for a pā iwi kanaka (human bone fence) made from the bones of his defeated challengers (Nakuina, 1902, p. 2).

Kalapana also lays claim to the 'āina of Wailua, the land where his mother Halepāki is born. In his introduction, Nakuina poetically references Kaua'i as "A ke ao lewa i luna / A ka pua lana i kai o Wailua" (where the clouds float above / and the flowers float on the sea of Wailua; p. 1). When Kalapana arrives at Wailua, he befriends

some kama'āina of Pu'u'ōpelu near where the ali'i's hale is located, and Kalapana sets up camp near the river. In the completed version by Wilson, Kalapana defeats Kalaniali'iloa, and successfully avenges the death of his father. Keli'iokapā'a, Kalaniali'iloa's brother who befriends Kalapana earlier in the mo'olelo, is given authority over the lands of Wailua (p. 105). Kalapana retrieves his father's bones and returns home to Hawai'i Island (p. 106).

Wailua is connected to several mo'olelo associated with the demigod Maui and his mother, Hina. In one, Maui lives in Wailua; the eight paeki'i (row of images) stones at the mouth of the river are his brothers (Dickey, 1916, p. 16). In another, while Hina is living in Kahiki she dreams of surfing in Wailua with a handsome man. Her brother Nulohiki transforms into a canoe, and Hina sails to Wailua where she meets the man, Makali'i, who has descended from the heavens. After Maui and his brothers are born, Makali'i returns there. At Molohua, an area "just north of the [Wailua] river mouth," Hina sticks the canoe form of Nulohiki into the sand, where it transforms into the first coconut tree. Maui would climb this tree to visit with his father Makali'i. On the plains of Papa 'Alae (Mudhen Flats), the marshland on the north side of the Wailua River, Maui discovers the secret of fire from the 'alae (mudhens), the fire-keeping bird kupua who lived there.

There are a tremendous number of mo'olelo that reference Wailua, Kaua'i, only a small number of which have been summarized here. They remain to be analyzed and explored in depth for their significance and importance for Kānaka Maoli today. Wailua's prominence as a significant wahi pana extends from the ancient to the historical past, and into the present.

MA KAI A UKA: WAHI PANA, VOYAGING, AND PHYSICAL SITES IN WAILUA

British Captain George Vancouver was the only Western explorer to ever land in Wailua. He arrived there in 1793 (Dickey, 1916, p. 14). While ignored by Western sailors, Wailua was a popular and well-known starting point and destination in the long-distance voyaging of the early migration periods. Known both in Hawai'i and Polynesia, Wailua had a strong connection with canoe voyaging and navigation in ancient times before the 13th century. These ties are demonstrated in the many historical mo'olelo passed down over the centuries.

In a relatively unknown Hawaiian language and Kaua'i version of the Pele mo'olelo published by William Hyde Rice (1908), Hi'iaka, in her quest to Kaua'i to find and fetch Pele's lover Lohi'au, sails, and lands her canoe at Wailua from Ka'ena, O'ahu.²⁸ Once landed, Hi'iaka travels over land by foot to Hā'ena, Lohi'au's home. In the mo'olelo of Pāka'a, he sails the first canoe from Wailuanuiaho'āno. This is also where the ali'i Moikeha first settled from Kahiki, bringing and planting the first taro, sweet potato, and banana to Kaua'i (Dickey, 1916, p. 24). Moikeha's son La'amaikahiki also landed here, bringing the first pahu drum to Hawai'i.

Ma ke Kai: Surf Sites, Canoe Landings, Pae Ki'i, Burial Grounds

The beach at Wailua has been identified by several names over the centuries. In some mo'olelo, it was called Kemamo, and was a favorite landing for Kaua'i in traditional times (Beckwith, 1970, p. 385). In a letter about the Hui Kawaihau sugar planters, J. H. K. Keliioniwalemaino of Kapahi references the beach as "Ke one loa o Wailua" ("The long sands of Wailua"; *Ka Lahui Hawaii*, June 28, 1877, p. 3). Traditional burial grounds located "ma kai of Queen Kapule's home" were alternately known as Mahunapu'uone ("Hidden Sand Dunes") and Kunapu'uone (Bushnell, Shideler, & Hammatt, 2004, p. 95). A canoe landing at the north end of the beach was called Kapua'iomalahua, which was also used as a steamer landing in the 19th century (Dole, 1929, p. 10). According to Kamakau (1867), Waimahanalua is the name of a stream (p. 1).²⁹ It is also the name of a canoe landing near Makaīwa (Bacon & Nāpōkā, 1995, p. 67), and where Moikeha lands his canoe when he arrives in Wailua (Kamakau, 1867, p. 1). This is possibly why Beckwith (1918) identifies the beach landing as "Kamakaiwa" (p. 364).

The beach area to the south of the river was called Alio or Walio, and extended from the river mouth to the rocky point at Hanama'ulu. Bennett (1931/1971) noted many sand dune burials there (p. 125), which have been reaffirmed by numerous archaeological studies since then. Today this area is referred to as Kawailoa or Nukoli'i (Nukoli, Nukole), although Nukoli'i is a section along the south end of the beach that marks the southern boundary of the Wailua ahupua'a, separating it from Hanama'ulu.

Wailua was famous for its surf breaks, and three are named in mo'olelo. The area just beyond the beach was Ka'ōhala ("Thrust Passing"; Manu, 1899, p. 4). Kalehuawehe (The open lehua blossom) is another surf break famous in mo'olelo of Wailua, including the mo'olelo of Ka'ililauokekoa, and in oli makani Pele chants

on Kaua'i (Ho'oulumāhie, 1905–1906; Poepoe, 1908). It was located on the south side of Wailua bay, in front of Hauola (Wichman, 1998, p. 79). In Manu's mo'olelo (1899) Pele's older sister Kapō'ulakīna'u challenges some surfers of Wailua to a competition; she names the mountainous surf break Kalehuawehe after the men are defeated (Manu, 1899, p. 4).

The famed surfing spot Makāiwa on the north side of the bay is mentioned in many mo'olelo, including "Ka'ililauokekoa," "Kawelo," "Lepeamoā," "Lā'ieikawai" and several versions of "Pele and Hi'iaka." In Manu (1899), after Kapō'ulakīna'u defeats the Wailua surfers in a surf contest she and her sisters disappear from the waves of Kalehuawehe and are then seen across the bay surfing the waves there; because of this, the "surfers there became confused and landed everywhere and because of that the surf was called, [Ke kua nalu o Makāiwa], The-surf-back-of-Makāiwa" (Manu, 1899, p. 4). In Rice (1908), Hi'iaka and her companions return to this area after rescuing Lohi'au, where they "arrived at Makāiwa [and]... saw the shore festively adorned with people surfing" (Rice, 1908, p. 1).³⁰ One way Kalehuawehe can be interpreted from this mo'olelo is "the vanquished experts/sweethearts." Thus, our traditional mo'olelo preserve the intellectual and cultural thought process of naming geographic sites extended from the 'āina into the kai in ways more culturally relevant and 'āina-inscribed than arbitrary contemporary names, such as "Horners" (Makāiwa), "Cloud Break" (Ka'ōhala), or "Black Rock" (Kalehuawehe).³¹

Heiau

KUKUI. A series of heiau extend from the ocean to the peak of Wai'ale'ale, one of the most extensive collections of heiau in one ahupua'a across the pae'āina. Kukui Heiau is located at Laealakukui ("Point of the Kukui Path"), the point at the northern end of Wailua bay that marks the ahupua'a boundary between Wailua and Olohena. It is connected with navigation and canoe voyaging and had a prominent role in the early migration period. Its construction is similar to Tahitian and Marquesan *marae* (temple) design. Kukui Heiau was built around 1100–1400 A.D., during the second migration era (Kaua'i Historical Society, 1934, p. 2).

HIKINAAKALĀ, HAUOLA. Three of the Wailua heiau are directly associated with Kāne, an important akua associated with freshwater, sunlight, and agriculture, especially kalo production. The first is Hikinaakalā ("The Rising Sun"), located on the easternmost point of the island on the south bank of the Wailua river mouth. Kanaka

Maoli cultural practitioners continue to utilize the heiau and offer ho'okupu (ceremonial gifts), as seen in Figure 5. Hauola, considered a pu'uhonua (place of refuge), is located within the boundaries of Hikinaakalā.³² It was a place of refuge in traditional times during warfare and for those who broke kapu (taboo). After performing certain rituals, refuge-seekers were allowed to leave after several days (Joesting, 1984, p. 10). A pōhaku piko (umbilical cord stone) is located here, but no pōhaku ho'ohānau (birthing stone). Hikinaakalā is the beginning of what has been called the “King’s Highway” which leads from the mouth of the river up the north fork to the summit of Wai'ale'ale. The beginning of this pathway follows the course of the river before winding upward along Kuamo'o ridge. Today the main thoroughfare into Kaipuha'a is named Kuamo'o Road, which is appropriate since *kuamo'o* also means road or path.

FIGURE 5 Ho'okupu laid on pōhaku at Hauola, Hikinaakalā Heiau, Wailua, Kaua'i



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MALAE. The Malae Heiau was located on the south bank of the Wailua River on the ma uka (mountain) side of the highway. It is within sight of Poli‘ahu Heiau on Kuamo‘o ridge. The two are considered somehow related, although exactly how is not known (Bennett, 1931/1971, p.127). Malae is described as having been built by Menehune (legendary race of small people) with stones from Makaweli on the west side of the island, and was the birthplace of Ka‘ililauokekoa, although archaeological work for current restoration efforts reveals that the stones used for construction are from Wailua. Wichman (1998) notes that an alternate name of the heiau was Maka‘ūkiu (p. 68).³³ Maka‘ūkiu is possibly an older name, as it is referenced in many oli and mele for the area.

HOLOHOLOKŪ, MANU‘ENA, KALAEAKAMANU. Holoholokū, the pōhaku ho‘ohānau ali‘i or royal birthing stones (see Figure 6), are unique on Kaua‘i; the only other known birthstones are Kūkaniloko in the uplands of Waialua, O‘ahu. Wailua’s sacred stones are part of the heiau Kalaeakamanu (“Crest of the Bird”), about 200 yards inland from the sea on the north bank of the Wailua River at the foot of Pu‘ukī (“Ti Hill”). Being born here added divine mana to the sacred place occupied by an ali‘i (Dickey, 1916, p. 15). This area is also a known burial area for Kaua‘i families, whose descendants still care for their ancestors’ iwi (bones) there.

It was important that the highest ranking ali‘i nui of Kaua‘i be born in Wailua, and that “no one was recognized as a chief unless born in the district of Puna; all chiefs... should be born at [Holoholokū]” (Dickey, 1916, p. 15). Maka‘āinana, however, were sometimes allowed to give birth at Holoholokū so “[that] child would be a chief” (Joesting, 1984, p. 9). This idea is reinforced by a traditional chant:

Hānau ke ali‘i i loko o Holoholokū he ali‘i nui
The child of a chief born at Holoholokū³⁴ is a high chief;

Hānau ke kanaka i loko o Holoholokū he ali‘i no
The child of a commoner born at Holoholokū is a chief also;

Hānau ke ali‘i ma waho a‘e o Holoholokū, ‘a‘ohe
 ali‘i—he kanaka ia!
*The child of a high chief born outside of Holoholokū is no
 chief—a commoner he!³⁵*

(Pukui, 1986, p. 56).

After the birth of the child, the *ēwe* (umbilical cord) was wrapped in a piece of *kapa* and placed in a crevice of the *pōhaku piko*, located near the *pōhaku ho'ohānau*. This was then “wedged into a crack...[with] pebbles, small stones, or a piece of *hala* [pandanus] fruit” (Dickey, 1916, p. 15). The umbilical cord was a symbol of connection with generations past, as well as linking the child with generations yet to be born. It was believed that if the cord of the child was stolen, or eaten by a rat, the child would become a thief. If, however, the *kapa* remained undisturbed for 4 days, it was a sign of a propitious future for the newborn *ali'i* (Smith, 1955, p. 34).

FIGURE 6 The birthing stones of Wailua, Kaua'i



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The newborn child was then taken up *Kuamo'o*, the ridge and pathway along the north bank of the river, to the *pōhaku kani* at the top of the ridge overlooking *Wailuanuiaho'āno*. The *kahuna* (priest) chanted the arrival of the newborn *ali'i*, then struck the *pōhaku kani* in a certain way so the sound traveled up and down the valley and everyone within hearing distance would know a new *ali'i* was born

(Smith, 1955, p. 34). A Kaua'i Historical Society report (1934) added that “at the birth of the royal child the kā'eke in the heiau [Holoholokū] was struck with the hand to announce the event...the measure of the beat indicated the sex of the child” (p. 4).

Moikeha's youngest son, Kila, was sent by his father to fetch his half brother La'a from Tahiti. La'amaikahiki (as he was called upon his return from Tahiti) is credited with introducing the first drum to Hawai'i. In some versions of the mo'olelo, it is the kā'eke drum; in others the pahu is specifically mentioned. These first pahu drums were brought to Holoholokū, where the sacred hula pahu was first taught. When La'amaikahiki returned to Hawai'i, he “first went to Ka Lae [Hawai'i Island] and then to Wailua in Kaua'i. He first taught the hula pahu there at Holoholokū...From Wailua, the use of drums spread to other islands” (Pukui in Tatar, 1993, p. 16).³⁶ The two drums associated with La'a are named 'Opuku and Hāwea, and Hāwea is the drum left at Holoholokū.

FIGURE 7 Holoholokū Heiau at the base of Kalaeokamanu Ridge, Wailua, Kaua'i



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Bennett (1931/1971) classified Holoholokū (see Figure 7) as a luakini or sacrificial heiau, and notes that La'amaikahiki “introduced the drum into the sacrificial heiau on [Kalaeokamanu]; eventually they were used in all human sacrifice heiau” (p. 127). Such classification of Holoholokū by Western archaeologists contradicts Hawaiian sources.³⁷ Kūpuna of the area describe Holoholokū as an agricultural heiau, the stone platform being a foundation for a caretaker's residence. No written records of this history exist, further demonstrating the need to document kupuna knowledge and oral histories of kama'āina from specific lands. Pukui does not describe Holoholokū as a luakini, and notes that the drums “were used by the priests only for ceremonies and to announce to the surrounding countryside the sex of the newborn babes of the ruling families. The sound of the drum beats for a boy was different from that for a girl. It was used at Ka-lae-o-ka-manu heiau when a new member was born to the royal family at Holoholoku” (Pukui ms., 1936, p. 55). That the ali'i would have a luakini for human sacrifice literally steps away from the sacred birthing stones makes no sense, and instead appears to be a misinterpretation of the site, its function, and perhaps the function of these pahu as well, as there is no evidence hula pahu were used for human sacrifice ceremonies. Few heiau were known to be associated with specific pahu; Holoholokū and Kalaeokamanu are two of only twelve named heiau across the pae'āina “consistently associated with certain pahu, usually named” and the only heiau on Kaua'i with such distinction (Tatar, 1993, p. 33).³⁸

A sacred coconut grove associated with Holoholokū no longer exists. The coconut grove on the grounds of the former Coco Palms hotel is usually mistaken as the sacred grove, but according to Kaua'i Historical Society records (1934), “this grove of trees was planted as an experiment in 1896” 3 years after the overthrow of the Hawaiian government (p. 1).

Bennett surveyed an unnamed heiau “on the north bluff of the Wailua river in the cane field a mile from the sea” (p. 128). This heiau is identified as Kapu'ukoa (p. 141). No additional information on this heiau has been discovered.

POLI'AHU. Poli'ahu Heiau (see Figure 8) is situated on Kuamo'o ridge. Very little is known about it, although Dickey speculates it was associated with the powerful spiritual art practice of 'anā'anā, often misinterpreted as “sorcery.” Joesting argues that Poli'ahu Heiau was devoted to the interests and affairs of the gods, and kānaka were not allowed there as the “deities gathered once a month on the nights of Kāne” (p. 12). This information appears to come from an unpublished article

by Kaua'i Historical Society founder J. M. Lydegate, "Out of the Olden Times at Wailua Kai," which was read at a Historical Society meeting in 1916. However, as this heiau sits on a very narrow ridge that leads into the upland region directly from Wailuanuiaho'āno, I am skeptical that this is a plausible interpretation of its function. Moreover, Poli'ahu Heiau sits within direct view of Malae Heiau, across the river and down the hill near the sea. While the relation between the two isn't clear, cultural practitioners agree that some relationship exists between the two.

FIGURE 8 The eastern face of Poli'ahu Heiau, Kuamo'oloakāne Ridge, Wailua, Kaua'i, with Mauna Kapu, the northern side of Kālepa mountain range in the distance



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Its association with the mo'olelo of Lā'ieikawai is summarized earlier in this article. In another mo'olelo, Smith (1955) describes a maka'āinana, Hihikalālāhau, who fell in love with the goddess. At the time she resided on the summit of Kuamo'o (presumably where the heiau is located). If he wanted to be with her, she told him, he must climb the hill before daybreak. As he neared the top she used her supernatural powers to transform him into a hau tree. Thus, the story claims,

he became the first hau tree on Kaua'i. Furthermore, the hau leaf itself has five main veins extending from the base of the heart-shaped leaf where the stem is located. The shape of the leaf is reminiscent of Kaua'i, and the "heart" or piko represents Wai'ale'ale. Each vein is said to represent the five main riverways on the island: Waimea, Hanapēpē, Wailua, Kealia, and Hanalei (p. 47). Dickey identifies Hihikālālāhau as a specific wahi pana located along the Wailua River below Poli'ahu Heiau (Dickey, 1916).

KA'AWAKŌ. Ka'awakō Heiau is located on the summit of Wai'ale'ale. Little is known about it today, other than that it was the most sacred heiau dedicated to Kāne (Joesting, 1984, p. 4). Constructed of smooth pāhoehoe lava, it contained a large phallic stone at the rear of the structure. It is situated next to a large pond, Wai'ale'ale, from which the mountain derives its name. On an expedition to the summit published in 1946, Kaua'i resident Eric Knudsen writes that his Hawaiian guide, Kualo, said it was a temple dedicated to the war god Kū (Knudsen, 1946, pp. 41–42).

Other: Ki'i Pōhaku, Caves, Holua Slide, Hills, Loko I'a

KI'I PŌHAKU (PETROGLYPHS): PAE KI'I A MAHU. Near the south bank of the Wailua river mouth, also called Pahulu, is the location of a row of large boulders with carved petroglyphs collectively called "Pae Ki'i a Mahu." Two etiological mo'olelo explain the source of these pōhaku. One mo'olelo is related to the Maui legend; when he and his brothers are trying to pull the islands together, his brothers look back, and are turned into these stones (Wichman, 1998, pp. 70–71). In Manu's 1899 Pele mo'olelo, her older sister Kapō'ulakīna'u challenges some kama'āina of Wailua to a surfing contest. During the contest, the male surfers wipe out in the huge surf and are transformed into the pae ki'i (Manu, July 8, 1899, p. 4). Little is known about the significance of the stones or the reference to mahu (alternately marked, it can refer to steam, vapor, a variety of tree similar to 'ōlapa, quiet, peaceful, weak in flavor or taste, and/or homosexual or hermaphrodite). Any interpretation at this point, however, is purely speculative. More analysis of the mo'olelo they are mentioned in is still needed.

THE CAVES OF KAHALEOKAWELOMAHAMAHAI'A, MAMA KUALONO, KALUAMŌKILA; HOLUA SLIDE. There are a number of caves in the area, both above and below water. An underwater cave on the north bank of the Wailua River is called Kahaleokawelomahamahi'a (The Home of Kawelo with Fish Gills).

Kawelomahamahi'a was an ali'i of Kaua'i who was also the grandfather of the hero and later chief Kaweloleimakua. After his death, Kawelomahamahi'a was worshipped as a shark deity and believed to live in the cave Kahalekawelomahamahi'a in the Wailua River.

Above Malae Heiau on the south fork of the river is Mamaakualono (the Chewing God Lono), a large cave known today as the Fern Grotto. This is not an ancient wahi pana, although there are seven burial caves located in the sheer cliff face above it. Another example of Euro-American mythmaking, Joesting says that this area was associated with human sacrifice, as "after the flesh had fallen from the bones of the human sacrifice at Holoholokū, the remains were buried here" (p. 10). However, there is no evidence that Holoholokū or any of the Wailua heiau were luakini. In one mo'olelo, it is the home of Mamaakualono, the sister of Niolopua, the god of sleep. She was greatly skilled in kapa making. Her brother Niolopua lived in a cave on the sheer cliff of Mauna Kapu above her. She had two other bird kupua brothers, Kōlea and 'Ūlili, and after their deaths her brothers became three large pōhaku that overlook the cave (Wichman, 1997).

Kaluamōkila ("Mōkila cave") is a cave that extends north to south through Pu'ukī near Holoholokū Heiau. The south entrance was located underwater in the Wailua River, and the north entrance on the hill. The mo'o (lizard) Mōkila was thought to reside here. Mōkila is also a Kaua'i name for the needles used to string lei (www.wehewehe.org).

In a visit to Wailua in 1824, missionary Hiram Bingham mentions a holua slide here but offers little detail. Thus far, this holua slide has not been documented in various archaeological reports (Bingham, 1847, pp. 220, 231).

LOKO I'A/PAPA ALAE. There were two fishponds in the area, one in the sea at Laealakukui, and the other just inside the mouth of the Wailua River. One of Queen Kapule's fishponds is identified as Weuweukawaiiki in LCA 3111/3559 (R. M. Towill, 2009, p. 158).

Wailuanuiaho'āno, the Great Sacred Wailua, was an ideal center for Kaua'i ali'i because its abundant resources offered many comforts and necessities. Rapid colonization throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries destroyed many significant wahi pana—heiau dismantled for road and other construction, lo'i kalo replaced with rice paddies and pasture lands, and loko i'a abandoned or turned into ornamental ponds. Traditional mo'olelo have been replaced with an American

curriculum in schools, and Hawaiian akua and spirituality replaced by Christianity. While the cultural and spiritual status of Wailuanuiaho'āno in traditional times has been obscured by Western colonialism, it still holds an important place in Hawaiian history, culture, and mo'olelo.

REMEMBERING, RECOVERING, AND WRITING PLACE

Remembering, recovering, and writing place provides the indigenous framework for research into place that intersects with—and also differs from—other academic disciplines, where memory is not always considered a relevant discourse in academic research. Within the disciplines of indigenous and cultural studies, however, memory is a recognized and viable methodology in research; remembering is one of twenty-five indigenous projects of decolonization and research identified by Tuhiwai Smith (1999, p. 146). In the context of indigenous research, memory and the act of remembering is not merely an exercise of nostalgic recollection, but an active process, particularly in the area of “ancestral memory,” which Pualani Kanahēle describes as connecting us to our 'āina (Kanahēle, 2011, preface). In her essay “I Am This Land and This Land Is Me” (2005), Kanahēle also clearly articulates the metaphoric and symbiotic relationship between kānaka and 'āina that is not just theoretical or of the past, it is personal and ongoing in the present.

Within the field of cultural studies, collective memory is often discussed as both shaping and defining national (political) identities. Within indigenous studies, however, the collective identity shapes and defines the cultural memories of the people along genealogical and cultural lines that precede and often supercede our current national identity within the United States. For indigenous people, what is remembered and why it is considered important to remember is central to indigenous research. For Kānaka Maoli, wahi pana, mo'okū'auhau, genealogical connections to 'āina, the deeds of illustrious gods, chiefs, and ancestors, all of which reflect aloha 'āina, a key cultural value, are important to remember, recover, and write.

Remembering was an important impetus for Hawaiian intellectuals such as Poepoe to write and publish mo'olelo. In a 2010 *Hūlili* article analyzing oli makani as a key literary device, Noenoe Silva points out that Poepoe used the term *kulana pāno'ono'o* to describe the wind chants as a “remembering function...for the benefit

of readers and future generations” (p. 237). Writers and educators like Kapihenui and Poepoe saw the value of such knowledge, as do Hawaiian educators such as Kanahēle, Silva, myself, and others today. Silva reiterates Kanahēle’s message that such valuing of knowledge is ongoing, as “this cherishing of knowledge is not confined to the past but continued into Poepoe’s time, the early 20th century, and continues now into our time as well” (p. 238).

Recovering and revitalizing cultural knowledge, such as ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language), and putting it into contemporary practice has been a key part of indigenous education movements such as Hawaiian language immersion schools. Tuhiwai Smith identifies connecting, restoring, and returning as three indigenous projects synonymous with recovery. The term recovery means “getting back,” but also connotes “getting over” or past something, such as the colonial history that suppressed Hawaiian cultural knowledge and encouraged (or forced) Kanaka Maoli abandonment of major areas of our intellectual history. The recovery of cultural knowledge includes extraction of information from Hawaiian language newspapers and other archives, translation and study of myriad texts and genres, such as mo‘olelo, oli, mele, and hula, and discussion with kūpuna, cultural practitioners, and other resources about the ‘āina in question.

Moreover, recovery is also about utilizing Hawaiian language resources. Far too often, scholars and researchers are content to rely on secondary English-language sources which are often poor translations misrepresenting primary Hawaiian language texts, or poor interpretations of Kanaka Maoli practices. Such overreliance on secondary sources is described by Hawaiian language professor Puakea Nogelmeier in his book on Hawaiian language primary materials *Mai Pa‘a i ka Leo* (2010) as “a discourse of sufficiency,” where researchers not fluent in the Hawaiian language often just ignore vital resources. Such omissions have real world negative consequences, since flawed research is then often used by other scholars or writers to perpetuate incomplete, inaccurate, or misinterpreted information. Today, this kind of fabrication is enabled to spread more widely and rapidly than ever through blogs, websites, and social media. Wailua has not escaped these trends, and it is possible to trace misinformation about Wailua and its sources across the World Wide Web.

Furthermore, flawed research is also used by local governments, developers, and community groups in planning projects and granting permits. An ongoing example in Wailua is the development of the Ke Ala Makalae (The Beach Path) Walking/Bike Path Project and the proposed redevelopment of the old Coco Palms

Hotel property. In 2004, an EIS (Environmental Impact Statement) was prepared which concluded, in part, that there were no significant burials on the Coco Palms property, despite oral traditions and other cultural information to the contrary, allowing the permitting process to proceed. Similarly, the Ke Ala Makalae project also continues, despite Kānaka Maoli protest and legal actions. The EIS is incomplete because it was prepared only from English language sources, and is being used nonetheless to justify these controversial projects. Ironically, one argument used to sway the community is that development of the walking/bike path would contribute to Hawaiian physical well-being, while the destruction or displacement of ancient burials and cultural sites important to spiritual, psychological, and emotional well-being is not being considered. The economic development of the Coco Palms property will create jobs and alleviate unemployment and aid financial well-being, but in a tourist-serving capacity with limited job growth opportunities, at the cost of destroying or displacing some ancient burial and cultural sites and probably limiting access to others. Not surprisingly, no Kānaka Maoli were principle investigators in the EIS process. Such incompletely researched misrepresentations of 'āina highlight the need for Kānaka Maoli to write place as another way to mālama 'āina—to honor, protect, and defend our beloved lands and culture, and contribute to the spiritual and overall well-being of our lāhui.

Writing place, or writing about place, is a new area of focus within the discipline of composition and rhetoric studies. Within a specifically indigenous context, writing about place is also writing about our cultural, ancestral, and genealogical connections to the 'āina. It includes culturally specific genres of writing that demonstrate the relationship of our ancestors to place, their worldview developed from living on that 'āina, and the poetic, intellectual, and philosophical epistemologies that result.

Tuhiwai Smith (1999) discusses the role of writing and culturally based research for indigenous scholars. She argues that reading and writing are an essential aspect of knowledge production that “has influenced the ways in which indigenous ways of knowing have been represented,” and that colonial misrepresentation of indigenous people “is important as a concept because it gives the impression of truth” (p. 35). Indeed, colonial texts misrepresent indigenous people as well as our lands, languages, worldviews and cultural practices to the point where, as Tuhiwai Smith argues, “we can barely recognize ourselves through the representation” (p. 35). She evokes Māori writer Patricia Grace’s point that writing is dangerous, in part, because it is “never innocent” (p. 36). This is precisely why it is important for Kānaka Maoli to remember, recover, and undo the colonial representations of ourselves, our culture, and our 'āina.

As Cheryl Smith points out, academic writing is a way of “writing back” against colonial misrepresentations and also a way of simultaneously “writing to ourselves” and the communities we come from (Smith in Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 37). Such writing back includes different texts, literature, and sources that inform our research, which “contributes to a different framing of the issues. The oral arts and other forms of expression set our landscape in a different frame of reference...the academic disciplines within which we have been trained also frame our approaches” (p. 37).

The concept of Indigenous Literary Nationalism is rooted within the development of Native American Literary Nationalism over the past decade. While Smith’s work focuses on the role of indigenous academic research and writing in representing indigenous people, knowledge, and practice in a more respectful way, Indigenous Literary Nationalism also includes the primary work of indigenous writers and thinkers, particularly focusing on literary productions, such as mo’olelo.

Both of these approaches are useful in helping us remember, recover, and write place in a way that is not just romanticized or nostalgic, but works to support the lāhui and our educational goals for a more culturally literate, well-rounded population, a process which will contribute to overall health and well-being.

Continued writing about place is an important part of ‘Ike ‘Āina, just as Kānaka Maoli continue to have a relationship with our ‘āina. Wailua’s historical, cultural, and poetic significance is rarely celebrated in contemporary oli, mele, or mo’olelo. This realization inspired me to compose a mele aloha ‘āina for the important wahi pana called “Wailuanuiaho’āno.”

He nani mai ho‘i kau
Oh how beautiful indeed

‘O Wailuanuiaho’āno
Great Wailua of the chief Ho’āno

I ka wā kahiko
In times past

Kaulana kou inoa.
Famous is your name.

Ma mua o Kalanipō
Before [Mano]Kalanipō

Ilihia i ka muliwai
You landed at the river mouth, struck by the beauty

Kahi kapu o nā ali'i
Sacred place of royalty

Kinohi i Kahiki mai.
Originating in Kahiki.

Eō e Wai'ale'ale
Greetings to Wai'ale'ale

Mauna kūkilakila i ka 'iu
Standing proud in the distance

Pi'ikū i ke kuamauna
Climbing the steepness to the top

Kuamo'oloaokāne.
Along the great lizard back of [the god] Kāne.

Kahi laha'ole kehakeha
Indeed a rare, choice place

'O Wailuanuiaho'āno
Is Wailuanuiaho'āno

Mai Hauola i Ka'awakō
From Hauola to Ka'awakō

Laulā i ka la'i ākea.
Widespread peace and tranquility.

Ha'ina 'ia kou wehi
Your praises have been sung,

'O Wailuanuiaho'āno
Wailuanuiaho'āno

Puana 'ia ku'u mele
My story is told

Kahi i aloha 'ia.
Of the place that is much loved.

(ho'omanawanui, 1998, p. 177)

In each paukū in the mele, place names in Wailua and historical figures associated with it are recalled and remembered, a reminder to Kānaka Maoli today of the illustrious place of this beloved wahi pana in the mo'olelo of our lāhui. Other contemporary mele that also celebrate the beauty, history, and importance of this 'āina include “Hanohano Wailuanuiahoano” by Maui chanter Charles Kaupu (2006) and “Eō e Wailuanuiahoano” by Leilani Rivera Bond (2008) who was also raised in Kaipuha'a. Like other mele aloha 'āina, each of these contemporary mele for Wailua express deep love and appreciation for the 'āina, echoing the relationship between composer and 'āina.

HA'INA 'IA MAI ANA KA PUANA (CONCLUSION)

Ha'ina 'ia mai ana ka puana, “thus the story is told.” This is a common literary device in Hawaiian mele indicating that the mele is ending. As Kānepu'u reminds us, it is important to learn, document, and teach our cultural and literary history embodying the most fundamental Hawaiian cultural value—aloha 'āina, patriotism, our love for our land.

We cannot expect, after nearly two centuries of educational disconnection in a colonially derived educational system, that others will provide the answer to our educational woes. As the theme for the fifth WIPCE (World Indigenous Peoples Conference on Education) in Hilo reminded us in 1999, “Aia nā ha'ina i loko o kākou—The answer lies within us.” Kumu (teacher) Pualani Kanahele encourages us to remember, “We have to pay attention to our Native Hawaiian intelligence and experiences. We should be able to look for them, define them—because nothing is lost. In fact, we still have a lot of knowledge that was left to us by our ancestors. It's still there; we just have to go look for it. That's what we're all about—research” (Kanahele, 2005, p. 21).

Our huaka'i (trip) through Wailua, a wahi pana rich in beauty and history, included poetic imagery captured in literary expression from the ancient past to the present century. Thus, it is appropriate to depart with a mele composed by Queen Lili'uokalani and Kapoli, "Wailua Alo Lahilahi" (Wailua of Delicate Face). The Bishop Museum Archives catalogues it as a hīmeni (hymn) as well as a mele inoa for Princess Ka'iulani. It also speaks of the beauty of this place, which we can appreciate through her words.

'Ano'ai wale ka hikina mai
Unexpected was our arrival

Ka 'ikena i ka nani o Wailua
Seeing the beauty of Wailua

'Elua māua me ka hali'a
Two of us with fond memory

I ka piko wai'olu o Kemamo
At the cool summit of Kemamo

Nani wale Lihu'e i ka la'i
So beautiful is Lihu'e in the calm

I ka noe a ka ua Pa'ūpili
In the mist of the Pa'ūpili rain

'O ke ahe mai a ka makani
In the gentle blowing

A ka Mālualuaki'iwai o Lehua
Of the Mālualuaki'iwai wind of Lehua

(Hui Hānai, 1999, p. 275)

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NOTES

1 "Ke Kii Pohaku ma Kauai," *Ka Hoku o Hawai'i*, October 15, 1908, p. 1.

2 Unless otherwise noted, all translations of Hawaiian text are my own. A longer, more detailed quotation from Kānepu'u's article is included in my article on 'Ike 'Āina (ho'omanawanui, 2008).

3 A number of scholars have written about this in recent years; of interest is Monica A. Ka'imipono Kaiwi and Walter Kahumoku III's "Makawalu: Standards, Curriculum, and Assessment for Literature Through an Indigenous Perspective" (2006) and Monica Ka'imipono Kaiwi, "Grounding Hawaiian Learners—and Teachers—in Their Indigenous Identity" (2006).

4 Kapa'a Middle and High School still serve this area. King Kaumuali'i Elementary School in Hanamā'ulu, which was established in 1990, now serves as the primary school for part of the Wailua Homesteads region. The rest of the student population in Wailua still attends Kapa'a Elementary School (<http://arch.k12.hi.us/PDFs/ssir/2008/Kauai/SSIR457-7.pdf>).

5 The 2003–2004 report states that 30.9% of students were identified as part-Hawaiian, 14.4% as Hawaiian, for a combined total of just over 45%; the next highest percentage ethnic group represented at the school is Filipino students, with less than 20%. This aligns with OHA's *Native Hawaiian Data Book*, which identifies the Kapa'a-Anahola area as having one of the highest Hawaiian populations on the island, even outside DHHL homestead lands (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2006, p. 21).

6 In this article, I use the term *pana no'eau* to describe the storied poetic epithets and sayings connected to 'āina.

7 A number of the 46 articles in the Declaration address cultural, educational, and land issues. U.N. General Assembly, Sixty-first Session, Agenda Item 68, *Report of the Human Rights Council, Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, A/61/L.67 (2007).

8 Vairua (Tahitian), vaerua (Mangaia, Paumotu); in Māori mythology, Wairua is “the ninth heaven or division of Rangi” (Lani, or Wākea, equivalent to the Hawaiian Sky Father), while in Mangaian mythology Vaerua is the “spirit who stands at the bottom of the Universe” and carries Avaiki (Hawaiki, Hawai'i) from the underworld to the terrestrial world (Tregear, 1891, p. 592).

9 This church is the predecessor of Kapa'a First Hawaiian Church, currently located in Kapa'a. The church was started by Queen Kapule in Wailua and later moved to its current location.

10 Joseph Moku'ōhai Poepoe's (1908–1911) version includes an alternate spelling, acknowledged in the text, of Wailuanuiahoana, which could also be a typographical error (p. 1), as does a 1909 version of Kawelo, where it is spelled “Wailuahoano” (Ho'oulumāhiehie, January 1, 1909, p. 1). In their own scholarship on Hawaiian mo'olelo, Noenoe Silva, Laiana Wong, Puakea Nogelmeier, and John Charlot discuss the connection between Poepoe and Ho'oulumāhiehie as possibly being the same person.

11 Ho‘oulumāhie’s version was reprinted in Hawaiian and translated into English by Awaiaulu Press in 2006.

12 Under missionary pressure, homesteading programs began during the kingdom era. However, the Land Act of 1895, as enacted by Republic of Hawai‘i President Sanford B. Dole, authorized the sale of former Crown Lands. When Hawai‘i was annexed to the United States in 1898, these lands were ceded to the U.S. government. The original Homesteads of Wailua contained 31 lots that totaled 1,082.50 acres of former Crown Lands (Report of the Governor of Hawai‘i to the Secretary of the Interior, 1914; they were auctioned off via public lottery on December 23, 1919, “The Wailua Homesteaders,” *The Garden Island*, December 16, 1919).

13 Holi resided in Wailua and was a correspondent for the paper; the articles referenced include “Na Mea Hou ma Wailua,” *Ka Hae Hawaii*, November 26, 1856; “Ka nani o Puna i Kauai!!” *Ka Hae Hawaii*, Buke 3, Helu 31, Novemaba 3, 1858, p. 123; and “Make aloha ia,” *Ka Hae Hawaii*, Buke 4, Helu 6, Mei 11, 1859, p. 22.

14 There are at least five published in the Hawaiian language newspapers, and seventeen unpublished variants in different collections at the Bishop Museum Archives. In the seventeen versions listed in the Bishop Museum Archive *Mele Index*, there are only two major variations in the first two lines. The version listed in HEN v. 3 states, “Kunihi ka mauna i *Kahiki* e.” Another version in Helen Robert’s collection (MS SC Roberts 2.6) states in the second line, “ka luna [o] Waialeale e ala.” This version was collected from Julie Naukana, a hula performer born in 1842 (BPBM Index). Two of the Bishop Museum manuscripts list the chant as an oli, three as a pule (prayer), one as a mele olioli (style of chant), one as a hula Pele (one as a kau no Hi‘iaka, chant specific to Hi‘iaka), and three as a mele kāhea (calling chant). Other contradictions include one version listing it as a pule no Kapo (prayer for the goddess Kapo, a sister of Pele in some mo‘olelo, and a goddess of hula and ‘anā‘anā or “sorcery”), while another lists it as a pule no Laka (prayer for the hula goddess Laka). Some versions make no specifications as to the genre of the chant. At least eight informants are credited with the chant: Jule Naukana (b. 1842), Rose Ka‘imi La‘anui (n.d.), Sam Ka‘aiali‘i (b. 1872), Kaoulionālani (b. 1869), Kuapahi (n.d.), Peter Pakele Sr. (1869–1952), Aiamanu Pauole (1865–1945), and the renowned chanter James Kapihenui Palea Kuluwaimaka (1845–1937). About half of the Bishop Museum chants are listed as from or related to the mo‘olelo no Pele (Pele stories), while the other half either aren’t specific, or relate it to hula. A version of the mele is also found in Ho‘oulumāhie’s “Kawelo” mo‘olelo (*Kuokoa Home Rula*, March 5, 1909; see Ho‘oulumāhie, 2009, p. 111).

15 All lines of the translation except this one are from the text. The original translation reads, “Hidden is Kaipuha‘a on the plain of Kapa‘a” (Bacon & Nāpōkā, 1995, p. 65). But the translation does not take into account the word *mauka*, “upland.” Therefore, Kaipuha‘a is not *on* the plain of Kapa‘a, it is *ka laulā mauka o Kapa‘a*, “the broad plain *above* Kapa‘a.”

16 Some examples include: H. K. Kahopukahi, “He mau kumu i emi ai ka lahui,” *Ka Lahui Hawaii*, April 29, 1875, p. 4; S. T. Piihonua, “Hoohalahala,” *Ka Lahui Hawaii*, July 27, 1876, p. 2; Mose K. K. H., “He ipo aloha ka awa na kekahi hapa o Nawaieha nei,” *Ka Lahui Hawaii*, August 23, 1877, p. 3.

17 Hawaiian text adapted from Roberts; translation by Kelsey. Another version was recorded by Helen Roberts in *Ancient Hawaiian Music* (1926/1967), which she identified as a hula ‘ulī‘ulī (dance accompanied with feathered rattle instrument). Tatar (1993) notes, however, that “[Tom] Hiona’s rendition...is accompanied by two...kā‘eke‘eke” (p. 289). Roberts cites Kalala as the composer and Wahineikeaouli Pa of Hā‘ena Wet Caves, Kaua‘i, as the chanter. She categorizes this as a *hula ‘ulī‘ulī* (Roberts, 1926/1977, p. 250). Tatar (1993) notes that “Pa told Roberts she had learned the *hula* about thirty years previously at Kalalau” (p. 289).

18 Tatar (1993) also references notes by Mary Kawena Pukui in regards to this chant (p. 289).

19 The title is interesting to note, as “Makalapua” was a well-known mele composed by Kapi‘olani’s sister-in-law, Lili‘uokalani. This “Makalapua” was composed by “E. C.” and is a completely different one.

20 The Ko‘olau is a wind “between Kaua‘i and Ni‘ihau” (Fornander v. 5, 1913–1915/1999, p. 95). It is also a more generic name for the eastern or “windward” side of an island, which is where Wailua is located.

21 Note in text explains that “Ikuwa was the month of storms. The chiefs were recognized by the gods at birth, by the raging of the elements.”

22 Nogelmeier provides an alternative translation for the Ho‘oulumāhiehie (2006) text (p. 18).

23 “E noho iki a‘e ho‘i maua e ‘au‘au wai o Wailua nei a ma‘ema‘e i polapola iki a‘e ho‘i na wahi maka...”

24 *Limu pahapaha* is a type of limu famous in chants for Polihale.

25 Lyrics for Waiiau's composition are found at <http://www.huapala.org/Kai/Kaililauokekoa.html>

26 A "w" indicates "wahine" (female) and "k" indicates "kāne" (male).

27 Wilson notes that several similar stories were utilized in the composition of the end of this Kalapana mo'olelo: "Kaa no ke Keiki Hoopapa" (Story of the Riddling Child) was published by S. M. Kauai in *Ke Au Okoa* (November 12–December 18, 1865); "Ke Kaa no Kaipalaoa, ke keiki hoopapa" (A story of Kaipalaoa, a riddling child), Bishop Museum Memoirs, vol. IV (pp. 575–595) and "Nā Inoa o nā Makani o Hilo" (The names of the winds of Hilo), *Ke Au Okoa*, July 10, 1865.

28 This mo'olelo is entitled "He Mo'olelo no Pele a me Kona Kaikaina Hiiakaikapoliopele" ("A Story of Pele and her Younger Sister Hi'iaka-in-the-bosom-of-Pele"). It appeared in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* ("The Star of Hawai'i") from May 21–September 10, 1908. While Rice published a fragment of this story in English in his collection *Hawaiian Legends* (Bishop Museum Press, 1923) under the title "The Goddess Pele," it is a very small and skeletal sketch of the longer, richer, and more detailed Hawaiian language version, which has never been entirely translated and published in English. This section of the mo'olelo therefore only appears in Rice's published Hawaiian language newspaper serial, and not in his published collection of mo'olelo in English.

29 Kamakau uses the word *muliwai*, river, river mouth, pool near the mouth of a stream, as behind a sand bar; estuary (PED). Beckwith says Waimahanalua is in Kapa'a (1970, p. 327).

30 "Kaha akula 'o Hi'iaka mā hele no Puna, a ia laua i hoea aku ai i Makaiwa, ua 'ike akula laua nei i ka ulumāhie o ua kanaka i kahakai, e he'enalua ana."

31 Mahalo to Kaua'i surfers Kalā Alexander, Tai Kaneakua, and Gelston Dwight for their insight on the contemporary surf site names.

32 Hikinaakalā "is also called Hauola," but whether they are one and the same is not clear (Pukui, Elbert, & Mo'okini 1986, p. 45).

33 Wichman defines Maka'ūkiu as "source of the 'Ukiu wind...a chilly northern wind not as strong as the trade winds (Wichman, 1998, p. 68).

34 Holoholokū is the name of the region, as well as the heiau where the pōhaku ho'ohānau ali'i was located. Holoholokū is situated within the boundaries of Wailuanuihō'ano, on the northeast side of the Wailua River, near the river mouth.

35 This chant is attributed to the Kūali'i text, but I have been unable to locate it there. The Hawaiian text is from Pukui (1986). The English translation from Dickey, provided here, differs slightly from Pukui's. Dickey's translation is also listed in Wichman (1998, p. 66).

36 For multiple sources of this mo'olelo, see Tatar (1993, pp. 13–18).

37 Kaua'i Historical Society records (1934) describe Holoholokū as containing a sacrificial stone, Kū images carved from 'ōhi'a lehua, and a lananu'umamao (oracle tower) constructed of 'ōhi'a lehua wood, similar to the one in Waimea that was described by Captain James Cook (p. 3). A large flat stone was described by Dickey as “set over the remains of a sacrificed dog, and was very kapu...bodies were placed here after being sacrificed at Holoholokū” (p. 15). Joesting (1984) argues that there is only one other similar site located at Wahiawa, O'ahu (p. 9).

38 The others are: O'ahu—Ho'olonopahu (Kūkaniloko, Wahiawa), 'Alalā (Kailua), Niuloa'a (Kualoa), Paka'alana (Paka'alana), Kamaka'ula (Punalu'u), Kakioe (Lualualei); Hawai'i Island—Paka'alana (Waipi'o), Waha'ula (Puna), Ahuena (Kailua, Kona), and Pu'ukoholā (Kawaihae).