

tion that the phrase *Kukulu-o-Kahiki*, like so many others which the Hawaiians brought with them from the south, imposing their own linguistic modifications, came in time to have, as it evidently now has, a different meaning from that of its original use. I believe that it came to have a general reference to the region about Tahiti. Even Tahiti came to be applied to almost any foreign land, but that was in comparatively late times, long after the period of communication, when it was not an uncommon thing for voyages to be made between Hawaii and the groups to the south. (See Chapter 5 for what Mr. Malo has to say on this subject.) *Kukulu* meant an erection, applied therefore to a wall or vertical support, the pillars that supported the dome of heaven, according to the cosmogony of the ancient Hawaiians, as well as the Polynesians. Criticism of Hawaiian tradition must stand firmly on Hawaiian soil and take the Hawaiian point of view.

⁸ Sect. 23. *Kena* means the satisfying of thirst, *ana* to drink sufficiently, to satiate, as with food. There is a myth (Hawaiian) of an old woman who, to get rid of her troubles, went up to the moon; but I do not see that this story has any reference to that, nor can I find any story that bears on this *kena* and *ana*.

CHAPTER 59

TRADITIONS REGARDING THE ANCIENT KINGS

1. The histories of the ancient kings, from Ke-alii-wahi-lani¹ and his wife, Lailai,² down, from Kahiko³ and his wife, Kupu-lana-ka-hau,⁴ down, and from Wakea⁵ and his wife, Papa,⁶ down to the time of Liloa, are but scantily and imperfectly preserved. We have, however, it is true, a fragmentary, traditional knowledge of some kings. Of the kings from Liloa to Kamehameha I, we have probably a fair historical knowledge.

2. Genealogy of the kings from Wakea to Liloa

1. Wakea	16. Nanaie	31. Hema	46. Pili
2. Haloa	17. Nanailani	32. Kahai	47. Koa
3. Waia	18. Waikulani	33. Wahieloa	48. Ole
4. Hinanalo	19. Kuheileimoana	34. Laka	49. Kukohou
5. Nanakehili	20. Konohiki	35. Luanuu	50. Kaniuhi
6. Wailoa	21. Wanena	36. Pohukaina	51. Kanipahu
7. Kio	22. Akalana	37. Hua	52. Kalapaua
8. Ole	23. Maui	38. Pau	53. Kahaimoelea
9. Pupue	24. Nanamaoa	39. Huanuikalailai	54. Kalaunuiohua
10. Manaku	25. Nanakulei	40. Paumakua	55. Kuaiwa
11. Lukahakoa	26. Nanakaoko	41. Haho	56. Kohoukapu
12. Luanuu	27. Nanakuae	42. Palena	57. Kauhola
13. Kahiko	28. Kapawa	43. Hanalaanui	58. Kiha
14. Kii	29. Heleipawa	44. Lanakawai	59. Liloa
15. Ulu	30. Aikanaka	45. Laau	

We have some traditional knowledge of these kings, but nothing very definite.

3. We have the following traditions regarding Wakea. He was the last child of Kahiko; the first-born of Kahiko and the elder brother of Wakea being Lihau-ula, to whom Kahiko bequeathed his land, leaving Wakea destitute.

4. After the death of Kahiko, Lihau-ula⁷ made war against Wakea. The counselor of Lihau-ula had tried to dissuade him, saying, "Don't let us go to war with Wakea at this time. We shall be defeated by him, because this is a time of sunlight; the sun has melting power" (*no ka mea he au keia no ka la, he la hee*).

5. Lihau-ula, however, considered that he had a large force of men, while Wakea had but a small force; his pride was up and he gave battle. In the engagement that followed, Lihau-ula lost his life, killed by Wakea, the blond one (*ka ehu*), and his kingdom went to Wakea.

6. After Wakea came to the government, he had war with Kane-ia-kumu-honua,⁸ in which Wakea was routed and obliged to swim out into the ocean with all his people.

7. Tradition gives two versions to the story of this war. According to one, the battle took place in Hawaii; Wakea was defeated, and Kane-ia-kumu-honua pursued him as far as Kaula, where Wakea and his followers took to the ocean (*au ma ka moana*).

8. Another ancient tradition has it that the battle was not fought in Hawaii, but in Kahiki-ku, and that Wakea, being routed, swam away in the ocean with all his people.

9. From swimming in the ocean Wakea and his followers were at length reduced to great straits, and he appealed to his priest (*kahunapule*), Komoawa, saying, "What shall we do today to save our lives?"

10-12. "Build a *heiau* to the deity," answered Komoawa. "There is no wood here with which to build a *heiau*, nor a pig with which to make a suitable offering to the god," answered Wakea. "There is wood and there is a pig," said Komoawa. "Lift up your right hand; hollow the palm of your hand into a cup, and then elevate the fingers." Wakea did so, and Komoawa said, "The house is built. Now pinch together the fingers of the left hand into a cone and put the fingertips into the hollow of your right hand." When Wakea had done this, Komoawa declared, "The *heiau* is now completed; only the prayer is wanting."

13. "Gather all your people together," said Komoawa, and that was done, and the charm, or *aha*, of the ceremony was perfect.

14. Then Komoawa asked Wakea, "How was the *aha* of our ceremony?" "It was good," answered Wakea. "We are saved then," said Komoawa, "let us swim ashore."

15. Then Wakea and his people swam ashore with great shouting; and, on reaching the land, they renewed the battle with Kane-ia-kumu-honua and utterly defeated him. In this way the government was permanently secured to Wakea.

There is a fanciful tradition that has come down from the ancients that some of those who went swimming with Wakea are still swimming about, and that the name of one of them is Kamamoe.

16. There is a doubtful story about Wakea and Hoo-hoku-ka-lani.⁹ A venerable tradition has it that Hoo-hoku-ka-lani was the daughter of Wakea and Papa, but that Wakea incestuously took her to wife.

17. Another tradition says that Hoo-hoku-ka-lani was the daughter of Komoawa, by his wife, Popo-kolo-nuha, and that Wakea was justified in consorting with Hoo-hoku-ka-lani, seeing she was of another family and not his own daughter.

18. It is asserted of Wakea by tradition¹⁰ that he was the one who instituted the four seasons of prayer in each month, and that he also imposed the tabu on pork, cocoanuts, bananas, and the red fish (*kumu*), besides declaring it tabu for men and women to eat together in the *mua*.

19. Because of Wakea's desire to commit adultery (incest) with his daughter, Hoo-hoku-ka-lani, he set apart certain nights as tabu, and during those nights he slept with Hoo-hoku-ka-lani. On Wakea's oversleeping himself, his priest, seeing it was already daylight, called to Wakea with the following words of prayer to awake him:

20. E ala-au aku, e ala-au mai!	I call to you, answer me!
E ala o Makia, o Makia	Awake Makia, Makia son of Hano!
a Hano! ¹¹	
A hano ke aka, ¹² o ke aka	Portentous is the shadow, the shadow
kuhea,	of him who calls,
O ke aka kii i hikina.	Shadow rising from the east.
Ku ka hikina iluna ka lani.	Morning climbs the heavens.
Ka opua ulu nui, ka opua	The piled up clouds, the gloomy clouds,
makolu, ua ka ua,	down pours the rain,
Kahe kaa wai, mukeha;	A rush of waters, a flood;
Oili, olapa i ka lani poni;	Lightning darts and flashes in the dark
	heavens;
Poni haa i ka mea.	Bound with a strong covenant to that
	one.
Mo ¹³ ka pawa, lele ka hoku,	The curtains of night are lifted, the
	stars flee away,
Haule ka lani, ¹⁴ moakaka i	The king's honor is dashed, all is
ke ao malamalama.	visible in the light of day.
Ala mai, ua ao e!	Awake! Lo, the day is come!

(This poem has the earmarks of great antiquity, to be seen both in its language and in the thought.)

21. Wakea did not awake, his sleep was profound. So the *kahuna* prayed more fervently, repeating the same prayer; but still Wakea did not awake.

22. When the sun had risen, Wakea arose and wrapped himself in his *tapa* to go to the *mua*, thinking that Papa would not see him. But Papa did see him, and, coming on the run, entered the *mua* to upbraid Wakea. Wakea then led her back to her own house, doing what he could to pacify her; and after that he divorced her.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 59

The subject matter of this chapter, in so far at least as it deals with Wakea and Papa, is almost wholly mythical. The names of the *dramatis personae* are, as I take it, figurative, such as applicable to, or expressive of, the wonder-working convulsions, or the quieter, but equally mysterious, operations of nature; as for instance:

¹ Sect. 1. Ke-alii-wahi-lani means, literally, the king who rends or breaks the heavens. The ancient Hawaiians conceived of the heavens, the visible sky, as a solid dome. The exact meaning that lies back of this figurative expression, the *hyponoia*, as Max Muller would say, is open to different interpretations, and of course presents insuperable difficulties to anyone who would try to define it; but it clearly refers to some heavenly phenomenon or phenomena. Diligent comparison with the myths of southern Polynesia might help to clear up the intent of this expression. That Wahi-lani was, or came to be, regarded as a veritable personage is evident from the following ancient *mele* quoted to me as from a *mele* published in the '60's in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, a Hawaiian newspaper of Honolulu, edited by the late John M. Kapena and issued under the management of Prince David, later King Kalakaua.

O Wahi-lani, o ke alii o Oahu,
I holo aku i Kahiki,
I na pae-moku o Moa-ula-nui-akea,
E keekehi i ka houpu o Kane
a me Kanaloa.

Wahi-lani, king of Oahu,
Who sailed away to Tahiti,
To the islands of Moa-ula-nui-akea,
To trample the bosom of Kane and
Kanaloa.*

* By the bosom of Kane and Kanaloa was probably meant the land and the sea; to trample them was therefore to travel by land and by sea.

² Sect. 1. Lailai means (1) physical calm and peacefulness, (2) joy and light-heartedness.

³ Sect. 1. Kahiko means the ancient one. It is to be noted that in this account we find no mention of Po, Night, the original Darkness and Chaos that enveloped the world. Ku, Kane, Kanaloa, Lono and perhaps some of the other deities are said to be *no ka po mai*, to date back to the night, a time far antecedent to history and tradition.

⁴ Sect. 1. Kupu-lana-ka-hau is difficult of interpretation. To my mind it conveys the idea of fogs and floating mists, perhaps also of ice masses. *Hau* at the present time means ice and snow. It is said to be a female element, receptive rather than active, therefore. A Hawaiian of intelligence as well as of considerable critical faculty gives it as his opinion that in this world is typified the formation and development of land, though still in a wild and inhospitable condition, perhaps covered with ice and snow. He informs me that ice was formerly termed *wai-puolo-i-ka-lau-laau*, water-wrapped-up-in-leaves; the reason being that when ice or frozen snow

was first met with, the people who came across it in the mountains wrapped it up in leaves, and finding it reduced to water on reaching home, gave to it this name descriptive of their experience. *Ke-hau* is the name given to dew, it having absorbed the article *ke*. It is clear, it seems to me, that *kupu-lana-ka-hau* is expressive of some form of phenomenon due to water, either in the form of clouds or mists or frozen into ice and snow.

⁵ Sect. 1. Wakea, modern *awa-kea*, means noon, undoubtedly figurative of the sky, the light of day, the vivifying influence of the sun. In section 5, Wakea is spoken of as the *ehu*, the blond, the bright, the shining one, an epithet that conveys the same idea as the Sanscrit deva. Wakea, it seems needless to remark, is represented to be the vivifying male element, which, as hinted at or plainly stated in the myths of Polynesia, was in the remote ages of Po torn from the close embrace of Papa, Earth, and placed in its present position.

⁶ Sect. 1. Papa is the female element, the generatrix, the plain or level of the earth's surface, hence the Earth itself. Papa is the name applied to a stratum, a level formation, a table; it is a name frequently met with.

⁷ Sect. 4. The exact meaning of Lihau-ula is not clear. It seems to refer to some effect of light shooting through the drifting clouds that remain undissipated. Wakea, the bright one, is still represented as being at war with the unsubdued elements of darkness and cold (?), which he finally overcomes, routing and driving out Lihau-ula. He thus gains possession of the kingdom of his father, Kahiko. His victory is ascribed to the fact that "it is a time of sunlight, the sun has power to melt" (*no ka mea he au keia no ka la, he la hee*).

⁸ Sect. 6. Kane-ia-kumu-honua means Kane the founder of the earth or Kane at the foundations of the earth; sometimes spoken of as Kane-lulu-honua, Kane the shaker of the earth, the one who causes earthquakes. Having gained the victory over darkness, clouds and cold, Wakea is for a time routed and put to flight by the deity that shakes the foundations of the earth, which may be naturally supposed to be a volcanic eruption, accompanied with earth tremors and a darkening of the heavens, obscuring the light of the sun on the land but leaving it bright at sea. It is well to remark that the religious services—incantations some would call them—which are performed to relieve the situation, are of the simplest form suited to the occasion, a lifting of the hands, a prayer, a lesson to all formalists.

⁹ Sect. 16. Hoo-hoku-ka-lani means to bestud the heavens with stars, the starry sky, the stars of heaven, the offspring of Wakea and Papa, *i.e.*, of Heaven and Earth. The action of the drama reaches its summit of interest in the passion of Wakea for his own daughter, Star-of-heaven. It is to be noted as a proof of the simple faith with which David Malo accepts this tradition as based on a historic foundation of fact, that he actually seeks to extenuate Wakea's offense by ascribing the paternity of the maiden, Hoo-hoku-ka-lani, to the old priest, Komoawa. This story is evidently an after-thought, gotten up to save Wakea's reputation. To admit such evidence would be the spoiling of a fine solar myth (aside). The dalliance of the lovers is kept up to an unsafe time in the morning; daylight comes and they are still in each other's company (the stars of morning continue to shine after the sun is in the heavens). The priest comes with a friendly warning; Wakea sleeps on; Papa comes forth from her chamber and discovers the situation and the row is precipitated at once.

According to one version, the divorce of Papa was accomplished by Wakea spitting in the face of the woman, whom he turned away; according to another account it was Papa herself who did the spitting—who had more occasion?—and it almost seems as if something of the sort was indicated in the word *mukeha* in the sixth line. Having poured on Wakea the scorn and contempt which he deserved,

Papa betook herself to the remote regions of Kukulū-o-Kahiki, while Wakea continued his intimacy with Hoo-hoku-ka-lani, by whom he had Molokai and Lanai as offspring. Papa, according to the same version, had already given birth to Hawaii and Maui. But in the case of Papa, blood proved thicker than water; she could not bear the thought of a fruitful rival taking her place in the affections of her husband, "her womb became jealous"; she returned to her husband. The result was the birth of Oahu, Kauai, and Kauai's little neighbor, Niihau.

O Wakea noho ia Papa-hanau-moku,

Hanau o Hawaii, he moku,

Hanau o Maui, he moku.

Hoi hou o Wakea noho ia

Hoo-hoku-ka-lani.

Hanau o Molokai, he moku,

Hanau o Lanai ka ula, he moku.

Lili-opu-punalua o Papa ia

Hoo-hoku-ka-lani.

Hoi hou o Papa noho ia Wakea.

Hanau, o Oahu, he moku,

Hanau o Kauai, he moku,

Hanau o Niihau, he moku,

He ula a o Kahoolawe.

Wakea lived with Papa, begetter of
islands,

Begotten was Hawaii, an island,

Begotten was Maui, an island.

Wakea made a new departure and lived
with Hoo-hoku-ka-lani.

Begotten was Molokai, an island,

Begotten was red Lanai, an island.

The womb of Papa became jealous at its
partnership with Hoo-hoku-ka-lani.

Papa returned and lived with Wakea.

Begotten was Oahu, an island,

Begotten was Kauai, an island,

Begotten was Niihau, an island,

A red rock was Kahoolawe.

There are numerous variants to this story; one of them seeks to give a more human and historical turn to the narrative and explains the opportunity by which Wakea gained access to his daughter's couch, or rather by which he smuggled her to his own cottage, stating that on the advice of his *kahuna* he had imposed a tabu which separated him from his wife's bed at certain seasons of prayer in each month.

But the real significance of the narrative, as I understand it, lies not so much in the special human incidents which make up this sun myth, as in the fact that there is a sun myth at all, that the heavenly phenomena which daily and nightly unrolled themselves before these Polynesians, were at one time in the remote past translated by their poets and thinkers into terms of human passion. Granted the myth-making faculty at all—and most races seem to have possessed it at some time—the form the myth shall take and the human incidents with which it shall be clothed will be determined by the habits and ruling propensities of the people themselves.

This solar myth from Polynesia reads as if it had been taken straight from Aryan headquarters. Is this similarity to be explained, as in the case of the Hellenes, from their having rocked in the same race cradle, aye sucked at the same paps, or, because they carried with them out into the Pacific the memory of those old myths that they learned from their masters or from those who drove them forth from the plains of India? Or is it that, being human, they had the same myth-making faculty that shows itself in the other races of the earth? Whether the resemblance is the result of historical contact or a coincidence of independent growth is a question beyond our power to answer. Whatever view one takes of it, there can be no doubt that the ancient Polynesians were the equals of the Aryans or the Hellenes in the art of projecting the lies, thefts and adulteries that embroidered their own lives into the courts of heaven.

²⁰ Sect. 18. The assertion that the tabu system originated in the concupiscence of Wakea is merely equivalent to saying that the origin of the system is not known.

¹¹ Sect. 20. Makia is evidently a special name for Wakea; Hano, a name belonging to some ancestor.

¹² Sect. 20. There may perhaps be an intentional antithesis between *hano* and *kuhea*. *Hano* primarily means silent, while *kuhea*, a compound word from *ku*, to stand, and *hea*, to call, means therefore to proclaim, to herald. Such antitheses are in fine accord with the genius of Hawaiian poetry.

¹³ Sect. 20. *Mo* is an elided form of *moku*.

¹⁴ Sect. 20. *Lani*, literally sky, is a title frequently applied to a king or chief.

CHAPTER 60

HALOA, THE SON OF WAKEA

1. We have a fragment of tradition regarding Haloa. The first-born son of Wakea was of premature birth (*keiki alualu*) and was given the name of Haloa-naka. The little thing died, however, and its body was buried in the ground at one end of the house. After a while, from the child's body, shot up a *taro* plant, the leaf of which was named *lau-kapa-lili*, quivering leaf; but the stem was given the name Haloa.

2. After that, another child was born to them whom they called Haloa, from the stalk of the taro. He is the progenitor of all the peoples of the earth.

CHAPTER 61

WAIA, THE SON OF HALOA

1. Tradition gives us some account of Waia, the son of Haloa.

2. According to the traditions handed down by the ancient Hawaiians, the government of Waia was extremely corrupt. He was so absorbed in the pursuit of pleasure that he disregarded the instructions of his father to pray to the gods, to look well after the affairs of the kingdom, and to take good care of his people so that the country might be prosperous.

3-4. It is said that during Waia's reign a portent was seen in the heavens, a head without a body, and a voice came from it, uttering the words, "What king on the earth below lives an honest life?" The answer returned was "Kahiko."¹ Then the voice came a second time from the head and asked the question, "What good has Kahiko done?"