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Hua Ka Nalu
Hawaiian Surf Literature

By

Ian ʻAkahi Masterson

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LIVICATION

Kū ana hua i ke kahakai,

This thesis paper is livicated to my surf mentors, Ben Finney and Fred Van Dyke.
Livicated to my father Tom, that he may know where international life has brought me.

O ka nalu hua nalu alo,

Livicated to my wife Diana, my brothers Bryce and Trevor, and my sisters Kristi and Siri,
that we may always keep sight of the importance of family.

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and giving us all of her love and manaʻo.
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Amama. Ua noa e ola, e ola mākou.
Kāu 'Akahi a ka Nalani

O Masteron ke kūne maka'a o ka meimahine ʻōna o
Ke maka'ihapa o ke kū Ke Pe'a a me ka Hā'iloa o ʻIliman.

Wāna'a kāʻū 'Akahi a ka Nalani ma ka ʻōna o ka pa'ā a
Ke kanaka ke'e nalu ma ke kū Ke ko e ʻalua,
Nōhoahohupu ko a'ohana i ʻakapua ia.
O Kūna St. John ka waihine,
Kalua waihine ʻilua, mai Seattle mai.

Jōkāna Kalakaua,
Ka ka'ohi a a Līka kūna na ka alo i ka pā,
I Wāna'a ka mea, i ʻakapua a ka pāa,
Wāna'a Kalakaua a opū a,
Ka ike ka'ikake o ka ʻalua ma ʻalua,
Ma ia ka kūna, ma ka pāa ka lei,
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Wāna'a Kalakaua,
Kalua waihine ʻilua, mai Seattle mai.

Kāʻū 'Akahi a ka Nalani
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Ke maka'ihapa o ke kū Ke Pe'a a me ka Hā'iloa o ʻIliman.
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ABSTRACT

Surfing is a traditional Hawaiian cultural activity. The author begins by defining Hawaiian surf literature, then shows environmental aspects of Hawaiian surfing. Chapter Two looks at methods to assess Hawaiian literature, and the author reviews historic and modern surf writers. Chapter Three explores surfing across the Pacific past, it also illuminates surfing within the Hawaiian Kumulipo chant. Surfing integrated in Hawai‘i as a daily and ritual activity, Chapter Four assesses the literature for evidence. It also identifies archeological surfing sites. Chapter Five applies natural science to the legends of Hawaiian gods and ancestors that relate to surfing. Parts of a wave are considered in relation to the chants. Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight consider the various surfing deities in Hawai‘i, and reveal the genealogical implications within the poetry. Puakea Heiau in Hakipu‘u reveals the truth to the poetry and importance of surfing to Hawaiians, and thus to education in Hawai‘i.
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PREFACE
Defining Hawaiian Surf Literature

Hawaiian oral traditions include stories about women, men, and gods surfing waves on many of the islands in the Hawaiian chain. Sometimes surfing is only given brief mention, but other times it is developed as a significant theme in an exciting adventure or touching romance. Many of these stories were transcribed both by Hawaiian scholars as well as foreigners who settled here. From these writings comes a thematic course of study on Hawaiian surf literature, the focus of this paper. Hawaiian surf literature is defined as Hawaiian literature that includes reference to a surfer, the act of surfing, or the natural environment as it relates to surfing. The act of surfing embodies part of the necessary information concerning resource gathering in the coastal environment as well as voyaging beyond the shores and returning safely, and thus the surfer may display his or her expertise through performing this act in various forms on the ocean.

Surfing is a traditional Hawaiian cultural activity. Because surfing was both a daily pastime as well as a ritual activity amongst Hawaiians, surfing is easily observable. The subject of surfing in Hawaiian literature crosses class boundaries through its familiarity, while reinforcing them through its protocols and content. Surfing is also a thematic device used to emphasize various motifs within Hawaiian thought. Hawaiian
surf literature is deeply imbued with cultural knowledge, revealed in its poetics, and references to genealogy and place. Thus, surfing was and is a successful means of transmitting practical and cultural knowledge. I will argue in this paper that Hawaiian surf literature is a valuable way to study Hawaiian culture, as well as other cultures across the Pacific Ocean.

Surfing is an activity integrated into Hawaiian culture through both practice and literature. Pacific scholars Ben Finney and James Houston (1996) describe surfing as a basic marine adaptation of Oceanic voyaging traditions. Indeed, the skills involved with riding waves most likely developed as necessary for survival in an ocean environment, if not for a child’s amusement. As voyagers left the continental shorelines for distant horizons, they very likely encountered surf upon reaching distant island coasts. The success of the voyage would then rely on the skill of the steersmen, captain, and crew. The practice of surfing further developed at island locations in the Pacific in relation to the natural environment.

Environmental factors such as the island’s location relative to swell generating regions of the Pacific influenced whether waves arrived along the shoreline regularly. The near-shore environment also needed to be conducive to producing surfable waves, with bays and beaches, or passes in the reef that would create diagonally breaking waves. Available resources such as large trees and plant material to build and finish surfboards also may have affected the accessibility of surfing to the general population. Of course,
the cultural practices of each island culture or family group took also had a major effect on the development of surfing at each island location.

Although surfing was observed on many of the Pacific Islands encountered by the first foreigners, surfing seemed to have reached its highest level of proficiency and cultural integration in Hawai‘i. It was practiced as both a daily pastime and in formal competitions and annual festivals, and thus it should be considered as a traditional Hawaiian cultural activity—one that is a popular subject for storytellers to recount. That said, many of the islands of Remote Oceania were familiar with surfing, and it may only take a passionate native scholar to unravel the depth to which surfing permeated their own histories.

Surfing is present in Hawaiian oral traditions as a vehicle of expression for characters portrayed in prose and poetry—a way of acting out cultural messages and morals. As a site of social interaction and curiosity among youth, romance was often lost and found in the surf. Surfing lore is full of courtship, love, scandal, and lament. Because surfing was such a popular, exciting, and dramatic practice, larger cultural messages are easily shared along surfing storylines to cultural practitioners of all classes, both sexes, and many locales. The acquisition of mana (divine power) for characters within these stories parallels the acquisition of knowledge often considered to be critical to environmental and social survival for the listeners. These oral traditions have been written down and shared by Hawaiians, often with ethnographers and travelers during the post-contact period, and hence a body of literature on Hawaiian traditions, practices, and genealogies exists to study specific information about the culture.
As literature emerges out of these many forms of expression, it is important to consider the cultural context in its representations. An exercise in ethnohistory such as this one is fraught with potential misconceptions, from cross-cultural misinterpretations to anthropological mishaps. So, to start with the basics, what is literature, and does it go beyond the written word? Historian Dr. David Hanlon (2003) considers that tattooing is a form of literature, and in this context, literature in Hawai‘i might be seen to include petroglyphs as well as tattoos. Petroglyphs depicting people surfing exist at several places along the North Shore of O‘ahu, and at Olowalu, Maui, among other island locations, and these are said to record stories of people who passed by. In the same way, the ‘āina (land and sea) might be considered a text upon which memories are recorded. Place names also provide histories of the indigenous people of an area through the association of land features with significant people and places from their past, as well as natural conditions that occur there.

It might be said that tattoos, petroglyphs, and place names are embodied forms of knowledge that provide evidence and support for the literature concerning such matters. Ancient surfboards support the literature too, much like interaction with the ocean supports our understanding of ocean terms. Surfboards embody the knowledge of hydrodynamics in their design, and this can be ‘read’ by engineers and keen surfers. Furthermore, they can be experienced on a wave, thus transferring that embodied knowledge to the rider. Indeed, true watermen and women are very experienced in ‘reading’ the ocean and ‘feeling their surfboards under foot. The many different ocean conditions can be seen as different chapters in an infinite text full of embodied oceanic knowledge. These watermen and women know the currents above and below.
The Author’s Perspective

My perspective as an author is not one of an indigenous Pacific Islander, but rather of a diasporatic Portuguese immigrant whose mother’s family came here from Madeira in 1879. Dad’s family came across the United States, having immigrated to Pennsylvania from Ireland. The perspective put forth in this text is as a surfer with a rudimentary knowledge of Hawaiian language and culture. More specifically, this author hails from Koʻolau on Oʻahu, was raised on Puʻu Nao at ‘Oneawa in Kailua, and now resides with family in Hakipuʻu, below Puakea heiau, in the ‘ili of Kanohoaahopu.

Admittedly, as much of the knowledge that is being shared has come from asking questions about my place, Koʻolau, as has come from researching the topic of surfing in Hawaiian culture. These two topics have come together like two crests moving along in the sea, and it is from this high peak that we ride this wave of study together—it is from this Oʻahu surfer’s perspective that we assess Hawaiian surf literature.

It was through Hawaiian language class that my chosen path was presented to me, a path that led me beyond surfing as a way of life, integrating it instead as a kuleana, a personal responsibility towards the proper care and representation of surfing in the world. Words of mentor Fred Van Dyke and his wife Joan encouraged me to continue on my path. The demands of this kuleana were also personally rewarding, and caused my return to school to do in-depth research on a subject that I love. It inspired me to increase my surfboard collection and eventually caused a return to nature as I decided to create an ancient-style olo surfboard from wood and plant materials as the ancients did. Little did I know the effect that building this papa heʻe nalu would have on me.
In March 1999 a small article came out in the Honolulu Advertiser about the Surf Science and Technology Bachelor in Science Degree created by Plymouth University in England. I became excited at the possibility of participating. For the first time in academic history, surfing was being acknowledged as being a valid form of knowledge, and having utilitarian use as an industry-based scholarly study. Fred Van Dyke tried afterschool recreational surfing with Punahou School, but a big swell came up that first day and he decided not to continue after that. Remember, there was no computer surf forecast back then. Fred Hemmings proposed an academic and recreational program at UH Mānoa in 1977, but surfing had too much inherent liability and the administration was not convinced.

Both my mom and my kumu ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i at Windward Community College in Kāne‘ohe, Kalani Meinecke, gave me the clipping, Kumu for the purpose of engaging me in my interests through a conversation in the vernacular. The conversation went something like “Makemake ‘au e hele i England no ka papa he’e nalu?” to which I replied, “‘Ae!” But he instead suggested that Hawai‘i is the cradle of surfing, so why didn’t any such course exist here? He went on to encourage me to develop a proposal for such a course… “Should we let England take ownership over such knowledge? Let’s develop something here at Windward Community College!”

In retrospect, my not going to England definitely postponed my academic progress, but I am here now for a reason—this is where the universe has placed me, it is the point to which my ancestors have guided me. Anyway, it has taken me over ten years to see, from an academic and cultural perspective, what my kumu was actually suggesting, and I am grateful that he pushed me on this wave.

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The Surfer’s Perspective

The surfer’s perspective is an aspect of translation that truly needs to be considered, one in which there lies a great disconnect with many ethnographers of past and present, local and foreign, and within many cultural fields, not only surfing. The literary issue has to do with contextualizing surf literature through its practice. Today, respect and legitimacy amongst surfers is gained through one’s ability to perform in extreme surfing conditions such as those found along O‘ahu’s North Shore. At some point we must ask, did Fornander surf? Surf anthropologist Patrick Moser (2008) points out that ‘Ī‘ī is a non-surfer, thus giving us a “view of the sport from land.” Nākuina is described by Thrum as a surfer, thus legitimizing his report for Thrum’s Annual 1896.

Tom Blake (1935) was a protégé of Duke Kahanamoku who was born and raised in Wisconsin until he met Duke and came to Hawai‘i. He has provided a lot of perspective that has been helpful because he understands what it means to have surfed Pākī’s boards and observed Duke among others riding them as well. By using practice to support the literature, we can better read context and meaning into historical literary passages and sort out these various waves of meaning, both at the primary level as well as with the varied translations.

When following surfing in Polynesian culture, the continuity of surfing as a traditional cultural activity is expressed through accounts (prose) as well as legends (poetic visions). Today’s academic burden of proof demands the separation of what can be considered as fact (witnessed and personal accounts) versus ethnographic information about cultural traditions (mythology and genealogy) when dealing with pre-contact Hawaiian history.
This author acknowledges these culturally oriented categories while not at all discounting the latter—to do so would not be productive, nor would it acknowledge that the vast knowledge recorded by the Hawaiians is real, and stated from the storyteller’s worldview, not the listener. Instead, herein is an ethnohistoric attempt to adapt Charlot’s model of “Classical Hawaiian Education” to the subject of surf literature from the pre-contact and early historic periods of Hawaiian history.

Indeed, the objective is to assess Hawaiian surf literature that directly addresses indigenous surf-riding practices in Polynesian culture as they existed at various homelands, in Hawai‘i under the kapu system, prior to 1819, and as they continued to be practiced in the early historic period, prior to (and eventually regardless of) the influence of Western culture, morals, economics, materials, and methods. The perspective of the writer concerning surfing is important when it affects the description of surfing given in each account, and the amount that surfing is included in the writer’s works as a whole, so these are considerations given to this review.

It was December 5th, 2008, when I had the realization of what I was looking at with reference to the wave, like a guitarist that visualizes the fretboard for the first time. Four years prior I was at the good doctor’s house on the point when I saw a mountain of a wave swelling on the horizon, and the term ‘ōpu‘u became clear to me. Here I was alone in the surf thinking of all the things I had learned, watching the giant ocean swells break as I sat amongst them—ka nalu haʻi ʻōpuʻu. Surprisingly, it is peaceful and beautiful here. The revelation stood before me like the morning rainbows on Puʻuʻōhulehule—the ahupuaʻa in which I reside is named for this oceanic process. An old form of the term haʻi is haki, and it is seen in many old chants.
Suddenly it was clear, *Haki-pu‘u* refers to the bowling mountain, the “crest of waves hill” mentioned above, peaking at the place where the two ridgelines meet like two waves on the sea. Knowing that these ridgelines were associated with genealogies, I realized that Kualoa and Hakipu‘u must tell an important story, and the swelling wave, *ka nalu hua*, was the analogy used in the telling. *E hua ka nalu e!*
CHAPTER I.
THE ENVIRONMENT AND ITS USEFULNESS
Why Hawaiʻi Is Considered The Cradle Of Surfing

In order to better understand Hawaiian surf literature, an assessment of the natural environment of Hawaiʻi and the Pacific is necessary first. Natural factors such as an island’s location in relation to climate and seasonal weather patterns, the near-shore environment, ecological island resource bases, and marine life all played a part in surfing’s development in the Pacific. Without the warmth, the wood, the tools, the surfable waves, and a cultural basis for dealing with this environment, surfing might not have developed the way it did. The voyaging peoples of the Pacific understood weather phenomena on all levels, from local features to global and seasonal patterns. We have only begun to strive towards their depth of understanding through the efforts of the Polynesian Voyaging Society, and on voyaging canoes like the Hōkūleʻa. ¹

The geographic position of each island within the Pacific Ocean is a major environmental factor contributing to the development of surfing on different islands and island chains. Climate, which determines ocean temperature, wind direction and strength, air temperature, humidity, and precipitation, is relative to the geographic location of any particular area of the globe. The further north or south of the equator that one travels, the cooler (in general) the climate. Most of the Polynesian Triangle lies within the tropics where a warm climate prevails. Although Aotearoa lies within the cooler temperate climate found at 35° S latitude, the warm waters of the East Australia current offset the
water temperatures from similar latitudes like Peru and Chile, where the West Wind Drift and the Peru (Humboldt) current brings cool water up from the Antarctic. In Hawai‘i, both tropical and temperate mid-latitude storms affect the climate. Twice during the year, in May and July, the sun is directly overhead, moving to December, when the noon sun only reaches an elevation of about 45 degrees in the southern sky.²

The islands of Hawai‘i are ideally located in the subtropics just south of the Tropic of Cancer at 18° to 22° N Latitude, with a mild climate with warm sun, gentle rains, and comfortable ocean waters. Two seasons are generally recognized in the islands, Kau, the dry summer season is generally marked by east to northeast tradewinds circling clockwise out of high-pressure wind gyres called subtropical anticyclones. These gyres cross the Pacific at around 30° latitude, just north of Hawai‘i, from May through September. Ho‘oilo is the wet season that runs from October through April. It is marked by cooler temperatures due to the lower latitude of the sun, variable winds caused by approaching storms, and extensive rains. The Atlas of Hawai‘i (1998) describes the regional climate in a manner that will serve as a comparison later in this text because it brings forward the same weather features as named and identified by Hawaiians in various literary sources available to us today. Cultural perspective invades all forms of observation, even modern science, so through a comparative analysis of these descriptions, natural phenomena is understood:

With the highest mountains reaching over 14,000 feet (over 4,000 m), the state experiences a wide temperature range, including freezing conditions. Because of this special variation of climate and the consequent diversity of plant and animal life, Hawai‘i resembles a continent in miniature, with ecosystems ranging from deserts to tropical rain forest and even frozen alpine tundra, all in close proximity…
Situated in the middle of Earth’s largest ocean, the Hawaiian Islands rank among the most oceanic land areas on the globe—that is, the most distant from the effects of continents. Hence, the atmosphere over the islands is strongly influenced by the ocean, which supplies moisture to the air and regulates its temperature. Because of ocean water’s transparency, high heat storage capacity, and abilities to diffuse heat by mixing and to dissipate heat through evaporation, ocean temperatures fluctuate much less than those of land surfaces. This fundamental difference between land and water strongly affects the atmosphere, producing continental and maritime climates, which are distinguished principally by their annual temperature range. Hawai‘i has the most pronounced maritime climate.

A major component of the atmospheric general circulation is initiated by the rising of air heated near the equator. This warm air drives a system in each hemisphere called the Hadley Cell, whereby air moves poleward at high altitudes, sinks back to the surface over a broad area centered at around 30 degrees north, and then returns to the equator at the surface. In the Northern Hemisphere, air moving back to the equator along the surface is deflected by Earth’s rotation to flow from northeast to southwest. Sinking air in the Hadley Cell warms as it is compressed. In contrast, air heated at the planet’s surface rises, expands, and cools. Where rising and sinking air meet, a layer forms in which air gets warmer as altitude increases. In Hawai‘i, this layer is called the tradewind [temperature] inversion. It occurs most frequently during summer and varies in altitude between about 5,000 and 10,000 feet (1,500 and 3,000 m). The tradewind inversion inhibits rising air creating a ceiling through which warm, moist, buoyant surface air cannot penetrate. Thus clouds that form are capped at the level of the trade wind inversion. Being shallow, they are much less effective than deeper clouds at producing rain, making the region around Hawai‘i one of relatively low rainfall.

The tradewinds reaching Hawai‘i originate from the North Pacific anticyclone [caused by air descending out of the Hadley Cell], located northeast of the Islands. Poleward of the subtropical anticyclones, systems of low and high pressure (cyclones and anticyclones) follow regular paths as they migrate from west to east across the midlatitudes. Subtropical anticyclones shift with the seasons, moving closer to the equator during winter. The North Pacific anticyclone moves farther north and, on average, is stronger and more persistent in summer. During winter, with the anticyclone farther south, weaker, or sometimes absent, storms (midlatitude cyclones) move closer to the Hawaiian Islands, often disrupting the trade winds and related weather conditions. Typically, cold fronts associated with midlatitude cyclones bring clouds and rain with winds from the northeast through the northwest. However, when cold fronts pass directly over the Islands, heavy rains accompanied by southwest winds may occur. The frequency of the passage of fronts varies from year to year and is responsible for wet and dry years in leeward regions, which receive much of their rainfall from fronts.

Kona (Hawaiian for leeward) storms are another type of low-pressure system that develops in the subtropics at high altitudes and gradually extend
toward the surface. Occasionally a Kona storm will form west of Hawai‘i, bringing moist, southerly winds and rain, which may persist for a week or more.

Tropical cyclones develop over warm ocean surfaces and initially move from east to west. They are smaller than midlatitude storms and sometimes become very powerful hurricanes, delivering rain, high surf, devastating winds, and elevated sea level if they reach land areas.

The varying terrain of the Hawaiian Islands also significantly affects climate patterns. The islands are almost continuously buffeted by wind, usually northeast trades. The mountainous relief changes the wind’s direction and speed—slowing it in some areas, accelerating it in others. Moist air blowing against steep slopes is forced to rise, cooling and saturating the air and creating clouds. Rain produced by this process, called orographic rainfall, is very consistent in windward areas, leading to exceptionally high average rainfall totals. In contrast, leeward areas are influenced by descending, warming air from which some moisture has been removed as it passes over the mountain. Consequently, leeward areas are usually clearer and drier than windward areas. Where mountains reach heights above the inversion layer, such as on Mauna Loa, Mauna Kea, and Haleakalā, air is forced to flow around, rather than over, the mountain. As a result, orographic rainfall usually does not reach the upper slopes, and they remain quite dry. Cloud formation and rainfall associated with the interaction of tradewinds, the inversion, and island topography are responsible for the incredible climatic diversity found in Hawai‘i.

As indicated, gentle east to northeast tradewinds bring windswell to the east side of the islands for most of the year, where the winds blow onshore, thereby creating challenging conditions. The tradewinds blow offshore along much of the north and west sides of the islands, creating excellent conditions for surf that breaks all winter. These winds blow offshore along the south sides of the islands, where the surf breaks during the summer months. In the absence of these tradewinds, morning and evening convective winds create favorable ocean conditions for surfing on various island shores every month of the year. Even the east side can have good surfing conditions, not only on calm days, but also when southerly winds blow during the winter season and the large winter surf refracts along the east shore. In addition, central Pacific hurricanes can generate surf for the east and south shores during the season, which runs from June to November.
On a larger scale of global weather patterns, geographic location of an island chain in relation to seasonal weather patterns and storm tracks determines the frequency and types of swells that arrive on the islands’ shores. The location of Hawai‘i relative to swell-generating regions in the North Pacific is also ideal. These islands are perfectly positioned to receive surf from Northern and Southern Pacific surf generating regions, as well as for storm surf during the hurricane season.5

Finally, island location relative to other islands affected participation in the development of surfing. Proximity to neighbors can be beneficial if the people of each island are at peace with one another. War has a tendency to stifle cultural developments as time and energy is placed in the battle, and resources are reserved for wartime use. Sāmoa, Tonga, and Fiji are examples of island chains in close proximity with a long history of cultural interaction 6. Recreational activities like surfing would most likely cease during times of war, or at least the ritual celebrations associated with surfing. Countering that notion is Ka‘ahumanu’s surfing holiday at Kapua, Waikīkī, which she took on the day before going to battle against her husband for sacrificing her lover. 7 Hawai‘i is thousands of miles from any other island chain, and even though battles between the peoples of Hawai‘i occurred, the archipelago enjoyed relatively long periods of peace, lasting for generations at a time in some cases.8

Also, because Hawai‘i was probably one of the last island chains to be inhabited, Hawaiians had the benefit of knowledge from their parent cultures on which to build. They did not construct a culture from scratch, but were able to refine their beliefs and activities based on a cultural foundation handed down through the generations, tracing back to voyagers from the southern Pacific.9 The more I research the subject of surfing in
Oceania, the more it becomes clear to me that although Hawai‘i is ‘the cradle of surfing,’ it was formed and birthed in Kahiki, those lands to the south, and west of Hawai‘i, and carried across the sea to yet another place where the waves often ‘bend and curve’ in a diagonal fashion, the favored wave for a surfer.

Geologically speaking, Hawai‘i has a coastline that is perfectly suited for creating the diagonally breaking waves that are considered favorable for surfing. This is because of the deep to shallow contours created by Hawai‘i’s bays and beaches alternating with points of land extending into the water, like Paumalu (Sunset Beach) on the north shore of O‘ahu. The bathymetry, or ocean bottom contours, of Hawai‘i typically have moderate to steep slopes and reefs that grow to within a few feet of the ocean surface, often without protruding except on the lowest spring tides.¹⁰ These contours produce strong, plunging waves like many surfing spots along the north shore of O‘ahu. Soft, spilling waves are created by gently sloping bottom contours like Waikiki, favorable for all surf riders, including canoes.

Suitable coastlines for surfing include rocky points with adjacent bays where entry and exit points can be found, fringing reefs with deep channels that create surfable waves, calm inshore waters and sandy shorelines or mud flats, and long sandy beaches that provide a safe place for recreation.¹¹ A gently sloping contour creating spilling waves is ideal for the ancient tradition of surfing. Deep waters smashing into high cliffs would be an example of a coastline unsuitable for most types of surfing. The north coast of Moloka‘i is one example of these cliffs, but even there, the post-erosional volcanics that created the Kalaupapa Peninsula provide not only an excellent point break, but also a beach with a strong shorebreak on the northern edge before the cliffs resume. Although
there are suitable surfing spots on many islands in the Pacific, a barrier reef around an island or atoll, requires a deep pass to create a diagonally breaking wave and to allow wave energy to pass into the lagoon and towards shore, where a wave of lesser energy might spill onto the shoreline.

The gently sloping sand and reef contours off Waikiki beach offer spilling breakers that encouraged the development of surfing because of the consistently forgiving nature of the waves there. Locations similar to Waikiki exist along different shores of all the Hawaiian Islands such as Kailua Bay and ‘Ewa on O’ahu, Wailua Bay on Kaua‘i, and along the Lahaina coast of Maui. However, what makes Waikiki so special is that the predominant tradewinds blow offshore for much of the year here, thus shaping the breaking waves and creating smooth conditions on the wave face, especially during the summer months when the swell season is peaking as well.¹² As mentioned, and luckily for the other shorelines, the giant storms sweeping across the Pacific during the winter months often bring light and variable winds with their approaching warm fronts, southwesterlies with the approaching cold front, and north winds after the storm passes by, giving all shores their share of offshore conditions favored by surfers.¹³

Surfing as practiced by Hawaiians requires fairly large trees for board construction. The Hawaiian Islands, being volcanic and recent in origin with high mountains that catch the rainfall and nurture rainforests, are well-suited environments that provide large trees unavailable to many of the smaller islands and coral atolls throughout the Pacific. The forests of Hawai‘i competed for light and raised tall, straight Koa (Acacia koa) trees, excellent for carving canoes and even surfboards. Wiliwili (Erythrina sandwicensis) and ‘ulu (Artocarpus altilis) were also utilized in Hawai‘i for
making surfboards. They are favored for long, thick surfboards due to their being lightweight and buoyant.

John Papa ʻĪʻī even mentions children surfing banana tree stumps on Molokaʻi, and another anonymous account names various woods including kūkūi (Aleurites molucana) and ‘ohe (Bambusa vulgaris) to be included among the materials available for use. However, the absence of large trees to build surfboards did not preclude wave riding. The indigenous peoples of Rapa Nui developed reed mats for surfing—further evidence that surfing was a basic marine adaptation of the Pacific Islanders.

Stone and coral tools were utilized for finishing work on canoes and surfboards, and plant or Earth substances used for sealant. Many of the coral atolls in the Pacific Basin are devoid of dense basalt of volcanic origin, as well as the dark soils associated with the erosion of such igneous rock. Shells, bone, and coral may have provided the strongest tools available for use on these atolls. This would have made large-scale carving a difficult task, but not impossible if such a log was procured. Likewise, the earth and/or plant substance used to seal the wood might not have been available on a coral atoll, presenting a limiting factor to the development of surfboards.

Again, it is not altogether impossible to obtain these materials or accomplish the sealing of the craft through other means. The low coral islands would had have to obtained these resources through voyaging and trade, which is altogether a probable scenario, therefore not totally ruling out the possibility of surfing being practiced in these places. For instance, an adze found in the Tuamotu Islands was made from a piece of basalt from Kahoʻolawe. Hawaiʻi is rich in these types of resources and would have provided a nurturing environment for surfing and surfboard building.
Surfboard Technology

According to various sources, there are several types of Hawaiian surfboards, categorized in general by size, width, thickness, and shape or outline. The paipo boards are small, wide, flat body boards, rounded at the front and with a squaretail, averaging up to four feet in length and twenty or more inches in width. These are meant for riding prone (on your belly) for the most part. The term paipo is not given in the Hawaiian Dictionary (Pūkuʻi, et al., 1986) and thus the question remains as to the antiquity of this word. This most basic craft has a name that combines two terms, paʻi, as in to slap the water, and poʻo, which means to cup the hand in order to scoop water. To slap the water with cupped hands is to swim as if doing the crawl stroke (freestyle) or paddling atop a surfboard. Interestingly, paʻi, without the ‘okina (ʻ is a glottal stop), means to arouse, stir up, excite, as wind does with the ocean in surf production.

The alaia boards are also flat and rounded at the front, tapering to a squaretail, averaging six to nine feet in length. These boards were generally commoner’s boards, but were enjoyed by all; they function best in fast plunging waves. A board style in between these two types is called the kīoe, described in the Hawaiian dictionary (1986) as “a small surfboard,” varying in length but narrow, as in the image of the shaper. Intermediate in thickness is the kīkoʻo, described as a long surfboard 3.7 to 5.5 meters long (12 to 18 feet). Also a measure from the end of the thumb to the end of the forefinger, it may also infer a thickness of four to six inches for these surfboards. The poetic beauty is also found in reference to a bird stretching its wings to fly. The thickness and length allow for catching bigger swells, and the hard raid edges giving it a
planing hull design that works in all wave conditions. It works especially well for the large and steep windswell of Koʻolau.

The *olo* surfboards were generally thought to be reserved for the *aliʻi* (royalty), and rightfully so due to their size and grandeur. These boards averaged twelve to eighteen feet in length—and sometimes longer, eighteen to twenty four inches wide, and up to six and one half inches in thickness with a rounded belly that foils back to the tail, which is usually squared off and narrow, although there is very little curve in the outline throughout the length of the board. These boards were prized possessions of their owners and considered symbols of power, wealth, and *mana*, and thus the saying:

*Hāʻawi papa heʻe nalu.* A surfboard giving.

To give a thing and later ask for its return. A surfboard is usually lent, not given outright.¹⁹

Finney and Houston’s description of ancient surfing stems from *Thrum’s Hawaiian Annual*, which contains an anonymous Kona native’s description of surfing practices that was translated by a famous Hawaiian author named M.K. Nākuina. Although Nākuina’s translation seems accurate, and the information seems to correlate in general with other sources, there are a few points that still ride on the confusion surrounding various surfing terms and board types. For instance, the term *omo*, used as another term for *alaia*, is listed in the *Hawaiian Dictionary* (1986) as rare. It may however make sense in the context of a chant when applied as a metaphorical device. Looking at the other definitions of that term, *omo*, “To suck, absorb; suckling…a suckling child…hoʻōmo. Caus/sim.; to draw in, as a wave…n. gourd, as used for a container.” ²⁰
Wood, in particular the surfboard wood wiliwili, absorbs water—sucks it up within an hour. Perhaps it relates to the way a wave draws the board and rider into it as it approaches shore (undertow). Considering that many of the surfing terms relate to the growth of a child or a nation, this definition would also fit within a holistic set of surfing metaphors. Defined as such, *omo* may relate to the narrow gourd associated with Lono, the Hawaiian god of fertility and agriculture. ‘*Olo*, with the ‘okina, is a long gourd container used for kava and water, whereas *olo* without the ‘okina means to rub back and forth, to resound with a long sound, and thirdly, a long surfboard (*ibid.*).

The Bishop Museum has an impressive collection of traditional *papa he‘e nalu* from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as some good examples of surfboards from other eras of surfboard evolution. The beauty and simplicity of these surfboards displays their precise hydrodynamics. They look like a thing of the past, yet, these same boards inspired the revival of surfing—they became templates for the first generation of “modern” surfboards.

Chief Abner Pākī donated two surfboards to the Bishop Museum. These boards are considered by surfer and author Tom Blake (1935) to be “the only two ancient surfboards of authentic *olo* design known to be in existence today.” 21 Blake believes, because of the types of materials he found layered on the boards when he restored them, that Pākī, who was born around 1808 on Moloka‘i and most likely surfed the boards around 1830, probably “dug up these two fine old discarded worm-eaten boards, had the redwood patch put on one, the deck caulkling and compound and paint on both, and painted them, so he could use them himself.” 22 The smaller of the two surfboards (Bishop Museum Artifact # 00297) is made of *koa*, measures 14.5 feet long, 5.75 inches
thick in the middle line, and weighs 148 pounds. The wide point is 20 inches and the tail is 11 inches wide. The larger of the boards (Bishop Museum Artifact # 00298) measures 15.7 feet long, is 6.25 inches thick, has a wide point of 18 inches, and a tail 11.5 inches wide; it weighs 160 pounds.\(^{23}\)

There are quite a few surfboards being preserved at the Bishop Museum, and a study of them would prove useful in acknowledging the understanding of hydrodynamics with which the Hawaiians crafted their boards. In particular, Princess Kaʻiulani’s surfboard is one that Wally Froiseth used to design his *alaia*, and the Hakipuʻu Learning Center students made a replica of it as well. Having seen the former and ridden the latter, this author can attest to the shape’s functional design—it rides very nicely.

Surfboard collector Greg Lui Kwan shared several templates that he had traced from the boards in the museum back in the 1970s, and replicas were made from some of them. Personal preference goes to a surfboard with the Bishop Museum Artifact # 00294, a board from the J.S. Emerson collection, said to be bought from someone named Piʻimauna.\(^{24}\) It has a slightly curved outline and pulled-in tail with fifty/fifty tapered rails, combined with bottom contours that include a slight belly in the nose that fades into a gentle teardrop-vee in the tail. Because of the rolled bottom contours and belly, the board banks against the rail upon which weight is applied, so if a right turn is desired, lean on the outside left edge. It is almost more difficult for the avid surfer to ride this board because it requires body movements opposite to those performed in modern surfing. Not since the days of the hot-curl boards of the 1930s has a surfboard been designed like this—pre-fin.
Figure 1.1: Makaha, February 13, 2010 on my nine foot papalau wiliwili alaia that was buried in the mud (lipo) by a spring and finished with kūkuʻi paʻele. Photos by Rocco Tramontano, hawaiianswell.com
Using the Technology: Personal Reflections

The first board that I made was a kīkoʻo crafted from Norfolk pine (like the sugar pine that Duke Kahanamoku made his Australian board from). It is fourteen feet six inches long by twenty-one inches wide by four inches thick, and weighs in at one hundred sixty-five pounds. Not having realized the dynamics of bearing down on the opposite rail to turn, I almost gave up. Plus, the board was long and flat, made from a plank so just turning it onto the diagonal became the challenge. Blake’s description of how to catch a wave helped. Then, in a documentary called “Shapemakers” (2003), Dale Velzy describes the first time that he ever surfed a hot-curl surfboard, which is solid wood and has a rounded to vee bottom with no fin.

He said that every time he tried to turn the board on the drop, it would go in the opposite direction, so instead of standing up right away, he dragged his body in the wave and yanked the board in the direction that he wanted to go, then stood up, “…and man, that thing took off!” So, I went back and tried it successfully. Still, ignorantly using kūkuʻi oil that was manufactured for massage purposes, the board was slippery to stand on. Not until a kahuna lāʻau lapaʻau friend Sunny Greer shared her kūkuʻi oil did I come to understand how the ancients were able to stick onto an oiled surfboard. That medicinally-prepared kūkuʻi acted much more like wax because of the hard shell that it formed, and since then the practice of surfing ancient-style surfboards has been a little less risky for this author. Nevertheless, kīkoʻo surfboards are difficult to handle.

Much of this research was done in association with the first papa heʻe nalu that I built for an Anthropology project at Hawaiʻi Pacific University. Since then I have
continued researching, building, and riding these surfboards, and it has become a passion to build a relationship with them. It has been very rewarding, albeit very frustrating. What I have learned is that, like a bodyboarder, riding an *alaia* is like riding a rail, it is all edge on a flat or slightly vee’d bottom. Success lies in the diagonal slide. This relates to the dynamics of a planing hull design. The slightest backwash or bump may cause this board to plunge down underwater when riding at the bottom of the wave, because of the flatness and lack of buoyancy. Thus, keeping it on edge and riding diagonally on the rail is the proper way to handle this board. Harder woods like *koa* are better for *alaia* since the *wiliwili* is very flexible when it is less that one inch thick. It tends to get soft and spongy if it is not sealed properly. However, many *alaia* were one to two inches thick.

The ovoid shape of the *olo* along with its thickness and weight create a displacement hull design that rides best at the base of the wave on the open face—again, look at Blake’s (1935) description of riding waves. *Wiliwili* works best for this board because of its lightness and very buoyant nature. Where thickness equates weight on land, it equates buoyancy in the water. My sixteen foot long, twenty-one inch wide, six inch thick replica made of mango weighs in at over two hundred pounds, and it is a wonderful board to paddle and ride through the surf, provided no one gets in the way.

The *kīko‘o* combines the aspects of length needed to catch the large open ocean swells, and the edge to trim across a steep face, thus it was the preferred board for the east side where rough, steep windswell combines with the big surf that wraps around the island on a large north swell. Fornander lists board types and the waves upon which they were surfed, and Thrum’s translation in that text describes the *ʻōpuʻu* as a low, unbroken wave of little energy. In the Nākuina translation it is “of such strength that sends the
board along speedily.” These descriptions, along with the observations presented above, can be compared with an article describing three different types of surfboards and the waves upon which they are ridden.

On May 28, 1870, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, Honolulu, published an article written by John Papa ʻĪʻī about surfing. The article is in a column called “*Na Hunahuna no ka Moolelo Hawaiʻi,*” and the sections of the column are “*He ekolu ano papa heenalu*” (The 3 types of surfboards), “*Kaha nalu ana*” (Bodysurfing), and “*No ka pakaka ale*” (Surfable Waves). The passage was later included in his published work *Fragments of Hawaiian History* (1951), but it is valuable to look at the Hawaiian language version as well in order to clarify many of the terms that have already been discussed. There is so much information to address in this piece of surf prose. This is ‘Surfing 101’ in Hawaiian and it is not only informative regarding some of the translations mentioned thus far, but it also debunks many of the misused terms.

This article is significant. The categorization of knowledge mentioned within this translation easily fits in areas relating to the environment, uses of the environment, and even human beings and society, with ʻĪʻī talking about his surfing friends’ practices and rules. In that notion lies the realization that ʻĪʻī probably didn’t surf, although he did have insider contact with friends who surfed, as mentioned in the column. The value in this example is not only the information presented, but also the clarity and detail with which it was presented. It is not fragmented like much of the information on surfing that exists. It is an excellent example of informational surfing literature that is of great value. Both the Hawaiian original and English translation by Mary Kawena Pūkuʻi are presented here:
NA HUNAHUNA NO KA MOOLELO HAWAIʻI.

He ekolu ano papa heenalu

O ka olo, oia ka papa ilihiualala o waena a hui ma na niau, a he kupono hoi ia papa no ka nalu hai opuu, aole hoi e kupono i ka nalu hahale a poi hoi.

O ke kikoo, oia ka papa i hiki aku i ka 12 a 18 hoi kapuia ka loiohi, a he papa kupono loa ia no ka nalu hai kakala. Aoia ano papa heenalu, a ua maikai no hoi ia ano papa ke pae ma ii ke nalu. He he papa oolea pae, a he makau ia e na hoa heenalu a e ke pae mua mai ia pano ka mea, ua o aku kona loiohi i ko ka papa alaia. Ina e pae mai keia papa, aole no i kana mai ua mea he holo iloko o na hahale nalu e ane poi iho ana iaia, a ua hiki i ka hoi ana in a ahale ana a pau a ka nalu e hele ana ma kahi a ua papa la e holo ana, a kahi e haalele ai ia mea, a pae wale iuka i ka paena.

O ka papa alaia hoi, he 9 kapuai kona loa, a ua lahilahi ia ano papa. O keia papa nae, he nui ma ke poo, a he ano mio hoi mahope. A ua ike ia, he holuholu keia papa ke pae ma ii ka nalu kakala, e holo ana ma ka opu a ma ka umauma a me na lima e kau pahola a popuu. O ka nalu oia kekahi mea e pio ai, a o ka poi hawawai nae, he makau wale lakou i keia ano papa, a o ka nohoana waa a me kekahia ano papa hili e ae ka lakou e hee ai.

O ko ka olo hoi, i ka wae kiekie ae o ka nalu e pae ana—he mea o ia nae ka olo ke ole i hookuniki ia oia i ka wae e kiekie ana ka nalu, a oia wale no ka mea e palekana ai a hiki i ka pae ana iuka. He mau loina no hoi ko keia mau mea a pau i ka wa e pae a i ka nalu.

Kaha nalu ana.

O ma mea a pau i maa i nei mea o ke laha nalu ana, aia no ko lakou papa o na poohiwi. I ka wan ae e hahale ana o na wawae a ikaika i ka nalu, a pela no hoi na lima ma ka halo ana. A no ka neinei mai o hope o ke kanaka i ka paiia mai e ka nalu, pela pa pae ana, a o ka wa iho la no ia e lilo ai ka poohiwi hema, ma ka lala hema. A o keia ano heenalu, ua lilo ia i mea lealea na kekahia poe, a o ke keʻlii opio mea akamai loa keia, a o ke kaake no hoi ka lua.

No ka pakaka ale.

Ua nui wale keia ano akamai ma ka papapa ale i oleloia, aka o ua Moi nei no nae ka mea i ike maka ia, la o kana haumana o G. Laanui; a ua ike penepeneia laua e pakaka ale ana mawaho ae o Haleumiumiole i Kawaihao, a iloko hoi o Kapuni, mawaho ae o Keekeeakoi, a he mea e ke akamai, i ka nana mua ana i kela a me keia ale kupono i hekeia, a halu mua ia mau ale, a ma ka ale hope ka paka ana, a loaa aku ia ale, a pela aku no a hiki i ka pae ana i kahi i manaio aia i. Ahe mau loina no hoi ma ka nana ana i ka ale pae a me keia ale pae ole, a ua ao maoliia ia ano.

Ua oleloia nae, o ke kanaka ikaika ka i ke hoo a o ke kanaka akamai in a ʻoina ale, nana no ka make, ina mai kahi, ka makani mai ke kulana. Ua lilo nei mea i mea piliwaiwai e kike me na mea i oleloia i kakou mamua aku la, no ka mea, ua wau ia mau hana a pau o kela wa, a pela no hoi kukou e ike ne ii keia wa, a pela no paha ma keia hope aku. 27
Here are three kinds of surfboards.

The ‘ʻolo is thick in the middle and grows thinner towards the edges. It is a good board for a wave that swells and rushes shoreward [ka nalu hai opuu] but not for a wave that rises up high [ka nalu hahale] and curls over [poʻi hoi]. If it is not moved sideways when the wave rises high, it is tossed upward as it moves shoreward. There are rules to be observed when riding on a surf.

The kikoʻo reaches a length of 12 to 18 feet and is good for a surf that breaks roughly [ka nalu hai kakala]. This board is good for surfing, but it is hard to handle. Other surfers are afraid of it because of its length and its great speed on a high wave that is about to curl over [na hahale nalu e ane poi iho ana iaia]. It can ride on all the risings of the waves in its way until they subside and the board reaches shore.

The alaia board, which is 9 feet long, is thin and wide in front, tapering toward the back. On a rough wave, this board vibrates (flex) against the rider’s abdomen, chest, or hands when they rest flat on it, or when fingers are gripped into a fist at the time of landing. Because it tends to go downward and cut through a wave it does not rise up with the wave as it begins to curl over. Going into a wave is one way to stop its gliding, and going onto the curl is another. Skilled surfers use it frequently, but the unskilled are afraid of this board, choosing rather to sit on a canoe or to surf on even smaller boards.

Bodysurfing.

Body surfers use their shoulders like surfboards. When the surf rises before breaking, it is time to slip onto a wave by kicking hard and working the arms. The contraction in the back of a surfer causes him to be lifted by the wave and carried ashore. The right shoulder becomes the surfboard bearing him to the right, or the left shoulder becomes the board bearing him to the left. Liholiho was most skillful in this sport.

Concerning the surfable wave.

There are many ways to show skill in canoe surfing. The king was especially noted for it, and so was his pupil, Gideon Laanui. They were often seen together gliding on the surf outside of Haleumiumiole at Kawaihae and at Kapuni, outside of Kiikiiakoi. They would allow waves to go by until they saw one they wished to glide on, then ride it to the spot where they chose to land. There are ways of selecting waves which will go all the way to shore, and the king and his pupil were unusually skilfull at this. Such things were actually taught. It was said that a person skilled in canoe paddling and estimating waves could overcome obstacles if the wind was from the right direction, and the ability of the participants became something on which to gamble. This custom remains to this day, and it may be so in the future.
Pakaka ale seems to denote a surfable wave, namely through the redoubling of paka, which is “to surf, as with canoe, board, or body,” either shortened or just as “to surf the...” with ‘ale being wave. The other term that comes forward is nalu po‘i described here as breaking surf. Po‘ipū is important as a surfing term because it suggests a linguistic simile to the head of a gourd—po‘o-ipu. Looking back at Fornander’s Hawaiian text, Thrum translates this term as “a curling wave,” which could also be seen from the side of the wave (the channel) as having an appearance of a gourd, ovoid in shape as it curls over and touches on itself. The connotation is that of large surf.

I am thus convinced that ka nalu kakala is a rough, steep, short-period wave—a powerful windswell that tends to curl over and plunge when it breaks. Ka nalu hahale is a high, steep wave that also plunges, barreling when it breaks (from halehale, translated by my neighbor Ulu as “two-story house”). Ka nalu ‘ōpu‘u, is a long-period wave, one of great magnitude but not necessarily large by definition—this is groundswell, and the term ha‘i references the shoaling process, when a wave gathers and breaks, thus turning over on itself. An ‘ōpu‘u wave is best termed an open ocean wave that rolls in towards and spills over like a long-period wave at Waikīkī, a wave that breaks and spreads. That is not to say that this wave does not have the potential to be large, as these waves were also known to break at Waimea on the north shore of O‘ahu. With kakala and ‘ōpu‘u, the key is the recognition of wavelength as affecting the characteristics of the wave, which we categorize today as short-period and long-period waves, respectively.

Through the many wave types mentioned in context, a deeper understanding emerges, one that has not yet been grasped by modern surf scholars and translators. Furthermore,
there are several types of surfboards, not mentioning the *paipo* (bodyboard), described, and most people only recognize the two—*olo* and *alaia*. There are other references to types of surfboards that need to be explored. It is unfortunate that the actual description of shape and length is not given for every board named in this ʻĪʻī article. It seems that it was common knowledge, thus not worth repeating.

More importantly, Finney’s main argument was the ability of Hawaiians to surf on the diagonal slide, a notion shrugged off by most people who accept common theory on surfing practices in the Pacific. Here we have literary evidence from a Hawaiian that proves not only were they surfing in a similar fashion to modern surfers, but they were sophisticated enough to have different surfboards for different types of waves, one in particular, the *alaia*, being ridden at an angle high on the wave face. With directions on riding the wave, we see that no matter whether body or board, competent riders would go left or right across the wave face. I have been able to confirm this through recent surf sessions on my own *olo*, *kīoe*, *alaia*, and *kīkoʻo* surfboards—it is a rush!

**Pāʻele: An ethnobotanical look at the literature**

Both Finney and Houston, and Blake, refer to primary source descriptions of the methods for staining and sealing a *papa heʻe nalu* in a traditional fashion. Blake (1935) offers two: a description found in Thomas G. Thrum’s *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual 1896*, and Emerson’s description from notes in the Bishop Museum Library. Judging by the similarity in descriptions offered, it appears that Finney and Houston referenced the
same sources. In fact, the entire passage from *Thrum's Annual 1896* can be found in Finney and Houston’s book (1996), labeled as Appendix E. The following paragraphs provide the descriptions of ingredients mentioned by each source:

From a Native of the Kona District, HI—*Thrum’s Annual 1896:*

As a finishing stain, the root of the ti plant, called ‘mole ki’ or the pounded bark of the *kukui*, called ‘hili’, was the mordant used for a paint made with the soot of burned *kukui* nuts. This furnished a durable, glossy, black finish, far preferable to that made of the ashes of burned cane leaves or *ama’u* fern, which had neither body nor gloss.\(^{30}\)

Emerson, from notes in the Bishop Museum, speaks on the protective finish for both the canoe and surfboard:

This Hawaiian paint had almost the quality of lacquer. Its ingredients were the juice of a certain euphorbia, the juice of the inner bark of the root of the *kukui* tree, the juice of the bud of the banana tree, together with a charcoal made from the leaf of the pandanus. A dressing of oil from the nut of the *kukui* was finally added to give a finish.\(^{31}\)

However, these descriptions lacked essential information regarding the amounts needed, mixing methods, and the gathering and straining methods for each ingredient mentioned. Researching the types of stain and sealant used by the Hawaiians required further research in ethnobotanical as well as historical sources in order to understand the plants that are involved.

*Lā‘au Hawai‘i* (1992), written by Isabella Aiona Abbott, has a brief description of the Bishop Museum surfboards and the process behind carving and staining the boards, but again, the reference sources appear similar. More importantly, there is a fairly in-depth description of different paints utilized in painting the Hawaiian canoes, probably similar to surfboards:
One source describes the king’s canoes as being painted red [Emerson], but all others indicate that a black paint (pā’ele) was universally used. At least eight different “recipes” for this black paint have been reported, all of them mixtures of plant substances. In a study testing various combinations of the thirteen ingredients listed in the literature, it was found that the best paint was made by blending the juices from the inner bark of kukui roots with charcoal from the base of lauhala or from wiliwili branches. With a high concentration of kukui juice, this paint was resistant to abrasion and water…

Abbott references a report written by an author named Herr, entitled “Traditional Hawaiian Canoe Paint” in the endnotes of her book. In following one or another of these recipes, it appears that the hili works like a stain that repels water, though it seems to be water-based. The charcoal soot helps to fill in all the wood pores that might cause water to absorb into the board. All of the sources indicate that, after the pā’ele has been applied and dried, the surfboard is rubbed out with mashed kūkuʻi oil made from nuts.

Abbott also indicated that, “kukui oil could not be combined with water-based extracts of plant parts and that, by itself, it produced a high gloss that was not water repellent.” The final rubdown with the oil then sealed the charcoal and stain into the board so that the color did not run, thus staining the surfer as well. If the kūkuʻi oil is made and applied properly, it forms a hard shell that truly protects the board from absorbing water. In fact, a wiliwili board was seen to dry in the sun within a very short period of time, minutes! The final product might be described as “shellac”, one that improves with repeated applications.

Beatrice Krauss, *Ethnobotany of Hawai‘i* (1975), Sherwin Carlquist, *Hawai‘i: A Natural History* (1980), and June Gutmanis, *Kahuna Lāʻau Lapaʻau* (1976), give information on the specific parts of each plant utilized and the purposes they serve; the figures also provide assistance in species identification. Krauss identifies the uses of
kūkuʻi nuts as providing soot for surfboard staining and oil from the kernels for a finishing process. Another interesting reference to surfing that Krauss makes is regarding surfboard design in describing the uses for the ʻulu (breadfruit) trunk. She diagrams cross sections of two types of surfboards, a flat type similar to the design of Pākī’s boards, and an ovoid style but differing from other boards due to the concave bevel that appears along the face of the rail edge. It is shown in cross-section.34

In Emerson’s description of the protective finish quoted by Blake, Emerson mentions “the juice of a certain euphorbia” is mixed with the kūkuʻi juice, but provides no information as to which euphorbia, nor does he provide a Hawaiian name. At first, it seemed that there might be an error of duplication because kūkuʻi is a euphorbia that he mentions as the next ingredient. However, Krauss also mentions the “small-leaved euphorbia (koko)” as part of a purge.35

Another method of staining and sealing a surfboard mentioned by Blake (referencing Knute Cottrell, “who saw the performance”), “that a surfboard made of wiliwili wood was buried in the mud, near a spring, for a certain length of time to give it a high polish.” 36 This method of finishing a papa heʻe nalu were confirmed during a discussion with a friend named Hanalei, a kahuna laʻau lapaʻau student and a konohiki for Kuʻau in Heʻeia. His Kumulāʻau lapaʻau informed him that to finish a surfboard, it was buried in the mud near a coastal spring where brackish water is present.37 This practice would not only result in a high polish, but also further strengthen and preserve the wood because of silt and salt that fills the plant cells, pores, scratches, and small holes, especially after having been dried and sealed with kūkuʻi oil. Plus, in general, bugs don’t like salted wood.
Although the Hawaiians didn’t have it easy, they were skilled surfers who understood the subtle concepts of wave riding. The shapers were aware of the hydrodynamics of different hull designs and planning contours, and their plant stains had been perfected long ago. Indeed, those same ingredients were used to stain the canoes of Pele’s older brother, the shark god Kamohoaliʻi, who was proficient at making the pāʻele. That is why ‘Aukelenuiaikū followed Kuʻemanu’s instructions to disguise his hands by making them black, so that they the guards would think it was Kamohoaliʻi reaching for the waters of life, because Kamohoaliʻi’s hands were known to be black from his work.38

**Marine Life**

Kamohoaliʻi was a great shark who was worshipped in South Point, Hawaiʻi Island, and who was also thought of as the guardian shark of Koʻolaupoko, Windward Oʻahu. Many sharks appeared in the tales of the Pacific Islanders, along with other creatures of the deep. For surfing to develop, it helps if the marine life is amiable. Jellyfish (*Carybdea sp.*) and Portuguese man-o-war (*Physalia sp.*) are also considered dangers to beachgoers, but their presence is intermittent. Because they are not deadly to most people, they are not a major concern in Hawaiʻi. Hawaiʻi is also devoid of poisonous sea snakes that are found in some other parts of the Pacific, but the *moʻowahine* (lizard-woman, shape shifter) are present. The absence of many marine threats found in other parts of the Pacific Basin are, even today, environmental factors that encourage the sport of wave-riding in Hawaiʻi Nei.39
Hawaiians had many surfing legends that involve sharks, including the man-eating type. The Great White sharks (*Carcharodon carcharias*) found off Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia provide a deterrent for many ocean swimmers, but still the indigenous peoples ventured out into the sea for resource collection mainly, and for recreation as well. Hawai‘i’s ruling shark is the Tiger shark (*Galeocerdo cuvier*), but there is even an occasional Great White shark, and attacks on humans are recorded in Hawaiian Literature. There is an account told by Fornander of Nu‘uanupa‘ahu, a powerful Puna chief who became weary of the then sovereign Kalani‘ōpu‘u’s excessive taxation for the courts merrymaking. Nu‘uanupa‘ahu died from his wounds, but quick action saved him from further agony and drowning in the water. The story is thus related to us:

One day, while the chiefs were surf-swimming off Kauhola, in the neighborhood of Halaula [Kohala], *Nuuanupaahu* was attacked by an enormous shark. He perceived his danger too late, and the shark bit off one of his hands. Nothing daunted, *Nuuanupaahu* sprang to his feet, and standing upright on the surf-board, shot through the surf and landed safely. But from loss of blood and exhaustion he died a few days after at Pololu, and the court of *Kalaniopuu* was thus relieved from further anxiety in that quarter.40

On a cultural level, sharks are considered ancestors by some, and there are as many stories of sharks aiding humans, guiding them on long ocean voyages across the deep blue sea, and even transporting humans between islands as in the case of Kauninio of Kahana Bay, O‘ahu, just as there are stories of men and women being attacked by sharks.41 One chant honoring these ancestral beings, in particular the shark gods that joined Kua, the shark chief, tells of their very early arrival in Hawai‘i. Many of the ancestral sharks are named, starting with the appearance of one shark, “*Akahi ka mano,*
puka mai ka mano...” speaking of Kua, and also mentioning Kele'ahana, Kuha'imona, Ke'ewahine, Kekauikeaweawe'ula, and Kawelo. Kua is considered by some Hawaiians to be another name for Kamohoali'i, shark-god of Ko‘olaupoko, O‘ahu.\(^{42}\)

Kamakau states that “the dead are offered to become such e’epa bodies, but not just by burying them along the stream or river or beside a spring or by throwing the bones into the water (as some claim); if they have no right to the body of the mo‘o, the bird, the shark, their bones will not take that form.” \(^{43}\) Many stories exist of ancestors being deified as sharks, and often these sharks were associated with places in the islands, such as Kuha‘imoana residing at Ka‘ula, Ka‘ehu at Waikīkī, Kāne‘aukai swimming the waters from Waimea to Kamo‘o‘ola, and Kamohoali‘i guarding the coast of Ko‘olaupoko from Makapu‘u to Kalaeokaoio.\(^{44}\) These sharks often served to assist and guard their living family members or those who regularly feed and care for the shark. That loving set of emotions towards sharks relates to the greater cultural context of sharks within the epistemology, or worldview, of the people, which in this case included many specific instances of sharks being recognized as deceased relatives and gods.

Henry P. Judd records a Hawaiian proverb as relating to a law made by the great shark ancestor of O‘ahu named Ka‘ahupahau:

658. *Ke kanawai a Kaahupahau. Aole e ai, hoop.a, aku ko paha keka mano ai ke kanaka iloko o ke kai o Puuloa, mai loko a waho. Hookuli no na mano, make*: The decree of Kaahupahau: No shark shall eat, touch or think of eating any human being in the waters, or out of the waters of Puuloa, under penalty of death. \(^{45}\)

The same was said of Kamohoali‘i after his encounter with a wretched man at Pōhaku Pa‘akīkī in Waimānalo. The man annoyed Kamohoali‘i for catching sharks and cutting off their tails in a measure of spite towards two sweet potato growers who
regularly fed ‘awa to their guardian shark. He was caught fishing one day, but as the
great shark god, ate the man, “the smell of excrement in his bowels nauseated
Kamohoali‘i and so he swore an oath never again to hurt nor allow any other shark to
hurt any person, from Makapu‘u to Kalaeokaoia.” 46

Westervelt relates the story of Ka‘ehu, the guardian shark from Pu‘uloa to
Waikīkī whose ancestor, Kamohoali‘i, endowed him with magic power and wisdom.
While journeying the coast, they met the visiting Maui and Pehu, a man-eating shark
from Maui who was “catching a crab” (a surfer) for his breakfast. Ka‘ehu does not want
his people being eaten because they feed Ka‘ehu and his friends from Pu‘uloa, so they
plot against Pehu and trick him by thrusting him onto the reef. There the people realize
the danger and kill the shark, cutting him to pieces and discovering the remains of
humans whom he had already eaten. “They took the pieces of the body of that great fish
to Pele-ula, where they made a great oven and burned the pieces. Ka‘ehu passed on
toward Hawai‘i as a knight errant, meeting many adventures and punishing evil-minded
residents of the great sea.” 47

Thus the challenge for the modern reader is to lose the “landlubber” approach to
the sea as well as the grip that Hollywood has imposed upon the Western image of the
shark.48 Such a perspective is not wholly appropriate in this study where sharks are gods
and ancestors, to be respected and honored more that feared and hunted. In this chapter
we looked at the natural environment that nurtured surfing in the Pacific. We assessed the
materials, technology, and surfboard types that show how advanced their use of that
natural environment had become. We also looked at Hawaiian accounts of surfing that
not only show that they surfed like we do, but also help us to re/create this practice today.
CHAPTER II. METHODS
What Is Hawaiian Surf Literature?

Now that we have assessed the environment that surfing thrived upon, we will now turn to the subject of Hawaiian surf literature as a study. How do we go about a thematic study on surfing? What justification is there for such a study? What value does it have? As a literary subject and a theme, surfing played a role in the dissemination of Hawaiian culture in the past, and thus it is a valuable subject of study.

University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Professor of Religion John Charlot uses surfing lore as examples to support many of the subject areas covered in his publication, *Classical Hawaiian Education* (2005). Also, within an appendix entitled *Approaches to the Academic Study of Hawaiian Literature and Culture*, Charlot presents a curriculum for an introductory level course and text on Hawaiian Literature and Culture. He also gives suggestions for developing upper level courses on the subject.

The recommendations include a framework to study aspects of Hawaiian culture along a theme or subject matter (see Figure 2-1). The course description includes references to “Literary forms in their social settings from ancient times to present” and “Relation to other arts such as music and dance.” In light of the popularity of surfing in oral traditions both then and now, these are connections that I attempt to highlight in the hopes of building a contribution on surfing to such a course. Below is a brief outline of the course that Charlot presents, which identifies various forms of prose and poetry as well as their various subcategories. I place it here for the benefit of future researchers:¹
Hawaiian Educational Themes and Concepts Presented by John Charlot

I. **Hawaiian Culture and History in an indigenous context:** The place of the word in Hawaiian life. The character of the word: ambiguity, onomatopoeia, terseness, etc. The oral literature of the pre-contact period. The introduction of writing and publishing: books and newspapers. Post-contact literature and literary schools.

II. **Devices of Hawaiian literature:** motifs, symbols, allusions, traditional phrases, structures, etc. Literary forms in their social settings. The construction of larger literary complexes from shorter elements. Emphases of Hawaiian literature and thought: land, family, social rank, personality, emotion, cosmic consciousness, etc.

**PROSE**

III. Shorter forms: names, epithets, proverbs, lists, riddles; their uses in other forms of literature and higher education.

IV. The stories of the people of the land.

V. Redactional complexes, from short to extended. Bodies of literature about one or more protagonists (Pele and Hi‘iaka, Kamapua‘a). The use of poetry in prose complexes.

VI. Precontact “novellas” (“Legend of Halemano”) and postcontact novels (S.N. Haleʻole, Moke Manu, Moses Nākuina).

VII. Historical and cultural reports, rhetoric, and drama.

**POETRY**

VIII. Shorter forms: lullabies, game verses, string figure chants, kite-flying chants, nāʻu. Their uses in other forms of literature.

IX. Place chants and songs.

X. Body chants. Name chants and songs. Love chants and songs.

XI. Hula.

XII. Political chants and songs.

XIII. Religious and cosmological chants (the Kumulipo)

XIV. Modern poets and lyricists

XV. Summation and discussion.

Figure 2.1 Hawaiian Educational Themes and Concepts Presented by John Charlot

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Charlot organizes literary forms as *prose* and *poetry*, and I have attempted to describe surf literature in these terms. Prose includes short forms like names, proverbs, and stories, prose of greater length and complexity, as well as mixed prose/poetry complexes. Charlot prefaces these forms with an outline of Hawaiian culture and history and identifies devices found in Hawaiian literature. He further prescribes a core program in Hawaiian Studies that is divided into fields that including the *Environment, Uses of the Environment*, and *Human Beings and Society*. Fragments of surfing literature exist throughout Hawaiian prose and poetry, each imbued with the *devices* and *motifs* that are prevalent in this literature.

Hawaiian literature that provides examples of surf prose include short prose forms such as names and proverbs that relate to surfing, stories about local surfers (people of the land), longer redactional complexes (epic stories) that mention surfing, and even post-contact novels about characters who surf. Prose forms are also found in informational accounts, most of which are historically based. Specifically mentioned are weather and surf terms such as types of waves, descriptive terms involving the act of surfing, surfing place names, famous surfers, and proverbs referencing surfing directly or as a metaphor.

Surfing prose also comes in the form of rules for competition, as well as the explanation of rituals for board construction, preservation, and use. All of these surf prose fragments are imbued with various motifs and modes of Hawaiian thought—Hawaiian gods, ancestors, and history, are all portrayed therein. The currents that run through these stories are the Hawaiian values that play so great a role in the culture. In fact, because these values are often shared poetically, poetry and layered meanings abound in Hawaiian literature.
Examples of Hawaiian surfing poetry include place chants about surfing breaks, name chants about surfers, hula dances portraying surfing, and even religious chants asking for the deliverance of a surfer from extreme ocean conditions. Cosmological chants offer poetic lines about surfing metaphors, people, and places. Examples of surf poetry can most often be found in the mixed literature forms (redactional complexes) such as the epic chant of Hiʻiakaikapiopele, the Hawaiian fire goddess Pele’s sister. These stories often center on characters that surf, and thus the imbedded literary forms share that thematic continuity. These thematic representations of surfing are valuable as opportunities to study surfing in the context of Hawaiian worldviews. When these literary pieces are looked at, poetry is placed in context for better understanding. Also, specific information can be teased out of the prose, poetry, and longer literary complexes, and then assessed individually for their useful applications.

An example is the legend of Nāihe, a famous chief and warrior for Kamehameha I. His name chant is a poem that includes important aspects of surfing such as lists of types of waves to be surfed. Oʻahu’s ruler Kūaliʻi’s name chant is similar in that it names the types of waves that break at various locations around the islands.³ The surf break at Kou Harbor is named for the beautiful shark kupua Māmala, who was married to another kupua shark-man named ‘Ouha. She rode the surf and played games like kōnane (Hawaiian checkers) with her lover before being claimed by the konohiki (land manager/lesser chief) of the district. The lament Māmala sings for her lover is not only very touching, but it reveals many wave terms and other information about surfing at the point of Kou, now destroyed by the Honolulu Harbor breakwalls.⁴ In Nāihe’s case, cultural context reveals how name chants are an intricate part of surfing competitions,
and how these competitions played a part in social hierarchy and political treachery. Likewise, Māmala shows the cultural connection of shape-shifters with surfing while also revealing aspects of how social standing affected matters of the heart.

Further analysis of such oral traditions reveals many devices imbedded in surf prose and poetry that support both the thematic continuity as well as the cultural context of surfing within the oral/literary traditions. Devices such as lists, word play, layered meanings, familial and religious connotations, and symbolic references abound in the surfing literature. These devices must be culturally considered as common ground; otherwise the messages would be lost to obscure metaphors, unless they are meant only for a specific group of people educated in those relationships.

Cultural motifs are also present within these traditions. Motifs that Charlot mentions, such as “land, family, social rank, personality, emotion, [and] cosmic consciousness” are considered vital aspects of Hawaiian worldview, and they are reflected in the literary traditions surrounding surfing. When considered within this framework, surfing cannot be positioned as a marginalized recreational activity in pre-contact Hawai‘i. Rather, surfing should be considered to have been a popular recreational activity, fully integrated as a daily pastime and a ritual activity as well as a popular subject to recount within Hawaiian oral traditions.

Specific surfing motifs and allusions are also present and repeated in a number of different surfing legends. One example is a recognized longing for the surf that occurs in the characters that for one reason or another are removed from the coastline or forbidden to surf. Kelea, Kahikilani, and Puna‘aiko‘a'e, all long to meet the seasonally returning surf after long respites with partners who dwell in upland caves and up on the islands’
interior plains. Milu, forbidden by his kahuna to surf for a period of time, did not stay indoors when the surf was running, did not heed the advice of his kahuna, and met his demise surfing into the shorebreak.\(^9\)

Other motifs that are interesting to consider include the references to ‘ilima (\textit{Sida fallax}) and lehua (\textit{Metrosideros polymorpha}) lei found in Kahikilani and the legend of Pikoia`alala,\(^{10}\) among others. Usually, these references relate to interactions with the opposite sex, often complicated by a class difference between characters. This juxtaposed positioning may have to do with the hierarchy of those two plants in relation to the social hierarchy present in Hawaiian society—whereas the ‘ilima is a common shrub found in the dry kula lands near the sea (thus representing a commoner), the lehua is a blossom of the mountains and often represents the ali`i class. Later, in Territorial Hawai`i, the ‘ilima was designated as the flower of O`ahu, and the lehua became the flower of Hawai`i Island.\(^{11}\) Could these associations have projected forward from the dim past? If so, the juxtaposed nature could relate to the lineages of the northern and southern Hawaiian lineages, or in the case of the lehua, possibly a relation to the Pele clan, though they are most likely one and the same?

Most interesting is the reemerging concept of an underworld sea goddess in stories such as those told about Maui,\(^{12}\) Hema,\(^{13}\) and Lono/Konikonia,\(^{14}\) among other legendary Hawaiian surfers. These references usually lead back to one or another heroine named Hina, with various sobriquets. In our earlier discussion on surfing gods in the Pacific, we see that Haumea stands above Hinahānaikamālama along the genealogy of Puna and Hema. We also see that Huauri is the wife begot by Kaha`i, Hema’s son, and she is considered to be a goddess from under the sea—also from Hina’s lineage as
indicated by her name *Hina-tahu-tahu*. Hinaiaakamālama, associated with ‘Aikanaka on the one hand, is daughter of the chief named *Kahinali‘i* (the Hina chief) on the other hand. They are located at very different points in the genealogy, but that both suggest that the two characters are from Hina’s line. Both names also appear just before a major upheaval, genealogically speaking.

*Kahinali‘i*’s story is that of the great flood mentioned by many of the native scholars, including Kepelino (2007), David Malo (1951/2006), and Nāmakaokeahi (2004). Kahinali‘i and Hinaka‘ulu‘alumoana appear as the parents of Lalohana, a woman who was fished up from under the sea by a chief of various names, including Konikonia, Lono, and after the following event, Kahinali‘i. When their daughter does not return, the parents send a great flood that covers the Earth. However, Lalohana expects this event to follow her disappearance, and so she convinces her new husband and his followers to take refuge on the highest mountain peak on their island home, thus being saved from this catastrophe. Most often associated with the Biblical flood, Chun argues by the names of the chiefs in succession from Kahinali‘i, that this flood is more like a tsunami, as confirmed by University of Hawai‘i oceanographer, Professor Joseph Morgan.

From that point forward, the chief was given the name associated with that event—*Kahinali‘i*. Standing at the head of this union between a woman from under the sea and a chief from one of the Hawaiian’s home islands, a new lineage was born in their children that tied back to Hawai‘i’s original source populations from Kahiki. This lineage was called Kanalu for Kahinali‘i’s son. As their people grew and celebrated the times and their origins, they created poetic metaphors concerning the growth of their new nation, metaphors based on the image of the wave and its associated oceanic processes. These
metaphors range from the initial spark of first love, to the passion of lovemaking, to the growth of a fetus, to the birth and growth of a child, and on to the association of different waters (seas in a particular area) to different peoples, swirling together in the currents of the deep ocean. It is the same theme found in the Kumulipo, as well as in other creation and name chants.\textsuperscript{15}

Oral traditions concerning surfing as an activity often emphasize knowledge considered critical for survival and success in the surf. Surfing itself was a form of knowledge that could be described as a cultural motif. Charlot uses the example that, “Education prepares people for life threatening situations… Those who do not learn how to surf well will die from a mistake.”\textsuperscript{16} Surfing education is important since mistakes can be fatal, especially considering the magnitude of an olo surfboard. Today, training for big waves is a way of life for some surfers, and these surfers are a credit to the Hawaiian watermen and women who came before them.

Socially speaking, surfing had rules and required knowledge that were taught by experts. Education in surfing included pertinent names and terms for every aspect of the ocean, the boards, the construction process, and the gods involved with success. For instance, Fornander provides a list of waves and appropriate surfboards for riding those waves.\textsuperscript{17} The rules also included taboos with heavy consequences. In general, surfing accounts often illustrated the importance of education if success was desired in that sport, as the surfing proverbs also show.\textsuperscript{18} Thus, these traditions, when shared, helped to ensure the cultural continuity of its participants and safety of future generations. Even today these same ideas are in place as surfing etiquette, and as many of us know breaking the rules will not be tolerated for long.
Surfing in Hawaiian literature is a vehicle for education about various forms of knowledge relating to other cultural motifs within Hawaiian traditions. For example, lists are common as a Hawaiian educational technique, as evidenced by lists of surfs by location, description, and name, along with related stories. *Surfing* is considered the vehicle or theme, the *list* is the device or mechanism, and an interest in specific places is the motif. Charlot references a native author named Kānepuʻu (March 5, 1868), who describes places that he has visited and includes mention of big waves in each area described, as if they were important and unique aspects of those places.¹⁹ The relatedness or holistic nature of the surfing motif as a complete set of knowledge is shown through John Papa ʻĪʻī, who when discussing Kamehameha’s surfing ability, as mentioned, lists the surfing waves on Hawaiʻi Island, or at least those that Kamehameha favored. ʻĪʻī also describes sightseers watching surfing, referencing an intense interest in places amongst Hawaiians. ²⁰

Familial relationships and traditions are revealed through surfing literature as well. Surfboards were handed down proudly within families. Chief Abner Pākī inherited one such set of surfboards, and he surfed the boards when Waikīkī got big. Pākī later gave two of the boards to the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, and still they comprise the best examples of *olo* surfboards in existence today.²¹ Look up along his lineage and you will find many *kanaka heʻe nalu* (surfers/related names). As mentioned, Hinahānaiakamālalama was known as an excellent surfer, as well as her sons, Puna and Hema. In particular, their story proceeds to place surfing within the social hierarchy of cultural motifs relating to the importance of family.²² Palani, the surfing chief of Kahana, so enjoyed surfing with his wife ʻIewale that he spoke rudely to Hiʻiaka (the fire goddess
Pele’s sister) when she interrupted him in their pleasure, which ultimately caused his demise.23

Surfing is often portrayed as upholding the *kapu* system through strict rules regarding rank and surfing areas as well as types of surfboards. However, occasionally within the literature, surfing is a cause or reason to break taboos or depart from traditions. In the story of Pīkoi, famous archer and rat hunter, a flirtatious chiefess almost causes Pīkoi’s death as she adeptly positions herself to share a wave with the famous archer.24 Aliʻi may reserve the right to break from tradition more freely. For instance, Keawe, reigning chief of Hawaiʻi and great-grandfather of Kamehameha I on his mother’s side, doesn’t perform his name chant when going surfing—a cultural innovation that shows an interest in creativity, both by the character and the culture, through the breaking of the norm.25 The imbedded cultural motifs and their relative positions provide the do’s and don’ts of social interaction and proper behavior.

Hawaiians were very particular about the existence of what Anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss describes as whole “sets of knowledge” in reference to a musical metaphor. Just as a note can be sounded by itself or as part of a harmonic chord of related notes, so too a myth exists both alone, and as part of a whole with the related set of myths that bring about social resolution. Like a set of waves—energy oscillating along one frequency as it moves across the open ocean—a set of knowledge pertains to specific information regarding such things as an activity, a profession, or possibly an epistemologically-based relationship between an object in the natural world and how it pertains to man. Social scientists such as Victor Turner seem to prefer a simile to the term
‘set’, using the term “field” of knowledge, when speaking of a profession with its specific terms, concepts, and applications.  

As mentioned, relationships to man usually occur through signs and symbols in nature that are thought to show the presence of a god (an ancestor along the genealogical line) whose symbol in nature is showing itself as a sign. Pūkuʻi describes the natural phenomenon as a “hōʻailona,” and the fact that a person sees it as a sign of something makes it a “hōʻike” (which could also be considered a personal display of ability or mana). Furthermore, the main body of Hawaiian chants and legends in turn tell of these relationships in part, and genealogical chants such as the Kumulipo often hold the keys to these relationships that help us to better understand the parts and their relative positioning. An orator uses these relationships and parts to build various forms of poetry that are encoded with information relative to success at an endeavor or concerning an object or person. These stories also become instructions to properly procuring support from the related ancestral gods.

Acquiring and handling ‘whole sets of knowledge’ was looked upon highly, as in such intellectual endeavors as hoʻopaʻapaʻa, verbal wrangling. A challenger would often wager heavily on success, with a loss possibly costing the challenger his life. Oʻahu’s king, Kakuhihewa, lost his property to Hawaiʻi’s king, Lonoikamakahiki, in such a manner. Surfing as a theme in Hawaiian literature comprises information relating to wave types, surfing places, coastal geology, flora, and fauna, surfboard types, ritual protocol and chants, winds that create the waves and various conditions, surfing gods, demigods, shape shifters, and ancestors. These specifics are presented through lists of surfing terms and place names, ōlelo noʻeau (sayings), chants and mele (song), and
longer forms of literature such as moʻolelo (oral traditions) and moʻokuʻauhau (genealogies). These literature forms not only inform on specific information relating to surfing, but also contain larger Hawaiian cultural behavior patterns, choices, and motifs imbedded within the set.

The importance of having a working relationship with this body of information is shown not only in the mastering of games such as hoʻopaʻapaʻa, but also in the mastering of the natural world. The whole of knowledge about surfing enhances awareness of the physical environment, thus providing education and skill building in fields relating to ocean weather, wave, and current patterns, coastal formations, predicting surf, plant types and uses, and proficiency in the ocean. Surfing knowledge is also socially positioned, thus informing on the hierarchical positions and relationships amongst gods, chiefs, priests, and commoners. These are just a few of the knowable categories that must be handled by the Hawaiian surfer. This vast array of subject matter shows surfing as an intellectual endeavor as well as a physical skill, valuable in every way to Hawaiians then, and thus all people now—Hawaiian, surfer, or not.

**Surfing is Valuable to Hawaiian Education**

With reference to surfing as an excellent vehicle for transmitting knowledge, at the basis of all aspects regarding surfing are the principles of observation and awareness. What better way to relate to critical aspects of one’s surroundings than by expressing important points about a favorite pastime? In this way, surfing is not only a method of transmitting specific information, but also it is a technique for instilling a basic form of
what we might call the scientific method into future generations. Hawaiians, as with most indigenous peoples, are close observers of nature, bringing meaning to knowing. Hawaiians use vocabulary intensely based on close observation of the ocean and the environment that often exceeds Western science. Students learn to observe the surf, checking its height by signs, natural indicators that tell of wave action. Surfing experts from other areas learned a surfing break by watching those children who are familiar with the area play and surf the waves there; in this way they gain the knowledge to successfully surf the break.

ʻĪʻī himself mentioned that when he was delayed in Lahaina harbor he enjoyed watching the expert surfers there. He also cites such a sign of good surf when describing that the number of waves crashing and their height above Kaliliki point tells of good surf there:

If the sea sprays rose up two or three times, that was the number of the waves. If the sea sprays of Kaliliki went up with force, a high surf was indicated and the timid kept away. The skilled went close to the source of the surf and remained there. As to the king, (Kamehameha), he was frequently seen leaping from a canoe on this surf. Expert surfriders unused to this surf were tossed about by it and bound it was wise to sit still and watch the native sons, who were familiar with it, crouch in the flying sprays. A swimmer daring enough to try to land would be killed.

Surfers still exercise these practices every time they go to the ocean because these skills comprise safe ocean practices. As we can see in the following example, surfing is very important for ocean safety, and here associated with Kiʻi, father of the great Hawaiian progenitors named Nanaulu and Ulu.

The first surf rescue is recorded in the annals of Hawaiian history as part of the story of Kiʻi, a story that Westervelt places in Tahiti. Kiʻi was the king at Papeʻete and he
wished that his son Ulu would retrace the voyages of their ancestors by sailing to the West. Nanaulu, his older brother, who had cared for Ulu in his youth, insisted on joining him, and his father agreed, calling all the people together to look for a suitable traveling party. Kiʻi held contests to see who would be joining his royal son on their journey, and one event was a surfing contest, deemed “a struggle in the surf.” The waves came up and they held the contest. The descriptive nature of this account is amazing! Below is a portion of that account:

During the course of the entire test of the men of both Ulu and Nanaulu only two men perfectly performed this difficult task. These were the two young high chiefs Okela and Taunoa. The highest honours for surf-riding were, however, given by all to Vai-ta-piha, the inferior chief who had come to the contest with Taunoa. Soon after the group of riders in which he was placed started shoreward a squall broke over them. The surf ceased rolling for a few moments in continuous waves. The boards and their riders were thrown against and over one another. Then a large wave swept the confused and struggling company toward the beach. Vai-ta-piha easily extricated himself, and balanced upon his surf board was about to dash to land, but he saw in front of his board the body of an insensible chief roll from between two boards and begin to sink.

In a second he leaped ahead of his board, caught the chief with one hand and with the other secured the surf-board floating by. He drew the chief and himself up until he rested upon the board. Leaping to his feet he held the body in his hands, balancing him-self and guiding his frail craft until the wave was about to take its final plunge upon the sand, when he dropped off into the water and carried his burden to the massage or lomilomi women, who by skillful kneading of the body soon restored the injured chief to his friends. The unselfish rescue as well as the skill displayed in bringing the body to land, all in a few moments, won the approval of the judges.  

Knowledge of specific terms is extremely important when one actively engages with the natural environment related to the terms. The natural world is used for every aspect of Hawaiian life from food production to raw materials to engineering to travel. The environment is also used in many ways as a teaching tool to instill forms and teach lessons about all aspects of life. For instance, a kahu might teach children to imitate with
their voices the sound of waves, wind, and waterfalls. Ocean conditions are used in pairing opposites, an important concept in Hawaiian ways of thought. Johnson shows us some of these concepts in her analysis of the Kumulipo chant. She describes dualism, the pairing of opposites, as a stylistic theme in Hawaiian poetry, one that Beckwith recognizes as well. The chant that Johnson uses as an example is one that we will assess further as we explore Hawaiian surf literature; here is a small passage of that chant:

The following chant is an example of antithesis in poetic style, reflecting dualism:

Awake, o rain, o sun, o night
O mists creeping inland
O mists creeping seaward
O masculine sea, feminine sea, mad sea
Delirious sea, surrounding sea of Iku
The islands are surrounded by the sea
The frothy sea of small billows
The sea of low-lying billows
The sea of uprearing billows
That come hither from Kahiki… 32

Pakaa pairs the long and short waves, showing binary opposites and pairing as a conventional completeness format. Completeness in education is shown when Kalaipalaoa learns all things about the ocean. Charlot mentions a proverb referencing the completeness of one who knows, stating that such a person is like: “A noio that treads over the billows of a distant sea.” It suggests to us how knowledge is embodied in its totality, within a metaphorical ocean, and those who tread that ocean successfully are thought to have mastered that knowledge. 33

It is key with various professions that use the environment to have completeness in education. Oceanic voyaging requires many specific sets of knowledge, not only about
the environment, but also about protocol, among other things, how to act when those voyagers arrived at a foreign destination, inhabited or not! Charlot mentions navigating the ocean as valid knowledge, and as we saw through the earlier example, he cites Kūapaka‘a as being knowledgeable in ocean navigation, the winds of the land and sea, and the rising of the current and tides. He is also familiar with ocean travel. Fishermen learn about the different colors of the ocean waters, as well as many other important aspects relating to the presence or absence of fish in the water.34

Kamakau lists rules of the ocean. Both Kamakau and Malo have lists of various weather phenomena that are very specific. These lists weigh heavily towards forecasting upcoming weather and surf conditions—an indication that the Hawaiians understood the somewhat predictable ebb and flow of local weather conditions as they relate to large, warm and cold oceanic air masses that oscillate across the Pacific Ocean. These lists are built from contextual explanations within the mythology, extracted to help us appreciate the detail to which meteorological phenomena were studied. Looking at these weather terms in context may aid in understanding Hawaiian surfing traditions as well, and indeed the subject is most important to Hawaiian surfing literature.

Further evidence of surfing as important to Hawaiian education is literature relating to surfing instruction, training, and display. As mentioned earlier, one did not just go into the ocean and figure it out. Charlot quotes one Hawaiian writer on the subject of swimming:

Those who do not learn how to swim may drown. Kamakea exclaims over a reported drowning (May 14, 1844):

_Eia paha kona mea e make ai, o kona ike ole i ke au. Ka inoa ua pau loa na kanaka Hawai‘i i ka ike au, aole ka!_
'Here is probably the reason why he died: he didn’t know how to swim. One would have thought all the Hawaiian people would know how to swim, but it isn’t so!'\textsuperscript{35}

ʻĪʻī reports that Kamehameha I was taught surfing by numerous instructors, as well as a famous expert. He also states that an expert taught Kaʻahumanu surfing by using flags from shore. Both Kamehameha I and his wife Kaʻahumanu were known as skilled surfers, and their skill was much appreciated by the public. One purpose of surfing expertise is display, or hōʻike, as mentioned. ʻĪʻī cites Kamehameha’s display of mana by passing the European ship that he went to greet at the entrance to Kou Harbor. His canoe continues out to the surf called Kekai o Māmala, turns, and rides a wave right up to the ship as he stood proudly during the entire ride. This display of surfing made skilled individuals of all social classes known for their ability.\textsuperscript{36}

The presence of surfing experts in the literature leaves one wondering… Who were these experts? Were they professionals, coaches, or teachers in the traditional sense? Did they have a hālau (school)? Where were the boards kept, with the canoes or on their own? Who were the board builders, kahuna kalai waʻa (canoe builders)?

There is a class of priests whose literal translation is “the wave” priest, kahuna ka nalu, named for the first priest of that class. Nāihe is said to have been of this class, and this class was presiding at Hikiau heiau in Kealakekua bay when Captain Cook showed up as well. These priests represent a hereditary line that extends back to the root stock of the Hawaiian people, and they remained the highest class of priests through the time of Kamehameha I, as his kahuna nui (highest priest, better termed as having the bloodlines of the highest chiefs and the mana, power and knowledge, of the priests) Hewahewa, was
of this class. When Pāʻao arrived from his homeland in the 12\textsuperscript{th} century A.D., it is said that the \textit{Ka Nalu} priests allowed him to establish his own hereditary line of chief priests in this class because of familial relationships from the dim past. Hewahewa was his direct descendant.\textsuperscript{37}

One question arising is whether this naming merely refers to the first priest’s name, or could it be relating the power of the ocean waves to the priests’ level of power in the chiefdom, or could these priests hold the secrets to understanding the sea? Kamakau’s list of \textit{Professions of Knowledge} includes \textit{Navigation and Ocean Knowledge} as separate categories.\textsuperscript{38} Is surfing included in that ocean knowledge? What did they call this class of professionals (\textit{kahuna}), are they the \textit{ka nalu} class? Does it relate to the wave at all, or could it relate to another meaning for \textit{nalu}, such as the birthing metaphor.

Fortunately, a Hawaiian scholar, Malcom Naea Chun, came across a series of articles in the Hawaiian language newspapers that were written by a Hawaiian \textit{kahuna} of the \textit{ka nalu} class named Ben K. Namakaokeahi. Chun has since translated and published the collection as \textit{The History of Kanalu} (2004), and indeed it serves well to answer some of these questions, as we shall see further along in this text.

Famous surfers are found throughout the literature, all displaying their ability to survive the dangers in the surf, either alone or against one or more surfers, usually involving a wager. Hiʻiakaikapioele meets famous surfers at various destinations around the islands, and she herself is know as an accomplished surfer and bodysurfer. The surfing chief of Kahana, Palani, spoke rudely to her, thus she turned him to stone.

Piliaʻama was the famous surfer of Waimea who was well known for “\textit{heʻepuʻewai},” surfing towards the mouth of a stream, as well as “\textit{heʻepuʻeone},” surfing
the shorebreak. His lover was named Kapuʻewai for the swirling waters where the sea and the river meet. 39 Piliaʻama is forever immortalized as a stone along the side of the highway, a patron god upon which to heap thanks and request blessings in the surf at Waimea Bay, now all but forgotten and chipped by bulldozers. It is a crab-shaped boulder with his large footprint stamped atop it.

Not all famous surfers were men either. In fact, there are many women surfers in the oral traditions, and it appears that they held the highest honors regarding surfing ability. Keleanoanoaʻapiʻapi is one such character, as is Māmala of Kou Harbor, Honolulu. It should be duly noted that these women play a very important role in the surfing field or set of metaphors and representations. Conceptually speaking, the woman is the sea of potential swell, the one with the power to make the waters grow; she is the seed from the deep dark ocean, the woman who dwells under the sea.40

As mentioned, Hawaiians betting on surfing was a major part of its popularity. Competitions abound in the literature, sometimes even referencing the various wagers taken. ʻUmialiloa and Nāihe are both aliʻi remembered for their participation in surfing competitions. Accounts also exist of hōlua sledders challenging surfers in Heʻeia Bay, Kona. 41

Within these more complex forms of Hawaiian literature lie the fragments of prose and poetry that make up the complete set of knowledge on surfing. Be aware that there are many connections with other sets of knowledge and cultural motifs. Many of the voyaging traditions share suspiciously similar protocols, rituals, and metaphors. If this is truly the case, other Literature sets need to be perused for further information regarding surfing traditions. Such is the case when we begin to assess the root origins of surfing,
and the setting that brought surfing from the dim past and distant homelands where it was nurtured and woven into the culture, to the islands. In other words, what makes Hawai‘i “the cradle of surfing?”

**A Review of Hawaiian, Historic, and Contemporary Surf Writers**

Below is a suggested chronological format for assessing Surf Literature as a subject of study in Hawai‘i and abroad. It is based on literature in this review:

**Surf Literature**

I. Discovery 1779-1899
   A: Surfriding in Polynesian Culture
   B: Explorers, Missionaries, and Travelers (1769-1896)

II. Rebirth 1900-1959
   A: Hawaiian Revival and the Beach Boy Culture
   B: Hawai‘i’s gift to the world—Surf Culture Abroad

III. The Boom 1960-1969
   A: Hawai‘i’s Surfing Pioneers & Big Wave Riders
   B: Hollywood, Competitions, and the Surfing Industry

IV. The Modern Era 1970-2009
   A: Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance
   B: Contemporary Surfing Literature and the Media

References to Hawaiian surf literature are disparate and often obscure. To understand and interpret these references they must be read in context, and understood in relation to the literature within which they exist. Then these references should be assessed together, holistically, to look for patterns and repeated themes. Historic references in English abound, although they exist in obscure travelers’ journals and letters. Hawaiian
language newspapers are also full of references to surfers, surfing places, and surfing tales, but they are only accessible to those fluent in the Hawaiian language.

New publishing technology and the reprinting of old manuscripts has brought forward knowledge and literature pieces that were not available or difficult to find for researchers in the earlier part of the 20th century. Luckily, many of these articles and stories are being translated and made available for others to read in English. However, linguistically speaking with reference to word play and metaphors, many layers are lost in translation. By looking at the primary sources, each piece of literature can be assessed for content, perspective, and historical significance. Where it is possible, the Hawaiian versions of the chants and stories are given in this paper to add the linguistic component that hints on the holistic metaphors associated with surfing in Hawai‘i and beyond.

These Hawaiian language sources offer the reader a chance to consider passages at the level of the word (terminology in context—prose) as well as the meaning of the passage (poetic visions). Within the Hawaiian culture, a genealogist, a canoe builder, a healer, a surfer, and even different families may look at the same passage and see a different meaning. These interpretations are enabled because the metaphors therein are holistic; the terminology has multiple meanings that apply to various professions and family knowledge bases. The weaving of these literary fields of meaning is done with a holistic goal in mind, and metaphors within the set are often presented and arranged in various chants such as the *Kumulipo*.

This thesis looks at many primary and secondary accounts of surfing in Hawai‘i, but foremost are those accounts by indigenous Hawaiian authors writing about surfing as a traditional cultural activity. There are accounts written in the Hawaiian language by
such noted scholars Samuel M. Kamakau, John Papa ʻĪʻī, and David Malo, Benjamin Namakaokeahi, Moses Manu, and J. Waiamau among others, as well as anonymous accounts like a fairly well-known one by a Kona native, translated by a Hawaiian named Nākuina for Thomas Thrum. Accounts exist that were written by Hawaiian royalty like King David Kalākaua and Queen Liliʻuokalani. Abraham Fornander must be placed amongst these noted scholars because of his Hawaiian language base, careful transcription of chants given to him, employment for the monarchy, and because of his own passionate connection with his daughter’s heritage—seemingly a major source of inspiration for him.

Contemporary Hawaiian authors have continued the sharing and knowledgeable contributions to our understanding of life in Hawaiʻi of old. Such authors as our American treasure Ruby Kawena Johnson, along with June Gutmanis, Esther Moʻokini, Sarah Nākoa, Frederick Wichman, and the encompassing works of Mary Kawena Pūkuʻi plus those with whom she collaborated, provide further accounts of surfing literature, as well as abundant cultural information that helps us to decode the complex set of literary metaphors present in Hawaiian oration. More recent works that contribute greatly to surf literature include publications by George S. Kanahele and Dennis Kawaharada, among others.

Also, ethnographic sources that include surf literature come from Anthropology and Hawaiian Studies; authors such as Martha Beekwith, Thomas Thrum, W.D. Westervelt, J.F. Stokes, William Ellis, Nathaniel B. Emerson, Kenneth Emory, R.S. Kuykendall, Teuria Henry, John Charlot, and Ross Cordy, and there are many more. Within these sources lie the fragments of surf literature which may hold answers to many
questions that we have today about surfing then. These are the small jewels that truly enlighten us on the position of surfing in Oceania. Out of this ethnohistorical approach emerged a handful of contemporary authors that surf who have brought us the greatest understanding of our sport—as they say, “Only a surfer knows the feeling!” These surfing scholars bring together many of the sources assessed in this text, contributing valuable perspectives often overlooked in surfing discourses and well—definitely overlooked in stereotyping surfers today.

The spearhead of this passionate group is none other than surfing’s ambassador to the world, Duke Paoa Kahanamoku. He and inventor Tom Blake not only propelled surfing into the modern world, but they respected surfing’s roots and studied both traditional board riding techniques and early ethnographies about Hawaiian surfers from the past. Activist John Kelly followed closely in suit, respecting surfing as a Hawaiian activity with deep cultural roots. UH Anthropology Professor Ben Finney stands atop the crest of this academic research, compiling the first comprehensive thesis on surfing as an ancient Hawaiian activity, an extensive work that not only assessed surfboards and riding methods, but also the cultural protocol and social positioning surrounding surfing. Finney’s work has paved the way for further research, and has been a great leaping point for this author’s work.

Author and ocean safety specialist John R.K. Clark combined his interests by studying surfing traditions as they relate to various surfing locations around the islands. His published works illuminate the hazards and considerations while also recounting the history and local ethnographic information for each beach location. Herein lies a connection to indigenously oriented study—one that proceeds by place rather than
alphabetically or otherwise. *Rescue in Paradise* (2000), written by David Doyle, focuses on hazards in Hawai‘i’s coastal environment. It is a must for all interested watermen/women because it describes the Ocean Safety industry that has grown out of this playful but rough ocean environment. Of interest here is the Moi hole rescue at Yokohama Bay that solidified personal watercraft as an excellent rescue tool. Although these stories are not ancient, they tell of the modern legendary Hawaiian watermen and women that have brought forward this ancient activity into the modern global world with the pride and respect due to surfing as a truly Hawaiian pastime.

Pioneer surfers and educators Fred Hemmings and Fred Van Dyke have both published books about surfing in Hawai‘i and abroad. Hemmings’ personal history of surfing on O‘ahu reveals so much history from a local perspective, and he emphasizes the nature of surfing as a traditional Hawaiian activity in his title as well, *The Soul of Surfing is Hawaiian* (1997). Van Dyke’s children’s stories have been immortalized in Waikīkī with the placement of a boy surfing on a singlefin surfboard with the famous seal of Van Dyke’s stories, Kolisko Bolsky. These books, as well as his life stories that reveal the surf culture of yesteryear, are enjoyable and inspiring. Most helpful is Van Dyke’s publication *Surfing Huge Waves With Ease* (1992). Japanese photographer Hiroshi Sato catches the soul of Waimea Bay surfing in his publication, *The Bay: Big Waves of Waimea* (1983). It includes written ethnographies from surfers Gerry Lopez (and his mom), Bill Romerhaus, Nat Young, and James K. Jones. Sato took the famous picture of Lopez surfing at Pipeline that has an image of a Hawaiian man in the lip of the wave. His mom believes the man to be the Hawaiian god of the sea, a statement with which this author agrees.
Surf writers, namely those associated with the first surfing magazine publications, have also become authorities on surf history, and much of it has been place-based, since surfers are obsessed with particular waves and surf spots. Indeed, the efforts of Leonard Lueras and Drew Kampion deserve merit, as their works include indigenous accounts of surfing and honor the modern sport as Hawaiian in origin and quote Hawaiian authors like John Papa ʻĪʻī and Samuel Kamakau. Matt Warshaw’s encyclopedia of surfing is quite extensive, and Stuart Coleman provides us with a biography of Eddie Aikau and a history of Makaha.

Kauaʻi native Tim DeLa Vega and his T.E.A.M. greatly increased access to surfing literature by ‘paddling’ the “seedy backwaters of the collecting world, looking for obscure surfing references so you don’t have to.” Since primary sourcing is a must in academia, their annotated bibliography is an excellent resource for researchers to use in finding original surfing accounts. It is well organized and concise, dealing mostly with English references found. That said, one of the Hawaiian references that was translated and included mentions different woods for surfboard making than normally used. Thus, it can be seen that many valuable gems are to be found in this book.

Drury University Anthropology Professor Patrick Moser’s anthology is a refreshing approach to the stories mentioned time and again. Editorials prefacing each story show an honest attempt to place surfing in context as a Hawaiian cultural practice with a social, religious, and environmental relationship to its position in Hawaiian society. His approach marks what I would consider true contributions to the further understanding of surfing in ancient Hawaiʻi. Looking to the future, we all await John R. K. Clark’s most recent work to be published, one that focuses on Hawaiian newspaper
accounts of surfing, most of which were written in Hawaiian and translated by his team of *kupuna*. I am sure that his work will shed light on much of the questions that linger on in this text…we shall see.

Since those days before computers when we dug through the archives for information on everything, more and more publications about surfing are being produced. Passionate surfers are writing these books. This passion has been felt since the first wave was ridden, and surfers describe the feeling as a “stoke” for surfing and life itself. The bookstores are now filled with surfing books of every sort: magazines for every type of surfer, travel guides, instructional booklets, surfing fashion/beachwear magazines, ethnographies, giant picture books, historical narratives, the encyclopedia, and of course, philosophical surfing lifestyle manuals. Add the surf movies, videos, and documentaries, that have been produced and we can see that surfing is actually fairly well represented over the last 120 years. However, there are relatively few books and movies that deal with the history of surfing from an anthropological viewpoint—that is to say the study of surfers in time and the events that brought us to this point from time immemorial, since that seems to be about when surfing began. As we have seen, those books that have emerged compile sources and guide interested surfers to the historic roots of their own cultural traditions reaching back to the first written accounts of surfing in the Pacific from as far back as the 1700s.

Most early accounts are written by people who didn’t surf—true ‘landlubbers’, if you will. These accounts are often imbued with either a missionary or a paradisical tone that renders the act of surfing as horrendous or fantastic, never easy (they got one thing right!). Rarely are the mechanics properly represented, let alone the social and cultural
context that dictated many situations being recorded. Moser’s comments on an article written in 1865 by J. Waiamau concerning “Ancient Sports of Hawai‘i” shows us how these Western influences penetrated even the native accounts of surfing in ancient times:

The commentary on coed surfriding—“Such riding in of the man and woman on the same surf is termed vanity, and results in sexual indulgence”—reveals a missionary influence and the dual legacy of their presence in the Islands, which included both the suppression of native traditions and the means to record those traditions for posterity through literacy and education.55

Still, to be able to access the informational surf prose from these accounts is vital. And to now be able to find these otherwise obscure references in collections of surf snippets has greatly assisted every earnest surf scholar in finding information and forging our own perceptions of ancient surfing.

However, even with sources now compiled, a literary review under these circumstances becomes very difficult, because not only do the content, context, and style of each author and piece need to be assessed, but the use of primary source translations also need to be considered. In other words, primary sources provide the context that gets lost in translation and the extracted repetition of later reporting. Did the author assess the Hawaiian language version and retranslate, or did they apply the first available English version, thus perpetuating any misinterpreted information? Another unique question is how broad was the scope of cultural research accomplished by these secondary authors? Fragments of surfing literature are present in some anthropological sources, Hawaiian ethnographies, and Polynesian mythological accounts. These fragments have proven vital to erecting a more holistic platform for surfing to be understood. By bringing these fragments together with those accounts whose main subject is surfing, the cultural
context of surfing in the Pacific emerges. Thus, within this realm of research lies further literary contribution versus repetition, and it is with these considerations that we assess the surf literature included within this paper.

In considering how to approach a study on Hawaiian surf literature, the historical chronology can easily be grouped in accordance with already published works that reference surf literature from a historical vantage point. Because “literature” references written works, it begins with western contact associated with Captain James Cook and crew, although it would be wise to search the Spanish records for evidence of earlier contact, as Fornander suggests that Cook may have had prior reference to earlier Spanish knowledge of the Hawaiian Islands. However, more commonly followed would be the categories listed below.56

Moser chose to put a Hawaiian account of surfing by John Papa ʻĪʻī, a description of the ancient surfing traditions that were still being practiced at the time of his writing, as an introduction to Part II, but not under any particular subset. This link acknowledges the historic influences on early Hawaiian authors like ʻĪʻī, Kamakau, and Malo, while also showing the continuity of literature coming from contributing Hawaiians throughout history. I have followed suite to Moser’s distinction between the continued practice of Hawaiian surfing culture and the western perspective that emerged with first contact. The Western perspective of surfing may have begun as outsider interpretations of a Hawaiian activity, but many Hawaiians generously indulged these visitors’ curiosity and desires. These Pacific islanders shared with visitors the subtle knowledge that had been acquired over thousands of years of an oceanic worldview, and through their tutelage, gave birth to the modern surfer.

Today, the chronicles of the modern surfer are as important to popular global culture as are legendary accounts of surfers are in Hawaiian culture; thus, it is an important history to follow. Although surfing reached the shores of distant lands prior to Duke Kahanamoku, he is credited with actually displaying surfing, building boards, and teaching surfing to the people who lived along coastlines with waves as he travelled the world for his swimming abilities. In this way, Kahanamoku truly made surfing a gift from Hawai‘i to the world. Everywhere he introduced surfing, a new subculture developed around surfing, each with its own unique characteristics and etiquette, yet each founded on the principle of riding waves within the contexts of their own cultures.

However, this development was halted by World War II, and in many ways, the connected world left in its aftermath created a unique situation where popular culture was
being produced centrally and sent abroad through various forms of mass communication.

Suddenly, the identity of the surfer was robbed from us like a wave taking a board from under foot, with the consequence being the explosion of a global surfing phenomenon. Hollywood movies like “Blue Hawai’i” (1961) and “Gidget” (1965) portrayed surfers as being rebels without a cause and the Hawaiian culture was simplified to “the Big Kahuna,” hula dancers, and the beach party.

These popular ideas contain colonial undertones arising from a paradise paradigm heavily played upon in American popular culture, even today. Interestingly, this paradigm emerged out of the generosity and aloha of those beach boys who once shared surfing and the fun that was had at pau hana time outside the Moana Hotel—after the work was done. Somehow, the regal nature of Duke Kahanamoku was left out. His own history shows that even he was usually included as a supporting role for some white hero or heroine, always serving as the brown “other,” even though his name sold movie tickets. It would seem difficult for him to perceive such a slight due to the order of the world at that time, but in retrospect, such social positioning might be considered as post-colonial at best. His own testimony shows his earnest intentions:

For many years it has been a desire of mine to see the people of other nations derive pleasure and benefit from the Hawaiian surfboard. That time seems to have come with the development of the Hollow Surfboard, and all the world seeking something new. Yet this new sport Hawaii has given them, reaches back into the dim age of legends, when our kings and chiefs found surfriding their favorite pastime. And as surfriding has endured in Hawaii through wars, plagues and famine, it bids fair to last forever.

It is my dream to some day tour other countries and personally acquaint the people with the uses of the surfboard, for as an aid in life saving and the physical development of growing boys and girls, it commands respect the world over.
Once Hollywood took over, the stereotype of the intelligent, regal surfer and athlete of the revival period was left behind in place of other images that came from non-surfers as a whole, but quickly embodied by surfers and “wannabes” alike. Moser comments on one of these “other images,” from Gidget, the movie:

Technicolor images of Southern California beaches, warm waves, and a carefree lifestyle struck a chord with audiences that have continued to amplify ever since. Kahuna, the main surf character in the film, signals a number of important trends taking place in surfing at the time. His Hawaiian name and beach shack on the shores of Southern California trace the historical link between the two surf cultures, with the latter gaining prominence after World War II. Kahuna portrays himself as a “beach bum” who lives to surf and “follow the sun”; he is anti-establishment, individualistic, strongly sexualized, and has an aura of danger about him, though he remains generally a positive figure. These basic qualities—some new, some familiar to surfing, essentially define the popular image of surfers today.

The Boom culture was not all Hollywood though, because in the meantime, surfers continued to grow the sport and advance a profession that was founded on competitive western athletics. The tradition of surfing competitions continued, as they were already competing in surfing within Hawaiian cultural arenas prior to the effects of Western athletics. A budding industry was also being propelled by the advent of modern materials and technology that were developed during the wartime efforts, namely plastics and foam related products. Surfers around the world were contributing in every way to this real boom in surfing competition and industry, and people of every walk of life and many different ethnicities were now surfing.

Pioneer surfer John Kelly turned into an activist after the war, creating Save Our Surf in Hawai‘i after marching across the nation to protest nuclear arms use. This
organization, along with others like the Surfrider Foundation, have saved many of the coastal sites we surf today, including the Kewalo Basin. Many surfers entered the world of academia, such as oceanographer Ricky Grigg at Scripps Institute in San Diego, educators Fred Van Dyke and Peter Cole at Punahou, and anthropologist Ben Finney at UH Mānoa.

Finney’s thesis in particular marks the emergence of Hawaiian Surf Literature, an anthropological viewpoint that considers surfing to be a traditional Hawaiian cultural activity, and respectfully positions surfing as a sport of kings. His evidence included many Hawaiian as well as western primary sources, both historical and contemporary, and many more sources have emerged since then. His proximity to professors like Katherine Luomala, Mary Kawena Pūkuʻi, and Rubellite Kawena Johnson positioned him well for such a study, and they guided him in many ways that have helped all of us.

At the end of that era the world was once again torn by war, this time in Vietnam. A resistance against the wartime American culture formed a political peace movement that easily fit with the free and easy lifestyle of a surfer whose only ambition was to harmonize with nature while riding waves. Free love, groovy music, and psychedelic drugs became the symbols of the movement, and surfers were dropping out of society, dropping acid, and dropping into the surf—all at once. This combination of surf and politics played out in military and police actions against surfers and skaters in many locations, and the rebel surf culture continued to flourish. This lifestyle was also being sought after by the hardcore surfer, who found him or herself at odds with the competitive flash of the surfing industry, and with a whole world of waves to discover in secluded coastal locations across the world. These free-spirited surfers left the party and
flash behind. They were on a quest for the ultimate feeling in the surf—and thus the travelling soul surfer was born.60

In the Modern Era, surfing has changed popular western culture as much as surfing has been changed by it. With over 10 million surfers worldwide and a $7.5 billion dollar surf industry (that doesn’t even include the massive beach culture that now exists as an expression of the paradise paradigm), every type of surfer exists in the world, and every kind of wave is being ridden.61 Additionally, the Hawaiian sense-of-self has grown amongst the populace in Hawaiians at home and abroad as a strong cultural movement has formed. In many cases such as Paumalu, Waimea, and Honolua on Maui, the people have come together to cease the senseless destruction of Hawaiian sites and coastal places—destruction that makes way for mass corporate tourism and militarism that benefits a world market at the expense of the people of Hawai‘i, ethnicity aside.

As an acknowledgement of the living Hawaiian culture that continues to exist in Hawai‘i today, Moser includes contemporary Hawaiian pieces, showing the continuity of the Hawaiian cultural tradition of surfing. These pieces include a name chant by Nona Beamer for King Lunalilo, and a song written by Rerioterai Tava and Moses K. Keale Sr. about the annual competitions that take place on Ni‘ihau. These distinctions between Hawaiian surfing and world surf culture are not meant to prejudice one history over the other, or imply a separation between the two. In fact, they are forever interwoven, as are the histories of the people who live in Hawai‘i today—any course of thought on the matter only leads to speculation.62

Rather, the distinction is meant to show that a unique history exists that spans the entire history of the Hawaiian people. Modern surfing practices were born from this
Hawaiian cultural practice, thus it is useful to show how the branches of surfing culture have grown from this one trunk, and how these branches have often arched back for support from that main trunk, as is the case with modern ocean safety. It is also important to show how the root culture has continued to grow and thrive in Hawaiian waters.

For instance, surfboard shapers of today can study surfboards that were made and ridden by Hawaiian monarchs, like Prince Kalanianaʻole, who is also accredited with shaping Princess Kaʻiulani’s surfboard among others in the museum collection. Today, 2010, Tom “Pohaku” Stone is charging outside Phantoms, a surf break at Paumalū on Oʻahu’s north shore, on his 100+ pound olo, while lifeguard Archie Kalepa is towing in on an alaia surfboard outside Kahului harbor on Maui and the Keaulana’s are doing the same thing on the West side of Oʻahu. Overnight, a new breed of young Hawaiian kids are now ripping on alaia boards while Brian Keaulana is leaping from a canoe onto the waves in a resurgence of ancient surfing practices—stoked! The only difference from ancient times is that the literature has gone from verbal, to written, to visual, since, in order to access this latest surfing trend, one must “surf the net” over to YouTube! to tap into the story about the Buffalo Keaulana surfing event, unless you were there.

Many surfers get excited, stoked (hōpūpū), about the places they surf, boasting and sharing with others about their special places. Thus, a surfing researcher can help in perpetuating local cultural knowledge about these coastal locations through informal dissemination and, as in the cases of many contemporary surfing authors like John R.K. Clark, through publishing articles and books about these places. As a surfer that enjoys learning and seeking knowledge about the places I surf, I highly recommend that surfers engage in such research. Surfers are intelligent, sharp witted, and masters of observation,
and we are often positioned outside of societal norms, yet surfers seem to drive popular
culture. These factors aid creatively in research perspective and dissemination techniques.
Tongan Maui historian Emil Wolfgramm once told me: “Follow your bliss, and you will
reach heights that you could have never possibly imagined!” 63

Having a foundation to understand what surf literature is and applying that to both
literary and Hawaiian concepts is important for this study. Knowing the difference
between prose and poetry in Hawaiian literature can help us discern what reports may be
more accurate. Understanding how Hawaiians organize their world can help us as
researchers to avoid making assumptions based on our own culture and worldviews. That
is why the figure showing Charlot’s structure for a Hawaiian education course and
program was placed at the beginning of this chapter.

Being aware of Hawaiian surfing literature that has been published broadens any
researchers understanding of what it means to be a Hawaiian surfer. Looking at the
writings of proud Hawaiians, awestricken visitors, and passionate surfers gives us a broad
base of accounts and legends from which to gain this understanding. It is a modern
cultural trend for us to seek out our roots, and many people ask first, “Where did surfing
begin?” It is a hard question to answer, but the foundation that we have laid in these first
chapters allows us now to seek out the roots of surfing—when surfing came from afar.
Queen Kapiʻolani says “Kūlia i ka Nuʻu!”
CHAPTER III.
NO KA PÔ HEʻENALU MAMAO
When Surfing Came From Afar

Hawaiʻi is considered to be the cradle of surfing, but surfing’s original homeland still lies beyond our historical horizons. Indigenous forms of prose and poetry that include myths and legends of surfers exist in many island locations throughout the Pacific. These stories tell firsthand of the peoples’ knowledge of waves for riding and their interest in surfing places. In Hawaiʻi, the name chant of Nāihe indicates that the primordial gods Kāne and Lono enjoyed surfing around the Hawaiian Islands. This chant also alludes to the fact that Mauiakalana, the rascal demigod of the Pacific, was known as a surfer. Note that just this one example of Hawaiian surf literature reveals many wave types, surfs, and surfing terms as well. Luomala (1951) points out that he almost wipes out, but recovers his board and continues riding the wave to shore, “undrenched” by the waves:

(From Part I:)
...Kū ka puna, ke koʻa i uka
Ka mākāhā o ka nalu o Kakuhihewa

(Ua ‘ō ia noha ka papa
Nohā Māui nauveve
Nauveve, nahelekele
Nakelekele ka ‘ili o ka i heʻe kai
Lalilali ‘ole ka ‘ili o ke akamai
Kāhilihili ke kai o ka heʻe nalu
ʻIkea o ka nalu nui o Puna, o Hilo)

...Beware coral, horned coral on the shoreside.
This channel is treacherous as the harbor of Kakuhihewa
A surfboard smashes on the reef,
Maui splits, trembles, sinks into slime.
Many a surfer’s skin is slippery,
but the champion of chiefs skims into shore undrenched
by the feathery flying sea-spray of surfriders.
Now you have seen great surfs at Puna and Hilo!

(From Part III:)
Na Kane i hee nalu Oʻahu
He puni Mauʻi no Piilani,
Ua hee a papa kea i papa enaena
Kane surfed on the waves of Oʻahu
And all around Mauʻi, (island) of Piilani
He surfed through the white foam, the raging waves
In an instance of Maui surfing outside of Hawai‘i, Tongan scholar Emil Wolfgramm reports that he surfed off of Moturiki Island in Fiji, battling a giant shark while riding a wave on the reef pass offshore. Another Pan-Pacific deity who was known as a surfer is Maui’s mother, Hina. Many Hina personages were characterized as excellent surfers, and many women surfriders have since followed suit. As Hina’aitema’ama in Tahitian lore, her two sons Pua’ari‘i-tahi and Hema were also described as being “fine young men, and they were adept at surfriding.” From these two characters come two of the main chiefly lines in Hawai‘i among other Pacific Islands.

Teuira Henry (1847-1915) was an early ethnographer who published her grandfather John M. Orsman’s manuscripts of recorded legends from Tahiti. In discussing the districts and clans of Tahitinui, she says that the stories are “enlivened with poetry, narrations, and general information in the original native form of teaching, from the lips of King Pomare II and Tamera…and Moe’ata, of the royal family of Tahiti,
who was chief of Hitiaʻa for many years.” She then gives a chant about the district of “Mahaena” which she describes as being in the east on “Tahiti-nui mareʻareʻa” (Great-Tahiti of the golden haze). Mahaena was also poetically called “Ahuʻare (bailer-of-waves).” In sharing this chant and a description of this place, she provides one of many examples of Tahitian surfing and surfing places:

…Out at Mahaʻena is the sea for surf-riding. Pu-taʻi-hani (Lovers’-trumpet-blast) and Toa-tane (Man-rock) are the rocks to start from. Hina-rau-reʻa (Gray-of-tumeric-leaf) was the most famous surf rider of that place; she was the wife of Turi the demigod.

To her were applied the name Touʻura-oiʻore (sun-burned-swerving-not), because she rode straight.

From Mahaʻena to Mahina (Point Venus) is a succession of sunken rocks and bars disseminated over an extensive area of the ocean. They form an irregular submarine reef, over which roll terrific breakers in stormy weather and through which only island boatmen know the dangerous passages. 4

The cultural setting that encouraged surfing’s development around the Pacific region is difficult to ascertain. The scattered nature of written traditions to reference as well as the swift changes that occurred after first contact between westerners and the indigenous peoples affected the accounts given. For instance, in Tahiti, by 1891 at least, surfing, along with other “amusements or pleasures,” is described as having all but vanished, replaced by the singing of religious hymns. 5 A half a century before, Henry indicated that “Faʻa heʻe, surf-riding, was much indulged in, mostly by young men and women,” and that “surfriding is still practiced to some extent.” 6 Polynesian ethnographer William Ellis describes the boards in Tahiti as “shark boards, due to the similarity of shape to the anterior sections of those creatures.” 7 Even earlier than that, the Boatswain’s mate on the ‘Bounty’, James Morrison, wrote in the first description of Tahitian surfing

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that “at this diversion all sexes are excellent” and that “the children also take their sport in the smaller surfs.”

In just a few steps the perception of surfing in ancient Tahiti is recreated as one that seems much more aligned with how indigenous surfing in Hawai‘i is perceived—a popular daily activity. There is even mention of a patron deity that presides over surfing in Tahiti prior to Western contact. Ellis tells us about “…horue or faahee, or surf-swimming, of which Huaouri was the presiding god.” Please note that this deity, at least in the genealogies of the people, is not a god, but a goddess, thus supporting Finney and Houston’s remark that “the gentler sex carried off the highest honors.” This level of integration further supports the concept of surfing as an oceanic adaptation that was important amongst not only the Hawaiians, but amongst other Polynesian Pacific Islanders as well.

Granted, not all Pacific Island cultures integrated surfing to the extent that Hawai‘i and Tahiti did. For instance, in Niue, the people did go surfing, called Fakatupou, but “Surf riding was never indulged in to the same extent as in Hawaii and riding standing was not practiced.” In Tonga, although surfing holds no precedence there in early historic times, there are ancient proverbs collected by E.E.V. Collocot and John Havea (1922) that mention surfing. A level of cultural integration must be present for it to emerge as a proverb or popular saying. Here presented are those sayings, along with their introduction to the sport. This section of Tongan Proverbs is entitled “FANIFO”:

[The fine sport of fanifo, surf-riding in which the skill of the Tongans, as of other Polynesian peoples, evoked the wondering admiration of early travelers, seems now to be rarely, if ever, practiced in Tonga.]
607. **Auhia a motua fanifo:** Man carried away by the current (or waves) who is skillful in the sport of shooting the breakers.

For an unskilled person to be carried out is a matter of grave concern, but for the man thoroughly at home amongst the waves no anxiety need be felt. So of the affairs of life generally, we may see a man involved in difficulties, but knowing, and having confidence in his energy and ability, we have no misgiving but that he will successfully win through.

608. **Fanifo kave papa:** Surf-riding, borne by board.

The man who is not very skillful at the sport depends entirely on his board to get safely over the breakers, whereas to the real expert the board is a matter of indifference. Applied to the man who gets safely over his difficulties rather through assistance afforded him than by his own intrinsic merits.

609. **Holo pe tuu he koe ngalu e faji:**

An expression taken from the sport of riding the breakers, (*fanifo*). It may happen that the swimmers have to wait a considerable time for a suitable breaker, and that some of them will become impatient and begin to swim about or to divert themselves in some other way rather than watch attentively for a good wave; but the advice of the expert is to keep continually ready for the wave when it comes; only thus can one be sure of utilizing opportunity when it does present itself. It is an exhortation to watchful patience.

What strikes me about these proverbs is that without specific knowledge from an instructional perspective, such subtle expertise can only come through experience—surfing waves on a regular basis, thus observing such phenomena. That the saying is further integrated as a proverbial statement considered common ground by Tongans seems to infer that surfing as an activity held a popular position in Tongan culture.

Furthermore, whether speaking of ancient or modern surf culture, these proverbs remain quite applicable, and they hint at the greater role of surfing upon shaping an individual’s perspective and personality, both in and out of the water. Pūku’i (1983) lists many ʻōlelo no ʻeau (Hawaiian sayings) about surfing in her publication, and it is fair to assess these proverbs as culturally common ground as well.
On my journey to Aotearoa I was surprised to find that very few Maori had any indication that indigenous surfing occurred there amongst the tribes. Yet, Finney and Houston (1986) indicate that the first Western accounts of contact with the Maori include mention of long surfboards reaching six feet in length being ridden there, but it is unclear where the source originated, though it is most likely from Tasman or J.C. Beaglehole. Legendary references include mention of the ancestor Kahungungu taking another man surfing in a canoe and then rolling it on the third wave on purpose in order to kill the man because it was known that he could not swim. This allowed him to take the wife of the man whom Kahungungu desired. Indeed, the cold waters there would not encourage surfing as a regular recreational endeavor, but the skill of being able to ride waves utilizing any craft (and swim to shore) is part of that same worldview and oceanic adaptation.  

Westerners arriving in Pacific places outside of the Polynesian Triangle observed surfriding and surfboards as well. Robert Henry Codrington described games in Melanesia, noting that, “…in the Banks’ and Torres Islands, and no doubt in other groups, they use the surfboard, tapa.” Forms of surfing existed as far as the coastal cultures of Northern Peru, with the fishermen there riding waves to shore on their sickle-shaped reed bundles called caballitos (little horses). They would paddle into the waves, with many of them standing like a modern paddle surfer! Surfing was even observed outside the Pacific, such as noted by Sir James Edward Alexander in 1835 while passing off of the West African coastal island of Accra.  

When Robert August and Mike Hynson passed through Ghana in the 1966 Hollywood release of Endless Summer, they too observed children riding planks of wood
along the seashore, and even the chief picked up on it quickly, showing that surfing is still present there in Africa. Does this mean that surfing is connected to a root culture from which it spread and about which many zealous and nationalistic arguments have sprung? Well, let us not take the idea too far. If we consider surfing as a basic marine adaptation of a seafaring people, then it seems to be much more of an independent invention within each population—how to survive regular interaction with the sea.

**Who were the first surfers? Marquesan and Hawaiian Traditions**

Within Polynesia however, surfing should be considered as having emerged from the same root culture that gives the Polynesians their similar dialects, appearances, and traditions. It is important to realize how the ocean is conceptualized in each culture. What is its relationship to economics and food production within the society? How did the natural environment cause that worldview to emerge?

Whether merely a child’s amusement or a complex ritual activity interwoven culturally at the highest levels of native expression, surfing can be looked at as a skill-building practice. The act of surfing could have been conceived of by any number of ways like watching sharks and dolphins surf. Perhaps it was thought up by a person washing ashore in an attempt to enter or exit to sea for a necessary purpose, or even someone just watching a coconut roll in on a wave—something sparked the desire to be propelled by this natural force. Whether for reasons beyond survival we may never know, but evidence shows that surfing waves in one form or another was further developed over
time in some cases. Later, the continued integration of surfing into each Pacific Island population and culture had to do with both the environmental factors along with the cultural factors that each population encountered. Any contact among Pacific coastal cultures and their neighboring islanders must be left for future researchers to ponder, although various bits of information in the literature do support such possibilities.

Following migration theories and oral traditions, it becomes clear that much of the environmental knowledge relating to surfing was brought by navigators, priests, and chiefs voyaging from various islands located south, west, and east of Hawai‘i. This knowledge was culturally formatted or encoded into poetry that could be passed on and remembered with training and practice. Such knowledge was critical considering signs and symbols relating to surfing conditions and surf production, because survival depended on it. In a discussion on the origin of the Hawaiian people, Fornander cites a Marquesan chant of great antiquity that mentions an original homeland as well as many islands along the way, plus the stars used to guide them, and the weather conditions under which these voyages occurred. It was the observer, the navigator and seer that had to recognize these signs and conditions and say go:

The Marquesans are the only people who own to a distinctive national name, and retain a tradition of the road they travelled from their original habitat, until they arrived at the Marquesas Islands. They call themselves te Take, “the Take Nation.” They say that they were created in a country far far to the west, iao-oa, called Take-hee-hee; and of two different traditions reporting the same fact, one mentions thirteen places of stoppage and sejour during their migration eastward, iuna, ere they arrived at the Marquesas, and the other mentions seventeen places.

In one of their legends or religious chants, that of the creation of the world, te Pena-pena, by the god Atea, the then known world extended from Vavau to Hawa-ii, “me Vavau i Hawaii,” and after the earth was made, or rather, brought to light, the order was given—
“Pu te metani me Vevau
A anu te tai o Hawa-ii;
Pu atu te metani me Hawa-ii
A anu tea o o Vevau.”

Blow winds from Vavao
and cool the sea of Hawaii;
blow back winds from Hawaii,
and cool the air or region of Vavao.

And the burden of each stanza or act of creation is—

“O Vevau me Hawa-ii.”

Again, in the Marquesan chant of the Deluge, Tai-toko, it is said that after the flood the ribs of the earth and the mountain ridges of “Hawa-ii” and of “Matahou” rose up, and extended far and near over the sea of Hawaii—18

Fornander continues his discussion by suggesting that the islands of Vavau and Hawaiiʻi do not relate to Tonga and these islands we call Hawaiiʻi or even Raʻiatea (Havaiti), but rather, allude to Babao (East Timor) and Jawa (Java/Hawa/Hawa-iki). He cites that a wind that blows one way and then another must refer to the monsoon winds found in that geographic region of southeast Asia, plus the terms that support Babao as being an easternmost island in their realm.

Consider that Fornander was writing this passage long before modern oceanography and meteorology were considered fields of science. He is keen to acknowledge this reference to wind as relating to monsoon weather, and justly associates this weather pattern with Southeast Asia. Yet, modern migration theorists have put these ideas into question. Although there is evidence for this hypothesis both in nature, orientation, and linguistic relativity, let us set it aside and work only with the information given in the chant.

We now know through observations and data recorded over the last century that winds are generated and directed by large high and low pressure gyres that oscillate
between 15° and 35° latitude in both hemispheres. Depending on the location of, for instance, an island, relative to these high and low pressures, shifting wind patterns occur regularly, oriented seasonally. In Hawai‘i, as a low pressure approaches, it pushes the high-pressure ridge far to the east, thus weakening our easterly tradewinds. Then the winds begin to blow out of the southeast, south, and then southwest, increasing as the arm of the cold front approaches. Just before the front hits, gusty westerly winds tear down the mountains. The winds are cut off as the front passes, and then shift quickly to the northwest and north as a new high-pressure system forces the low pressure out of the area. This pattern often sets up when the jet stream (upper level wind) oscillates towards the equator, and then the pattern tends to repeat itself every 3 to 4 days as surface storms move along under the jet stream. The pattern most often occurs in the winter due to the increased heat differential in this latitudinal region of the Pacific Ocean in both hemispheres, namely over Hawaiian Archipelago in the north and in the latitude of Tonga and the Tuamotu Archipelago to the south.

The Marquesan verse about the winds acknowledges some of those environmental factors that the voyagers were aware of and utilized to travel across the Pacific Ocean. Although surfing is not mentioned in the chant, a compelling linguistic connection with surfing appears in the name of their original island nation—Take-he‘e-he‘e. The Hawaiian term for surfing is he‘e nalu, literally “wave sliding.” The term he‘e has several different connotations, foremost relating to the octopus, as this is the term for that sea creature (Polupus sp.). Slimy or slippery to the touch, these animals also seem to slide through the water, all of which may account for the use of the term in surfing as well as
with voyaging. Fornander describes this Marquesan homeland of Takeheʻeheʻe, and then
details each island stopping point on the way to Aomaʻama (Marquesas Islands):

*Take-hee-hee*, or *Ahee-tai*, as another legend calls it, was the oldest
original home of which the “Takes” had any remembrance. It is described as a
mountain-land with a settlement or inhabited district at *Tai ao*, another at
*Meinitaha-hua*, and another near the water (lake or river) of *Nuu-teea*. Wars and
commotions having arisen among themselves, the people were driven out of this
land and migrated to—19

Could this national appellation and place name relate to the term Hawaiians
utilize for surfing, for which the Hawaiian term is *heʻe nalu*? Henry mentions in a
footnote that “People of high degree in olden times [in Tahiti] were said to glide (*heʻe*)
and not to walk (*haere*), and they were also said to fly (*fano*) in travelling.” This
association bears to mind the idea that the term *heʻe* in its reference to a high-ranking
personage might make an appropriate national appellation. How do the Marquesans relate
to the Hawaiians and surfing in Hawaiʻi? Fornander continues his argument for the
location of the Marquesan *Hawa-ii* that is mentioned as a stopping point, inadvertently
answering the question posed above: “That the Marquesans in aftetimes visited the
Hawaiian group there can be little doubt, and it is quite probable that the whole or a
portion of the early Hawaiian settlers came from or passed through the Marquesas
Group.” Although these conclusions remain speculation, it is an idea worth considering.20

Having looked at Marquesan tradition, let us now assess the traditions which early
Hawaiian settlers brought with them. Many of the aspects mentioned in the passage
below are brought up later in this paper. Be mindful of the people and places mentioned
below as they will turn up again within the realm of Hawaiian surf literature. Some of the
place names may also be recognized as names of places and religious sites in Hawaiʻi, as
is true with the site called *Hau-ola*, which exists as sacred places at both Kualoa, O‘ahu, and Wailuanui‘ahoano, Kaua‘i:

The Hawaiian traditions which bear upon the origin of the islands and the derivation of the inhabitants are many and diversified, both in substance and colouring. National or dynastic vanity and priestly speculations have apparently at different periods re-cast and re-arranged some old primordial tradition, whose features either retreated to the back-ground of by-gone ages, or were overlaid or altered to suit local necessities, or the pressure of newer ideas. Enough, however, remains of that old primal tradition, the groundwork of nearly all the others, to show that the earliest teminiscences of the Hawaiian branch of the Polynesian family refer to a far western habitat on some very large island or islands, or perhaps continent, as the birthplace of their ancestors.

This land was known under many names, but the most frequently occurring is “*Kapa-kapa-ua-a-kane.*” It is also called “*Hawai‘i-kua-uli-kai-oo*” (Hawai‘i with the green back, banks or upland, and the dotted sea). It is said to have been situated in *Kahiki-ku*, or the large continent to the east of *Kalana-i-Hau-ola*, or the place where the first of mankind were created, while *Kahiki-moe* was the name of the large land or continent to the west of this same “*Kalana-i-Hau-ola.*” According to the tradition, there lived many generations after the flood of (*ke kai-a-Kahinalii*), on the east coast of a country situated in or belonging to “*Kapakapa-ua-a-Kane,*” and called *Ka Aina Kai Melemele-a-Kane*, “the land or coast of the yellow or handsome sea,” a chief of high renown and purest descent called *Hawa-ii-loa*, or, also, *Ke Kowa-i-Hawai‘i*.

This chief was a noted fisherman and great navigator, and on one of his maritime cruises, by sailing in the direction of the star *Iao* (Jupiter when morning star) and of the Pleiades, he discovered land, arrived at the eastermost of these islands which he called after his own name, and the other islands he called after his children. Delighted with the country, he returned to his native land after his wife and family, and having performed the same eastern voyage, in the direction of the morning star and the Pleiades, crossing the ocean which is called by the diverse names of *Kai-holo-o-ka-ia,* “the sea where fish do run,” *Ka Moana-kai-Maokioki-a-Kane,* “the spotted, many coloured ocean,” and also *Moana-kai-Popolo,* “the blue or dark-green ocean,”—he arrived the second time to the Hawaiian Islands, and he and his family and followers were their first human inhabitants. So runs the legend.21

Fornander describes this Hawai‘iloa as “but an episode” in the Hawaiian legend of Kumuhonua, but argues that “the universality of the tradition proves its antiquity”:22

That this legend embodies the oldest remembered knowledge of the Hawaiian people regarding the origin of the world, the creation of mankind, the
deluge and some principal events in the national life of that branch of the human family which we now call “the Polynesian,” there will, in my opinion, be little room for doubting.\textsuperscript{22}

Johnson relates these places to islands in Tahiti, levels in the sky (under which certain other islands lie), and the Hawaiian Islands, in her discussion of the Kumulipo:

The Wakea/Papa cosmogonic creation chant is a narrative of births beginning with Tahiti below the equator, east and west Tahiti, suggesting Fiji (Tahiti –moe, ‘west Tahiti’), then the sky levels (‘apapa-lani, ‘apapa-nu’u), then islands of the Hawaiian archipelago from southeast to northwest.\textsuperscript{23}

In discussing the rarity of national appellations among Pacific Islanders who normally associate themselves with their island home, Fornander names the Marquesans and the Hawaiians as the exceptions. As a group of voyagers, the former called themselves by the name \textit{te Take} “the Take,” and the latter by \textit{ka poe Menehune} “the Menehune people.” Though the names are different, he associates the legends as having similar origins, as if two branches of one family were carrying the same legend. Of the Marquesan traditions he has this to say:

In the Marquesan legends the people claim their descent from \textit{Atea} and \textit{Tani}, the two eldest of \textit{Toho}’s twelve sons, whose descendants, after long periods of alternate migrations and rest in far western lands, finally arrived at the Marquesas Islands... According to the legend they claim “Tane,” one of the twelve sons of “Toho,” or the original “Take,” as their immediate progenitor, and the country of \textit{Take-hee-hee} or \textit{Ahee-take} as their ancient home, the birth-place of their race... Marquesan legends offer no explanation of whence this name was derived, or how it came to be adopted as a national designation, beyond the fact that “Take” apparently was a soubriquet of “Toho,” father of the famous twelve...\textsuperscript{24}

Of the Hawaiian tradition of Kumuhonua, he has this to say:

In the Hawaiian legend of \textit{Kumuhonua} and his descendants, the Polynesians are distinguished by the appellation of \textit{ka poe Menehune}, “the
Menehune people,” said to be descended from “Menehune,” son of “Luanu‘u,” and grandfather of the twelve sons of “Kinilau-a-mano,” and thus in a measure, though with altered names, it conforms to the Marquesan legend. But this name, as a national appellation, was apparently dropped at a very early period. In Tahiti it became a distinctive name for the third class into which people were divided, the labouring class, the commoners, the Manahune, and as such remains to this day. In Hawai‘i it disappeared as a national name so long ago, that subsequent legends have converted it into a term of reproach, representing the Menehune people sometimes as a separate race, sometimes as a race of dwarfs, skilful labourers, but artful and cunning.  

In reference to a common origin for these traditions and national appellations, Fornander continues with his discussion of the menehune:

I am inclined to consider the “Menehune” of the legend as a personification of “the people of Mene,” for such is the literal signification of the word; and then Mene alone becomes in reality the national appellation which still lingers in Hawaiian legends and Tahitian usage.

Though the Hawaiian legend makes the name-giver of the race the grandfather of the famous twelve, and Marquesan legend makes him the father; yet the similarity of origin of both legends cannot well be doubted;  

Fornander describes the legends of Kumuhonua, and Toho, as Hawaiian traditions of a family progenitor who has twelve sons. He also mentions another voyager, Aukeleuiakū, whom he associates with this same set of legends—Iku being the father of twelve sons and a daughter:

In the famous legend of Aukele-nui-a-Iku, known in some form or other on several of the Polynesian groups, the hero’s father Iku or Aiku, and his mother Ka Papaiakea, king and queen of a country called Kua-i-helani, had twelve children, of which “Aukele” was the youngest son.  

In another one of Fornander’s genealogical records called ʻŌpu‘ukahonua, a fisherman named Kapuhe‘euanu‘u fished up the Hawaiian islands from under the sea, one by one. Each island was a piece of coral that was entangled in his line. He would
have tossed the coral back into the sea, had not his priest, Laulialamakua stopped him. Instead, each coral piece was worshipped as a chief and given a name (Hawai‘iloa, Mauiloa, O‘ahunuiala’a). Only then were the pieces tossed back into the water, where each grew up to be an island. The importance here is to note the name Kapu-he’e-uanu‘u could have a relationship to other he‘e phrases in the Hawaiian and Marquesan creation chants.

**Surfing through the Kumulipo Chant**

References exist to the term he‘e in the Kumulipo creation chant that should also be considered with regards to wave-sliding. In Chant One, the line “He pō uhe‘e i ka wawa” is repeated in the refrain. Both Beckwith and Johnson see this phrase as referring to the passage of time, with Beckwith translating the phrase as “Darkness slips into light”:

For the third and fourth verses of the stanza as written in the Kalakaua text I have arrived at no satisfactory translation. Bastian, who had only the manuscript before him, which reads He po uhe‘e i ka wawa, refers the word he‘e to the octopus and soliloquizes: “During this period of creation of the lowest forms of animal life…the octopus is present as observer of the process described…” but, since my purpose is to interpret Kalakaua’s text, unless clearly bungled, I follow Ho‘olapa’s doubtful rendering: “Darkness slips into light,” where wawa is perhaps a misprint for waka, “a flash of light,” rather than the “tumult” of the literal translation… Firth finds in Polynesian Tikopia the word nuku used in erotic verse for the “place of particular sex interest” in the female. If pou, meaning “pillar,” refers by analogy to the male generative organ, the two lines would agree in symbolism with the first and last lines of the stanza. The word wawa might then be an elision for wa(oei)wa, defined like wao as “a place of the gods.” Together the whole would refer specifically to the process of fertilization and growth in the natural world of the po controlled by the gods. 28
The poets employ the phrases “O paia (ʻa) i ke auau ka manawa, O heʻe au loloa ka po” [lines 115 & 116] in the conclusion of Chant One, which Beckwith translates as “Multiplying in the passing time, the long night slips along.” Despite her slight towards the idea of “sliding sports” as relating to this passage, it is the action of sliding that prevails, whether sliding through the water or sliding through time. In both passages, Beckwith admits that she does not fully grasp the language being presented:

The concluding line, “O lewa ke au, ia Kumulipo ka po,” with the reiterated “Po—no” (“Still it is night”), serves to balance the preceding “O heʻe au loloa ka po,” where the word heʻe, I think, refers rather to the waving, twisting motion of sea growths, “sliding” (heʻe) about through the water and of land plants swaying in the currents of air than to the squid in particular or to sliding sports, both of which derived ideas have obsessed translators of this passage. The word au, carried over in the first instance from the auau of the line before, may refer to a period of “time” in this unfolding world of the po, perhaps to its “length” (loloa) in the first instance, to Kumulipo as its generative agent in the second. At least, any translation I have seen of this passage has been so incredibly hopeless that an attempt to do justice to the poet’s conception will not, I trust, be taken as an indignity to native genius.

Pokini Robinson sees, I think quite justly, in this image of an infant world with creatures floating in the wash of the waves or swayed by currents of air a symbol of the uncertain movements of the young child whose development she considers to be the subject of the whole chant. The rootlets (paiaʻa) bathing the manawa she would refer to the veins carrying nourishment to the child through the fontanel (manawa) from which the unborn child is supposed to receive food from the parent and may still draw nourishment after birth if the mother’s milk fails.29

The most compelling connection to the term for surfing is associated with the coming of the light, ke ao, in Chant 8. Once again, the term “heʻe” is used in a generative agent to describe an era in the passage of time when men were said to have come from afar, the action of which is referred to as “heʻe nalu mamao.” This generative agent is introduced by line 593 in the conclusion of Chant 7, which says “A ka po heʻe nalu mai i hanau.” Although the word for men, kanaka, was not present in the line, Beckwith
translating the line as “born in the time when men came from afar.” Chant 8 begins with line 595, Beckwith’s translation is presented:

\[
\begin{align*}
O \text{kama auli}[^i] \text{ anei} & \quad \text{Well-formed is the child, well-formed now} \\
O \text{kama i ke au o ka po kinikini} & \quad \text{Child in the time when men multiplied} \\
O \text{kama i ke au o ka po he’e nalu mamo} & \quad \text{Child in the time when men came from afar…}^{30}
\end{align*}
\]

Wherein a surfer might look at this passage and consider the merits of the historical arrival of surfing with these men—“when surfing came from afar,” Beckwith had already stated her feelings about the matter and says nothing here about “sliding sports.” But how far from reality is this idea of men surfing from afar when the canoes were known to use wave action and following seas in crossing the deep blue sea?

Beckwith bypasses the surfing allusion and discusses the time period in a more general fashion, employing instead the analogy of waves of voyagers crossing the sea:

With the eighth chant begins the period of living men called the "Day" or Ao. There appears now the "well-formed child" in the "time when men multiplied" and the "time when men came from afar," as the Po-kinikini and Po-he‘enalu-mamao, generative agents of the period, have been paraphrased. Men multiply "by hundreds," and the function of sex is once more emphasized in the familiar antithesis:

\[
\begin{align*}
[Hanau \text{ kanaka ia wai’ololi}] & \quad \text{Man born for the narrow stream} \\
[Hanau \text{ wahine ia wai’olola}] & \quad \text{Woman for the broad stream.}
\end{align*}
\]

The time of the gods, po akua, is here; a time long ago, po mamao. Wave after wave come the new race, one following after another, the "gods" distinguished by ruddy faces and "white chins" or beards, the men of undetermined ancestry, the kanaka, dark in color… \(^{31}\)

This time period is associated with the woman named La‘ila‘i, who is said to be “a woman in the time when men came from afar.” Because she slept with both Kāne the god and Ki‘i the man, the lineages of gods and men became mixed:
In the Kumulipo this stillness in nature prepares for the emergence of gods and men. There are born the woman La'ilā'i and three males, Ki'i a man, Kane a god, Kanaloa "the hot-striking octopus." With them comes Day, the Ao. There follow a trio of more generalized concepts. "The wombs [?] give birth," "Ocean-edge" (Moana-liha) and "The-damp-forest" (Ka-wao-ma'aukele) possibly refer to the land and sea forms born into the night world in the preceding sections but more naturally to the economic divisions based upon the two sources of food supply, fish and vegetable food, i'a and 'ai, upon which life was regulated for island dwellers. Last, in the lines sometimes paraphrased

The first chief of the dim past dwelling in cold uplands
The man of long life and hundreds upon hundreds of chiefs

is summed up the whole generation of the earliest stock from the beginning, whose genealogy, set down as man and wife in the eleventh section, occupies about one-third of the whole Kumulipo chant.

The lines undoubtedly have historical significance. We know from old sources that remote valleys inland were the preferred homes of the ancient chief stock. The gods Kane and Kanaloa are associated in chant and story with such habitations. Homes "in the heavens" may denote other islands left behind in migration. At some time the old line was superseded by a new branch who became the chief stock on the family genealogy. There came a split between gods and men, and this split is laid at the door of the woman La'ilā'i who left her divine husband in the sacred place of the gods to live "as a woman" (i kanaka) and people the earth with mankind. "The woman sat sideways" is an old saying for a wife who takes another husband; kekeʻe ka noho a ka wahine, says the text.

The affair took place at a time of unfathomable antiquity, referred to in the two phrases ka po heʻe mamao and ka po kinikini; Kanaka wai ka po mai, that is, "from the far past," is the modern expression. It took place in "the land of Lua." The word means "cave" or "pit," and we at once connect the place with stories of the 'Olohe or pit-dwellers already alluded to.32

Could this reference to “ka po heʻe mamao” be associated with the Marquesan Toho and his sons, who had the national appelation of Take heʻeheʻe? Indeed, they were a voyaging tribe who claimed descent from the oldest of the twelve sons, Tāne. Perhaps this new wave of settlers were from a line of chiefs associated with a time in the early Hawaiian settlers’ history known as “ka po uheʻe” or “ka po heʻe au loloa,” as described in the Kumulipo chant. Such a reference to an early time in a far off place in the
Hawaiian Kumulipo chant could be easily adapted to the early national appellation of their own people, who had since journeyed across space and time immemorial.

Considering that this new wave of people may have come out of the original homeland, as Fornander suggested about the Marquesans, the metaphor would have been accessible and understood by the poets. Links between the Marquesan and Hawaiian groups have been identified, so it is a compelling argument for that time period as having been named for Take and the national appellation related to his family’s chiefly rule, *Take heʻeheʻe* or *Aheʻe-tai*.

Similar genealogies exist that tell of the coming of a group of people to Hawaiʻi, with subsequent migrations coming later that are recognized by the first group. Such is the case with stories told about the people of *Moʻokūʻauhau ʻElua* (The second genealogy), which narrates the history of the Kanalu (the wave) chiefly priests. As mentioned, this generation follows the flood called “Ke Kai a Kahinaliʻi,” thus the chief was given the name Kahinaliʻi for the great flood (tsunami) that his people survived. He is called Nuʻu and Nananuʻu by Fornander in his listings of the Kumuhonua and Kumuuli genealogies, and Nāmakaokeahi calls Kanalu’s father, Ola.

His son Kanalu is considered by the transcriber Benjamin Nāmakaokeahi to be the chief at the head of the second era of people in the annals of Hawaiian history. The era appears to begin with the mixing of the genealogies called Kumu-uli, which leads up to Wākea, and Kumuhonua, which leads up to Papa. This mixing could be looked at as a breaking of the first wave/era of people in Hawaiian History. Kanalu gathers up the male and female lines that emerged from their common male and female ancestors. This act of gathering (*haʻi*) breaks that first line because the children become the highest peak
(kūlana nalu) on his own wave of people, a branch (lala) formed by he and his consort—a goddess from under the sea, known as Lilinoe on the Kumuhonua genealogy, and Lalohana on the Kumuuli genealogy. In the Kanalu genealogy, Nāmakaokeahi calls Kanalu’s wife Hinahānaikamālama.

In the Tahitian story of Rū (Kū) and his sister Hinafa’a’uruva’a (Gray-the-canoe-pilot), they lived on a peninsula called “Motu-tapu (Sacred-Island), in Ra‘iatea, from which Motu-tapu of the mainland derives its name.” This place was known as the canoe station of Rū and Hina; a passage there is called TeavaoHina (The-passage-of-Hina), by which they went to sea. They explored the earth, eventually coming to the Hawaiian islands, as shown in this portion of the Sacred Canoe Song of Ru. Henry elaborates in a description of Hina that follows the chant:

...Te pi‘i ra te tuahine, o Hina,
I nia it e au poueru:
E Rū e! E fenua te faʻatautau nei,
O vai ia fenua?”
“O Havai‘i, tu‘u it e tiai i nia iho,
O Havai‘i i ae haut e amaama,
O Havai‘i nui ia ufa te marai.

Hi‘o ra‘i tai te mamao;
Horue na it e tai Arei,
O Putu it a taa it e tua!
O Ma-uru, te tane,  
   o Ma-uru t vahine,
A hiti hoi, a tau oi, e Rū!
To ia ia horo, ia horo ta‘u va‘a i e!

...Then cried his sister, Hina,  
Upon the foaming waves,  
“O Rū! Land is looming up.  
What land is it?”  
It is Havaiʻi, let its watchword be,  
Havaiʻi that towers exceeding in glory,  
Great Havaiʻi when enraged in its beauty.  
The thrush looks seawards into the sky;  
Riding upon the surf of ‘Arei [in Huahine],  
The dear albatross shall be left behind!  
Ma-uru (changing season) the husband,  
Ma-uru the wife,  
Will come indeed forever, o Rū!  
Draw it to run, that my sailing canoe may run!...”

After exploring the earth, Hina’s love for discovery did not cease. So one evening when the full moon was shining so invitingly, being large and half visible on the horizon, she set off in her canoe to make a visit. On arriving there, she was
so pleased with the moon, that she stepped into it, leaving to the mercy of the sea her canoe, which was never seen again.

Thus Hina-i-faauru-vaa became Hina-i-aa-i-te-marama (Hina-who-stepped-into-the-moon, as in the moon she ever afterwards remained, though she did not cease to be in sympathy with her brother in his travels on earth and to do good to man. She watched over travelers at night, an office that caused her to be called Hina-nui-te-araara (Great Hina the watchwoman).³⁴

As Hinaʻuluʻohiʻa, or Lea, she is goddess of canoe and surfboard builders, born in Kailua, Oʻahu. Hina is often worshipped as a flat white coral stone set horizontally, representing the female aspects of creation. A black upright stone that represents Kūʻula, the fishing god, usually accompanies this stone. Upright stones are also seen as Kāne stones, but either way they represent the male aspects of creation. Just as Lohiʻau rides upon the pāʻu of Hiʻiaka after she restores him to life with the help of her brother, she is the papa upon which the Kāne stands upon and surfs (kuʻe manu), his hiʻiolo (bosom friend/wife). Thus, Hina in her many incarnations seems to best represent the sea of potential wave formations from whence high births emerge, that is then enacted upon by those chiefs seeking to ride the great waves of the ocean, if you will allow for the metaphor here.

That an entire class of priestly chiefs and navigators was named “The Wave” (Kanalu) and another is named for sliding on the sea (Aheʻe-tai), and yet another is associated with a time period called “ka po heʻe nalu mamao,” is very significant for understanding the worldview of these people. The metaphor presented in the Kumulipo aligns linguistically with at least three different genealogical accounts about that period. Literal translation of ka po heʻe nalu mamao might be “the time when [Ka]nalu slid from afar,” if not “the time when surfing came from afar.” Johnson describes these passages as
most definitely alluding to the passing of time, with analogies to ‘wave(s)’ \( (nalu) \) or ‘current(s)’ \( (au) \) of time.

Johnson acknowledges the concept of surfing within traditional Hawaiian thought through her rendering of a later passage (Thirteenth Era), where she translates “Kapo he’enalu” as the “Night-of-surfing-waves” (Lines 1749-1753). The passage lists a series of births that begin with Palikū (k) and Palihaʻi (w), a line that is tied to the Kumu-uli genealogy. Johnson translates each line in such a manner:

[37] “He po uhe’e i ka wawa,” “It is a night gliding through the passage,”

[115] “O paia [’a] i ke auau ka manawa, To frame the forest bower in the flow of time,

\[ O he’e au loloa ka po, \]

The flow of time gliding through the long night.”

[593] “A ka po he’e nalu mai i hanau,” “As the night labored to give birth,”

[597] “O kama i ke au o ka po he’e nalu mamo,” “A child in the time of night passing far,”

[624] “O La’ila’i wahine o ka po he’e[nalu] mamoao,” “The woman La’ila’i calm in the night far distant.”

[1749] Hanau o Kapapapahu ka mua, Kapo he’enalu mai kona hope noho
Kapo he’enalu ke kane, Kamaulika’inaina ka wahine
Kahoʻokohipapa [ke kane], Mehakuakoko [ka wahine]
Papa’iao [ke kane], Mauluikonanui [ka wahine]
Papahe’enalu [ke kane], Hanauna [ka wahine]

[1749] Born was the thrusting strata, night of surfing waves was next to follow
Night-of-surfing-waves [the man], The-dark-birth-fluid [the woman]
The-restraining-strata [the man], The-lonely-travail-of-birth [the woman]
The-strata-of-the-light-of-Jupiter [the man], The-contentment-of-Kona-the-great...
Surf board [the man], Birth of rain (Hanauua) [the woman]... 

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Lines (1749-1750) are acknowledged as relating to surfing by definition, with “Night-of-surfing-waves” given as the name of a man born from Kapapauli (k) and Kapapapoha (w), but Johnson does not directly deal with the lines in her discussion. However, she does associate this portion of the Kumulipo with geophysical features as embodied by the wife of Wākea—Papa—stating that the poetry reflects the Kapapaiākea line of the Palikū branch from the Kumu-ulī genealogy. The Earth Mother, Papa, appears as the great granddaughter of Kapōhe‘enalu.

Johnson gives a portion of the Kūali‘i chant that also shows the association with waves as analogies for husband/wife pairs. Such allusions most likely associate the passage with the family who utilizes the wave/surfing set of metaphors. Kapapaiākea is recognized as the grandmother of the legendary character already named, Aukelenuiaikū, but he is the male progenitor of the Palikū branch of the Kapapaiakea genealogy. This era also relates to Haumea, thus there are many connecting points to consider in this case.

Fornander’s Hawaiian version is given here next to Johnson’s text and translation:

The papa fish figuratively refers to the line of Papa-mui-hānau-moku (Papa-who-gives-birth-to these-islands) symbolized as Earth’s foundation stone…The greatest frequency of Papa names in the Kumulipo occurs on the Palikū branch of the Kapapaiākea genealogy. These Papa names reflect the ‘Birth of Rocks’ genealogy emphasizing geophysical births of earth and sky levels…The standard Kapapaiākea genealogy has preserved the identity of Huluke‘ea‘ea (k) as an ancestor of Wākea…The Kapapaiākea genealogy is acknowledged in the Chant of Kūali‘i:

O Kapapaiakea
O ka nalu o kainaina,
O Kauhihi i kana wahine
Hanau koa waa ku i ka nenelu
Kalaia ka ipu i ke kai aleale…

O Kapapaiakea
O the roaring surf of angry feelings
O Kauhihi his wife;
Born was Koawaa of the muddy places
Fashioned was the bowl for the billowy sea…
Henry compared these histories and concluded that the three stories relate to one person:

The name Kapaʻahu (Heaped-up-shore), Fornander says, “Stamps the legend as of southern origin,” and after that land the name Kapaʻahu has been given to several places in the Hawaiian group. This being the fact, Kapaʻahu is evidently identical with the hilly coast called Ta-pahi (With-spray) in the district of Mahina, the home of Tafaʻi, which would tend to prove still further, that Kahaʻi (Tafaʻi), Hawaiʻi-loa, and Kapu-heʻe-ua-nuʻu are names of circumstances applied to one and the same person. 37

What is the relationship with this story and that of Kumuhonua and the Menehune? Are these appellations different names for the same family as remembered through one or another family branch, as Henry suggests? How are they to be associated with this idea of heʻe nalu mamo? It seems appropriate to interject here with Kamakau’s version of the Kumuhonua legend, which mentions the gods Lono, Kū, Kāne, and Kanaloa, along with the first man. In this heavily poeticized and Christianized version of the ancient origins of the Kumuhonua lineage, Kanaloa no longer stands in favor of man, the tellers show him as having fallen from grace. Also, the names mentioned for the first man do not include Kiʻi, though he is described as an image (kiʻi) drawn in the sands of Kahakahakea beach at Mololani (Ulupaʻu crater at Mōkapu, Oʻahu):

When the threefold god, ke kolu akua [appropriated Christian concept of the Trinity, eds.], made heaven and earth, the first separation of land by the god was Nuʻuhōlani—before the lands of Kahiki-kū, Kahiki-moe and Kahiki-i-kapakapa-ua-a-Kāne were made.

Mōkapu, on Oʻahu, is a peninsula, and Mololani [the crater thereon] is almost a mountain. Between Kualoa and Kāneʻohe a model of the lands of the earth was spread out and copied by the threefold god. When the gods looked at all the things that had been made, they saw that there was no man. Therefore these
gods resolved to make a man and to place him as chief over all the things they had made. There was a great single enemy in the making of heaven and earth and man—Kanaloa. It is said that the earth of which man was to be made was his. He wanted man to be of earth and to return to earth. He did not want man to live as a master, and so he gave bitter-tasting things and thorny plants of the brush and things that cause death… In many genealogies, there are many names given to this man; in some, he is called Kumuhonua, in some Kuluipo, in some Kumuuli, and in some Hulihana.

Kane-huli-honua the husband and Ke-aka-huli-lani the wife are the progenitors of the people of Hawai‘i and of all those who dwell in the islands of the Pacific, in Kahiki-ku and Kahiki-moe, and in other lands. In all the countries of the northern Pacific and in all the archipelagoes of the southern and eastern Pacific—everywhere in all these archipelagoes—they speak of the three gods in Hawai‘i, Kāne, Lono, and Ku, and the evil doing god (akua hana ‘ino) Kanaloa.38

As Beckwith commented, it appears that in the making of man as separate from the gods, a new branch split off, and with it a new set of beliefs that left behind Kanaloa as a contributing deity. Though the antiquity of Kumuhonua as a legend has been questioned due to its Christian assimilations, the information contained within Kamakau’s story is still relevant. Especially concerning the general information about the gods and lands mentioned at the beginning, these places are well known. But, Kamakau describes the three gods as one, appropriating the Christian idea of the trinity into a traditional Hawaiian belief system with Ke Kolu Akua.

It is hard to discount the antiquity of the Kumuhonua genealogy itself, one that follows the line of both the elder brother Laka and the younger, Pili, reconstituting through intermarriage at the point of Nu‘u, the chief named Kahinali‘i for his association with the flood stories. The elder line of Laka follows the Kumu‘uli genealogy closely for much of the early part of the lineage. Rather than discount the entire idea of Kumuhonua, we can acknowledge that this legend has been retold in such a way that further aligns this era of Hawaiians with the new religion that they were then in contact with. Significant is
that a model was made of the known lands of the earth, spread out from Kāneʻohe to Kualoa. Modern historians might benefit from understanding what Kamakau meant by this.

Beckwith comments on the Lono order of priests called the *Moʻo Lono*, and the coming of their god to Hawaiʻi, which adds emphasis to the idea that there was a change in the regime of deities at some point in the history of the Hawaiian people. She reports that Kū, Kāne, and Kanaloa are the ruling deities in Kahiki, whereas in Kamakau’s description of the ruling gods in Hawaiʻi, Kanaloa is replaced by Lono. The Fornander prayer mentioned is included in this paper, and offered by Rubellite Kawena Johnson too:

The Lono order of priests in the days of Kamehameha set up heiaus to pray for rain, abundant crops, or escape from sickness and trouble. A prayer to Lono, recorded in the Fornander collection under Thrum, shows how, after the coming of Kane and Kanaloa and the establishment of the ancestral line through Kumuhonua and Laiholonua and its spread over the island through Wakea and Papa, from whom were born the chiefs, there came Lono also from the ancestral birth-place, to whom were offered the redfish, the black coconut, the whitefish, and the growing awa; to Kane and Kanaloa were made sacred the red fowl, the pig, and awa: "Ku, Kane, and Kanaloa are supreme in Kahiki." 39

**Kanaloa**

The god of the sea, Kanaloa, also carries the name *Kaheʻe o Haunawelu*, there is an apparent association of this god with surfing because of the shared term “heʻe,” as well as the fact that this activity takes place in his arena. If Kanaloa, whose *kinolau* (representation in nature) is in this case the large red *heʻe* (*Octopus ornatus*), was born the dangerous/red hot striking octopus and cast away into the sea, what association does he have to these early voyagers and their namesake? Johnson describes Kanaloa in his form as the *heʻe*, illuminating other traditions in the Pacific that honor Kanaloa. She
attributes this association of Kanaloa with the underworld as possibly Marquesan in origin. Amongst the traditions, Kanaloa seems to be associated with varying levels of darkness, namely relating to the dim dark past:

The heʻe ‘squid/octopus’ of the Heʻe/Walaheʻe pair was the principal form of Kanaloa, Ka heʻe hauna wela, ‘the evil-smelling squid’ (= Tangaroa/Tagaloa) was of less importance, ranking last amongst the gods. The octopus god Feʻe (=Feke) does not inspire the respect from Hawaiians that is more typical of Samoans and Tongans. Their east Polynesian cousins in Tahiti regard Tangaroa as the original creator god, symbolized in the ‘egg’ (huoro) of the revolving universe...

The Marquesans describe Tanaʻoa (=Tangaroa) as the first occupant of space whose province, the engulfing night, was driven away by daylight (Atea =Wakea)... This may be the source of the Hawaiian belief that Kanaloa is a god of the underworld, the underworld being first identified as Manuʻa, ruled over by the god of that name whose function was usurped by Kanaloa. Other tradition implies that Kanaloa became Mīlu, the present name of the underworld...

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The Samoan octopus god Feʻe, floating on a piece of coral, was brought to Manuʻa by Tagaloa. On Manuʻa Feʻe became the father of two girls, Sina-saʻu-mani (f) and Sasaʻu-mani (f). Sina-saʻu-mani(f) married the Tui Manuʻa Tagaloa-a-Ui, and Sasaʻu-mani (f) moved to Savaiʻi where she married a chief of Gagaʻemalae on the west coast. The impression given by Manuʻa tradition is that Feʻe came from the same homeland (Pulotu) as Savea Siʻuleo. Legend reports that after the departure of Feʻe, Savea Siʻuleo ruled over the underworld with his hosts of Aitu.

Savaiʻi traditions locate the entrance to the underworld toward Pulotu and to Sā-le-Feʻe, an old name for Samoa, at Fāfā on the west coast of Savaiʻi near Falealupo. Sā-le-Feʻe was so named “because the family of Feʻe, the octopus god, ruled there...”...The Samoan identification of Tiʻitiʻi (= Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga) as the slayer of the octopus god Feʻe is confirmed in Raʻiatean tradition...

The Tongan octopus god Feke was important to the Haʻapai group as god of the Tui Haʻa Ngana, called Haelefeke, represented as a white or grown species. Feke as a place name stipulates tracts of land in Haʻapai on Níniva, Lofanga, and Lifuka islands. The feke was the octopus deity Atua i Faea of the Kafika and Tafua, joining symbolically the ‘yam’ (Kafika) and ‘coconut’ (Tafua) clans of Tikopia: “The symbolism of the octopus concentrated upon its tentacles, analogies to which were found in the rays of the sun, and in a set of springs of water originating from the hillcrest of Korofau [Koʻolau] and emerging on various sides of the slope. Both sun with its rays and hill with its springs were treated as further embodiments or transformations of Feke; the rays indeed were invoked as a set of separate entities in ritual... But though dangerous, the octopus god was not regarded with the same fear as was the eel god; he seemed to lack the malignancy of the latter.”

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This ruler of lands south of the horizon (the underworld/under the sea), who lived in darkness before the coming of the light (Wākea) is inextricably tied to the surfing set of metaphors. He is also acknowledged as relating to surfing in the Tuamotu Islands when his son, Turiafaumea, goes surfing with Hinarauriki, where she is stolen away by the demon octopus Rogotumuhere, who takes her to the bottom of the sea. Tagaloa helps Turi go after his wife and fishes the great octopus out of the sea, where he cuts of the tentacles one by one. When he cuts off the head, Hina emerges covered in slime. It is seen here that Tagaloa kills the great octopus where he often embodies such a character in other legends. 41

Looking back at surfing origins across the Pacific, we see that Kanaloa is associated in many ways and in many places with the octopus as well the term heʻe/heke/Feke/Feʻe. From this animal comes the concept of sliding through the water, or over the water, as it is applied to voyaging and surfing. Tonga, among other Pacific Island nations, has proverbs showing the integration of surfing as a well-known activity that was understood by the people enough to be considered common ground for such proverbs. Tahitian traditions include many surfers, and they go as far as to name a patron deity for surfing. Understanding these references from an oceanic worldview may help in rendering the meaning of passages in the Kumulipo and other historical chants. In this way, ocean conditions and surfing metaphors also become important as educational perspectives to explore.

These examples have served to show the poetic integration of waves and wave-sliding in the histories of Hawaiʻi and a few of the islands in the Pacific that lie along the
ancient migration routes. How involved the sliding sport of surfing actually was then is
difficult to ascertain, and requires further research in the myths and legendary tales of this
period. But beyond a doubt, the connotation is of a truly oceanic people who associated
themselves with the vast ocean and the idea of sliding across the sea—moreso, across
space and time itself.

These histories indicate that at some rudimentary level surfing was already
established as a Polynesian tradition prior to reaching Hawai‘i. Surfing became culturally
integrated to a greater extent on some of these islands, namely in Remote Oceania.
Hawaiian myths and legends mention voyagers surfing in Hawai‘i and abroad with
humans and gods alike. However, in order to understand the importance of surfing in the
stories told, we should first assess the level of integration that surfing had achieved at the
time these stories were told, and as recorded during the early historic period. In doing so,
we can better understand the position of surfing in Hawaiian culture, its importance, and
its impact as a theme or storyline in Hawaiian Literature.

We have looked at the framework Charlot provides to understand these stories as
themes with literary motifs and devices. We have also looked at some of the themes
relating to surfing origins that persist among Pacific Islanders. Now we can apply this
framework and look for some of these persistent themes as they appear in Hawaiian
surfing prose and poetry. In the next chapter we look at the literary and physical evidence
indicating that surfing is truly a traditional Hawaiian cultural activity.
CHAPTER IV.
HUMAN BEINGS AND SOCIETY
Surfing is a Traditional Hawaiian Cultural Activity

As a period of population growth on these islands followed the long voyages to Hawaiʻi, many cultural factors emerged that further encouraged the development and popularity of surfing. Gutmanis, in her book, *Na Pule Kahiko* (1983), reports on the position of sports and games in Hawaiian society and daily life in general. Her description and positioning of such activities challenges readers to break the western mold of competitive sports that is prevalent today:

Sports and games were, in some form or other, a daily part of the lives of the people of old. Guessing games, riddling, and boasting contests often accompanied routine work. Free time during the day might be filled, on impulse, with swimming, surfing, kite flying, or tug-of-war, while quiet games in the evening might be used for games of skill such as konane, juggling, or cats’ cradle. A wide range of social games such as puhenehene, kilu, or ʻume were often the basis for an exchange of sexual favors. During the *makahiki* and on other festive occasions contests such as boxing, spear-throwing, and other sports that required special training were popular.¹

Amongst those games, surfing was extremely popular. The practice of surfing required great skill, and those who performed surfing feats acquired personal *mana* as well as social standing. Expertise in surfing could render the surfer famous.² In many cases, being related to a lineage of chiefs or priests could be grounds for gaining specific knowledge and ability in the ocean, and these lineages in turn had caretakers of such knowledge among them. Hawaiian Scholar John Papa ʻĪʻī, in describing his own family and the names his mother carried, seems to infer that his mother may have been such an expert surf instructor through the name “Pahulemu” (Shove-from-the-rear), which he
terms a “descriptive name.” Note the reference to lemu, the tail end of the board, and pahu, the act of pushing a learner into a wave:

The name Pahulemu (Shove-from-the-rear) was derived from a lack of skill in surfing, which required the aid of the skilled. The learner would lie down on the board to ride in on the surf, while the skilled one held onto the back end (lemu) of the board when the surf rose. When the surf drew near, the instructor gave the board a shove (pahu) and the surfer rode nicely toward the shore. This was the meaning of that name, O companions.

Even the chiefs had experts within the family who taught them the finer points of success on the waves, and as Gutmanis points out, sports that required such special training were popular amongst practitioners and spectators alike. ‘Īʻī discusses how Kamehameha I had a surfing instructor named Keaka to teach him how to observe and negotiate the many conditions found in nearshore waters. This kahu wahine, as ‘Īʻī calls her, is highly respected by the young aliʻi, as evidenced by his open praises to her long after the time of his instruction:

It was in the Holualoa lands of Kona that the chiefs dwelt in olden times, from the time of Keakamahana, the great kapu chiefess of Hawaiʻi, and earlier. Where the large stone wall is located above Keolonahini was Keakeawahine’s dwelling place, for her parents, Keakamahana and Iwikauikaua, resided there. These were lands occupied by the chiefs because the surfing there was good, and the food abundant in ancient times. There Kamehameha learned to surf and to glide with a canoe over the waves, guarded by the kaikunane of Keaka, in accordance with her commands. Because he was well trained, Kamehameha excelled in these arts and in sailing canoes…

In turn, Kamehameha’s favorite wife, Kaʻahumanu, learned to surf from her husband: “Kaahumanu’s circuits of the land were always by canoe, for she had learned all about canoeing and surfing from Kamehameha I, her cousin, lord, and husband.” ‘Īʻī said the same of Waikīkī as of Hōlualoa, where the chiefs lived because the surfing was good, in describing how Kamehameha I divided up Oʻahu upon the fall of its chiefs:
“Parcels of land at Waikiki, where the chiefs liked to live because of the surfing, were
given to chiefs and prominent persons.” 5

On one occasion of surf coaching mentioned by ʻĪʻī, Kaʻahumanu also received
instruction from a local surfer when she and Kamehameha planned on going surfing at
the surf of Maliu, in Halehua, Kōhala, on the east side of Kauhola Point, “a break said to
be 3 to 4 chains long, or longer”:

Kekakau surfed there, and it is said that he was most skilled in surfing. He
was a kamaaina of the place, and it was he who led Kaahumanu to the surf of
Maliu…

As the story goes, Kaahumanu and Kekakau swam or went by canoe to the
place where the surf rose. Before they left, Kekakau talked with the king about the
nature of the surf and showed Kaahumanu the places to land, which would be
signaled by the waving of a white tapa. If the tapa was moved to the right or to the
left, she was to go to the side indicated before the sea rose up high and
overwhelmed her. If the tapa was spread out, or perhaps wadded into a ball, the
signal meant to go in on the middle of the wave. Kekakau told the chiefess to
observe the signals on shore while they rode shoreward from the place where the
surf rose to the place where the wave rose up high until they landed. Before they
started the earth ovens had been lighted for roasting dogs, and by the time they
reached shore, the dogs were cooked.6

One cultural factor affecting the development of surfing with relation to
spectators is the popularity of betting as a social activity. Surfing was a popular betting
sport in Hawaiian culture that the people could relate to, both through daily impulse as
well as the excitement felt over a wager. Surfing was not only a part of daily life, but also
an activity that fulfilled the aspects important in a wager, namely the ability of a person
to perform at a high level in an extreme natural environment, and (most often) over
another person. In this sense, a display of control over animated natural power (mana)
occurs when the surfer overcomes the random challenges presented by, for instance,
extreme ocean conditions, as well as other people involved in the wager. Malo lists five important points concerning surfing, competitions, and betting:

1. *O ka heenalu kekahi hana pili waiwai nui ia ke makemake ka lehulehu e kolo kela mea keia mea mamuli o ka lakou mea i ike ai he akamai i ka heenalu.*

1. Heʻe nalu was another popular gambling sport when the crowd wanted to bet. Everyone wagered according to who was their favorite heʻe nalu (surfer).

2. *A pau ka pili ana alaila Au na heenalu makai, o ke kulana nalu, maluna a o ka papa e au ai, he Koa ka laau papa, i kalai ia a palahalalahaha, he Wiliwili kekahi kaau papa i kalai ia he olo lino ia.*

2. When the betting was completed then the heʻe nalu swam seaward of the kūlana nalu. They swam out on top of their papa (boards). The papa was made of Koa wood and shaped in a flat surface. Another wood used was Wiliwili which was shaped into a papa ololino.

3. *Hookahi anana ka loa o kekahi papa, elua kekahi eha kehaki a ke aku no.*

3. The length of a papa was about one fathom. Some were two fathoms and some were four or more fathoms long.

4. *A iho laua, a hiki ana makai o kulana a ku mai ka nalu, hooma pu mai laua, a pae pu mai a hiki laua mauka, e lana ana a kekahi mouo ua kappa ia kela mea he pua.*

4. When two heʻe nalu went pass the kūlana where the surf crashed, they paddled with their hands until they landed ashore where there was a marker or float (kekahi mouo). The float was called a “pua.”

5. *Ina i komo pu laua maloko o ua pua la, pai wale laua, a i komo kekahi maloko o ka pua nana ke o, a i ka Au hou ana, o ka mea i komo i ka pua, hooma waena mai oia, aole e hiki i ke kulana, o ke o no ia nana, pela ka hee nalu.*

5. If they both entered inside of this “pua,” it was a draw. If one entered inside of the “pua” [before the other] then he won. The one who entered inside of the “pua” would swim out again. This time he would paddle towards a middle area that did not reach the kūlana where he would be declared the winner. That was how heʻe nalu was done.
That the rules seem standardized shows a certain level of cultural integration. However, the footnotes in these passages indicate both translators, Emerson and Chun, had trouble translating the fifth point. We see Chun’s reading above and Emerson concluded “that the victory was declared only after more than one heat, a rubber, if necessary.” Informational accounts like this are important when analyzed for examples of surf prose relating to surfing science and But when the ethnographers and translators become confused, we can turn to poetic accounts to help clarify the discrepancies and nuances that are lost in translation.

Regarding these competitions, it might be that the winner went back out for a second wave, but to the middle break where he or she could be more easily seen. Emerson and Chun describe the passage similarly, and the explanation seems reasonable. By riding a wave on the inside, the competitors may proceed to display (hō‘ike) their ability to the spectators. It was in this manner that the young Kūapāka‘a outwitted the eight fishermen of Keawenuia‘umi and caused them first to lose their share of the catch, and then later to be cooked in an ‘imu (underground oven) for wagering their bones against the boy in an attempt to extract revenge for the loss of the fish. This race was organized with canoes measuring six fathoms in length and surfing rules that seem to fit with Malo’s final point about surfing the inside break, as a “rubber” as Emerson calls it.

For Kūapāka‘a, even after the first canoe came to shore, four waves needed to be caught, and thus four fishermen riding one wave each versus the boy riding four waves himself was meant to boost the odds even further. However, as Nākuina points out, “The fishermen were in such a hurry to go, they didn’t specify the kind of waves the first to shore had to catch—the shorebreak, or the waves that break farther out at sea and bring
the rider to shore.” The boy took advantage of this careless omission, and therefore he was able to catch four waves by staying close to shore and catching waves on the inside of the surf break, what modern surfers might call the reform, and further in on the sand, the shorebreak, depending on the coastal bathymetry at the surfing site. So, although the rides were short, they were counted and the boy won the race. In doing so, he avenged his father for their poor treatment of him.

That was the second race. The first race was not planned, but rather suggested by Kūapāka’a as a friendly wager upon returning towards shore. As they were still far from shore, the race began and the fishermen began to pull ahead immediately. Then the boy hoisted a small sail and called to his god Laʻamaomao to cause winds and waves to arise and aid him in winning the race:

É Laʻamaomao,
É my kupunawahine,
Bring on, bring on a strong wind,
Raise the surf from Kahiki
To carry the canoe of your grandson to shore
The canoe of Kūapāka’a,
So we two will eat first our first mālolo.

When this chant ended, the wind blew, forming a swell, and in no time a big wave appeared. When Kūapāka’a saw the wave coming, he began to paddle with all his might. As his canoe caught the wave, the stern was lifted up high. He paddled strongly to catch the wave and then just steered with his paddle, letting the wave carry him...

When Kūapāka’a’s canoe caught the big wave, the other canoe was at the entrance of the channel to shore, but when the men saw the huge wave rising up and feathering, they thought their canoe would be dashed against the reef, crushing them to death, so they stalled their canoe with their paddles to let the wave pass.

While they waited, they saw Kūapāka’a pass them and land. “The keiki has landed, the keiki has landed!” They shouted...

After the first big wave swept past, the other canoe wanted to enter the channel but another big wave followed, and then a third. When the sea was finally calm again, the men brought their canoe through the channel to shore.
Another example of competition in the surf occurs at Heʻeia Bay in Keauhou of the Kona district, Hawaiʻi Island. This challenge however, is against another sport entirely, albeit a sliding sport. Heʻe hōlua is the equivalent of heʻe nalu, but on land. A track made of basalt cobbles and boulders and then covered with a layer of pili grass provides the run, which ends with a splashdown in the small bay of Heʻeia. At this small bay, competitions between two challengers would ensue. The holua sledder would come from atop the slide and the surfer from out to sea, each trying to reach a small hut inside the bay. Finney and Houston describe it as follows:

During the competition, when a large wave approached the breaking place, someone would flash a white tapa flag from the grass house. Then a young chief at the top of the slide would run a few powerful steps, throw himself and his narrow sled belly-down on the slide, and plummet seaward. At the same time, out at sea, a surfer would catch the wave that had triggered the signal and race the sled to shore. The first to reach the grass hut was the winner.

Wagering on such matches, by contestants as well as spectators, was a favorite and often fanatic pastime that occasionally overshadowed the sport itself.11

An historic song concerning Heʻeia Bay in Keauhou on Hawaiʻi Island was written by J. Kalahiki to show the prowess of our “Merry Monarch,” King Kalākaua. It is played to an ancient hula tempo and accompanied by the ʻuliʻuli rattle. The song is brilliantly written and encoded with many aspects found in the surfing stories of old. Many hints that follow along with the set of common surfing metaphors are imbedded in the lyrics. The song represents Kalākaua’s efforts to revitalize Hawaiian cultural traditions during his reign. Very prevalent is the underlying theme of romance and passion, expressed through metaphors within the story of Kalākaua’s surfing endeavors;
it is also a celebration of our Merry Monarch’s virility, poetically described as “Ka nuku o ka manu.” (The beak of the bird).12

Gutmanis comments on the popularity of betting in relation to sports and competition as well. She describes what was wagered and a little insight into the source of the practitioners’ success. She shares with her readers that the gods enjoyed sports as well, often joining in:

At some time every sport and every game was the basis for betting. The prize might be an unimportant possession, sexual favors, personal services, or, in extreme cases, one’s life. For the casual game the contestant could depend on his own know-how, but if a bet or other special interest depended on the outcome, the participant would call upon the gods, both during the periods of training and practice and when the bets were placed.

The gods shared man’s enjoyment of sports, not only as patrons and spectators but at times even joined men in contests or staged contests of their own.13

Hawaiian religious practices are nature-based social constructions that include many rituals and deities. These gods are often represented as ke kini akua, the four, the forty, the four hundred, and the four hundred thousand gods. These gods represent characteristics of nature that affect all parts of life. Each is often associated with a person who is accredited with understanding or mastering that aspect of nature or bit of knowledge. As Kamakau acknowledges, “Ka po‘e kahiko of Hawai‘i looked to the originators of the ancient crafts, and they venerated them.” That acquired knowledge might then be passed on, most often within the family.

In such a case, the associated god-name seems to be repeated within later generations, namely for those who master that particular craft or show the characteristics when they were young. Some are even named at birth in the hopes that the child would
embody such skill through the name and association. Over time, many of these ancestors became ‘aumākua over each craft or profession in general. Hawaiians often may have called upon one or another of these deities for guidance in their work.¹⁴

These gods represent people along branches of a genealogical lineage that leads to a common ancestor, one that bonds many of the indigenous people across the Pacific. It is important to recognize the relationships between these entities and their descendents.

Beckwith elaborates how these gods are embodied within meaningful signs of nature:

All forms of nature were thus thought of as bodily manifestations of spirit forces. The hierarchies of the gods corresponded to the social system, which recognized a minute classification of society into ranks according to blood inheritance. National worship of the great gods, conducted by ruling chiefs, was an expression of descent from a common stock. The slave class who bore no such relationship were hence out-casts; they lived apart and were forbidden intermarriage or even association, except of a limited sort, with the freeborn. Worship of a god as special guardian or aumakua of a particular family was also an expression of kinship and commanded the service of whatever nature spirits belonged, either by descent or by adoption, to the family of the god. Even the great gods Ku, Kane, Lono, Kanaloa might be addressed in prayer as “aumakua.” Romances and hero tales are rich with implications of this relationship in which nature shares in the signs and acclamations which attend the footsteps of a divine offspring.¹⁵

Handy and Pūkuʻi discuss the depth of the psychic relationship that is formed between the Hawaiian people, nature, and their deities:

To comprehend the psyche of a true Hawaiian it is necessary to enlarge the implications of the word “relationship” beyond the limitations of the “interpersonal” or social. The subjective relationships that dominate the Polynesian psyche are with all nature, in its totality, and all its parts separately apprehended and sensed as personal. The Sky-that-is-Bright-and-Wide (Wakea), the level Earth (Papa), were primordial Father and Mother.

Thunder is Kane-he-kili (Male-in-the-form-of-gentle rain), and Kane-pohaka-kaʻa (Kane-pohaku-kaʻa) (Male [=sky]-the rock-roller), who is the same as Kane-ula-nui-makeha (Male [=sky] lightning-flash-great-streaking).

The rain-laden clouds over the Breast (Ka-ʻu) of Earth (Papa) are Lono Makua, one of whose forms is Kamapuaʻa (see section on Kino-lau). Pele is
vulcanism in all its forms, while her sisters are rainbows seen at sea, rosy glow of
dawn on clouds and mountains (Hi‘iaka), the green cloak of jungle of the upland
forest (Wahine-oma‘o). More particular are tree and other plant and bird bodies:
The four maile sisters (Maile-ha‘i-wale, Brittle-maile, Maile-pa-kala, Many-
 branched maile, Maile-kaluhea, Large leaved-fragrant-maile, and Maile-lau-li‘i,
Small-leaved-maile); sweet potato and kukae-pua‘a, a native crab grass, and
various other forms which are “myriad body-forms” (see Kino-lau) of Kama-
pua‘a; Ohi‘a-lehua-a-Laka (Laka’s [Maori Rata] -ohi‘a lehua) and the hawk, Io,
were forms of Ku; the owl, Pueo, on the other hand, was a “body” of one of the
Kane’s of the Pele clan—these were two very sacred ‘aumakua to which
particular lineages had affinity, due to genealogical relationship. All the lizards
(mo‘o) are “bodies” of the legendary giant Mo‘o Kihawahine, who is ancestress
likewise to certain lineages.

The list could be multiplied at great length; if completed, would be
encyclopedic, comprising in fact all forms and phenomena of sky, earth and sea
that were to Hawaiians noteworthy. The acute faculties of this native folk noted
with exactitude the generic characteristics of all species of terrestrial and marine
life, and the subtlest variations of natural phenomena such as winds, light and
colour, ruffling of water and variation in surf, and the currents of water and air. 16

Beckwith (1970) attributes all mo‘o to the ancestress Kalanimainu‘u (also known
as Kalamainuu), with Kihawahine being the most famous of the deified mo‘o
 ancestresses. Another body of the lizard, or a part of the body, is the surfboard, which in
the story of Kalamainu‘u, was her tongue. This thematic device is used in quite a few
stories related to mo‘owāhine. In the case of Mā‘eli‘eli, the mo‘o that surfs at Ku‘au in
He‘eia, she is said to have a “surfboard-shaped” tongue as well. Kalamainu‘u lets him use
her surfboard, without him realizing that it is her tongue. Kamakau’s story names several
surfing sites on both Kaua‘i and O‘ahu, and the theme of longing for the surf arises for
these places that Puna‘aikoa‘e yearns for:

Puna‘aikoa‘e was a skilled surfer, well accustomed to the surfs of Makaiwa and
Kaohala and Kalehuawehe, the surfs of Wailua near to Kapa‘a. Kalamainu‘u was in
search of a husband and she found Puna‘ai‘koa‘e surfing on the surf of Kalehuawehe. As
the chief’s party was going ashore, he saw this beautiful woman on a long surfboard. He
abandoned his own board and leaped upon hers to make love to her, and the mana of this
astonishing woman drew him out to the ocean. They landed at Ka‘ena…
One day he went up a ridge facing the sea, and when he saw the surf of Pekue breaking and rolling in toward Waialua, and saw the surfs of Kapapale and Kauanui, and the break and spread of Puaʻena, he yearned for the surfs of that land… “ʻAuhea ʻoe. Yours is a land with surfs, and that being so, I am asking you to consent to my going surfing, for I yearn for the surfs of the land.”

Kalamainuʻu replied, “I consent; go down and surf. But do not speak to anyone on the way. If you meet two men cultivating by the roadside and they call you, do not stop to speak to them. This is my command. Go and enjoy yourself, and when you are through with your pleasure, come back.”

The eʻepa woman pointed to the surfboard lying in the depths of the cave. Punaʻaiʻkoaʻe drew it out and went down. He passed Puʻeʻa, passed Hinaleʻs heiau, passed Mapuʻuhale, and went down to Kanoa, where Hinale and ‘Akilolo were doing their cultivating. They called out to him, but he paid no attention; they called two or three timed, but he did not glance their way. He went on down, and the two ran after him saying, “We speak to you of life; if you refuse to listen you will die.”

Punaʻaiʻkoaʻe turned and looked at them and said, “My wife laid down her decree saying that I must speak to no one; but perhaps she does not know that I am talking to you two.”

The men said, “Your wife is an akua; we cannot hide our talking together. She is Kalamainuʻu, a moʻo of ‘forty thousand’ (kini) moʻo, a moʻo of ‘four hundred thousand’ (lehu) moʻo. Those are the bodies of your wife. Because we pity you, we are telling you this. The surfboard you are carrying is your wife’s tongue.”

These characteristics in nature also embody meaning for human beings and society. People living in a Hawaiian way become completely enveloped by a world where nature and the human spirit guide the living toward an existence considered to be pono, righteous. The goal is not merely to survive, but to thrive—to reach the highest heights.

**Archaeological Surfing Sites and Place Names**

Moses Manuʻs telling of Keaomelemele (2002) abounds with surfers like Punahoa, ʻŌhele, and Keaomelemele herself, who surfs and bathes in the famous fresh water pools of the islands. This next passage is a unique look at the importance of places in the hearts of the Hawaiian people. It appears that Keaomelemele’s surf sessions
followed by the bathing in these fresh water pools restored her energy. Manu describes the time spent as rests between hula sessions, but it is almost like surfing is meant as a form of cross training, because as she becomes more adept at dancing, she ceases her travels.

Keaomelemele enjoyed surfing nightly after completing intensive days of training in chant and hula at Waolani on Konahuanui (Oʻahu). Manu names these pools and the famous waves she surfed:

After dancing had ended and the pupuweuweu (closing) chant was uttered to free the kapu of the hula school, she flew to Niihau to surf there. Then she flew to bathe in the pool of the paoo fish on Lehua and returned to the place where she was being trained to dance hula. There she rested. On the second night, after the dancing was over, she flew to ride the surf at Kalehuawehe at Waialua on Kauai, flew to bathe in the pool of Kapoulu. So it was with the surf of Keanini at the ship landing in Pueokahi, Hana, Maui, and then she bathed in the waters of Kualihau. After the surf of Puuhele she dived in the water of Kumaka.

So it was with Hawaiʻi. She rode the surf of Huia in Hilo, bathing in the water of Waianuenue (Rainbow Falls). Thus she did until graduation time drew near. When she became more adept at dancing, she ceased travelling.  

Information about the wahi pana o heʻe nalu, ancient surfing locations around the islands are found in many legendary accounts. ʻĪʻī lists Kamehameha’s favorite surfing spots when discussing types of surfing, types of surfboards, and places to surf on Hawaiʻi Island. Surfing place names were collected by Pūkuʻi and later presented by Finney and Houston (1996). It is interesting to note that on the island of Hawaiʻi, they mention over fifty known ancient surfing locations. At least fifty-eight other surfing spots are cited within the remainder of the island chain, including eighteen on Oʻahu, nineteen on Maui, sixteen on Kauaʻi, three on Niʻihau, one on Molokaʻi, and one on Lanaʻi.
However, surfers know that the number of surfing sites on O‘ahu alone equals over 100 separate breaks, and there are as many on the outer islands. Hawai‘i Island is considered by modern surfers to have the least number of places to surf because of the treacherously rocky coastline and lack of bays and beaches. Why should this be the case that a majority of the literature seems to indicate the opposite? There are several considerations, like the fact that the popular literature of the time that was collected and retold followed the favorite stories and places of the ruling line of chiefs, which in Kamehameha’s case is Hawai‘i Island. Conversely, the lack of information, about O‘ahu for instance, may be related to the loss of people holding knowledge for that conquered line of chiefs. Also, many of these chants have been set aside in favor of others, and thus the information remains covered until one of us looks for the place.

Luckily, the name chant of O‘ahu’s chief Kūali‘i has preserved quite a few place names for ocean features around O‘ahu. Kapa‘ahulani and Kamaka‘aulani were the two
brothers who wrote the chant for him during his reign in the 1700s. As priests, they desired to serve under this great ruler, so they wrote the chant for him and devised an elaborate plan that manipulated the warring district chiefs of Koʻolauloa against Kūaliʻi. Each brother took a side and at the appointed moment on the battlefield of Keahumoa in the Ewa district of Oʻahu, the opposing priest chanted this mele in honor of Kūaliʻi. Thus, war was averted by this chant, and the priests fulfilled their desire to serve the chief. The brothers claimed in the chant that Kūaliʻi owns everything, the land and the sea, even Kahiki. In doing so, they named some of the winds and rains of Kauaʻi along with one of Kauaʻi’s famous surfing spots—Makaiwa, where Keaomelemele surfed (Kalehuawehe).

This portion of the chant also names many of the seas around Oʻahu, including a place called Kahaloa, “a sea for surfriding,” as well as several other popular surfing spots on Oʻahu, like Māmala (named for the surfing chiefess) “a sea for going naked,” Kaʻaʻawa “a sea with curved rollers,” and Kahana “a sea for the ʻĀhiu” wind. As seen here in the mele for Kūaliʻi and his adoption of it, Kūaliʻi has pride for the surf spots in his realm:

*O ke kai!* *Ia wai ke kai?*
*Ia Ku no.*
*I nui mai kai i Kahiki,*
*I lawea kai i ka aina*
*I kiki ke oho i ke kai*
*I ehu ke oho i ke kai liu*
*I pala ke oho i ke kai loa*
*I lele ke oho i kai kea*
*He kai kuhinia ko ka puua*
*He kai lihaliha ko ka ilio*
*He kai okukuli ko ka moa*
*He kai ala ko ka anae*
*He kai hauna ko ka palani*
*He kai heenalu ko Kahaloa*

The sea, whose is the sea?  
For Ku.  
The vastness of the sea is from Kahiki,  
Calm is the sea by the land,  
Taken up is the sea in the hand,  
Dressed is the hair with the sea,  
Red is the hair with very salt sea,  
Softened is the hair great the sea,  
Brown is the hair with the foaming sea.  
Rich is the soup of the hog,  
Fat is the soup of the dog,  
Dainty the soup of the fowl,  
Fragrant the soup of the mullet,  
Strong the soup of the sturgeon,  
A sea for surf-riding is at Kahaloa,
The Wailua Bay surfing spot on Kaua‘i known as Maka‘iwa was made famous by the chiefly ancestor Mō‘ikeha. As mentioned, this voyager arrived when a big surf was running and chose to stay, marrying two sisters, Ho‘oipoikamalanai and Hinau‘u, who were daughters of the island Mō‘ī (ruling chief) named Puna. He became ruling chief upon the death of his father-in-law, and Mō‘īkeha chose to remain in Kaua‘i for the rest of his days. He later sent his son Kila to Tahiti to fetch his Tahitian-born son La‘a, and upon arrival of Kila in Tahiti, he told the relatives that his father would stay “…where the surf of Maka‘iwa curves and bends.” The name Kamakaiwa means “mother-of-pearl eyes,” an analogy to an idol with pearl shell eyes. Interestingly, when looking at that wave from across the bay where Hikinaakalā heiau stands, the oval shaped barrel has a similar appearance to a shiny white eye staring out across the water.
When the wild northeasterly winds blow for several days at Kahana, a wave begins to break that was popular for surfing amongst the chiefly families. A proverb elaborates on the conditions found there: “He kai ʻāhiu ko Kahana.”—“A wild sea has Kahana.” Hiʻiakaikapōliopōle made this spot famous in chant when she encountered Palani, the surfing chief of Kahana, who was also of Tahitian origin. In her chant honoring this chief, she elaborates on the favored surfing place:

Na kupa heʻe ʻĀhiu i ka laʻi o Kahana”
(The native sons who surf in the ʻĀhiu wind in the peaceful land of Kahana).

Here we find information regarding (1) the environment under which the activity is possible, “...i ka laʻi o Kahana” (in the peace of Kahana), which refers to the calm waters of the bay that are present even when rough conditions prevail along the rest of the Koʻolau coast; (2) uses of the environment, in describing the kind of surfboards used, “lauwili” (Erythrina sandwicensis) surfboards were thought to be reserved for the chiefs; and (3) human beings and society, with the inference being that a kapu existed wherein only aliʻi surfed there. 23

Surfing practices helped to establish and maintain kapu and class boundaries through reserving a surf spot for the aliʻi. This restriction may have applied only when a chiefly person was surfing there, but possibly, reserved at all times for those of high rank. In some cases surfing at these places could be an occasion to break those boundaries of class and chiefly separation. This was a favorite subject of the many genealogists and bards of the court who were responsible for knowing and later graciously sharing with us the bulk of what we now see as Hawaiian literature.
1) Pu‘u o Mahia/Mahie: The eastermost peak at the makai end of Kahana, backing on Makaha. Residents in Ke Ahupu‘a o Kahana tell of early ethnographies that have shaded the true name of this peak. Although Pokai changed “Mahia” to Puru‘o Mahie, translation “Kearny Peak”, Puru‘o Mahina is the name given by the Kanaka Maoli o Kahana, since the moon rises over this peak when viewed from Kahana valley.

2) Palani Ke‘a: A fishing shrine located at the lowest peak beneath Pu‘u o Mahina at the east end of the bay. The famous surfing chief of Kahana is named for a slim reef fish that frequents the outer edge of the offshore reefs. His wife, Te‘aiti, is the name of a basket used for catching such fish—such a method might have been preferred at that time. Also, visually from within the bay, this lowest ridge profiles Palani’s lifespan figure, a reminder for future generations of the fate that awaits those who act rashly towards others who show them respect.

3) Ka-ho‘o-kaho‘o: These two patches are located in the uplands of Kahana, near the ridge that backs on Kahana’s. These patches were named from an incident when the god Kaulua, being a trickster and having supernatural powers, landed over the valley wall and exclaimed to two men planting taro there that their rows of hali‘i were crooked. Hisaku’s reference to the “slowing winds of Kahoa” refers to the cold mountain winds that blow out of the upland on clear, calm mornings when convective land breezes dominate the area. Hoopii also refers to the excitement felt while riding a wave, and thus such a world play may poetically describe Palani as “socked”.


References:
Compiled by Ia‘i‘ai Makaha, March 2003.


When the ahī of Kahana boarded canoes to the calm harbor, they were often adorned with Lehua leis, a symbol of royalty. Their attendants would then pull them along this shallow stretch of sand to the edge of the deep bay waters.

5) Hatala Fishpond: This fishpond is called a loko knupua, and it is said to have been built by the menhaden people in the distant past. The pond is fed by freshwater springs, and also Kukuna ilei at times. Stories abound of fish disappearing from this enclosure and showing up in Mahi’s fishpond in Hakipuu, indicating that underground passages connect the two ponds. This fact is significant as a cultural signifier referencing the narrow band of lifeguard capstone that harbors rainfall springs along this coast, symbolic of the hidden waters of Kane—waters that lie beneath a dry land.

6) Ke‘aka: Kila is a narrow strip of land situated at the top of the western cliff of Kahana backing Pokai. By placing Palani high on Ke‘aka, Hisaka creates an analogy to the skillful surfer Palani, balanced high on the wave crest, ready to ho‘o (return) towards shore on the wave.

7) Kapu ‘ale-leale Ke‘a: On the western cliff face below Ke‘aka, this fishing shrine was used both to propitiate the gods when fishing was poor, and as a lookout for schools of ‘ahalua. When the kapu flag was flown, however, it was treated in the same manner as those at Kakau.

8) Ka-mai-o-lelei: A stone just off the western shoreline, this friendly shark once brought a handsome man back to Kahana from Kakau.

9) Another shark, a kupua (shapeshifter) named Keani, lived as a man with family in a cave called Hilo La‘anui. As a shark he was known to frequent the deep stream waters of Kahana.

KE AHUPU‘A’A O KAHANA

is well known for its abundance of fresh water that gives life to the indigenous Hawaiian population here. Just as productive is the deep bay fronting Kahana, which holds an abundance of various types of fish at different times of the year while also providing calm waters for harboring canoes. Various archaeological sites situated along or near the coast are associated with aquatic resource collection, such as a full腈pond and several fish spotting lookouts and shrouds up on the valley ridges. There are also bia‘i‘ai (religious sites) near the coast that serve various ritual functions. These sites come to life when the myths and legends about Kahana are retold, such as the portion of the story shared about Pele’s sister, Hi‘akaikapule Pela.

The purpose of this brochure is to take a holistic approach to understanding both the stories that are told as well as the places that are described within the stories. Many of the places mentioned in Hi‘akaikapule Pela’s story are still present in the valley; evidence that these sites once served a purpose within the ahupu‘a system, and a testimony to the phenomonal ability of Hawaiians to preserve such information in memorable chants and stories. The aerial photographs of the valley pictured on the front identifies the sites present in the makai portion of the ahupu‘a with numbers that correspond to the descriptions that follow. The list begins with places mentioned in Hi‘akaikapule Pela’s story, and continues with a few other sites that have been located in Kahana Kai. Remember, Mālama Kahana!
Hawaiian place names often have meanings relating to the local environment, specific island regions, religious sites and connotations, cultural ideology and practices, and even famous people or events. These places were commonly a subject of pride within the Hawaiian oral traditions. Chants abound with surfing place names and related descriptive terms, and it appears that these surfing sites are also favorite places amongst the locals. Specific surf breaks were noted for their characteristics and environmental conditions, as well as the events that occurred there. The surf spot made famous in the mele inoa (name chant) called the Surfing Chant of Nāihe is none other than Hikiau. Meaning swift current, the heiau that shares this name overlooks the break at the northern point of Kealakekua Bay. Points and headlands focus wave energy, so there is most likely a strong current running at this surfing site during times of swell. However, one of the nuances of au is that of a spiritual current, as well as the flow of time, which infers the power of this place as a religious site as well.

Nāihe, a chief of the Kona district and a warrior for Kamehameha I, was invited to a surfing match at Hikiau heiau in Kealakekua by jealous chiefs plotting to trick him. They did not alert him to all the rules, in particular having his chanter call him to shore, and so he was left offshore without his chanter to do so, since he had dismissed her. The rules appeared to have severe consequences as he was compelled to stay offshore. Luckily, an ali‘i from Puna showed him compassion by waking his chanter, who had been dismissed before the match because Nāihe was not aware of this protocol.

The chant became a favorite of King Kalākaua, and he adopted it as his surfing chant. It is a representation of the surfing tradition honored by the Hawaiian Kingdom.
The chant mentions many wave types, and cultural aspects of surfing. Two parts of the original six verses to the chant appear in Moser’s *Pacific Passages* (2008), including “a well-known fragment from Part One translated by Mary K. Pūku‘i and Alfons L. Korn (Elizabeth Tatar indicates in *Nineteenth Century Hawaiian Chant* that the chant was first published in 1886 as part of the jubilee birthday celebration in honor of King David Kalākaua [45]). Pūku‘i and Korn introduce Nāihe as “an accomplished orator and athlete of Kona, island of Hawai‘i, who flourished during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century.” He was the husband of the famous chiefess Kapi‘olani.24

Hikiau *heiau* is where Captain James Cook was received when he arrived off the Kona coast for the first time. Abbott suggests that *Hikiau* was once a *heiau māpele* (a religious agricultural site used by the commoners, dedicated to Lono), but “with time and changing political circumstances, some *heiau māpele* grew to become *heiau luakini.*” 25 This religious site was made famous in the Western Annals by the arrival of Captain Cook, who was received at *Hikiau* and later killed nearby. It appears that the first surfers that were seen paddling on their wooden boards towards Cook’s ship among the many canoes may have been approaching out of interest, but they might have already been in the water, surfing at Hikiau. Unfortunately, no mention was made of surfing at that time. It wasn’t until after Cook died that Lt. James King recorded the event, and it remains unclear whether they were standing or not as they flew in on the crests. Here we can see the importance of studying surfing places and understanding their context in Hawaiian history. Hikiau, the Hawaiian surfing site was made famous worldwide by the fact that good surf breaks accompany the jutting points of protected bays like Kealakekua.26
There are other heiau in the islands that share a relationship with their adjacent surfing locales. John F.G. Stokes & Tom Dye, in *Heiau of the Island of Hawai‘i* (1991), describe Ku‘emanu heiau in Kahalu‘u, Kona, as being a heiau dedicated to surf-riding:

**Ku‘emanu Heiau**
Bishop Museum Catalogue: 50-Ha-D4-I
State of Hawai‘i Catalogue: 3816


The platforms are well built of waterworn stones and have a very attractive appearance. A luapa‘ū was pointed out; this bone pit is an accompaniment to the luakini, yet in spite of this and the fact that Mr. Thrum’s list included it with the *heiau luakini*, I doubt if it should be regularly classed as such.

The natives explained that it was a *heiau* for surfriding, where they could pray for good surfing weather and consequently good sport. The terraces were excellent points of vantage from which to watch the sport, and the pool convenient for removing the salt upon return. The modern house on the upper platform was much out of repair and seemed to have been there for a long time. As few natives had the temerity to build on the site of a real *heiau*, the presence of this house will help to confirm the correctness of my suggestion.

Some of the features of Ku‘emanu—the pool, well, and platform for sightseers—recall the *heiau* Keolonāhihi and I believe we can get a better understanding of the purpose of the latter after considering Ku‘emanu. The luapa‘ū may have belonged in past time to the place, and there may have been sacrifices of those who disregarded the surfing kapu, but then there were other very important sacrificial *heiau* at Kahalu‘u which, I believe, would have claimed the victim. 27

Stokes references Thomas Thrum (1907) in its classification as a luakini heiau, and he “doubts if it should be regularly classed as such.” He referred to the luapa‘u (sacrificial pit) as belonging to a past time period, “although there may have been sacrifices of those who broke the surfing kapu.” This heiau may or may not be a regular luakini heiau, however, his allusion to Ku‘emanu heiau not being important in relation to the other heiau in Kahalu‘u and not receiving the victims, may not be an appropriate
Figure 4.3 Plan view of Kuʻemau heiau presented by Stokes, 1991
comparison because this site was associated mainly with surfing. His assessment of
Keolōnāhihi serving a similar purpose shows that there were several of these site types
along the coast, and Keolōnāhihi is seen by Stokes to be important.

Regardless, the support that he gives for this notion is contemporary and may be out of
context. He states that because a house was later built on the site the Hawaiians
themselves must have deemed it unimportant. The wariness that natives feel about
building on a Hawaiian religious site is very real. However, there are many cases where
historic and modern structures are built on religious sites. That would not change the fact
that at one time the site may have been very powerful and revered under the kapu
restrictions of the time.

A chant exists that may relate to this site through the mention of the site’s name
near the beginning of the chant. If this chant relates to the place, it would appear to be a
fairly significant site. The chant is important to several Hawaiian friends of mine. It is
one found in the late Ahuena Taylor’s collection, appearing first within a 1950 article
written by E. S. Craighill Handy in the *Journal of Polynesian Society*. It later appeared in
Gutmanis’ *Pule Kahiko* (1983) as a chant asking for wisdom. The chant was given to me
long ago by my first Hawaiian culture teacher, Carol Silva, when I was a young surfer
dude. She told me to “Look at it closely, because it is a surfing chant”—*mahalo kumu.*
The image that is set forth in this chant is one of big surf and the natural forces and
deities that create the surf; the chant also lists names along at least one Hawaiian family
lineage:
Imagine being in a massive storm where the ocean is raging—surfers love it! In the moment we mutter prayers to ourselves and scratch for the horizon, panting for breath at every stroke. Lightning strikes the mountainside as the heavy rains fall from the storm that brought the surf. The waves roar like thunder towards shore as they break, and the unseen wave that sounds over the next wave coming—this is *nehe*. Surfing the wave is the same, the roar of the surf is all around you, above and below you, and you must carve, or “roll left, roll right,” to avoid the breaking sections of waves. The wind comes roaring across the waves, and the sizzling spray stings your face as you bear down to take that slide. As the wave engulfs you, a sudden surge of wind bursts from within it, “Hā!” the wave sounds like a conch shell being blown, the breath of the wave.
Figure 4.4 Soar! Waimea Bay, January 11, 2010, rider Ian ‘Akahi Masterson; photo by Sean Davey, seandavey.com
The sets roll in constantly—thunder in a massive storm, with lightning striking all around—“Answer to the heavens, let the kanaka live, bring cleverness, knowledge, supernatural powers, so that the earth may ascend,” or possibly translated as “…so that [the kanaka] may land atop the honua there.” Honua could be read as the base of the wave, or possibly terra firma if you will, the shoreline—phew, sand. If you have ever been there, you know the feeling, and it is humbling.

Along with the natural phenomena listed, there is also a genealogical lineage implicated within this chant, and names like Hekilikaʻakaʻa can be found in Fornander’s genealogies of the chiefly priests and voyagers of the past; Hekilikaʻaka is the son of Opukahonua and Lana on the genealogy of Opukahonua, a very similar name.

Kauilanuimākēhāikalani is ‘Aukele’s son with the goddess Nāmakaokaha‘i, though ‘Aukele wanted to name him for his god, Lonoikouali‘i.

The first line in the chant calls to Io, which in itself presents the theological discussion as to the merits of the god Io, a discussion that has been going on for over a century. Io is a name found in a few Hawaiian and Māori stories, and ‘io is the hawk (Buteo solitarius). In the Hawaiian genealogies the son of Nalumanamana is Ka-Io-Lani, so the name does appear in a chiefly Hawaiian lineage. The second line in the chant makes perfect sense translated by Gutmanis as “Stand, o bird.” This rendition would seem to answer any questions regarding whether the composer meant the bird or the god in the first line, unless of course the composer was alluding to both (both needed to exist back then). However, written down without the glottal stop and capitalized, it appears that Gutmanis, following Handy, meant the god Io. That changes outside of the chant,
where Gutmanis represents the god ‘Io with an ‘okina, so we know that she is generally referring to the god, with or without the glottal stop.

Yet for the second line the bird analogy is used by definition, thereby clarifying the first line. Handy and Gutmanis chose to put spaces between the words “E kū, e manu e.” As one word, with the first letter capitalized, the second line might also refer to a godly ancestor named Ku‘emanu, from which this site also could have gotten its name. Ku‘emanu was the name of one of ‘Aukelenuiaikū’s ancestors who helped him break through the lowest stratum reaching the underworld in order to save his brothers’ lives.29

The term ku‘e means to push with the elbows or move back and forth, similar to the action of the tide. Perhaps in this context a more direct rendition of this second line, if written as E ku‘e manu e, the chant would be calling to the hawk, ‘io, to flap its wings and fly. In relation to the site, the place name might translate as “Bird moving back and forth” or “Bird Flapping” temple, which I might poetically render as “Bird spread your wings (push the wind) and Fly” or “Bird Stand and Fly” or “Bird-Soaring” temple.

Hawks and owls are known to frequent the offering platforms at these temples. They soar on high in the winds, swooping down, taking opportunity to feed on the various offerings laid at the altar. Coming from English, the term ‘soar’ in Hawaiian is given as kīkaha, which is a popular surfing term for riding a wave (“to soar, glide, poise, wheel, skim along, as a frigate bird”). Another word listed by Pūku‘i and Elbert (1986) is ‘iolana, (“to soar, poise, as a hawk; soaring hawk”), which immediately shows how this bird has always been associated with its high flying perspective—note the ‘okina in the term.30
Handy also relates the name Kuʻemanu to the bird that eats from the sacrificial pit. As mentioned, Handy is working from chants given to him by Emma Ahuena Taylor, who called them “prayers handed down from a priestly ancestor who was tutor of the great Kamehameha in Kohala on the island of Hawaiʻi.” She calls Kuʻemanuailehua another name for a god that she refers to as the Supreme Being, ‘Io is also called Uli and ‘Iliomealani by both authors. Gutmanis, obviously working with the Taylor collection, states that, “some say ‘Io and Uli are synonymous. Others do not believe in the importance of ‘Io.” She describes ‘Io as “the one [god] from whom all others issue forth,” thereby affirming her belief in the tradition. Handy elaborates on these many associations:

According to Ahuena (and likewise Pu'uheana) the name of Io or Iolani was purposely camouflaged by means of pseudonyms. Io was referred to as Ili-o-mea-lani (the reflection of that chiefly someone), Kuʻe-manu-ai-lehua (the beak that feeds on lehuas or the power of death), and Uli (eternity, chaos, beyond vision)…

Kuʻe-manu-ai-lehua is considered by Ahuena to be another of Io's pseudonyms (as also by Puʻuheana). This she translated to me as “The-bird's-beak-that-eats-the-lehua (crimson blossom),” explaining that lehua was a figurative expression applied to the first slain in battle, hence the figure refers to the Supreme, the Chief God. Be it noted that the first victim slain in battle was offered to Ku. It is my belief, therefore, that Kuʻe-manu-ai-lehua originated as a pseudonym from the line in the prayer reading, E ku, e manu, “Arise, oh bird,” in other contexts presumably to be read E Ku, e Manu ai lehua, “O Ku, O bird that feeds on the sacrificial first-slain,” e.g., Hawk or Owl frequenting the altar of sacrifice in the temple or pit where remains were thrown.³¹

Handy comes to the conclusion concerning the god Io-Uli, that there are regional and tribal differences that destabilize the general argument of whether Io existed in Hawaiʻi. Basically, by saying that the deity may not have been part of some families’
retinue of deities, but for others the god was a “superior protective deity,” he can make
the assumption safely and hide in a field of esoteric obscurity, but one that doesn’t hold:

My own conclusion on the basis of evidence at hand is that Io-Uli, the
most sacred name invoked by priests and certain ali‘i families in Hawai‘i, was a
superior divinity for the ali‘i and priests who venerated him, but this does not
imply all ali‘i or all kahuna. It is plain now that in Hawai‘i and throughout
Polynesia there was family, clan, tribal, and national sectarianism in which the
ancestor or patron of the particular social or ethnic group was elevated to a station
of superiority, while the names of other widespread Polynesian deities were
retained in secondary roles… Let us not rush to enthrone Io as the Supreme Being
in Hawai‘i: the evidence proves only that he was the superior protective deity in
certain rituals of certain ali‘i and kahuna lines. 32

In a later article rebuking the idea that ‘Io is a supreme being for the Hawaiian
people, Kenneth Emory puts forth that ‘Io is a historically constructed link to Māori
culture’s idea of a supreme being, Io. This debunks many of what he considers to be
Handy’s misconceptions about the evidence at hand. He admits that ‘Io-Uli is a name
present in the Hawaiian genealogies but separate from Uli, and that in most cases cited by
Handy, the call was actually being made to ‘io the hawk. The hawk is seen as an
embodiment of the god Uli. Emory’s points should be well taken, and we might note that
it is easy for the colonial idea of monotheism as progress towards real religion to appear
in this argument:

Mrs. Taylor asserts that the Owl is the symbol of ‘Io because “it can see at
night, because it is all seeing” and that Ku‘e-manu-ai-lehua was a name of ‘Io.
Therefore Handy assumes quite naturally that Pu‘uheana is speaking of ‘io when,
in my opinion and in that of her niece, Kawena Puku‘i, she is speaking of the owl.
Kawena was surprised at the implication that the owl was an embodiment of ‘Io,
the Hawk, and maintains that Kane-ku-pahua and Ku‘e-manu are distinctly owl-
gods….

If Uli was called a hawk, and attributes of the hawk were ascribed to Uli,
then it is quite likely that the hawk was Uli's bird-form. In this connection the role
of other birds in Hawaiian religion should serve as a guide. The god Kumu-kahi,
took the form of a plover, the god Pala-moa, brother of Kumu-kahi, took the form of a fowl (moa). Both these were sorcerer's gods. Kane-i-ka-pahua, or Kane-ku-pahua took the form of the owl. “Those who practice sorcery and praying to death”, says Malo, “worshipped Ku-koa’e, Uli, and Ka-alae-nui-a-Hina. Ku-koa’e is Ku-the-tropic bird; Ka-alae-nui-a-Hina is The-great-mud-hen-of-Hina. It seems quite logical, therefore, that the hawk would be Uli's embodiment, or one of his forms.  

Io also appears in a Tongan story about Maui collected by Edward Winslow Gifford from a native Tongan Mesake Lomu, of Fotua, Foa Island. This tale does not place Io in a supremely almighty position, but definitely one of importance. Here, Io is seen as the second child of Hina and Maui Kisikisi, who were siblings that had four children together. It is hard to tell by the phrasing, but it appears that Io is a female child in this case, and that the siblings intermarried. His earlier statement that from Tangaloa sprang the dynasty of Tui Tonga infers that Tangaloa and one of the female siblings, possibly Io, were married at some point. Alas, Gifford states that, “From the standpoint of the published Tongan cosmogony, the tale is a hopeless jumble”:

One day, while Hina was thus remaining at home, Maui Kisikisi hung chestnut (ifi) leaves about his neck and stole back to his parents’ house. He touched Hina’s chest just above her breasts and she became pregnant. She was delivered of a male child, who was called Tangaloa. Again she became pregnant and gave birth to Io. Once more she gave birth to a girl, who was called Kohai, and lastly to a male child, who was named Afulunga. The offspring of Hina intermarried and from their progeny sprang the dynasty of Tui Tonga.  

The claim that the Io cult was one not widely known, not even by most of the Māori, is a call repeated in Hawai’i. Some say that Io was so sacred that only a few priestly lines knew of this deity’s existence. University of Canterbury Author Margaret Orbell offers an explanation of how Io was a deity for the Ngāti Kahungunu tribe. Io was projected into 19th century religious attempts of some Māori to compete with the Colonial
Christianity rather than adopt it, thus furnishing their own form of monotheism. She explains how Io resided in the highest of twelve sky realms.

I appreciate that Orbell can accept that Io may have been a historic construction but as a contemporary cult it has gained popularity and strength both in Aotearoa and abroad. These facts do not belittle the faith as inauthentic necessarily, but rather, people in general have come to accept, or at least acknowledge Io as present in the Hawaiian pantheon. That does not mean that we can project such a faith backwards, though it is tempting to associate the two in this case.

Io was mentioned by several young tohunga that I spoke with in Aotearoa. Speaking esoterically for just one moment, there are many pathways to spiritual contentment, and all are a combination of cultural-construction and personal experience—the signs and symbols in life that give an individual or group hope for the future; thus, faith in a new belief system is born. Orbell explains how Io gained importance among some Māori:

Another approach was to turn back to traditional belief and modify and extend them so that they became a viable alternative to Christianity. This was the direction taken, from the late 1850s onward, by a group of Ngāti Kahungunu thinkers in the Wairarapa and Hawke’s Bay. Initially their leaders were Īte Mātorohanga and Nēpia Pōhūhū….

At some point this group acquired a belief in a high god, Io in the highest of the skies. This was an innovation. The only Io on record on the east coast (in a Ngāti Kahungunu document dating from 1861) appears to be a mythical figure whose activity is that of building pā. This suggests a protective role, but it is not known whether this Io played any part in the evolution of the high god.35

This scholarly argument continues today, so it would serve us to read comments on the subject from the Māori elder Dr. Hirini Moko Mead of the Ngāti Awa, Ngāti
Tūwharetoa, and Tūhourangi tribes and foundation Professor of Māori studies at Victoria University of Wellington. He also struggles with the concept of Io as a supreme being:

I have great difficulty with the concept of Io and with the very notion that Io was so exalted that the people did not know about him and were not supposed to hear his name. There was no evidence that was so important a matter was kept secret or could have been kept secret. There is little or no evidence in the Bay of Plenty area that there was not a supreme being organizing Ranginui and Papa-tua-nuku. Nor does Io appear in the genealogical tables linking to Rangi and Papa.  

He continues by acknowledging that there is no unified Māori tradition, and that the there are other tribes who have traditions that do mention a god Io. Mead also cautions modern educational institutions teaching prayers (karakia) that invoke Io, because of the regional differences amongst tribes and deities. He continues by attributing the gathering of knowledge to Tawhaki (Kahaʻi) from Tamaiwaho, a god who resided in the uppermost of ten heavens, rather than Io:

Several karakia in the lore of the whare wānanga include the name of Io and it could be that in the Ngāti Kahungunu traditions there was a place for a god called Io. It is noticeable that many groups participating in education today dedicate their karakia to Io, the Supreme Being. The point needs to be made that there is doubt about the authenticity of the traditions dealing with Io and that in the case of the Bay of Plenty tribes there is no conformable fit in the whakapapa of the divine family for Io.  

He concludes by citing Te Matorohanga, who uses tribal differences to prove the opposite. This is the Māori native that Orbell identifies as one of the originators of the tradition of Io. Handy also cites this tohunga, but to prove instead that Io exists:

Thus there are regional differences in our traditions and therefore care needs to be taken in educational institutions that karakia are addressed to the appropriate deity. A national version of our traditions does not exist. Regional differences are to be expected and Te Matorohanga noted this in his teaching.
It is safe to say with Emory’s rebuttle and the ensuing argument, that the relationship of ‘Io and Ku‘emanu here is that they the hawk and the owl are carrion birds that command great respect, like the sea birds that skim atop the crest of the waves. Beyond that, the prayer, although beginning with a call to ‘Io (capitalized by Gutmanis and Handy), indicates that the purpose of the chant was to petition Uli in prayer. Again, if we define ku‘e as to move the appendages back and forth, the call is for the bird to spread its wings and fly.

The hawk (or owl) appears as a messenger of the petitioned prayer, striving to reach Uli with the message. Therefore, Emory’s idea of ‘io the hawk being a form of Uli, the deity in the heavenly heights according to the chant, is reasonable. Projecting further importance into ‘Io becomes unnecessary from this perspective because Uli is already an important genealogical figure in Hawaiian surf literature. I do not doubt the authenticity of the Ku‘emanu chant, but because of the issues surrounding Io the deity and ‘io the hawk, it has been worth mentioning here.

Another heiau mentioned by Stokes, just south of Ku‘emanu, is Keolonāhihi heiau at Kamoa Point in Holualoa ahupua‘a. This site contains similar constructed features with Ku‘emanu heiau and is considered by Stokes to have served a similar purpose. Refer back to Emory’s comments on various birds, including the younger brother of Kumukahi, a fowl (ka moa). Keolonāhihi heiau is said by Ellis to have been called Kānekaheilani, and the kanaka māoli told him that it was a favorite bathing place of Kamehameha, one that he reserved for himself alone. Ellis adds that a “rude figure, carved in stone, standing on one side of the gateway by which we entered, was the only image we saw here.” This image was still standing at the time of my visit in 2007.

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Kamoʻa is this site where Keakamahana, the high kapu chiefess of Hawaiʻi, lived with Iwikauʻikaʻa. As mentioned earlier, John Papa ʻĪʻī reports that Kamehameha learned to surf at Keolonāhihi with one of Keakamahana’s relatives. On that visit I made to the site in 2007, a Hawaiian woman caring for the complex who had graciously allowed me to take photos called out to me that the surfers prayed to a specific platform around the corner, one named Hale ʻAʻama. The site of Kamoʻa itself is quite extensive, but the feature at which surfers prayed seemed rather small and unassuming in comparison, and almost forgotten as it were, standing in the naupaka and pōhuehue along the shore—but obviously very much remembered by the people of this place. It turns out that much of the ocean edge of the feature was destroyed by high surf over the years.

Descriptions of the site compiled by Stokes & Dye locate it “25 feet from the sea and 550 feet from Keolonāhihi Heiau,” indicating that the original feature was “a large solid platform extending towards the sea on the west, but that the greater portion has been broken down, and the remains have the appearance of a heavy wall.”

Although there is no mention of surfing, there are a series of interesting footnotes surrounding this site description, which may indicate its importance. These notes include the continued account of Ellis that is quoted above, and another one from the editor; both are quoted here as they are presented in the text:

About fifty yards further on, was another heiau, called Hale o Tairi, (house of Tairi.) It was built by Tamehameha, soon after he had assumed the government of the island. Only one mutilated image was now standing, though it is evident that, but a few years ago, there had been many. The natives were particular to show us the place where the image of the war-god stood; and told us that frequently, in the evening, he used to be flying about in the neighborhood, in the form of a luminous substance, like a flame, or like the tail of a comet (Ellis 1825: 66)
Since Ellis undoubtedly travelled by the beach trails which led from village to village, Hale o Kāʻili Heiau should have been found between Keolonāhihi Heiau and Haleʻa’ama. The Kona coast suffered greatly during the last century from tidal waves, Kamoa Point in particular, and the heiau mentioned tell the tale in their reduced dimensions. Unless Haleʻa’ama is the site of Ellis’ Hale o Kāʻili Heiau, the whole of the latter has been destroyed. W.T.B]

Using distances given by the two authors, the footnote seems correct in separating out Hale o Kaʻili from Hale ‘A’ama, but it is interesting to note that these sites could be associated or one and the same.

Figure 4.5 Plan view of Keolonāhihi heiau presented by Stokes, 1991

Though many of O‘ahu’s archeological sites have been destroyed from natural disasters, development, dredging, and land reclamation projects, there is evidence that surfing heiau also existed along the shores of Waikīkī. Papa‘ena‘ena heiau, located on the southern slope of Lēahi, Diamond Head, overlooks the surf breaks in that area.
University of Hawai‘i scholars Feeser and Chan demonstrate the changes that have occurred there. Their research inevitably compiles and reappropriates the importance of sites like these through their native perspective and unique photographic illuminations:

*Kanaka maoli* oral tradition demonstrates that *heiau* could be used for varied functions, and Papaʻena'ena served as a means of not only empowering chiefs through propitiation, but also providing surfers with *mana* and guidance. Papaʻena'ena overlooked what is today First Break, the beginning of the Kalehuawehe surfing course, which stretches down the coast to Kālia. Kāhuna at Papaʻena'ena notified *kānaka maoli* of excellent surfing conditions by flying a kite from the *heiau* high into the air. Papaʻena'ena was thus a site that ensured political power and privilege on land and enabled sport and pleasure at sea.\(^{43}\)

They indicate the origin, size and structure of the site, and name instances associated with the site that may be found within Hawaiian stories containing references to surfing:

Kahekili may have built Papaʻena'ena *heiau* on the southwestern slopes of Lē‘ahi to honor his victory and avenge his ancestor Kauhiakama, who was sacrificed and desecrated at Waikīkī’s ‘Āpuakehau *heiau* around the middle of the sixteenth century. Approximately 128 feet by 68 feet, with three tall, broad walls and a series of terraces, Papaʻena'ena housed a suitably fierce drum now in Honolulu’s Bishop Museum: it is topped with sharkskin and inlaid with human teeth.

Kamehameha I, who took O‘ahu in 1795 from Kahekili’s successor Kalanikupule, also empowered himself by using Papaʻena'ena as a *luakini heiau*: a site for human sacrifice. Indeed, at Papaʻena'ena, Kamehameha I may have offered up Kalanikupule’s body to the war god Kūkā‘ili‘ōoku…Kamehameha I also used Papaʻena’ena to safeguard his most important *wahine* (consort). The chief’s young nephew Kanihonui was slain and left to decompose at Papaʻena'ena after he was discovered trysting with Kamehameha’s favorite *wahine*, Kaʻahumanu.\(^{44}\)

In particular, the reference to Kanihonui is important to Hawaiian Surf Literature because that act caused Kaʻahumanu to declare war on her consort, Kamehameha I. She proclaimed that a surfing day at Kapua (Tongg’s) was to occur the day before the battle,
in order to look up to the *heiau* and lament her lover amongst the waves of the summer swell that had arrived at that time. The events of that day changed the course of the war, and reflect the deep emotional ties that surfing embodies for *kanaka māoli*:

On the appointed day, chiefs, chiefesses, prominent people, and the young chief Liholiho went to Kapua. When all had assembled there, the king gathered his men together in readiness for trouble. He sent a messenger, Kinopu, after Kaahumanu’s followers to find out what they were planning. It is said that three things were done at Kapua: surfing, lamenting, and more surfing; and it is said that they had intoxicants with them. Thus they whiled away the time until evening.45

Before they returned, the chiefs consulted the young Liholiho on the matter of overthrowing his father, to which he replied that he did not want his father to die. This *aloha* for his father, regardless of the charge, brought him the admiration of the chiefs and his father alike, when the news was carried back to the king. Thus, the threat of war subsided and Liholiho gained favor with his father, who stated that: “He chose patience rather than the kingdom, that is the nature of a true chief.” 46

Past Kapua and across Māmala Bay to the west is the area known as Uluniu, where now stands the Sheraton Moana Hotel—birthplace of the beachboy culture. The site is marked by a giant statue of Duke Paoa Kahanamoku, “the man credited with having turned surfing into an international phenomenon.” 47 This statue has been somewhat controversial in that his back is to the ocean, providing the best photo opportunity for tourists. It is considered disrespectful to Hawaiians to turn one’s back to the sea (turning your back on someone or something sacred like the ocean is considered rude and was even recognized as a *kapu* [kua], still carried by the Māori King). It is also strange to the surfer who intimately knows that a waterman never turns his back to the
sea. However, the monument states Duke’s Creed of *Aloha* at its base, a statement that everyone could benefit from reading and internalizing into one’s character. Considering how Duke is honored with a statue at Freshwater Beach, Sydney, ours is an appropriate homage to the man whose gift to the world is surfing. We can credit a surfer in politics for achieving this honor for Duke Kahanamoku, his team rider, Fred Hemmings.

Behind Duke, now protected by a wrought-iron fence, stand several stones called Nā Pōhaku Ola O Kapaemahu A Me Kapuni, healing stones with curative powers, related to a group of *kāhuna* from Tahiti. Chan and Feeser illustrate their story, acknowledging the important role of surfing in the culture at that time, and identifying the origin of a surfing place name in Waikīkī:

The huge basalt boulders, each weighing several tons, were moved from Kaimukī to Ulukou sometime around 1400 at the direction of four Tahitian *kāhuna*. These healers—Kapaemahu, Kahaloa, Kapuni, and Kinohi—likely settled in O‘ahu during the second wave of Polynesian immigration to Hawai‘i, which introduced to the islands Tahitian religious and sociopolitical practices that included human sacrifice, sanctification of surfing, and pronounced social stratification. The *kāhuna* were māhū (men who dress and live as women) and possessed both manly stature and feminine grace coupled with tremendous healing powers. They toured all of the Hawaiian Islands before making a home at Ulukou; during their travels, they became famous for many miraculous cures, which they generously taught to their admirers. After a long sojourn in Hawai‘i, the four *kāhuna* decided to return to their homeland. Before doing so, they asked their *kanaka maoli* friends to move four large stones from the vicinity of the renowned “bell rock” at Kaimukī, a mushroom-shaped stone once on the Waialae Road that resonated when struck. On the night of Pō Kāne—when marcher spirits were said to arise—thousands of Native Hawaiians moved the boulders to Ulukou, placing two on the grounds of the healers’ residence and two in the surf where the four men loved to bathe…Each stone was named for one of the men who imbued the *pōhaku* with their restorative *mana*. Today, areas where two of the boulders were originally located also bear their names: Kahaloa is a section of beach, and Kapuni is a portion of Waikīkī surf.

The stones remained in situ for hundreds of years, healing the sick and protecting the ocean borne, because their position opposite the outer reef “Cave of the Shark God” make them markers for the dangerous spot. The stones eventually settled into the sand on property acquired by Archibald Cleghorn and his wife,
Princess Likelike, and when Cleghorn established his family’s home there in 1872, he had the pōhaku unearthed and placed in a more prominent setting on the estate. Whenever Princess Likelike and her daughter Princess Kaʻiulani went swimming in the ocean, they said prayers at the pōhaku, upon which they left flower lei.

Down the way from Uluniu was the area called Helumoa, the beach of Kahaloa, and the surfing course of Kalehuawehe, where such famous surfing chiefs as Pīkoi, Kelea, and Kalamākua enjoyed surfing the summer south swells. Kalamākua cultivated the area’s fertile lands, and he is credited with organizing construction for many of the taro fields that once made Waikīkī famous. Most notable for this portion of the coast was the heiau known by two names, Helumoa, the same name as the area, and ʻĀpuakēhau, named for the stream that runs by it.

Kahekili’s ancestor, Kauhiakama (who ruled 5 chiefs prior to Kahekili along his line), was slain and desecrated here by the Oʻahu chiefs, causing years later the horrific massacre employed by Kahekili in seeking revenge for the event. Now the site of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, Chan and Feeser had this to say about Helumoa:

Because Helumoa included a beach, freshwater, and a grove—three features that Hawaiian rulers favored in Waikīkī—it became an important chiefly residence for some of the most powerful aliʻi. Kamehameha I, who united all of Hawaiʻi under his rule, lived in the area, which was also home to his two predecessors on Oʻahu, Kahekili and Kahahana.

Other sites associated with surfing exist around Oʻahu, such as the various heiau and kupua stones located at Waimea Bay, as well as those at Kahana. These surfing places are part of a greater system of land division that is called the ahupuaʻa. It is important that the real story is told with regards to these places. They are the stories of the people who love that place. They are the stories that need to be shared by educators.
and tour guides alike. Peoples’ interest becomes an opportunity for Hawaiians to voice their histories and bring global awareness to these places, especially the ones endangered by construction and development projects. Educational brochures could inspire greater respect for Hawaiian places and waves, thus proving valuable as a tool for education.

Knowing surfing place names, one can better understand the perspectives of the ancients as they surfed there through one’s own experiences. By reflecting on the meaning of and characters associated with each place name while surfing a site, one is better positioned to share the experiences of an ancient surfer. It reconnects the researcher with the story in a unique form of participant observation that involves placing the researcher in the same natural/environmental context as the characters experience at that place. In other words, using traditional surfing place names recreates an indigenous understanding of the ocean environment in a particular area for the researcher. Such research can be easily compiled and shared with people who live in and visit an area, and through such sharing the value of surfing as an educational lens becomes apparent.

Metaphors for surfing comprise another subject entirely, beyond surfriding as an integrated cultural activity. It seems that surfing became popular as an expression of pride in one’s family and one’s deities, something easily wagered upon by spectators and competitors alike. There emerges a sense that if we look closely at legendary surfers in Hawaiian history, we might find that they are somehow related to this time period from the dim past, or to these branches along a common ancestry whose analogies in nature relate to the ocean and surfing.

A proposal such as this one will need much more attention than can be given here, and it will require a look beyond Hawaiian surf literature as a subject, but rather, as an
integrated part of a holistic worldview that delves deeply into religious expression. Assessing surfing in the literature as a poetic vision allows us to look at its relative positioning within Hawaiian worldviews. So, undertaking a study on what Polynesian deities relate to surfing in Hawai‘i is appropriate at this juncture.

We have already looked at examples of surfing as a ritual practice of the people, not just a popular social activity for recreation and gambling. One example was Kūapāka‘a, who called upon his family god La‘amaomao to aid him in winning the race. He asked specifically for winds to make waves that would then help him win against his family adversaries—and his call was answered. Knowing that his ancestor had the power to control the winds, he knew just what to ask for in order to procure help. But in general, La‘amaomao and other deities were not called upon only in times of help. They were honored consistently in performing most activities, asking for wisdom, and seeking health and life. In some cases, the various ʻaumākua for chiefly families may become the akua pāʻani that join the makahiki procession as gods of the district. They could even become national gods, although possibly lesser in stature than the main gods.

Informational surfing accounts and surfing sites show that surfing was an important Hawaiian cultural activity. The poetic vision that surfing describes honors the deities and the lineages of chiefs and priests that came from the dim past where gods and humans mixed. Surfing and the associated ocean conditions that were so familiar to these people became popular metaphors to recount their histories and the adventures of their great ancestors. We now look at Hawaiian surfing terms to understand their specific associations in nature. Also, weather terms are assessed within the story of Keaomelemele, where the gods are described as weather features.
CHAPTER V. HAWAIIAN CULTURAL SCIENCE
Meteorological, Oceanographic, and
Surfing Prose and Poetry

Figure 5.1: Haʻi Ka Nalu Wave Chant, picture from the shores below Lauhulu, Oʻahu.

Figure 5.2: Haʻi Ka Nalu Wave Chart, second picture in the sequence. Note the surfers.
The unique language used to describe the physical, mental, and spiritual aspects of surfing starts at the level of the word. There are many terms relating to surfing, and its natural and social environment. Some of these terms are found in stories relating directly to surfing, however many fragments are imbedded within the greater volume of Hawaiian poetry. Surfing also exists in accounts dealing with a wide variety of subject matter within the Hawaiian world. This analysis of surf prose focuses on the informational mechanisms through which surfing knowledge was transmitted, as well as the information itself. This requires abstracting specific information from the volumes of Hawaiian history and translating the meaning of each passage based on its context. This section on terminology is an attempt to cross reference meanings of specific surf prose examples as they appear in a number of poetic and informational accounts.

Surf terms include those that relate directly to the act of surfing. Also included are terms relating to waves types, ocean conditions, and the forces in the wide sky that created those waves. Hawaiians were very cognizant of strong wind creating waves, so we must look to the skies on our journey into surf prose and poetry. Surf terminology would by necessity include meteorological terms. These relate to wind and weather phenomena, plus oceanographic terms that relate to ocean conditions, currents, waves, and coastal features. Surf terminology also refers to informational terms like materials and tools used for carving and finishing surfboards, and surfboard types. Surfing terms then refer to how the rider accomplishes this act successfully, whether he or she may have misjudged the waves or conditions. Finally, there are those descriptions that fit experienced and inexperienced surfers that we see as proverbs.
There are many contractions to the term *heʻe nalu* presented in the literature, such as *heʻeia*, and often surfing may have been termed as swimming (*ʻauʻau*) in Hawaiian descriptions. Historic English authors struggled with finding a term for this activity as well, ultimately obscuring references by terms like “surf swimming,” or just “swimming.” These terms may or may not key in a modern researcher to another obscure surfing reference. The more I research surf terminology as it has been handed down to us through primary translations and secondary repetitions, the more I realize the complexity in understanding the terms found in the literature that attempt to describe surfing.

**Hawaiian Surfing Terms**

*Lala*, for example, is a critical term for understanding surfing, and yet it has many meanings that surround the connotation of a diagonal. Finney and Houston use the term to describe the diagonal slide that is proper to surfing.¹ *Nalu haʻi lala* is a diagonally breaking wave, but *lala* is also termed as the seaward side of the wave that slopes off diagonally. So which is it? Or are they all accurate because of the reference to the diagonal? In a more recent translation of the classical *mele* written for our King Kalākaua, *Heeia*, Kihei De Silva disagrees with the connotation of *lala* and *muku* as referring to sliding [paddling] out to the crest and then returning on the diagonal, as other versions have suggested. Instead, she feels that *muku* and *lala* refer to sliding right and left across the wave face.² ‘Left’ and ‘right’ are very common descriptive terms amongst modern surfers, so it is possible that this meaning could prevail. However, ‘Ī‘ī uses *ʻākau* and *hema* to explain the slides right and left, at least in reference to bodysurfing, and J.
Kalahiki, the composer, translates these lines as “surfing out to the crest and returning on the diagonal.”  

In a conversation with author and waterman John R.K. Clark, who is himself reviewing many primary texts from the Classical Hawaiian period of literature, he provided another possible understanding to the terms by suggesting that “he’eana i ka muku la, hoʻi ana i ka lala” refers to a maneuver familiar to all surfers—cutting back into the wave crest, and then returning diagonally along the wave face. After successfully attempting such a maneuver at Kalaeokaʻōio on a 5’5” wiliwili alaia replica made with the Hakipu’u Learning Center Summer Surf Camp kids in 2008, I concur that this is the most likely meaning. Not only does it show skill on a surfboard, but it also plays to the necessity while surfing of remaining near the breaking part of the wave in order to retain the gravity slide. Plus it fits nearly perfectly with Kalahiki’s translation. I have also seen the young Keaulana kids do just this at Buffalo’s surf meet—They rip those small boards.

An example of this surfing maneuver is found in the epic story of Hi’iaka-ikapoliopele as transcribed by Hoʻoulumāhiehie and translated by Puakea Nogelmeyer. In context, Nogelmeyer’s translation supports Clark’s interpretation of the terms as an example of the modern maneuver called a “cutback.” It is also important for us to consider the translation begotten from this Hawaiian phrasing, that of the wave having a broad area and a narrow area that, when properly navigated by a surfer, great skill is displayed:

_Ua heʻe akula ua Lohi‘au nei i ka nalu, e hoʻololiloli ana i nā kūlana o kana heʻeʻana, hoʻokikakaha i ka lala, a e hoʻi ana i ka muku, e kīkakaha ana i ʻōa i ʻaneʻi._
Lohiʻau surfed the wave, shifting his stance, coasting forward over the broad part of the break and moving back along the narrows, gliding back and forth.  

Another pair of problematic terms mentioned earlier is ʻōpuʻu and ʻōhū. Both refer to swells, one being a negligent waveform that passes through the reef without even breaking. The other refers to the large, unbroken ocean swell before it breaks at the kūlana nalu, which is the place that a surfer waits to catch the wave, right where it breaks. However, it has been unclear which is which, or if they both are referring to the same wave type. The English translation of Fornander describes ʻōpuʻu as the negligent wave form, but Finney and Houston describe it as the latter. However, in Pūkuʻi and Elbert’s Hawaiian Dictionary (1986), ʻōhū is clearly “a swell that rises without breaking, but of sufficient strength to speed a surfboard.” Likewise, ʻōpuʻu is described as, “a large surf, swell.” Thus, we can see that a nuance was lost in the translation, maybe just a small mix-up—probably a small matter to anyone but an ocean recreation practitioner.  

I also noted the root of puʻu as a hill or mountain, and the likeness to a swell approaching the line-up at Waimea, Oʻahu, as well as the term ʻōhua as referring to young fish of various types, servants and visitors to a place, and other small-natured things like a near miss or a glance. Thus, clearly stated, the ʻōpuʻu is indeed the large unbroken ocean swell, and the ʻōhū is a small, unbroken ocean swell that is, for instance, easily ridden with an olo surfboard at Waikīkī. Supporting this understanding of ʻōhū, is the term used by Hoʻouluumāhiehie (2006) to describe the shoulder of the wave, ʻōhuku—where the low swell rises. Hoku is a protuberance or lump, a swelling (wave).  

These are the kind of issues that are being faced, even at the level of the word. Some terms have varied meanings, and others may be vaguely interpreted, whether we
are aware of that or not. So how do we discern the meaning of terms used in early Hawaiian literature? The reality is that the language has a rich and extensive vocabulary, and there are often various levels of meaning. This reality doesn’t fit well with science and academic practices. This text leans heavily on the idea that these layered meanings must be explored as poetic visions encoded with environmental and cultural information. Charlot recommends teaching this layered understanding of Hawaiian language as an important epistemological phenomenon. With this understanding, such a worldview would heavily impact most forms of culturally based poetry. These metaphors might also extend into the prose forms (information like the names of parts of a canoe or a wave, or quite often two meanings for one term that have context, i.e. in both canoe building and wave analysis) so that information can then be encoded into the poetry. It becomes apparent that only through the primary indigenous language can any of it be understood. Even there, the difficulty is knowing what relationships to accept, and which to reject in the course of understanding, as Johnson (1983) mentions. More so, the meaning truly comes through in the context of the passage. Messages are hinted at through the set of nuances used over the length of the literature piece, the poetic vision.

**Oceanographic Terms**

Let us analyze a listing of wave types as they appear in context within a Hawaiian genealogical chant celebrating the high priest Manamanaʻkea, *ke kahuna o ka moʻokūla* (the priest of the prophets), as handed down to us from Benjamin K. Nāmakaokeahi and collected by translator Malcom Nāea Chun in *The History of Kanalu* (2004).
Nāmakaokeahi describes this chant as, “…not a prayer, but a ‘call to survive’. “It was the first time the chiefs had heard such a chant for the land to flourish and for the survival of the chiefs and people. They were overwhelmed with joy”:

\[ O \text{ oe ia, e ke [a]lii Akua } \]
\[ Ka \text{ mamo kahuna ke [a]lii } \]
\[ Mai \text{ a Kanalu mai } \]
\[ A \text{ Kanaluakea } \]
\[ Kekaiakea } \]
\[ Mo anaakea } \]
\[ Naluhoohua } \]
\[ Naluhoomanana } \]
\[ O \text{ oe o Manamanaakea } \]
\[ O \text{ Kawai kuauri } \]
\[ O \text{ ‘Ani’ani Ekahi... } \]

You are he, the godly chief
The descendant of the chiefly priests
From Kanalu
Until Kanaluākea
Kekaiakea
Moanaākea
Naluho‘ohua
Naluho’omana
And you, Manamanaākea
Kawaikuauli
‘Ani’ani Ekahi…

Chun notes in a discussion about the flood of Kahinali‘i that upon translating the names of these priests in a literal manner, they turn out to be wave types. He further shows that this listing actually relates to a tsunami:

The term “flood” comes from the Biblical tradition, whereas in the Pacific region such a flooding was created through tidal waves or tsunami and hence the term “kai” or sea. This imagery was made more evident through the help of Professor Joseph Morgan, an oceanographer at the University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa campus. I had made a genealogical list of the priestly names of Kanalu and one day decided to literally translate each one. I noticed how each name after Kanalu became descriptive of some sort of wave action and gave the translation over to Joe to look at.

My handwritten note:

Ka-nalu the – wave
Ka-nalu-akea the – broad/wide wave
Ke-kai-akea the broad/wide sea
Moana-akea broad/wide ocean
Nalu-hoo-hua swelling-wave (HD 78 [Hawaiian Dictionary]
Nalu-hoo-hoku increasing – wave similar to (hoo-hua)

Manana-mana-akea broad/wide branching out
Kawaikuauli (Hawai‘i) ancient “poetical” name

Receding movement? Towards open ocean –
Deep sea. Symbolism of migration? Or ending of “flood”?

He called back and directly told me the names were an exact description of a tsunami typified by the initial large and single wave and followed by a succession of waves.  

So this fragment of Hawaiian poetry is encoded with both environmental information concerning a tsunami, as well as cultural information relating to a line of priests. At a later point in the story the priests realize the importance of speaking metaphorically in relation to political speech and leadership: “Kūkalaniʻokoʻa realized that they would not rebel or think maliciously to shake the chiefly reign of ‘U’ukanipō because the elder and teacher of the true prophets spoke using proverbs and metaphors.”  

This statement infers that building metaphors and layered meanings was a liminal process, done consciously.

These names were chosen prior to the births of these great priests, and the tradition was to continue, so says the author. The elder leader of the priests, Lalapa‘ali‘i, spoke to the priest after the feast that followed Manamanaākea’s “call to survive.” The occasion surrounding this event related to a freeing of the chiefly kapu at that time. However, it is mentioned that those kapu concerning eating with women and menstruation were kept. Namakaokeahi continues with the story:

“This purification prayer should be taught so that each generation may correctly retain it. Your last child shall be named Kawaikuauli and from him shall the children be named ‘Ani‘ani ‘ekahi, ‘Ani‘ani ‘elua, and ‘Ani‘ani ‘ekolu,” said Lalapaali‘i. Manamanaākea agreed.
Looking back at Chun’s notes on the literal translations of the names, he wonders if a receding movement towards the open ocean relates to migration. That they chose to name the next chief priest *Kawaiʻikuauli* (*Kawaihawaiʻikuauli*) may indeed show a relationship with migrations to these islands. The poetic name for Hawaiʻi Island is *Hawaiʻikuauli*. Furthermore, *aniani* means to travel swiftly. This term suggests three successive migrations with reference to the three priests carrying that name successively.

We see a similar succession of names in Fornander’s genealogical charts as appearing around the chief Hawaiʻi Loa along the Kumuhonua genealogy.

Another example of oceanographic terminology shown in a chant form considers the swelling of the waves as a metaphor concerning the birth of an infant:

- **Ku ana hua**
  The swelling is like giving birth and it is set
- **I ke kahakai**
  At the shore
- **O Nalu kua**
  The back wave
- **O Nalu alo**
  The frontal wave
- **O Nalu ku**
  The upright wave [The steep wave; windswell, eds.]
- **O Nalu moe**
  [The wave that lies down; groundswell]
- **O Nalu apikipi**
  [The agitated wave; chop, eds.]
- **I ka moana**
  On the sea
- **O nehe kua**
  The roaring behind
- **O nehe makani alii**
  The chiefly wind sounds
- **He makani ha Kanala [hakanala?]**
  A Hakanola type of wind [Kanaloa? eds.]
- **He makani pahee**
  A paheʻe type of wind
- **I loko o one hua, e**
  Within the swelling sands
- **E hua, e**
  Swelling
- **E hua i luna**
  Swelling above
- **E hua i lalo**
  Swelling below
- **Eia kau mea**
  This is yours
- **Hoohua o ke kanaka**
  Giving birth
- **E hua e hapai**
  Swelling and pregnant
- **He hua kane**
  A boy
- **He hua wahine**
  A girl
- **He hua loa**
  A baby is born
- **He hua ola**
  A baby is alive
- **Ua noa, noaloa no. Amama.**
  Freed, freed, ended

11
Kū ana hua i ke kahakai might be more literally translated as “The rising swell appears at the shoreline.” From there one variant of meaning seems to describe a series of waves that may relate to waves breaking in a “set,” as modern surfers would say. In particular, the term *apikipi*[ki] alerted me to this idea. An agitated wave may have to do with the last wave in a set, whose wave face is frothy from the waves ahead of it. Within a set, there are various waveforms that roll in, with some better for surfing than others. There is often a large wave that stands high sometime after the first wave, and the one that follows is usually out of phase, in other words it has less energy and appears to flatten out. The last waves are frothy as mentioned, and then it is followed by a lull, where the sea goes flat (the waves lie down).

In the fourth line, the term *alo* is interesting; it also appears in a Gutmanis chant, *Kū mai i ka pōhuehue*. Although she uses the same term, she gives it an ‘okina, and Chun does not. With the ‘okina, ‘alo first means to “dodge, evade, elude, avoid,” but has a secondary meaning of “to be with, come near, go with, attend, escort.” Gutmanis plays off this secondary meaning and translates the line “‘alo poʻipū!” as “waves break together!,” with poʻipū referring to a large surf. Without an ‘okina, *alo* is defined as “front, face, presence; upper surface, as of a bowl; leeward. Cf. ‘aialo, aloali‘i, pali (Alo refers to a wife: cf. Pilialo).” Every surfer today loves a “bowling” wave—concave refraction, and in this case we might read this simile into the definition of the term *alo*. Also an appropriate metaphor for those attendants whose *kapu* is equal to the chief and...
thus may stand in his presence at his circle of council—such is the case of Pākaʻa and Kūapakaʻa with Keawenuiaumi.

Furthermore, the verb form hōʻalo is to present, as in “to make a presentation, as to a monarch.”¹⁵ Because these chants are meant to coax the surf into presenting itself along the shore, this definition seems likely as well. Although the former translation (ʻalo) does make sense from a practical and linguistic standpoint (the idea of waves coming together), I am tempted to read the term alo without the ʻokina for several reasons, including the inference to a “bowl,” the secondary meaning as “wife” (thus having genealogical implications), relationship with kapu practices, and the contraction of hoʻalo may explain the use of the ʻokina. With such cases of oral poetry later written down, all meanings should be considered, and many of them may apply. It is for the listener who knows the metaphors to accept and reject appropriate relationships. Thus, it is tempting to read the chant as follows, with a surfer’s translation instead:

*Ku ana hua* The rising swell appears
*I ke kahakai* At the shoreline
*O Nalu kua* The arching wave (arching back or curl)
*O Nalu alo* The bowling wave
*O Nalu ku* The peaking wave (windswell)
*O Nalu moe* The rolling wave (groundswell)
*O Nalu apikipi* The agitated wave (chop)
*I ka moana* On the open ocean
*O nehe kua* The arching lip rumbles
*O nehe makan aliʻi* The chiefly wind rumbles/sounds
*He makan ha Kanala [hakanala?]* [It is] The breath of the wave (the spit)
*He makan pahee* The smoothing (offshore) wind
*I loko o one hua, e* [Blowing from] within the swelling sands
*E hua, e* [With regards to] Swelling
*E hua i luna* Swelling above (swelling storm clouds)
*E hua i lalo...* [Leads to] Swelling below (the surf is rising)...¹⁶
Reading the chant this way, it appears to name significant parts of a wave, wave types that break along the shoreline, and how those waves were agitated (created by wind) on the open ocean (moana). Then the breaking wave is described, including the arching over of the back of the wave (kua) and the rumbling/rustling (nehe) it creates, the sound of the wind as the wave breaks (nehe makan aliʻi). The breaking wave curls over itself, compressing the air and spray within the curl and causing the wave to “spit” as modern surfers would say. Chun questions the meaning of “He makani ha Kanala [hakanala?],” seeming uncertain of the original printed version. If we read the term as “Kanalu,” a translation of “the breath (hā) of the wave” emerges, or what the modern surfer might call a spitting wave. The hā, a symbol of knowledge, is given through the fontanel (manawa) to the child or student. So this line might also possibly allude to the life force that Kanalu gave to his lineage.

It is tempting as a surfer to look at these two lines from the perspective of surfing the wave, as this is the favored sequence of events for a successful tube ride. Another possible misspelling would be associated with the god of the ocean—“He makani hā Kanaloa” and thus would explain the use of the capital ‘K’ that is used in Chun’s rendition of the chant.

Considering the next line, favorable wave conditions are inferred with reference to the paheʻe wind, which could be described as a smoothing wind. Such a wind would come from the land and blow offshore. This relative wind direction holds up the waves and causes excellent conditions for recreation. Malo describes paheʻe as an elevation of land just mauka (upland) of the kula lands, which lie behind the kakahai (coast), supporting the idea that this is an offshore wind, sliding off the land.\(^{17}\) Winds not only
play a major factor in creating waves, but also in creating favorable surfing conditions when they then come from the opposite direction as those winds that created the waves. We will look at winds again in the following section, for now let us continue with waves.

The chant then declares that these are the things that lead to pregnancy, referring both to the former lines in the chant as well as the latter lines that describe the “seed” (swelling/growth of) as a child, another definition of the word hua. This statement relating the chant so specifically to procreation ultimately infers other meanings to the chant. It encourages a man and a woman to engage in a poetically beautiful act (sexual intercourse) of love (aloha) in order to ensure the succession of the lineage. Reading alo as wife, kua would allude to the husband that aligns himself above his wife, as does the ridgetop (kualono), as did Wākea over Papa.

Similar meanings emerge as we consider different readings of the term kua. It could refer to backbone (kuamoʻo). Perhaps it is a shortened form of the term god (akua), both references to a high chiefly position. More direct analogies are referenced in this regard with the kū and moe terms inserted, where kū is the upright, procreative force, and moe is the horizontal plane that is sometimes termed papa, as in the female procreative force that is considered the Earth mother. In this set of metaphors, perhaps Papa would be the reef upon which the wave stands. This continued encouragement of the sexes in relation to surfing mythology, poetically speaking, is actually quite enticing, and we will discuss this theme further as we assess Hawaiian surfing deities in the next chapter.

Pūkuʻi and Elbert list the third definition of the term ‘nalu’ as “n. Amnion, amniotic fluid,” 18 a definition that brings further context to the metaphor of waves and the swelling of the sea as relating to the birth of a child. In conclusion, this chant refers to
the environment in its description of waves, uses of the environment wherein the terms are imbued with metaphorical meaning that can be transmitted orally, and human beings and society with relation to the metaphoric content. Procreation, the birthing process, and the continuation of the lineage are the underlying cultural messages inferred.

Six generations later along the same genealogical epic a very similar chant appears with some additions and changes made by the *kahuna ho‘oulu lāhui* (priest in charge of the repopulation efforts), Kūkalani‘oko‘a. The chant follows along the same purpose. It is called “a prayer for the increasing of the chiefs, people and the fruits of the island,” and it contains more names relating to wave formation:

*Ku ana hua i ke kahakai* The rising swell appears at the shoreline
*O ka nalu hua nalu alo* The swelling wave, a wave face [focuses]
*O ka nalu hua nalu moe* The swelling wave, a rolling groundswell
*O ka nalu hua nalu ku* The swelling wave, a rising wave
*O ka nalu hua nalu ha‘i* The swelling wave, a gathering wave
*O ka nalu hua nalu po‘ipu* The swelling wave, a large breaking wave
*O ka nalu hua nalu ehu* The swelling wave, a ruddy-colored wave
*O ka nalu hua nalu kea* The swelling wave, a white wave
*O ka nalu hua nalu papolo [popolo]* The swelling wave, a dark and light foam-mottled wave

*O ka nalu hua nalu a Kane* The swelling wave, a wave of Kāne
*O ka nalu hua nalu Kiiakea* The swelling wave, a wave of the broad wide sea
*O ka nalu hua nalu a Moanaakea* The swelling wave, a wave of the broad wide ocean

*O ka nalu hua Naluhoohua* The swelling wave, a wave that swells high
*O ka nalu hua Naluhoohoku* The swelling wave, a wave that increases swiftly
*O ka nalu hua nalu Antani* The swelling wave, a wave that travels swiftly

*O ka nalu hua nalu hua i na alii* The swelling wave, a swelling wave of chiefs
*O ka nalu hua nalu hua i na makaainana* The swelling wave, a swelling wave of commoners
*O ka nalu hua nalu hua i na kanaka* The swelling wave, a swelling wave of men
*O ka nalu hua nalu hua i ka wahine* The swelling wave, a swelling wave of women

*O ka nalu hua nalu hua i ka ai* The swelling wave, a swelling wave of crops
This is a call for increasing the people, the chieftain, their resources and endeavors. There are many genealogical considerations that become apparent in the layering of this chant; it can be read at a multitude of levels. This passage becomes challenging when considering the various meanings of words to describe types of waves. *Nalu kea* could be whitish as in the frothy last wave in the set mentioned above, but it could also refer to whitish as in shiny, and waves approaching the surf zone often reflect the sunlight or moonlight, shining or shimmering with reflective light as they bulge. In support of this idea, Gutmanis suggests that, “on the nights when the tops of the waves shine with a glistening light it is said the gods have joined in the sport [of surfing].”

That being said, *kai kea* is the shallow sea where the waves break, and thus it could easily refer to whitewash—a broken section of a wave, also called a *nalu muku* (crested wave). However, *nalu muku* would be an inappropriate metaphor here, because *muku* is to be cut off, thus it would not adhere to the metaphor of a growing lineage. In this case the terms have genealogical significances and thus the right relationship needs be portrayed. *Nalu kea* is paired as an opposite with the dark wave,
*nalu pōpolo*, the wave that every surfer at Waimea Bay dreads witnessing from the water as it stands on the darkening horizon. However, *Kai uli* might be a more appropriate term here, more consistent with the metaphor set. Emerson, in the Hula Manō chant, translates “*Kai pōpolohua*” as a “foam-mottled sea.”

Could this be a reference to the mixing of the light and dark sea, where the wave breaks upon the reefs? This environment is what is being described, so this definition seems quite appropriate. Metaphorically speaking, it is not unlike the mixing of two different family lines, and I am tempted to think that the Uli family line is implied. However, ‘ehu is mentioned, and the ‘Ehu people are shown in the Kumulipo as the family of Haumea. The reference here to Kāne could refer to the procreative power of Kāne wherein the two aspects of the wave mix and mate, creating a new branch, a *lala*, from the swelling wave of the Kāne people. The diagonally breaking wave would be implied in this metaphor. A diagonally breaking wave has both the broken wave and the open swell as it peels over the ocean floor, light and dark waters. After the wave passes over, there lies the foam-mottled sea, *pāpolohua*.

The term *pāpolo* could refer to *Pāpolohiwa*, a star observed by the priests. If Chun is right and *pōpolo*, the dark berry (*Solanum nigrum*) is the right word to use, it would pair properly with the *kea* (white) term. *Hiwa* is a reference to shiny black, associated with Kāne through the term *polohiwa*, so a contracted form of the word *pāpolo[hiwa]* seems possible as well. It appears that a combination of the terms ‘pāpolo’ and ‘hiwa’ create the mottled appearance that Emerson speaks of with the similar term ‘pōpolohua’. Malo’s description of pigs supports this latter definition—the black and white mottled pig is called the *pu’a pāpolohiwa*. A *pu’a hiwa* (described as a black pig
with white feet by Malo) is offered to the god Lonoikaʻoualiʻi as part of a prayer to Laka, thus, ʻhiwa has an association with the god Lono as well. Speculating further, there is a possibility that this Lono refers to Lono-i-ke-ao-ulī-aliʻi, which brings us once again to the association with the term ulī, a very similar term to ʻhiwa, and relating to the god Uli discussed earlier. However, I may be deconstructing this metaphor beyond its intent.

Considering the term –hua, it could possibly refer to the child alluded to in the chant, and here we have a mixing of lineages as the mottled sea comes out of the breaking wave, containing metaphorically both kai ulī and kai kea in the unbroken and broken part of the wave. But again, it may be the ‘ehu folk that may be referred to. It is clear that the sea of Kāne includes the lineage of the named chiefs.

Emerson records a chant called The Hula Manō (shark) that reveals these terms are indeed related through love and genealogy. Emerson seems confused on how a shark could be a symbol of love, but as we have already discussed sharks, we are aware of their voracious appetites, just as sharkmen have insatiable sexual appetites:

**Hula Ka Manō**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auwe! pau au i ka manō nui, e!</td>
<td>Alas! I am seized by the shark, great shark!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lala-kea niho pa-kolu.</td>
<td>Lala-kea with triple-banked teeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pau ka papa-ku o Lono</td>
<td>The stratum of Lono is gone,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I ka ai ia e ka manō nui,</td>
<td>Torn up by the monster shark,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Niuhi maka ahi,</td>
<td>Niuhi with fiery eyes,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olapa i ke kai lipo.</td>
<td>That flamed in the deep blue sea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahu e! au-we!</td>
<td>Alas! and alas!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A pua ka wili-wili,</td>
<td>When flowers the wili-wili tree,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A nanahu ka manō,</td>
<td>That is the time when the shark-god bites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auwe! pau au i ka manō nui!</td>
<td>Alas! I am seized by the huge shark!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kai ulī, kai ele,</td>
<td>O blue sea, O dark sea,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kai popolohua o Kane.</td>
<td>Foam-mottled sea of Kane!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A lealea au i kaʻu hula,</td>
<td>What pleasure I took in my dancing!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pau au i ka manō nui!</td>
<td>Alas! Now consumed by the monster shark!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Shark Dance**
This lament describes the dancer as enjoying herself among her people. There are allusions to ʻuli, ʻele (black), and popolohua o Kāne, thus tying without a doubt the reference in the Hua chant, nalu papolo. But she was taken by the great shark, Lala-kea; probably an allusion to another branch of the Kea family. Again, lala, the term that refers to the diagonal sliding of a surfer away from the breaking part of a wave, also refers to a branching lineage. The metaphor may originate with the branching of a vine, like the beach morning glory. With this idea in mind, the young, budding female, flowering and yet still untouched, was dancing, awaiting a match from within her own clan so that the lineage would remain pure and the kapu upheld. Suddenly she was snatched up by an ocean-going chief attempting to procure his own branch of lineage from the source of the Kāne people, pōpolohua o Kāne, the seed of Kāne that springs from the early interlocking genealogies of the Hawaiian nation. In the definition for pōpopolohua, Pūku‘i and Elbert (1986) use the phrase “Kai pōpolohua mea a Kāne, the purplish-blue, reddish-brown sea of Kāne.”

Both Uli and Kea are also seen as ancestors who are represented along the genealogical lineage of the Hawaiian people, and so these analogies call to the gods of the chiefs, priests, and people as well. Concerning Uli, Malo calls the goddess a patron of the Kahuna ʻanāʻanā. 26 We have already seen how Uli relates to the Kuʻemanu Chant, where the chanter is striving to reach the heavenly heights of Uli. More obvious signs of genealogical information are shown by the appearance of specific priests’ names, Naluhoʻohua, Naluhoʻohoku, and Natuaniani. Indeed, these family groups have come from across the broad wide sea with their lineage of chiefs, priests, and commoners who
swelled from the seed of Kāne, their god of life. Describing this wave further as a wave from the broad wide sea, Nalu Kaiakea, could be analogous to waves of people. Hoʻohua and Hoʻohoku refer to waves swelling, rising, or increasing, as in the formation of waves on the broad wide sea. More directly, these three terms tie to names of priests along the earlier part of the Kanalu lineage. The period of these chiefs was during a time when, through migrations that are likened to waves, their people grew and spread across the broad wide sea of Kāne.

The reference to Kāne would likely allude to the head of the lineage and primary god worshipped, or the people as a whole who associated with this god, and possibly those clouds and storms associated with the god as well as with surf production. The surfs described are the kinds of waves that travel swiftly over the open ocean. Groundswell with an individual wave period of 20 seconds (between each wave passing a fixed point), move at about 70 miles per hour! If a canoe could ride atop the swell and hold onto it, then it would travel swiftly across the sea.

In conclusion, a chart (Figure V-1) with definitions for the terms is better way to visually display in an oceanographic sense, the Hawaiian terms relating to the near-shore environment. By compiling ocean terms found in the Hawaiian surf prose and poetry into a modern diagram, it strengthens the value of surfing for education. It facilitates a direct connection between science and culture—a trend in education that is being encouraged in the American education system. Also, by placing terms that the kūpuna may recognize as metaphorical terms into one diagram on how they relate to a wave, Hawaiians may themselves see the terms through a new lens. Brief definitions are given relating to surfing, but these terms should be explored for their layered genealogical meanings:
Figure 5.3: Hawaiian Wave Terms

1 Ha’i ka nalu: the wave gathers & breaks
2 Nehe i luna: the thunder rumbles above
3 Ka nalu’Ōpu‘u: the unbroken ocean swell
4 ‘Ehukai: sea spray; spindrift
5 Kulana nalu: the peak of the wave
6 Makani pāhe‘e: an offshore breeze
7 Kai uli: the deep, dark sea
8 ‘Ākau: a right-hand slide; going right
9 Lala: diagonals off of the peak
10 Alo: the face of the wave
12 Poli: the bosom of the wave; the barrel
13 Kua: back of the wave; the curl
14 Nehe kua: the curl cracks and rumbles
15 Muku: the cresting lip; to be cut-off
16 Nehe makani ali‘i: the spit roars; it is the
17 Hā ka nal, u or hā kanaloa: the breath of
    the wave, or the breath of Kanaloa
18 Hema: a left hand slide; going left
19 ‘Ohukū: the shoulder of the wave
20 Mākahā: a channel or break in the reef
21 Nalu muku: a crested wave; whitewash
22 nehe i lalo: the broken wave rumbles
23 kai kea: shallow seas where waves break
24 nalu miki: receding wave; backwash
25 ‘āhua: the inside; the reform wave
26 Kai pāpolohiwa/pāpolohua: the mottled
    sea that occurs after a wave runs over it
Though it is a surfer’s perspective on each term, the wave diagram may produce a genealogical perspective on what creates a peaking wave, i.e. how a chief might ascend to the highest peak, genealogically speaking. Once we understand how these terms relate to one another, we can begin to look at poetic surfing metaphors in the mythology. It is appropriate to start with the forces that generate the surf, those weather features that pass overhead but come from afar. The sun, moon, stars, planets, and weather features are probably the main forms in nature of the deities honored by the Hawaiian people. These are the godly forms of nature that bring the freshest waters that evaporate off the land and sea, that nurture the plants, animals, and people, causing the growth of a nation. These gifts come from the interaction of potent natural elements, enacted through the heat of the sun and the cooling properties of water. The sun shines brightest in the heavens of Kealohilani. So, after a discussion on the forces that generate surf, we will begin our journey into Hawaiian surf literature with the story of Kāne, Kanaloa, and Keaomelemele.

**Meteorological Terms: Forces that generate surf**

Cloud forms are placed in the context of mythology as characters in Hawaiian lore. Many of these cloud types are included in the listing of clouds given by Malo and Kamakau. Malo discusses the ability of the Hawaiian people to predict the coming of surf by the nature of clouds on the horizon at sunset while looking out to the north and west:
If the sky in the western horizon was blue-black, *uli-ulī*, at sunset, it was said to be *pa-uli* and was regarded as prognosticating a high surf, *kai-koo*. If there was an opening in the cloud, like the jaw of the *au* (swordfish), it was called *ena* and was considered a sign of rain. 29

From an oceanographic perspective, those cloud signs, a blue-black cloud set against the pillars of the heavens (*kukulu o ka lani*) in the west at sunset, relate to an approaching coldfront and its associated disturbances. These nimbostratus clouds reach from the ocean surface to the highest level of the sky where cloud production ceases due to temperature and humidity levels (the tropopause). *Kaikoʻo* is the term used by Hiʻiakaikapōlipoʻele to describe the surf on east side of Oʻahu: “*Kaikoʻo i ka lauwili o ke Koʻolau.*** Hawaiians clearly understood that disturbed weather creates surf through the agitation of the sea surface, and that in this way the sky plays a role in surf forecasting.

Similar to Laʻamaomao, who controls the various winds and sends waves to help his descendents, Beckwith assigns Lono to storm production and convective cloud phenomena. These phenomena most often occur when winter storms approach the islands from the temperate region, or when the tropical depressions work their way up from the equator. These storms have ravaged the island chain periodically throughout history, sometimes becoming hurricanes. Kona winds that blow in front of an oncoming extra-tropical system often have the same effect. Both of these storm types are very strong, and so are the body forms mentioned for Lono:

In prayers to Lono the signs of the god are named as thunder, lightning, earthquake, the dark cloud, the rainbow, rain and wind, whirlwinds that sweep the
earth, rocks washed down ravines by “the red mountain streams [stained with red earth] rushing to the sea,” 30

These “propitious cloud omens” are the ones that were mentioned by Beckwith with regards to the gourd chant for Lono. He is also called upon in several chants within the Kanalu genealogy, in association with clouds as well as plant productivity. Kanalu’s father Ola wrote these two chants for the increasing of the crops. The first relates to the body forms in nature, or *kinolau* that show the mana of the gods. These deities display themselves through animated objects and phenomena in the natural world. No gods are mentioned directly in this chant. However, the body forms of the gods are called upon to cause the fruitful growth of plants that Kanalu provided from his *malo* (loincloth), *Hoaka*. His *malo* is named for the second night in the waxing crescent stage of the moon. The tips rise first, giving the moon an appearance of a gourd calabash, full of plenty:

A Prayer for the Germination and Growth of Food Plant

\[\begin{align*}
O \ wau \ kino \ i \ ka \ lani & \quad I \ am \ the \ body \ forms \ of \ the \ heavens, \\
Ka \ hekili & \quad The \ thunder \\
Ka \ uwila & \quad The \ lightning \\
Ka \ ua \ huna & \quad The \ hidden \ rain \\
Ka \ ua \ ahu & \quad The \ hovering \ rain \\
Ka \ ua \ hea & \quad The \ misty-clouded \ rain \\
Ke \ ao \ loa & \quad The \ long \ cloud \\
Ke \ ao \ poko & \quad The \ short \ cloud \\
Ke \ ao \ kiei & \quad The \ peeping \ cloud \\
Ke \ ao \ halo & \quad The \ peering \ cloud \\
Ke \ ao \ hoopua & \quad The \ emerging \ cloud \\
I \ ka \ lani & \quad In \ the \ heavens \\
E \ ulu, \ e \ ulu & \quad Growing, \ growing \\
Mauka \ he \ ulu \ ai & \quad Upland \ are \ the \ plants \ growing \\
E \ hooulu \ i \ ai & \quad Increasing \ the \ food \\
No \ ka \ aina \ a \ nui & \quad For \ the \ wide \ spreading \ land \\
He \ kuei \ [i] \ kalo & \quad Kuei \ taro
\end{align*}\]

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Handy and Pūku'i help us to understand how these forms are bodies of the gods by providing us with some of the names and associations inferred within the chant. In naming forms of Kāne, we can see the natural phenomena mentioned at the start of the chant:

More distant, more widely “pantheistic,” and more exalted and possibly more ancient, is Kane, the primordial “Male” (kane), who dwells in Eternity (i-ka-po-loa in the everlasting-night). He is Ka(ne)-‘onohi-a-ka-la (-eyeball-of-the-sun), and Ka(ne)-wai-ola (-water of life, i.e., sunlight and fresh water in rain or streams, as life-giver and healer)...As Kane-hekili, he is lightning, the same as Kane-wawahi-lani (-splitter-of-the-sky). Countless are his forms he is Kane “in-the-whirlwind,” “the-great-wind,” “the-little-wind,” “the-peaceful-breeze”; “in-the-rainbow” of many types of clouds variously described, “in-the-heavenly-star,” “in-the-great-outpouring-of-water,” “in-the-little-outpouring”; “of-the-mountain,” “the-precipice,” “the-outrropping-stone.” Erect stones, natural or set up, were termed “stones-of-Kane.” In the sea Kane is coral of many sorts. For the planter he was, as embodied in fresh water for irrigation, ka-wai-ola-a-Kane, water-of-life invoked in taro planting.

They go on to explain that the banana (Musa paradisiaca) is a form of Kanaloa, and that the sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas) is an embodiment of Lono, as indicated by several sources. The reference and term ulu, as in “E ulu, e ulu,” encourages growth, but with an ‘okina it refers to the breadfruit tree (Artocarpus altilis), ‘ulu, a form of the god Kū, because of the sacrifice Kū made for his people in Puna. During a time of famine, he stood on his head and entered the ground, from which spot grew a breadfruit tree to feed
his family. Although Handy and Pūkuʻi mention that Kāne has his various cloud forms, Kū is often associated with clouds as well. He is the guardian and protector of Keaomelemel, the maiden of the golden cloud. As the guard at the door of her house, he is named Kūkeaoaloa. With these associations, several of the major Hawaiian deities are called upon here through their sometimes-shared embodied forms of nature.

Kāne’s forms are called upon first, and he in fact embodies all of these forms of nature in one way or another as the procreative source of life, so this chant seems to be directed at him. However, Lono also has his cloud forms, and because he carries the life-giving waters of Kāne, it may be that they are calling on Lono to bless them with his fertility. As the first line in each chant depicts, these are body forms of the gods present in the sky. It almost seems as if the earth (most likely Papa/Haumea) holds the potential whereupon Lono’s crops may be planted and grow with the blessing of Kāne’s life-giving waters that the deities carry in their cloud forms. Kāne appears as a procreative force (sun/water), where Lono is fertility, and Papa, the earth’s moist soil, is a protective cover and food for the plants, which are offspring of the interactive process (enacted potential energy) of people planting and nature deities nurturing. This analogy of the earth relates to the female womb that accepts and nurtures the male’s procreative force, granted that he is blessed with fertility. This process feeds and grows the people.

The second chant orated by Kanalu indicates that Lono came from Kahiki, through the name Lono[maikahiki], and helps to explain why the weaning chant mentioned below asks to take the childish qualities back “to the pillars of Kahiki.”

Tropical storms are generated to the south of Hawaiʻi in the equatorial region. Convection is a process of density-driven circulation where warm air rising is replaced by
cool air sinking, which we feel as wind. Tropical cyclones are an extreme example what happens when this process of convective uplift happens rapidly, where a warm core of air forms with cooler air sucking in towards it. These storms usually travel west and north across the central Pacific towards Hawai‘i, sometimes strengthening into hurricanes. In this way, Lono represents equatorial convective storm activity.

Kanalu had let loose his *malo* (girdle) and shown his *mana*—literally, and by calling upon the gods to cause the plants to germinate and grow. This act is symbolic—exposing the genitals releases procreative power. Here he continues by encouraging these crops to bear fruit and provide for a new and growing nation (*ho'oulu lāhui*). At one point Lono is called Lonoika‘o nō ali‘i. It may be an emphatic contraction to the name Lonoika‘ouali‘i, one that emphasizes his chiefly status. Lonoika‘ouali‘i is also a shortened form of Lono-i-ke-ao-uli-ali‘i (Lono-the-chief-in-the-dark-clouds) again associating him with the dark storm clouds that bring the heavy rains that provide Kāne’s life-giving waters to nurture the plants and the people:

**A Prayer for the Fruiting of the Food Plant**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hawaiian Text</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O wau kino i ka honua</td>
<td>I am the body forms of the earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keo, keo</td>
<td>A thrust, a thrust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He mala na Lono</td>
<td>A field for Lono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na kula uka</td>
<td>The upland plains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na kula kai</td>
<td>The seaward plains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I kanu iau ai e Lono</td>
<td>I have planted crops, Lono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O na ai a Lonomaikahiki</td>
<td>The crops of Lonomaikahiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E kupu ana</td>
<td>Sprouting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E lau ana</td>
<td>Furling leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apeu, apeu</td>
<td>[the food mats, the food mats? eds.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Maihuna</td>
<td>Maihuna(?) [Maihua? a variety of taro, eds.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Maihuna</td>
<td>Maihuna (?) [māhua? increase, thrive, eds.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O kamakini nui e Lono</td>
<td>The great kapu, Lono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Lonoika‘o no ali‘i</td>
<td>Lonoika‘onoali‘i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Keaomelemele

Understanding of the concept of storm and surf production is shown through the legend of Keaomelemele (the golden cloud). She is a daughter of Kū and Hinawelelani. She was born a clot of blood from the fontanel on the head of Hina and raised by the couple’s mother, Mo‘oinanea. Westervelt (1963) first related the English version of the story. Much later, Pūku‘i’s translation of Moses Manu’s original series of articles was republished in book format (2002). Through this book, a much more in depth story about Keaomelemele and her family was revealed. As an example of a ho‘ailona, nature signs were given to announce the birth of Kahānaiakeakua, the first-born son of Kū and Hina. He was adopted by Kāne and Kanaloa and raised in Waolani at Nu‘uanu, O‘ahu. The signs are associated with disturbed weather that occurs most often when a winter low-pressure system stalls. Warm and cold air masses stack atop one another, and a violent, enduring storm develops.

We associated Lono with convection in the Kanalu genealogy above. These tropical cyclones form over warm waters in a tropical maritime air mass. Meanwhile, storms that form at the boundary of warm tropical and cold polar maritime air masses are cold-core storms called extra-tropical cyclones. These storms are much more broad, but still reach hurricane force, and create the biggest waves in the world. They are
responsible for the large winter surf in Hawai‘i that is generated north and west of the islands. These storms pull up the warm air from the south, and where the warm moist air and cool dry air intersect, heavily disturbed weather occurs. If the storm stalls out over the island, it could continue for days, as it did in 2006 over the Hawaiian Islands, when 40 days of rain drenched us. This kind of storm was the weather feature that announced the birth of the godly child, Kahānaiakeaakua:

When it became clearly known that Hina was pregnant, the two of them waited together, and when the days of birth pangs approached, the omens were seen in the heavens: There were dark, heavy clouds pressing on the skies above, and the billowing clouds were heaped upon the surface of the sea, while the wild swells of the ocean rose on high, the sea spray blanketed the valleys and the mountain tops, and Kulanihakoi was nearly ready to overflow its heavenly waters when the flashes of the lightning were seen in the sky, and the rumbling roar of the thunder was shaking the earth, then the rainbows appeared proudly in the droplets of the Awa rain, and the red rainbow patches showed their glory over the treetops of the valley, “like the Uulalena rain of Pihiolo, streaking the kukui leaves of Lilikoi.” The rising red mist encircled the surface of the ocean as earthquakes began to make the ground tremble, and the springs of the mountains began to pour into the streams and the winds blew with all their might, sweeping the earth. The whirlwind raised the twisting dustcloud and the loose bits into the skies like twirling clouds as torrents of rain pounded the land and the sea; all the different kinds of clouds obscured away the dark clouds, as colored rain clouds appeared, as did the rainbow emanation and the circles of light around the sun, and the voices of the birds and the happily trilling landshells were heard as the raging waves crashed against the cliffs of the seacapes. The gold of the ocean hid its deep hues, and through these many amazing signs that were seen, the echoing tumult of extraordinary beings were heard resounding throughout Kukuluokahiki.

As all these things converged in one place, and the brilliance of the sun was darkened for three ten-day spans, all parts of the land mentioned above were silenced. As these omens waned, a fine boy child was born…36

Pūku‘i, Haertig, and Lee go into detail on the hō‘ailona and an associated term that has been discussed already, but in a slightly different context, that is hō‘ike. In Nana i ke Kumu, Vol I (1972), the authors explain the phenomenon as a “mystic portent” that can take many forms. They describe how its presence often relates to a sign that carries
greater meaning, one sent by the gods. Of the many forms that a mystic portent can take, “manifestations of nature” are listed first:

Manifestations of nature These may be a chill wind, whirlwind, sudden mist, rainbow, the flight pattern or cry of birds, cloud formations, unexpected ocean waves, strange behavior of fish or animals. Without mystic overtones, any natural manifestation may be a sign. For example, a dark cloud is a hōʻailona of rain…Hōʻailona and hōʻike are mystic-psychic-cultural companions. Each can be found alone. More often, both work together. Sign stimulates revelation, Hōʻailona brings about hōʻike.

In the traditional Hawaiian view, a hōʻailona (in the mystic sense discussed here) was always sent by a spirit. This might be a known, recently deceased relative, lover or friend, aumakua (ancestor god), a destructive akua (god) sent by an enemy, or any ghost, giant or demi-god. Even a sign made by man, as in rites of divination, took on significance because of spirit knowledge, carried mystic overtones. When a hōʻailona was explained later by another person (as in a dream interpretation) the understanding gained was not considered hōʻike.37

A deeper meaning comes forward in the concept of hōʻike. To display one’s ability or mana, as with surfing, may reveal characteristics in an individual that cause a deeper understanding to be gained about that person.

Many of these manifestations in nature are described as body forms of the characters in the legend of Keaomelemele. An excellent example is ʻĀnueneue (rainbow), Kāne and Kanaloa’s sister who is sent to pick up this foster child of the gods from Kū and Hina:

She said to Ku, “Amazing, there is no rain outside to bring the red mist, so step outside to see what the red mist is about.” Ku agreed to what his wife said, but when he went outside and turned to look, he saw seven rainbows at once, arching in a sky that held no rain clouds. Now Ku was nonplussed at this manner of the rainbows, so he went in to tell his wife about it and as they were talking, just then the rainbow and the mist magically merged and took on the form of a native woman’s body, and when it took this form, Ku and Hina turned and saw this unusual young woman sitting outside their house, incredibly beautiful with her rainbow cloak….
As she ended her speech, she gave her last farewell to Ku and Hina, and Keanuenue’s features upon the woman’s form were gone, and she called out for the mist and the rainbow fragment as a blanket to wrap the child. In no time these two things appeared, and the two of them were bundled, then the woman changed and disappeared.

When Ku stepped out to look into the sky, there was a rainbow, a red mist and a glowing rainbow fragment sailing through the sky with unmatched beauty, with one base of the rainbow where Hina stood at the door of her house and the other base arching into the sky with the gentle fringes of the wind. As Keanuenue scanned the islands of that ocean below, she tossed the placenta of the child into the sea and it became a large red octopus, and that is how this kind of octopus came to be in the deep, dark ocean and other places along the shores.\(^{38}\)

In the next passage, Kū and Hina are expecting, and when Hina is about to give birth in Kuaihelani, signs show themselves in the sky that alert Kāne and Kanaloa in Hawaiʻi to this fact, so that they send the goddesses Lanihuli and Waipuhia to fetch the child on the wings of a giant ʻiwa bird. Lanihuli is the name of the peak behind Kāneʻohe and Nuʻuanu on Oʻahu. Waipuhia is the waterfall below Lanihuli, “Upside Down Falls”:

When the time drew near for Hina to give birth, a sign was again seen in the sky and atmospheric space. A storm raged on the earth for several days. After these several days in which the signs were seen in the sky and on the earth, they were seen from the archipelago of Hawaiʻi.\(^{39}\)

This passage is quite accurate in depicting the birth and growth of an extratropical storm system that then sweeps down along the Hawaiian chain. In reading the tale, many small bits of information concerning weather features emerge within descriptions of the gods named. Hidden in poetic metaphor, these bits are easily missed by the untrained reader. The progression of these features across the sky is more likely revealed to the reader who lifts her head up on a regular basis to observe the weather. The author has this to say about the types and numbers of clouds in the sky:
Kukealoa instructed Hina and her husband, thus, “Look at that beautiful girl on that land in the sky. That is Kaonohialii (The-Royal-Orb) in the face of the sun.” Thus he pointed out all the different kinds of clouds, from the clouds of chiefs to the clouds of the gods. There were thirty-seven distinct clouds, and including the various subdivisions there were four hundred and five. So also the fixed stars in the sky, they too were named for the art of reading omens. Most of the stars in the sky were not taken note of, for they were numbered like the sands of the sea. After Kukealoa had instructed Ku and Hina, they were both well versed and this knowledge they received was carried all the way here to Hawai‘i and made use of until the days for such things were replaced by those of this new era. That is an art regrettable to lose in these days of education.

Weather features are seen as signs of a royal presence or the arrival of some god or gods, and their presence indicates future events. With regards to these characters, Martha Beckwith refers to their duties as stated above, that they taught Kū and Hina how to read the signs in the sky, and she clarifies the importance of reading omens by relating them to the lives of the chiefs:

On nights of the full moon one can see the Ali‘i-wahine-o-ka-malu against the moon. Her messenger reveals to Ku and Hina all the lore of cloud forms, how they meet, move, or separate; how the stars appear through them and the course of the winds among the clouds; the meaning of each change so intimately connected in Hawaiian thought with the lives of the chiefs.

Throughout the story a metaphorical theme of clouds as godly beings develops a culturally scientific approach to observing the sky. The metaphors are holistic and complete. An entire world with lands, water reservoirs, and characters interact in a way that mirrors the interactions of both tropical and extra-tropical cyclonic and anti-cyclonic air masses. This understanding of a set of metaphors relating to the weather is revealed during a conversation between Mo‘oinanea and her daughter Hina:

“You are pregnant again but you will not be aware of your pregnancy nor of giving birth. This is a peculiar child of yours and unlike the other children you have borne. This one will be greater than they and her dwelling place in the future
will be within the walls of the sky and heavens above. She will have many forms that will be seen day and night, at all times.”

A high-pressure system (anti-cyclonic atmospheric gyre) is created when air has cooled in the upper levels of the atmosphere. It becomes dense and sinks towards the ground (subsidence). The rotating earth causes the wind to spin as it sinks, spreading out from the center of the high pressure. Sinking air limits cloud growth, so there are practically no clouds and no wind under the center of a high, with varying degrees of clouds and wind that rotate around that center, clockwise in the northern Hemisphere.

This aspect of the metaphor set is represented by the land in the sky that Mo‘oinanea set up for this child of Hina’s, a land called Keʻalohilani:

After this conversation, Mooinanea vanished to dwell in Nuumealani. She spent all her time preparing Kealohilani and on that land she built a very strange house that spun about day and night. This was not like any ordinary house, but she made it of all kinds of clouds for the foster daughter she expected would dwell in it. When her foster child fell asleep she would ask the fog and mist to cover Kealohilani entirely. Mooinanea considered making a bathing pool for the person she thought so much of, therefore she took the pool Kulanihakoi and placed it on Kealohilani with the blossoms, Kanikawi and Kanikawa. She supplied everything that was needed.

Keʻalohilani means “The-shining-heavens” in reference to the absolute brightness of the sky when a high-pressure center or ridge sits directly over the islands. Pūkuʻi and Elbert (1986) consider it a reference to the heavenly courts of the goddesses Uli and Kapo. Humidity levels are low when a high-pressure is overhead. What clouds do exist may be seen in the distance or scattered about, but there are few. At sunrise these cumulus clouds reflect a golden-yellow to orange, hence the name of the child who dwells in this bright and shining land of Keʻalohilani, the-shining-heavens. As a high
pressure system approaches, the sinking air does not allow the clouds to grow up, thus they get smaller and smaller until they are a thin mottling of small, short clouds. These clouds are named *Kukeaopoko*, one of the guardians at the edge of Keʻalohilani. When the shining heavens arrive, the last small puffs of clouds disappear among light and variable winds. The high pressure center is where a potent mix of heat and moisture cause the clouds to billow up on high in the sunlight.

Under these conditions, island heating may cause convective clouds to rise over the mountainous island interior as the land heats up. It is here atop these billowing cumulus clouds that Keaomelemele finds her home, with the world circling about her.

The reference to Biritapaineki is curious and I have no further information on this hero. The descriptive marker of *pouli* hints at the dark convective cloudhead, unless it is the darkness of space in the infinite heavens:

```
Auhea wale oe e ke ao,          Where are you, O cloud,
Ka opua haaheo i luna lilo,     Proud billow on high,
Aia o Keaomelemele,              There be Keaomelemele,
Ke lawe ia la a way up,           Being carried ‘way up’
A loaa ka Biritapaineki,         To find Biritapaineki,
Kahi hiro alo lua pouli.”         A hero dark and dubious. 44
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After the high pressure passes overhead, the winds gently shift from east to southeast, and then south, slowly veering towards the west. These Kona winds increase as the front approaches, becoming quite destructive at times when they rush down the mountains and funnel through the valleys.

Meanwhile in the upper atmosphere, the polar jet stream dips towards the south as it reacts to the approaching surface storm. This upper-level low pressure contains high
winds that rip off the tops of towering cumulus clouds in the equatorial region. Long streaking cirrus clouds reach up like arms from the horizon and spread out like a fan as they approach the islands. They stream across the upper atmosphere towards the north and east, thickening as the surface storm approaches until a high blanket hides the sun behind a layer of gray. This blanketing cirrostratus cloud is called Kaopuaikamaakalā.

Moʻoinanea set this cloud as the one who saw all things from a distance, the one that would warn of impending danger to the islands. The chiefess of that high land is another rainbow wahine, this one represented by the rainbow circllet that occurs when ice crystals reflect the zenith light of the sun or full moon. Kūkeaoloa identifies her as Kaʻōnohialiiʻi, and the author calls her “the Chiefess of the Moon” because it only occurs when it is full:

The color of the cloud changed to red and reflected all over the walls of the sky. Not long after that the red cloud changed and branched out like the arms of an octopus and then assumed the form of a kahili. As Ku watched, there were many kinds of horizon clouds to be seen. Some moved rapidly across the sky. …These were seen for three days and nights. On the third day, Ku noticed a land in the sky surrounded by many clouds. He continued watching until night fell. It was the night of Mahealani when the moon was fully round. That night the image of the land was reflected on the full moon and that is why it is called by the title of “The Chiefess of the Moon” and the names Kawaluna, Kanamee, Kahakaekaea.”

Kaopuaikamaakalā reports to Kaopuaola, the chiefly cloud called by Moʻoinanea to be the reader of omens. I imagine that Kaopuaola, “The-living-horizon-cloud,” is the convective cloud lift coming off the mountain ridgeline. These clouds continue to climb as the land gets hotter and the trade winds decrease. They are most likely the propitious cloud omens that Beckwith speaks of, giving life to the farmers’ crops and foretelling the coming of changing weather. They rise on high so they can easily assist Keaomelemele in her ability to know events happening near and far.
The approaching clouds from the northwest that Malo describes as *pauli* appear as a long cloud looming up over the horizon. This nimbostratus cloud is caused by warm moist air being cooled instantly, which forms a wall of condensed moisture. *Kūkeaoloa* is the name of this dark wall with jutting turrets of cumulus clouds billowing out of it. That is why Kūkeaoloa and Kukeapoko are considered Keaomelemele’s guardians at the doors of Keʻalohilani, because they stand at both edges of the high pressure.

Once this low-pressure storm front passes by, a new high pressure moves into place. The many clouds ushering out of the northern latitudes initially appear as a blanketing layer of gray clouds, hence the name for the mother of these weather features, *Hina*, “gray.” This stratus cloud blanket is almost always found in a layer near the surface of the atmosphere (below 6,000 feet) at the edge of the high. This blanket breaks up as the center of the high pressure passes by to the north of the islands and the winds move from north to east. This cloud field comprises the white puffy stratocumulus clouds that move along on a day with moderate trade winds and clear blue skies aloft in the upper atmosphere.

These clouds are associated with warm air at the surface attempting to push up against the cool, sinking air mass. Their many varieties are recognized in the story as forms of the god Kū. Kū is essentially the warm tropical air mass that we have been speaking of, where clouds form and rise. Hina is the cold polar air mass where clouds flatten and disperse. Their interaction relates to the clouds associated with a high pressure system, which rotate around and protect their daughter that lives on the land in the center of the high pressure, in the shining heavens of Keʻalohilani:
Mooinanea took some horizon clouds in the sky and set them as guards over Keaomelemele on the land of Kealohilani. These were their names, Ke-ao-opua-hiki-kakahiaka (The-horizon-cloud-that-appears-in-the-morning), Ke-ao-opua-hiki-ahi-ahi (The-horizon-cloud-that-appears-in-the-evening), Ka-opua-hiku-aumoe (The-horizon-cloud-that-appears-late-at-night), Ka-opua-kiei (The-peeping-horizon-cloud), Ka-opua-ha-lo (The-peering-horizon-cloud), Ka-opua-kii (The-leaning-horizon-cloud) (image-shaped clouds rising at top of sea), Ka-opua-hele (The-moving-horizon-cloud), Ka-opua-noho-mai (The-sitting-horizon-cloud), Ka-opua-mele-mele (The-yellow-horizon-cloud), Ka-opua-lani (The-heavenly-horizon-cloud), Ka-pae-opua (The-cluster-of-horizon-clouds), Ka-lalani-opua (The-line-of-horizon-clouds), Ka-opua-i-ka-maka-o-ka-la (The-horizon-clouds-before-the-face-of-the-sun), Ka-wele-lau-opua (The-end-of-the-horizon-clouds). These clouds just mentioned were the guardians of the chiefess who was being reared on Kealohilani.

When Mooinanea saw that the clouds were ready she told them the rules and the laws for them to observe well, and when her mind was settled, she set Ku-ke-ao-loa (Ku-of-the-long-cloud) as a guard at the door of the cloud house of her foster daughter. He had jurisdiction over all messages sent from Kealohilani to Nuumealani and Kuaihelani. That is why he was called the messenger. Kaopuaikamakaokala was the one who watched all things from a distance, to see whether trouble and harm were approaching the land they were sent to guard. If this happened, this horizon cloud would report all to a cloud called Kaopuaola (The-living-horizon-cloud). It was a chiefly cloud and it was called by Mooinanea the cloud of the readers of omens. That was one of the duties Mooinanea tirelessly taught the clouds.

When they were well versed in this wonderful skill, she gave her knowledge and great mana to her foster child, Keaomelemele.46

At the interface between a receding polar air mass (dry, cool air sinking out of a high pressure center as the center moves east), a warm front will ramp up on the more dense surface winds and cool. The first signs of the approaching tropical air mass is a smokiness in the highest level of the atmosphere. This smokiness is caused by water vapor that condensed into tiny floating ice crystals. This haze foretells the coming of the weather changes by the rainbow orb that was mentioned along with the jet stream clouds. Westervelt has a slightly different name for her: “The Eye of the Sun [Ka-ʻōnohi-o-ka-lā] was the cloud with magic power to see all things passing underneath near or far.” 47
When there is high humidity in the air and the clouds begin to bulge with impending rain, the sunrise clouds appear reddish-purple, a reflection of water vapor in the air, and often described as ‘ehu, “ruddy.” The sky not only turns reddish-brown from the vog that exudes from the active volcanoes on Hawai‘i Island, but also from the convective heating that occurs in the absence of the trade winds. Moisture that is laden with tiny earth particles appears “dirty.” This moisture rises until it cools, condenses, and causes heavy interior rains to fall in the afternoon, and offshore downpours at night.

It all starts with the sun, represented through the god Kāne. Kanaloa is the dualist aspect here, providing water from the ocean for Kāne to gather up. The initial kinetic energy that causes the process of convective heating comes from the radiant energy of the sun. In the absence of a consistent, large-scale wind field (like trade winds that blow around a high-pressure), the sun heats the land and sea unimpeded by the tradewinds that usually drive clouds along and cool the land. Without these winds, the heat transfers to the surrounding air, which begins to rise. Heated air can hold a lot of moisture, an atmospheric state that we consider being humid and tropical. As the air rises, it expands and cools, its capacity to hold water vapor decreases, and it squeezes the vapor out of the sky, causing precipitation—simply put, raindrops form.

The change of state that occurs when water vapor condenses into a liquid causes a release of latent heat, which causes a small pocket of heated air to rise, cool, condense, and precipitate once again. It is a self-perpetuating process that we see as the formation of a cloud. At first the water droplets are very small and light, but as the droplets cling to one another, they get heavier and eventually fall from the sky as rain, hail, or snow, depending on the temperature at the altitude of the precipitation. Winds affect how high
these clouds rise off the land and sea before moving off. Moist air coming off the sea is thrust upwards by the mountain flanks, pushing the air into cooler temperature zones where the billowing clouds form.

Generally, the larger and colder the drops are as they hit the ground, the higher the cloudhead is reaching into the cold upper atmosphere. A cloud will cease to grow when it hits an inversion layer, a different air mass whose temperature and humidity does not support cloud growth. High pressure in the upper atmosphere (that we see as clear blue sky) may create a ceiling that will not allow a cloud to push through it. The cloud then flattens out at the top, giving it an anvil shape. Otherwise, high winds flowing along a jet stream sever off the tops of these clouds, creating the streaking mare’s tail cirrus clouds that were mentioned already. However, if an upper-level trough of low pressure exists, the rising cloud will continue to grow through these layers unimpeded, forming a towering cumulus cloud whose “head” could reach the tropopause where all clouds cease. Perhaps this upper level low pressure trough, which is seen as a darkness in the heavens, is the hero Biripaineki that the author speaks of.

Air that has risen, cooled, and precipitated, then begins to sink rapidly within the cloud. As this happens the cold sinking air rubs against the rising warm air, creating an electrical charge that then grounds out to the Earth. These are the lightning strikes and the cracks of thunder that rumble across the sky. All cloud forms are held within the land of Keʻalohilani because of the potential for local systems to form. Small-scale convection from island and ocean heating and cooling can create any number of local weather conditions, namely clear skies in the early mornings and early evenings, and cloud buildup in the afternoon and late evening hours when the land and sea temperatures vary.
the most, or over ocean areas where warm and cool currents mix. It’s a good place to study clouds and weather variations.

The same kind of disturbed weather can happen when an extra-tropical low pressure center moves into place over the islands, cutting off regional wind patterns. Small, convective systems develop that intensify disturbed weather. When it was time for Kahanaiakeakua to fetch his younger brother, Kauma‘ili‘ula, from Kuaihelani, he set out on the sea and was carried by the waves to the south towards his destination. The narrator comments that the ocean was calm except for the winds around the canoe. The equatorial doldrums (intertropical convergence zone) are characteristic of small, localized convective systems like those described above. Such tropical depressions, when navigated properly according to their cyclonic rotation (which switches depending on whether you are north or south of the equator) would correlate with the description given by Manu.

We pick up as the group leaves the harbor at Māmala, O‘ahu, heading south towards Kuaihelani. Driven by winds and waves from the north, the extra-tropical cyclone, they surf down sea. As Hawai‘i recedes, they move into the calm of the doldrums. The local gales that drive them are tropical disturbances. Through his mana, Kahānaiakeakua is able to ride the storms by knowing how to keep his canoe on the downwind side of the storm, riding with the local fetch of waves generated. Without this knowledge, a ship would lie adrift in the calm currents of the equatorial doldrums:

The surface of the sea was white with foam and the blue could not be seen. This was the very first time that Kahanaiakeakua spoke to his men, saying, “Sit firmly on the canoe lest you be swept away by the wild billows of the ocean.” Here Kahanaiakeakua assumed the mana of navigating canoes which he had received from his younger sister, the heroine of this tale. After he had spoken,
with a blinking of their eyes, Oʻahu vanished out of sight. When it was almost
dawn, the islands of this group were left behind. As the sky brightened, they
neared Kuaihelani. The canoe continued sailing until it was broad daylight and
there they saw Kuaihelani in full view.

These were the strange things in the sailing of Kahanaiakeakua and the
others—the blowing of a strong gale and the current of the ocean. The wind and
the current were only where their canoe was sailing and there was no wind
anywhere else on the great, wide, ocean. So it was told in this legend. When the
sun arose to the surface of the sea, Ku and Hiilei saw the sail of a canoe pass
before the sun like a cloud nestling on the surface of the sea. They wondered
about it. As they were mulling over it, Kahanaiakeakua’s canoe arrived on the
shore of Kuaihelani.  

In this nineteenth century novel, the gods represent specific aspects of weather
that can be placed into a mental map of the sky. Hina is associated with subsidence, a
cool, dry, sinking air mass. Kū is her guardian and mate, represented as the clouds
standing at the surface levels of the atmosphere surrounding the high pressure. In a
dualistic aspect, he is the rising cloud standing where cloud formation is possible. Hina is
the flat cloud that lies across the sky like a blanket where cloud growth is limited by
weather conditions.

Kahanaiakeakua is associated with the winter storms that drop down from the
north. The arm of a cold front can reach to the edges of Kahiki, as shown poetically when
he went to pick up his younger brother, Kaumaʻiliʻula. He draws up the reddish brown
tropical maritime air mass from the doldrums for which Kaumaʻiliʻula is named. One
process associated with the elder sibling causes another process to arise, considered the
younger sibling. In a similar way, the younger sister of Kāne and Kanaloa is the rainbow
goddess mentioned, Keānuenue. It takes both sunlight and water for a rainbow to form.
Remember, she raised this chiefly child of Kū and Hina. The mist and the rainbow
fragment is the blanket that she wrapped him in.

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Kahānaiakeakua’s moisture laden breezes caress his sister-wife Paliuli’s steep cliffs. That moist warm air is thrust upward, causing steamy mist to rise from her valley folds. Through this orographic lifting she becomes draped with clinging clouds that rise above her. When these winds blow, the ‘iwa (Fregata minor palmerstoni) bird soars on high above her in the updrafts. This bird carried Paliuli as a baby back to Hawai‘i with her attendants, Lanihuli and Waipuhia. Waka reared this child in the uplands between Hilo and Puna, and she chose some of the birds to serve her.

Her signs are the thunder and lightning without rain. Kāne commands that Kānehekili and Keanuenue’s elder sister Kaoakaokalani, also called Ka’anapu, to permeate the skies with their display for the child. When these gray layers of clouds pile up on the Koʻolau Mountains without raining, the mountains are cast in dark shadows that might remind us of “our purple mountain majesty,” who in this case is Paliuli. They may last for two days or so, with weather signs of all types mixed into the blanket of gray. This weather state usually happens just after a cold front passes through, which is why she is the next younger sister of Kahānaiakeakua. Many clouds cover the sky.

Kahānaiakeakua’s affair with the snow goddess Poliahu, another woman of the mountains, indicates his southward travels and presence at high altitudes—poetically above and beyond Paliuli. It is his fertile warmth and moisture that cloaks Poliahu with her white garment of snow, and in the story he remains with her for several months. Waka retrieves him on the wings of a kaupu bird (albatross). The ‘iwa and kaupu birds head seaward under the brisk and steady tradewinds created by a stable atmosphere; that is why they are Paliuli’s guardians, because they are associated with this kind of weather
that reflects her name. When Kahānaiakeakua sneaks back to Maunakea with Poliahu, the mountain is once again covered in snow immediately, reiterating the poetic relationship.

We saw at the beginning of the chapter that Lono is convective and cyclonic uplift. He comes up from the south during the winter months, bringing with him dark storm clouds and strong winds. But he is not mentioned in the story of Keaomelemele. Kahānaiakeakua, “The-[child]-cared-for-by-the-gods,” Kāne and Kanaloa, and his younger brother Kaumaiiliula hold this position. In the History of Kanalu, Lono is the one who is adopted by Kāne and Kanaloa, goes to the pillars of Kahiki—kukulu o Kahiki, and returns periodically. Kahānaiakeakua was given the name Kukuluokalani by his friend, Waiola. Could Lono and Kahānaiakeakua be related in some way or again, different names for the same person in stories told by two family branches?

Kāne creates all these cloud forms with his life-giving sun. His sunlight warms the earth, and waters are pulled up into the sky from Kanaloa’s sea. Once the water evaporates, it leaves the salt behind, becoming drinkable. These are Kāne’s life giving waters. The Hawaiians understanding of salt making shows their knowledge of this phenomenon. Lono carries these waters along in his various cloud forms. This process drives earth’s weather systems as a whole. It all starts with Moʻoinanea and the ancestral knowledge about reading the weather signs that came with the gods to Hawaiʻi nei. Perhaps since Moʻoinanea and her family were the first arrivals, and Lono’s branch had not yet arrived, or those who followed his line had not yet discerned his position from the first line of mountain aliʻi from the dim past. To answer these questions, we must look closely at the deities who through their powerful forms in nature generate the surf, and through their aloha, deliver us from its dangers.
Figure 5.4: Where the weather deities reside. A synoptic feature map with the various characters from Keomelemelmele shown as *kinolau* of these features. Relative Positioning to weather features on the open ocean becomes possible with a mental map of the gods in the sky. Add stars, wave patterns, and seabirds, to find your way home.
CHAPTER VI.
SURFING IS A POETIC VISION
An Introduction To Several Surf Deities

Surfing is a ritual practice integrated into Hawaiian forms of worship. One example is the annual religious event called the Makahiki festival, which occurred during the wet season, ho‘oilo. Beckwith’s description of Lono’s visible symbol at this time is a carved wooden god (akua lā‘au) named Lono-makua. Feather wreaths hanging from the image imitate the ka‘upu, or albatross bird (Diomedea imutabilis). These are reminders of the two woven feathered gods, one for whom these games are named, Lonoikamakahiki, and the other relating to weather and storms, Lonoika‘ouali‘i. In her discussion of Lono, Beckwith provides an apt description of the makahiki as well:

Lono as god of fertility was celebrated in the Makahiki festival held during the rainy season of the year, covering a period of four months from about October to February. During this time the regular tapu days were suspended; the people left off their ordinary occupations and practiced athletic games. Meanwhile ritual ceremonies took place and a procession moved through each district collecting offerings out of the abundance provided by the god in response to the prayers and offerings of the preceding year.

Lono-makua (Father Lono) was the name given to the material form which represented the god at this time. It was a straight wooden post or mast about ten inches in circumference and ten to fifteen feet long "with joints carved at intervals," says Malo, and a figure at the upper end which Alexander identifies as a bird. Near the top was tied a cross-piece about sixteen feet long to which were hung feather wreaths, imitations of the skeleton of the kaupu bird, and at each end long streamers of white tapa cloth which hung down longer than the pole. This was the so-called "Long-god" of the Makahiki.

Before the Long-god was brought out, fires were lighted on the beach and the people bathed ceremonially in the sea and put on fresh garments. This bathing festival was called hi‘u-wai (water-splashing). For five days thereafter the high priest was kept blindfolded and "merry-making, boastful demonstrations of prowess, and boxing were the occupations of the day." Offerings to the god were collected from each district.
During the periods of feasting, celebration, and games, surfers called upon their gods for support with offerings of food and precious items. They praised their deities in name chants for the surfers, and then competed on the surf in honor of their gods. Malo’s description of the *akua loa*, or the “so-called ‘Long-god’ of the Makahiki” that Beckwith cites, is followed by his description of the *akua poko*, or *akua pā‘ani*, which Chun translates as an “image representing the god of sports.”

Considering a patron god of sport relating to surfing, Finney and Houston could not name a deity presiding over surfing in Hawai‘i, at least not at the time of their original publication (1966). However, they argued for the existence of a Hawaiian god of surfing by the presence of the Tahitian counterpart, Huauri, mentioned by Ellis in his discussion on surfing. Gutmanis (1983) later published that in order to procure waves, a call to the wind goddess La‘amaomao is made, a call that echoes Kūapāka’a’s chant.

Ho‘oulimāhiehie and Nogelmeyer illuminate Hi‘iaka’s calls to Lono, for it is through this god that she and her friends survive the dangers in the surf. Both Lono and La‘amaomao appear to create surf and grant safe passage to surfers who call on them, namely when they are in that extreme environment. That these deities assume this role as wind gods who have the power to raise the surf shows the recognition Hawaiians had for these real relationships in nature.

**Huauri**

Beckwith provides some insight on how Huauri may have become associated with surfing in Tahiti. In her listing of Tahitian genealogies under the ‘Aikanaka-Hema cycle, Beckwith and Henry places the name *Hina-tahutahu* (Gray-the-magician) or *Huauri* (-
ouri) (dark-fruit) as wife of Hema, mother of the famous voyager Tafaʻi. Huauri is described as a goddess from the Netherlands (the underworld), one entrance to which is situated at a bathing pool near Mahina (Point Venus) known as Vai-te-marama (Note that both names indicate a relationship to the moon as well as to Hema’s mother).

There in the Vai-poʻo-poʻo river Huauri would go daily to bathe, and that is where Hinahāniakamālāma instructed Hema to find her. He had cared for his mother when his older brother Puna continued on to go surfing. Because of his caring for women, she found it befitting that Hema should attain this goddess for his wife. As Beckwith summarizes from Teuria Henry:

Hina weds Noʻa-huruuru (hairy), who has saved her from her cannibal mother Rona (or Haumea), and has two sons, Puʻa-ariʻi-tahi and Hema. The mother favors Hema because he does not refuse to louse her hair and to swallow a red (and a white) louse which he finds in so doing. She accordingly promises him a goddess for a wife. He is to find Hua-uri (or Hina-tahutahu) at her bathing pool called Vai-te-marama (at the Vaipoopoo river at Hanapepe) and catch her by the hair and carry her past four (or twenty) houses without letting her feet touch the ground; then she will lose her power and follow him.3

After several attempts Hema begot the goddess, and eventually she bore him two sons. Arihi-nui-apua (great enchanted net cord) and Tafaʻi (Kahaʻi) are widely known throughout the Polynesia as having travelled to the far reaches of Kahiki, avenging their father by rescuing him from a band of demons. Huauri is seen in the Kahaʻi cycle as his mother in many Polynesian localities.

However, another Tahitian legend names Huauri as the wife of a chief named Rehia and mother of a son, Pai. In satisfying her desire for a cache of food headed for the royal family, he offended the inlanders and royals for whom the food was intended, and thus they plotted revenge. The inland clan feined a desire to adopt their first daughter,
naming her Hina-ari‘i, but instead smashed the baby’s brains out on a stone and buried her in their marae, whereupon the couple severely punished themselves with grief after hearing the news.

During her second pregnancy the mother craved uhi (Dioscorea alata L.) which Rehia goes to find in the forest. He meets two ruahine-tahutahu (old witches) who trick him into digging for yams at the same marae (temple/heiau) that his daughter had been buried in. Alas, they caved the stones in over him so that he should meet the same fate. Eventually the boy is born, but in the form of a dirt clod, which Huauri places on her family marae. She asks Ta‘aroa and his host of gods to adopt the youth. Ta‘aroa nurtured the boy within “a large green gourd” still growing in the garden, where he remained.

When he grew into a boy and emerged from the gourd, Ta‘aroa tested him severely by beating him, hanging him, and slapping him while the boy slept. Because he did not wake up until the last slap, Ta‘aroa finds him worthy of adoption and names him Pai-toa-nu‘u, te Pai-a-ra‘i (Wrap-warrior-of-hosts, Wrap-the-prince) based on the ordeal. He places Pai in the garden of the gods to reside, but he placed a kapu on all the food therein as poisonous, for the gods only. Tempted, Pai discovers that he would not die by eating the growing plants, and so in a tantrum at the deceit of his adopted father, Pai ravishes the garden. The attendants are astounded, wondering if it was the wind:

What has happened? Has the wind or a freshet swept away everything? But no, there stand all the forest trees on the river banks and on the hillsides. Besides, Ta‘aroa holds the source of winds and of the water, and he would not let them hurt his plants. They then descended and met Pai.”

Ta‘aroa was very upset and reprimanded him heavily, revealing Pai’s true heritage while he was at it. Feelings hurt from the god’s harsh words, Pai longs to meet
his mother and leaves the netherlands to seek her, exiting through the top of Temehani crater on Raʻiatea. After meeting his mother and warding off the king’s men, he accepts a challenge to battle that, if he failed, would place Pai and Huauri in King Tiʻihia’s marae along with the rest of Pai’s family. However, Pai prevails over his enemies, slays the two witches, and gains favor with the king. Pai became a great warrior who conquered over neighboring tribes and stopped Hiro and his band of thieves from stealing the peninsula between Opunohu and Aimeo in Moʻorea and taking it to Raʻiatea.

This story is different from that told in the Hema cycle of myths, but many themes are shared. The names Huauri and Hina-ariʻi are repeated, associating the story with Hina, but the connections are vague. Another tie is found in the name Pai which means to slap. This name, Pai or Pae, can be traced to the modern Hawaiian kahuna lāʻaulapaʻau, Papa Auwai, whose great-grandmother, Pae, held this name and title. Pae named her daughter Kanalu because it was a family name handed down through her matriarchal line. She trained Kanalu in the kahuna arts. Papa Auwai received his training from his grandmother, Pae.⁵ If Huauri was also known as Hinatahutahu, the magician, then perhaps the knowledge that Papa Auwai carried originated within this family line.

Can we identify a Hawaiian surf deity with the Tahitian surf deity by finding the same genealogical position? Is there a direct link? Tying the lineages across the cultures is difficult, and one surfing deity does not clearly emerge. The challenge in the case of Huauri is her relative absence in Hawaiian lore. The names vary for wives given across the islands that carry this genealogical cycle of myths dealing with Aikanaka and Hema. That said, Huauri is memorialized in the mountain peak above Luluku in Kāneʻohe, Puʻu-ka-hua-ulī.
Beckwith comments that “a comparison [of the ‘Aikanaka cycle of names] with southern groups shows a close likeness in the series, although the names of their wives differ widely.” In fact, there does not seem to be much information available concerning Hema’s wife in Hawai‘i. Her name is listed as Lua-mahehoa, ‘Ulu-mahahoa, and ‘Ula-mahahoa by Beckwith, Genealogist Edith McKinzie, and Malo. Kamakau lists her name as Luamahekoa or ‘Ulamahehoa, stating that she is from upper ‘Iao in Wailuku on the island of Maui. However, the “moʻolelo of the poʻe kahiko” that follows, where Hema “sought and found a wife,” gives two different names for her: “Iʻimi a loa’a ka wahihe...ʻO Luamaheau, ʻo Luamahahoia.” Moreso, although similar, these names each carry different connotations. At least we can see that she has more than one epiteth.

Although chiefs and chiefesses often carry more than one name, many questions are left concerning the differences in Hema’s wives names in different island groups. These differences might occur if perhaps this cycle of myths was contrived for informational purposes and encoded culturally in relation to voyaging, as this cycle is known for just that. Johnson describes the related passages as alluding to the travelling path of the sun annually across its ecliptic. Fornander suggests that these events happened to the root culture before the people spread across the Pacific, and then later the story was embellished locally on the various island destinations.

Another idea could be that these voyagers had mastered ocean voyaging to the point that they were able to reach these various island locations easily. At each place they might gain a wife, most likely for the purpose of integrating their own lineages with other chiefly families from far off islands. In some cases these marriages reconnected family branches with the source lineages of Hawaiʻi’s people. The motive in Hema’s case is a
birthright described as a gift item, but it may really be to connect back to the southern group from whence his mother came. Even with the varied cycles of myths, native historian Kamakau seems certain that the birthplace of the chiefs and chiefesses of this cycle was in the Hawaiian Islands.⁸

Whichever the case may be, this cycle of myths shows a close relationship between cultures at this point in the chronological history of oral literature in Remote Oceania. From this point on, the genealogies and stories lose many of the similarities that are found in these earlier times as they branch off into different family lines and settle on different islands. It remains clear amongst the groups, however, that Hema gained a goddess, a woman from under the sea, for his wife. In the Hawaiian version, she becomes pregnant with his son and he is sent to her homeland for the child’s birthright. Kamakau describes the purpose of his journey as seeking the birth gifts that are the child’s right through Hema’s mother, Hinahānaiakamalama.⁹

**Hīna-hānai-a-ka-mālama**

More specifically, Hema gained the right to a goddess for a wife because he chose to stay back from the surf and care for his mother, incidentally picking a red and a white louse out of his mother’s hair, and thus showing his great care for women. Puna did not help his mother, and instead continued on and went surfing like the brothers had planned. Although he is the elder who thus holds rank over his brother (inherited *mana*), Hema acquires *mana* through his character and choice of actions—helping his mother. From one perspective, we see a distinct positioning of surfing within the greater culture—family comes before surfing. This idea suggests a balanced life focused on family,
humility, and service to the elders before recreation. However, there are many layers to this story, and that opinion is one given by an anthropologist with a modern worldview. Consider this story in light of the *Hula Ka Mano* (Shark Dance) that was discussed earlier in this text.

Regardless, this mother of Puna and Hema, wife to ‘Aikanaka in Hawai‘i, Aotearoa, Rarotonga, Tahiti, and the Tuamotu Islands, is known herself as an excellent surfer. As mentioned in the story of ‘Aiwohikupua, he “is attracted by the lovely Hina-ika-malama as she rides the famous surf at Puhele, and he turns [his canoe] in at Haneoo.” Beckwith describes Hinahānaiakamalama, the famous character of Hawaiian lore who is also known as Hinamaikalani and Lono muku (or Lonomoku):

Hina-hanaia-i-ka-malama (The woman who worked in the moon), said by Kilinahi Kaleo to be Pele's name as a woman on earth, identifies the Hawaiian goddess with the Tahitian who beats out tapa in the moon; Hina-papa‘i-kua she is called in Hawaiian nomenclature. The home of Pele in this incarnation is at Kauiki on Maui where, as wife of Aikanaka on the Ulu line, she becomes weary of tapu restrictions and escapes to the moon. In a second even more mythical legend, she is lured up by a chief of Hawai‘i from a land underseas and from her calabash of food the moon and stars reach the skies.

Johnson elaborates on the identity of this great goddess:

*Hina*, a primary name in Polynesian maternal ancestry, is mother of all corals, eels, sea urchins, coarse basaltic rock (‘elekū) and lava rock (‘ā). *Hina-hana-ai-a-ka-mālama* ‘Hina-cared-for-by-the-moon’ is of multiple identity. She is *Hina-ke-kā* ‘Hina-the-bailing calabash-(of-Wakea) and *Hina-‘ōpū-hala-ko‘a*, mother of all reef life. *Hina-hānai-a-ka-mālama* in real life is listed in the Ulu genealogy as wife of ‘Aikanaka (=kaitangata) and mother of Puna and Hema from whom the major lines of Hawaiian chiefs diverge on the ‘Aikanaka lineage. The *Puna/Hema* branches constitute the major branches of Hawai‘i/Maui (*Hema*) and O‘ahu/Kaua‘i (*Puna*) chiefs. Recognizing this split between the *Puna/Hema* lines of the ‘Aikanaka family facilitates understanding of the major genealogical relationships between Hawaiian chiefs.
Because Hema cares for his mother, she sends him back to tie back to the mother’s lineage in her homeland, which lies down below the horizon (under the sea) on an island. It is this birthright that Hina gives him. Fornander gives the details of this journey in chant. Hina’s homeland is revealed as being “in Kahiki, there at Ulupa’upu’a,” identifying with the same places as those mentioned earlier in the story of Rū (Kū) and Hina:

Holo Hema i Kahiki, ki’i ke ‘apo-‘ula
(circllet)
Loa’a Hema, lilo i ka ‘Ai‘ai,
Hā‘ule i Kahiki, i Kapakapaakaua,
Waiho ai i Ulu-paupau

‘O ke anuenue ke ala o Kaha‘i
Pī‘i Kaha‘i, Koi Kaha‘i
He Kaha‘i i ke Ko‘i ‘ula a Kane
Hīhīa in a maka o ‘Alihi
Ae Kaha‘i i ke anaha
He anaha ke kanaka, ka wa’a
I Luna o Hānaiakamalama
‘O ke ala ia i ‘imi ai i ka makua o Kaha‘i
‘O hele a i ka moana wehiwehi
A halulu i Hale-kumu-kalani
Ui mai kini o ke akua
Ninau ‘o Kāne ‘o Kanaloa
Heaha kau huaka‘i nui

E Kaha‘i, i hiki mai ai?
I‘imi mai au i ka Hema
Aia iā Kahiki, aia i Ulu-paupau
Aia i ka ‘A‘ai, hāhā mau ‘ia a Kāne

Loa’a aku i kūkulu o Kahiki.

Hema went to fetch the red fillet
or ring)
Hema was caught by the Aaia
He fell dead in Tahiti, in Kapakapaakaua
He rests in Ulu-paupau.

The rainbow is the path of Kaha‘i
Kaha‘i arose, Kaha‘i bestirred himself
Kaha‘i passed on the floating cloud of Kāne
Perplexed were the eyes of ‘Alihi
Kaha‘i passed on on the glancing light
The glancing light on men and canoes
Above was Hanaiaakamalama (moon)
That is the road to seek the father of Kaha‘i
Go on over the deep blue ocean
And shake the foundations of heaven
Inquiring are the retainers of the God
Kāne and Kanaloa are asking
For what purpose is your large travelling party,
O Kaha‘i that has come hither?
I am seeking for Hema
There in Kahiki, there in Ulupaupau
There at the Aaia constantly breathed on by Kāne
Reaching to the farthest ends of Kahiki. 13
Figure 6.1 The Kahaʻi chant presented by Fornander, 1996; Puʻu o Kahaʻi as seen from Namakaokahaʻi, a place name in Hakipuʻu below Kahwā

![Image of Kahaʻi chant]

The Kahaʻi chant presented by Fornander, 1996; Puʻu o Kahaʻi as seen from Namakaokahaʻi, a place name in Hakipuʻu below Kahwā.

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Effectively, by taking a wife from the pool of the moon (*Vai-te-marama*), it implies an association with Hina who works in the moon. This union accomplished a marriage between cousins from a common stock. This had the effect of giving Hema’s children *ni’aupi’o* ranks, thus creating different branches of equal hereditary status with Puna’s children. *Ni’aupi’o* is a relationship described as:

The highest ranks of Hawaiian chiefs achieved by full-brother/full-sister, uncle/niece, or aunt/nephew marriages, from *ni’au pi’o* ‘bent coconut midrib’, symbolizing a relationship bending back upon itself. The *pi’o* rank is represented naturally by the curving rainbow *pi’o anuvenue* or by the arched crescent leitmotif of feather garments and other chiefly insignia.”

Beckwith’s comparative listing of several genealogies indicate that both the Tuamotu and Tahiti cycles carry the lineage above Hinahānaiaakamalama to Nona (Rona), whom she associates with Haumea. Nona is described by Henry:

Not long after Tahiti was moved away from Ra’iatea, there lived in the district of *Mahina* (clear-gray) in *Tahiti-To’erau* (North-Tahiti), a fine elegantly formed woman of high rank. She had long carnivorous teeth, and she had acquired the terrible propensity for cannibalism, which obtained for her the sobriquet of Vahine-‘ai-ta’ata (Man-eating-woman), her husband, who was high chief of the house named Tahiti-To’erau, forsook her, and she lived alone in her home shaded with coconut trees on her own hereditary land near the sea. There she gave birth to a beautiful girl, whom she named Hina (Gray) and whom she brought up tenderly, as befitted her rank, concealing from the child the human prey which she procured for herself.”

Although he is not mentioned by name in the above passage, Henry identifies Ro’o-nui as Nona’s husband in this Tahitian cycle of myths. In a footnote he describes Ro’o as “the first [god] that came out of the confined sky of Atea into the light of day,” and directs us to a chant called “Ro’o the Messenger,” where he describes Ro’o further, associating him with Lono:
O Roʻo mua, Roʻo arere nui teie na Tane, i rahua e Taʻaroa, i fanau hia e Faurourou, te ata paʻari mareareʻa.

This is Roʻo the first, Roʻo the great messenger of Tane, conjured by Taʻaroa and born of Faurourou, the frozen, gilded cloud.

The name Roʻo, with its variations, Lono and Rongo, is known throughout Polynesia as that of a great god, but there is some confusion made between this Roʻo and the Tahitian Roʻo the second, who is not mentioned by the other islanders above cited, and the attributes of the two are blended together.

In New Zealand he is called Rongo-ma-Tane, and said to be the son of Rangi and Papa (Heaven and Stratum-rock)...In Hawaiian mythology Roʻo’s full name is Lono-nui-noho-i-ka-wai (Great-Lono-dwelling-in-water), which may have reference to the Tahitian statement that he was born in the cloud.

In Mangareva Rongo (Roʻo) was worshipped as a great god represented by the rainbow, which harmonizes with the Tahitian “gilded cloud of Roʻo.” The parentage of Roʻo is somewhat confused in different groups; the Samoans state that he was the son of Taʻaroa, being nearest the Tahitian statement that he was conjured by Taʻaroa.16

In both Tahiti and the Tuamotu Islands, Puna and Hema are the children of Hinahānaiaakamalama and Noʻa-huru-huru. In Hawaiʻi, Aotearoa, and Rarotonga, the husband is named ‘Aikanaka or Kaitangata, but as seen in one of Noa’s sobriquets as related to us in the Tuamotus, Noa-maf-[kai-tagata], these names could easily be associated with one person. Furthermore, that Nona was a known cannibal living in the same area as Noʻa, it is likely that the two were related, and so their issue is one that arises from within one lineage—that of Haumea. Hina was born from chiefs within Haumea’s line and raised in a way that befitted her high rank. This idea corrolates with Hina being Pele’s name on Earth, with Pele being born from Haumea as well. Beckwith summarizes her thoughts on Haumea:

Thus it is in her character as destroyer or guardian of wild growth and patroness of childbirth that Haumea becomes, like Laʻilaʻi, the producer or, like Pele, the destroyer of living things. Goddess of the "sacred earth," she is venerated as the spiritual essence of that ageless womb out of which life is
produced in changing forms and which finally, in the body of a woman, bears to Papa, through union with Wakea, the human race, or, more specifically, the Hawaiian people in direct descent from the ancestral gods.  

So, Hina’s children Puna and Hema are the great grandchildren of Ta‘aroa and Faurourou. They are grandchildren to the god Lono (Ro'o) whose great storm clouds generate waves, and his wife Haumea (Nona), and they are the children of Hina. Known as Hina puku‘i, she is the Earth’s foundation upon which the waves stand up and break. More specifically, it is their issue that symbolically ties Haumea to the ocean as coral, as Johnson explains in a discussion on the Kumulipo. She also indicates a relationship to the Nanaulu/Māweke lineage, a line containing Tahitian origins of the highest ranks:

...The association between the moon goddess and reef life, although Papa (cp. ‘āpapa ‘reef”), the earth goddess, represents life-giving rock, may be due to the Hawaiians’ understanding that the moon influenced the tides. The Hawaiians planted and fished by moonlight:

\[ Ua \ 'apulepule \ ke \ ko\prime a \ o \ He\prime eia \]
\[ Me \ he \ mahina \ la \ i \ kai \ Moku\prime olooe \]

Mottled is the coral of He‘eia
Like the moon in the sea of Moku‘oloe.

Figuratively ko‘a represents a strong, immovable chief, a great warrior:
\[ Ke \ ahua \ nui \ o \ ‘Iwikauikaua, \ Ke \ pūko‘a \ i \ waena \ o \ ka \ hohonu \]

“The great terrace is ‘Iwikauikaua
The coral head in the midst of the deep.

The importance of ko‘a in a genealogical chant composed for Ka-‘ī-i-mamao may be seen through their direct descent of Ka-‘ī-i-mamao from \textit{Kumuko‘a (w)} of the Nanaulu-Maweke lineage.  

Puna-ali‘i and the Kaua‘i/O‘ahu lineages that spring from Puna trace their heritage through the Nanaulu-Māweke lineage. Puna chose to stay within the northern lineages, to surf the dark waters of Hawai‘i \textit{Kualii}. Poetically expressed, Puna may have
wanted to choose a wife from his own stock (the father’s line) rather than retie into the wife’s line that migrated up later from the homeland. Johnson makes the analogy of “the kōpunapuna guardian plant, alluding to the ‘jointed sugar cane’ kō, figuratively meaning ‘to fulfill’ (kō) through a new sprout on the stem (i.e. Ka-ʻI-i-mamao) of the Puna lineage.” 19 She then elaborates, suggesting that Laʻamaomao is associated with the Puna lineage, at least in Sāmoa:

Genealogical associations favor Hema’s brother, Puna son of ʻAikanaka and Hina-hānaiakamālama (w), ancestor of Kauaʻi chiefs. An earlier Puna, ancestress of great Puna, appears as the wife of Kūheleimoa (k) (Ulu genealogy)...

Kapuna (w), an Oʻahu chiefess, wife of Haka, king of ʻEwa district, was a descendant of Kapae-a-Lakona. She was the mother of Kapiko-a-Haka (k) from whose daughters Kaulala (w) and Kamili (w) descended, respectively, the lines of Kūaliʻi (k) (Oʻahu) and Kealohikikaupeʻa (k) (Kauaʻi).

Vai-puna-riki in Tuamotuan tradition was the primordial ‘flood’ before which Puna, killed by Rata, was king of Vavaʻu, “an island in Vai-puna-riki”. In Samoan faʻalupega, Puna, son of Luafata-aliʻi, is associated with the founding of the Faleapuna at Lufilufi. Faleapuna is called the ‘canoe of Fonoti’ (vaʻa o Fonoti) or ‘House of Four’ Falefā, comprising Sanonu, Sagapolu, Saleapaga, and Le-ati-fasou. Faleapuna included the old Tongan colony Fagaloa in Samoa. Lua-fata-aliʻi ruled part of Manono where Laʻamaomao (cp. Hawaiian Laʻamaomao, god of the wind calabash, Ipu-makani-a-Laʻamaomao; cp. Rarotongan Rakamaomao, god of winds) was feared as a god of war.20

**Laʻamaomao**

Henry identifies different gods with different winds in Tahiti, but names winds that are similar in direction and name to Hawaiian winds. She describes the winds as “potent agents of the gods, murmuring mysteries and warnings to man.” In one account called “The Birth of Winds,” she gives Rataʻiri as the father, and Temuri as the mother of
the winds, saying that “when the sea is plentifully capped outside and lightly capped inside the reef, it is then that *To‘eraumara‘imoana*, deep and vast, is blowing.”

Johnson points out that Rata refers to Laka rather than La‘a, and her comment that Rata killed Puna, king of Vava‘u prior to the flood of Kahinali‘i suggests that they come from opposing lineages. There are two characters named Laka in the genealogies, with Laka, son of Wahieloa on the Hema line whose story (as Rata) is famous throughout Polynesia, being the more recent. A more ancient Laka is the eldest son of Kumuhonua and La‘honua on the Kumuhonua genealogy, son of Kānehuhihonua and Keakahulilani on the Kumuuli genealogy. Beckwith remarks on this earlier Laka as a primordial god of the forest, usurped later by Lono:

It is tempting to think that this Laka, god of the wildwood, son of Ku (muhonua), the ancestral god of the first Hawaiian immigrants through union with a woman from below, came to be replaced by the great god Lono dwelling in the heavens.

Henry names a particular wind associated with a god called Ra‘a (La‘a): “The Rapati‘a (Westerly wind), from Vai‘otaha, Porapora [Vavau], was of the god Ra‘a (Sacredness), and it produced destruction; it indicated the anger of Sacredness” *(Ra‘a=sacredness, as does La‘a in Hawaiian).* In a chant entitled “The Tahitian Genealogies of the Gods,” Ra‘a is confirmed to be a god that causes destructive winds:

Above was held upright, the sky was held down. Ta‘aroa called gods into being, a host of gods in darkness… Ta‘aroa conjured forth… Tu-ta‘iri-moana (Stability-of-the-smiter-of-the-sea), the waves obeyed his voice. Atea was born, a daughter within the dome of the sky, Rumia; Atea of great bidding extending from east to west from the earth to the sky. Her spirit pervaded space. Atea dwelt with Papa-tu-‘oi (basaltic-peak) and there was born to them Ra‘i-tupua-nui-fanau-eve (Great-sky-developer-born-in-commotion)… Ta‘aroa conjured forth Uru, the canoe bailer of Ta‘aroa. There was a prayer in the moving ocean; the sea was the great temple of the world. Fai (rayfish) was the swimming temple. Rauti (Stimulator) was the artisan of Ta‘aroa in the ocean…
Then was conjured forth Ra’a (Sacredness); holiness, greatness, glory, and holding anger were the attributes of the god Ra’a. These qualities he bestowed upon the assemblies of the hosts of gods at the ceremonies of men on earth.

There followed Tu-papa (Rock Abider), the wife of Ra’a; ‘Iri-nau was his messenger. When Ra’a got enraged, he caused destruction to come by the wind. Rapati’a (Steady-Blowing) was the name of that wind, and land was the price of that wind. Ra’a and Tu-papa begat the god Te-va-hunuhunu (Soothing wind) who healed wounds and sicknesses on the battlefield.24

When discussing success and failure in ritual activities at the national temples, Henry shows that this Ra’a expresses approval as well as anger. While cleaning the *marae* of weeds a chant is sung. It explains that the work was being done “for Ro’o-te-ro-ro’o and for the host of gods.” However, it was not Ro’o that answered to the work, but Ra’a who adjudicated:

> If light rain fell upon the scene during the marae weeding or afterwards, it was regarded as a token of good will of the god Ra’a (Sacredness). Heavy rain was supposed to show displeasure of that god, and no rain was considered ominous of some approaching evil, which, in either case, the priests endeavored to ward off by prayer.25

Ra’a was “one of the chief deities presiding over the royal marae in Tahiti, along with Tū, Ro’o-te-ro-ro’o, Fatutiri, Ma’u’u, Tipa, Punua-moe-vai, and Temeharo.” 26 In Ra’iatea, Ra’amauriri (Sacredness-holding-anger) was a chief who lived in Hiva with his wife Taetaefenua. They had four sons, the youngest named Ti’apaera’ira’i. The wife died and he married a second time to Faimanoari‘i, who bore him a son named Hiro after the god of thieves.27 Perhaps Pai of Huauri battled this Hiro in the tale told earlier that focused on the Hema branch. This Hiro may correspond to the Hawaiian sorcery god, Kūwahailo, who appears as the uncle of Nāmakaokaha‘i in the Aukelenuiaikū story. He is also associated with the storms of winter.
In the Tuamotuan story of Hono‘ura, “the fame of the beauty of the Adonis Ra‘amauriri, whose home is not mentioned, was spread everywhere abroad.” His beauty is what sent two princesses from Porapora searching for him as a husband. They end up meeting the kings of Ta‘aroa and Tautira, and the story of Hono‘ura begins. The grandson of one of these chiefly pairs is Hono‘ura. He was born a dirt clod and placed in “the great cave of Po-fatu-ra‘a (Darkness-ruled-by-sacredness), in the side of mount Tahu‘a-reva,” where Ra‘a was said to dwell. Henry footnotes this god as being Ra‘amauriri. Hono‘ura was the son of Te-more-ari‘i-vahine of the royal family of Pohuetea, from Pu-na-au-ia. The father is Auatoaia–turiaturuman‘u, the son of the King of the inland Ta‘aroa district and his wife from Porapora, Rumareihau.28

After having burst from the clod he survived by eating and excreting rocks in the cave. He was discovered alive and was eventually convinced to come down to his parents’ home for a feast in his honor. However, Tuamotuan warriors from Hiva in Papatea attacked them suddenly. They killed the chief Tuiha‘a and took him to Takume island where he was laid upon the altar of their gods. Hono‘ura swore revenge, and eventually he achieved his goal, killing the great fish Tūmatahi in spite, then slaying King Tūtapu of Hiva, leaving the body in honor of his own loss:

In order to prove themselves conquerers, Hono‘ura and his warriors broke down the royal marae Tapu-Hina (Hina’s-pledge), and carried away the image of their supreme god, Tū, known in the Tuamotuan group as Tū-nui (Great-Stability), and the image of his attendant god Ro‘o (Tame). 29

Afterwards Hono‘ura, takes the widowed Queen Te-puna of Hiva to be wife of the King Ta‘ihia of Tautira. He and his younger brothers find themselves living in a cave by the seaside in the district of Faremārama on the island of Faka‘au, where Hono‘ura
marries a maiden from the neighboring district of Tupuna named Raʻiehoʻoatanua. They
bear a son named ‘Aitutaʻatamatataʻitearoʻaua (God-of-goodly-people-the-fight-in-
swimming). If this ‘Aitu were the same person as ‘Iku whom we have already discussed,
then that would suggest that his wife, known here as Raʻieho'o-atanua, may be the
grandmother of Aukelenuiakū. 30

Henry marks this Tahitian legend as having great similarity to the Rarotongan
account of ‘Ono-kura (hon’ura) presented by Percy Smith. In it many of the elements are
the same, as are the names of the characters and genealogies:

This legend further states that the island of Akaʻau (Fakaʻau) was ruled by
a chief named Ika-moe-ava (Fish-dormant-in-the-passage), and that he had a
daughter named Ata-nua (Laughter-above), part of the Tuamotuan name Raʻi-e-
op-o-ata-nua (Sky-of-shouting-and-laughter-above), who became Honoʻura’s wife
and by whom he had a son named Nga-upoko-tū-rua (Two-abiding-heads). As
this is also shown in the royal genealogy of Rarotonga, the name was
consequently given to Aitu-taʻata-mai-tataʻi after he left Tahiti… Some years
later, the legend states, Honoʻura carried on wars with the Mauquesans at Uahuka
Island and Uapou Island, at Ua-pou taking to wife Ina (Hina, gray), daughter of a
man named Parau-Nikau (Pearl-shell-of-niʻau). 31

Honoʻura was described as “a giant of telescopic powers who could lengthen or
shorten himself. He lived on stones, which abounded in the cave, became a wonderfully
strong man, and had no other companion to befriend him but his guiding spirit, Verohu-
ti-i-te-raʻi (Storm-produced-in-the-sky).” His spear was named “Rua-i-Paoʻo” for his
father’s spear (Rua-i-poa). He also had with him a magical gourd from his cave home in
the mountains, from which he called upon a cold south wind to set in and trick the great
seamonster tea‘uroa:

But Honoʻura had brought with him from Taʻaroa, his mountain home, in his
magical ancestral gourd Te-pori (The fatness), a supply of cold mist, called Hupe-no-
Taʻaroa (Dew-of-Taʻaroa), and directed by his spirit guide he let it escape over the sea to
the region where the great fish swam. (That cold mist has remained there to this day, no such fog being seen around any other of the Tuamotuan Islands.\textsuperscript{32}

Here we have Hono’ura, who was born as a dirt clod and raised in the sacred cave of Ra’a, who carries with him a magical gourd from his home, and who is told how to enact its power by his spirit guide, named for a “Storm-produced-in-the-sky.” Could this gourd be the one La‘amaomao carried with him on the voyage with Mōʻikeha? Could Hono’ura relate to Paitoanu‘u, who was also born as a dirt clod and raised by Ta‘aroa in the underworld, where he was placed in a gourd to be nurtured? The difference is that one story mentions Huauri, the other, Ra‘amauriri—\textit{La‘a}—? If Hono’ura’s mother is from Puna‘auia, this may be the point at which the lineage splits, assigning different deities to the same natural function.

Although it is difficult to draw a direct connection between Ra‘amauriri in Tahiti and La‘amaomao in Hawai‘i, a relationship been established for both localities between La‘a and Ra‘a as meaning the same thing and relating to the wind. Ra‘a-\textit{mau-riki} is phonetically close to La‘a-\textit{mao-mao} as well. However, we cannot assume that these deities are one and the same. Fornander (1919/1969) suggests a connection between \textit{Ra‘a} of Ra‘iatea and \textit{La‘amaikahiki} of Hawaiian legend, namely by a generational count:

Mr. De Bovis, in his “Etat de la Société Tahitienne a l’arrivée des Européens,” mentions twenty-four generations of chiefs on Raiatea and Borabora, from Ra‘a, the progenitor, to \textit{Tamatoa}, the then (1863) reigning chief of Raiatea. The establishment of this line of chiefs on Raiatea coincides in a remarkable manner as to name, time, and some other circumstances with the well-known Hawaiian chief \textit{La‘a}, surnamed \textit{Mai-kahiki}, with whose sons, closed the Hawaiian period of this interoceanic communication.\textsuperscript{33}
Directly translated, the name Raʻamauriri would be Laʻamaulili, and perhaps there is a relationship to the Kaʻulili family of Molokaʻi. Laʻamaomao arrives in Hawaiʻi from Tahiti with Mōʻikeha, getting off in Molokaʻi, where the story picks up with the Pākaʻa legend in a much later time period. Maulili is the name of a heiau at Kīpahulu where Kamehamehaʻs Peleleu fleet rested, so perhaps there is a connection to Laʻamaulili there. Perhaps the epithet relates to having come from Uli, as in ma-Uli(u)li, who is seen in the next example as the grandmother of the great hero, Kana, and relates to the elder lineage that we saw with Keaomelemele.

Johnson finds the parallel to Laʻamaomao in the Rarotongan and Maori stories of Rakamaomao, rather than Raʻa. She also expands on her discussions of the calabash by associating it with navigation, as is found in the story of Kana, the rope kupua who was raised by the goddess Uli. This son of Hina was born with a rope body and cast aside, but Uli found him and cared for him in such a calabash. Kana and Niheu, his younger brother, battle a Molokaʻi chief who abducted their mother. The chief’s messenger birds were named Kōlea and ‘Ulili. Like Honoura, Kana had telescopic powers too:

In the tale of Kana the spider’s web is the equivalent of the cord kept in a calabash of water. The cord measures out as a forty or four hundred fathom rope which grows a fathom a day. This may be interpreted again as the navigation gourd which was filled with water and kept on the canoe. It must also be remembered that the gourd of Lono in the men’s eating house was kept filled, symbolically, with the water of Kāne. The god of the golden plover, Kōlea, was a form of the god Lono, i.e., Lono-kōlea-muku, symbolized as a red stone situated at the foundation of the heiau at Cape Kumukāhi, Puna, Hawaiʻi.

The rock of Lono-kōlea-moku, whose other name was Kumukāhi, ‘First Foundation,’ was the first rock in a row of five stones, four of which were called “The Wives of Kumukāhi,” found in intervals around the coast of Cape Kumukāhi, Puna. They were used to mark the positions of the sun at its northern and southern limits. The name of Kumukāhi given to the cape is also associated with the migratory companion of Moʻikeha on the Moʻikeha migration to Hawaiʻi from Tahiti. Kumukāhi got off the canoe in Puna while others on the voyage
went on with Mo‘ikeha to the north, getting off at different destinations, until Mo‘ikeha was left in the company of La’a-maomao, who possessed the calabash of winds that was eventually inherited and received by Kū-a-Pāka‘a, son of Pāka‘a.

The classic accounts of the wind calabash of La’a-maomao find a parallel in Rarotongan and Maori traditions of the wind god, Raka-maomao. In the tradition of Rata, the wizard Nganahoa in this form is the bailing calabash. In the Tuamotus Nganahoa is a star within a group of stars named for characters prominent in the Rata story. In Hawai‘i, Nanahoa is the name of the phallic calabash on Moloka‘i, Ka Ule o Nanahoa (penis of Nanahoa). This ule or phallic emblem in Micronesian astronomy is Aldebaran in Taurus, one of the “four royal stars” or ‘Guardians of the Sky’ in Persian astronomy, 5000 years ago, when it marked the vernal equinox.

The wind calabash in Hawai‘i was called the Ipu-makani-a-La’a-maomao (ipu ‘gourd’; makani ‘wind’ Malay mata ‘eye’+ angin ‘wind’); the canoe bailer, Hina-ke-kā (Hina ‘moon’; kā ‘bailer’). Hina-ke-kā, the bailing calabash is placed outside the canoe by Wakea in the Kumulipo traditions just as Rata discounts Nganahoa, letting him float beyond the canoe. A song from the Tuamotus celebrates this calabash, which is probably the same gourd of winds as the Ipu-makani-a-La’a-maomao:

Oh, my calabash!
Blown toward me by the wind,
My calabash rolls over and over on the toppling waves.
It is my diviner, giver of the wisdom of the stars.

Oh, my calabash!
Bringing me a brother’s life-saving love,
My calabash turns over and over on the crested waves.
It is the first of my sacred possessions to be borne hither to my side,
Drifting into my welcoming hands.
Oh, my sacred calabash—
Revealing the wisdom of the stars!

Would that this calabash, could it now speak, might tell us how the spider’s net and its meshes over the gourd, filled with water and holding a forty fathom rope which could grow a fathom a day, could be used to measure time and distance.34

In Rata’s story, Nganahoa is the calabash left outside the canoe. The Nana names are important for both the Ulu and Nanaulu branches of the Hawaiian genealogies, names close to Ki‘i, whom we have been discussing. Stokes doubts that such a name (Nana)
relates to a real person, but rather to a cosmogony discussing navigation and the stars:

In one New Zealand myth, several wind personifications named Ngana are immediately ancestral to Tiki. In Hawai‘i, the Nana names are also close to Tiki, but in succession. In another Maori myth, Uru-te-Nganganana heads the list of divine sons, while in Hawai‘i, Nana-ulu heads one of the royal genealogies. It is difficult to escape the conviction that this portion of the genealogy represents cosmogonic fragments which have been either misunderstood by the native narrator or foreign transcriber, or have been deliberately confused for the purpose of concealment from the outsider. 35

Johnson alludes to the common theme that Kana was set aside as worthless, just as Hinakekā and Nganahoa were. In general, it seems as if one deity was set aside in place of a new deity, one found in another family branch. This may have been the point of crossing between two waves of travelers that had branched off of one line.

Can you begin to see the genealogical allusions to the wave? Just before a wave breaks, it reaches up to its highest point, and then breaks and folds, running along the diagonal—ka nalu ha‘i lala. The surfer flying atop the crest of a diagonally breaking wave has metaphorically acquired the mana of a high ranking chief, either through genealogical ties or by usurping power, or both. Like a wave, a high-ranking hereditary peak forms where two crests (peoples) meet. The male line clings to connections that stemmed from the high-ranking female in this case. Although ‘Aikanaka is from Hina’s line, he doesn’t seem to hold this position, Hina does. Their children outrank them.

Hina was the mother; the younger brother Hema usurped the position of the older brother Puna-ali‘i by his marrying back into the mother’s line. He successfully broke from the main line because of the goddess whom he married. Hema created a new branch for his children, one that would rival Puna’s children in hereditary rank. His son Kaha‘i surfs at the peak of this new wave—Kiekie Kaha‘i, ku‘emanu e! If poetically the surfer
stands atop the highest genealogical crest, then the couple with the highest position would be the one closest to the breaking point in the line, the haʻi. The offspring of this new line of high chiefs was named Kahaʻi because of this genealogical allusion.

That is why Huauri/Ulumahahoa is not Hawaiʻi’s surfing deity. The honor goes to the last couple within the original lineage, namely the bud that branched from the stalk. We saw how Lono (Roʻo, Rongo) and Haumea (Nona, Papa) are the parents of Hinahanaiaakamalama, whose seniority transfers to Puna. However, she sent Hema back to her homeland to procure a wife from Lono and Haumea’s line, therefore having equal hereditary rank as Hina. This union would create a similar rank if Hina bore a child from Hema. A new line of high-ranking hereditary chiefs is born by Hema’s efforts, and the son Kahaʻi attains the same rank as Puna’s children. These chiefs from the younger line will rival their elder lineage. New deities who spring from their immediate parentage will compete, join, or usurp those worshipped by the elder line.

Laʻa remained the deity that controlled the winds for the elder line, but for the younger line, the tie to hereditary mana had to come from the stalk at the closest point to the break. In Hema’s branch, Hina becomes the surfing deity in Hawaiʻi, the one who rides atop the highest crest of her parents line, that of Lono and Haumea. Consider the poetic theme of love making that surfing implies: Hina is the woman in Hawaiʻi with which to ride this wave of high bloodline, just as Huauri is the one for Kahaʻi to surf with upon reaching Tahiti. Puna does not seem as rude to his mother for not helping her when this light is shed. He just chose to surf with the women of senior rank in his father’s line rather than break family protocol. When Puna and Hema were children it is said that Hina
jumped into the moon. We might speculate that she went back to her homeland at Vaitemarama, the pool of the moon, where she had another child—perhaps Hinatahutahu.

The dynamics of Hawaiian chiefly relationships are revealed here through a study on surfing. Lono and Haumea generate the storm surf that both Hina and Huauri ride upon. As in the story of Keaomelemele, one phenomenon allows for the next in a case of poetic genetics among natural and human forces. Hema can claim the same ties as his brother Puna because the two children emerge from the same source, Lono and Haumea. This dynamic relationship plays out in almost every piece of Hawaiian literature that I have read. It is reflected in the characters, plants, animals, language, metaphors, and deities with whom the people associate and discuss in their stories. Attempting to follow this thematic current is like trying to surf in rough seas because it is so poetically enveloped, but it is present never the less.

Laʻa (-maomao) is the wind deity who came from the homeland south of the equator (-afar). This deity may have been the original god of weather and surf for these people. Hina caused a break in the family line and procured a new branch from her own ranks. Lono ties Hina to the senior line that springs from the womb of Haumea, and Kanaloa above her. That means that Lono is the connecting point in recognizing relationship when people of each branch meet, a key factor in the ability to move about the islands. Because of this position, he is called upon to survive the surf (waves of people—a flood) as well, so both he and Laʻamaomao are surfing deities in Hawaiʻi.

In the next chapter we look at surfing as a ritual activity, beginning with a call to Laʻamaomao to open her big wind gourd in order to create big surf. We also look at Lono and Nuʻakea, who are associated with this prayer. Their interaction creates storm surf.
Gutmanis cites surfers in Hawai‘i praying to La‘amaomao, an ancestor who controls the winds, when asking for the surf to rise (*Kū Mai Ka Pōhuehue*). This association of winds creating waves that then travel some distance to the surfer’s destination shows an acute understanding of the basic concepts found in meteorology and oceanography today. We have discussed these aspects of surf production already, and now we turn to the shoreline. Hawaiian fishponds are one example of cultural knowledge that uses the coastline. The effect of waves breaking on the shoreline was also well understood by Hawaiians. The chant, *Pae i ka Nalu*, is an excellent example of knowledge regarding the coastal environment. It also shows that in spite of the break in the family line at Puna and Hema, La‘a remains a deity who controls the winds that create waves for surfing in Hawai‘i:

The lack of waves has never held back a surfer. Whether he felt the urge to bodyboard, or canoe surf, a call to the god La‘a-maomao brings the required waves. The following are [two] versions of a call for waves. Some pray while lashing the waves at the edge of the sea with a length of *pōhuehue* vine. Others pray after building a mound of sand and wrapping the *pōhuehue* vine around it.

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**Pae i ka Nalu**

[1]

- ‘Alo, ‘alo po‘ipu!
- ‘Iuka i ka pohuehue
- Ka ipu nui lawe mai
- Ka ipu iki waiho aku.


- Come break together,
- Run up to the *pohuehue* vines
- Bring the big wind calabash
- Leave behind the small [calabash].
**Table: Hawaiian Phrases and Their Translations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hawaiian Phrase</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ku mai! Ku mai!</td>
<td>Arise! Arise!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka nalu nui mai Kahiki mai</td>
<td>Great surfs from Kahiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Alo po’ipū!</td>
<td>Waves break together!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku mai ka pohuehue</td>
<td>Rise up with pohuehue vines!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu! Kaikoʻo loa!</td>
<td>Well up, raging surf!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku mai, ku mai,</td>
<td>Stand, stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka ‘ale nui mai Kahiki mai</td>
<td>Waves of Kahiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka ipu nui lawe mai</td>
<td>Bring the large wind-gourd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka ipu iki waiho aku.</td>
<td>Leave the small one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho aʻe, ho aʻe iluna</td>
<td>Go, go up to the beach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I ka pōhuehue</td>
<td>Morning glory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka ipu nui lawe mai</td>
<td>Bring the large wind-gourd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka ipu iki waiho aku.</td>
<td>Leave the small one.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The latter version mentions how waves come from far away (*Kahiki*). Both versions describe how strong winds, as opposed to small/light winds, create big surf. The wind gourd is a reference to the wind gourd of Laʻamaomao. Again, Pākaʻa and Kūapākaʻa used the gourd to control the winds. They were able to do so because it held the bones of their ancestor, Laʻamaomao, who held that ability (*mana*):

Laamaomao was the name of the calabash of wind belonging to Pakaa; it was a real calabash [gourd] entirely covered over with wickerwork, plaited like a basket, and it was named in honor of the mother of Pakaa. In this calabash were kept the bones of his mother, Laamaomao. This calabash was given the name of “the wind calabash of Laamaomao” because during the lifetime of Laamaomao, the winds obeyed her every call and command.

Rice elaborates a little differently in his version of Paʻakaʻa (Pākaʻa), identifying Loa, his grandmother, as the one who controlled and knew all the winds:

Having spoken these words, Laamaomao gave Paakaa a very finely polished calabash in a *koko*, or net, which she said contained the bones of his grandmother, Loa, and also the winds which blow from Hawaiʻi and the winds that blow from Kaula, Bird Island. Paakaa took the calabash, and in surprise heard his mother say, “In her life your grandmother controlled the winds. Before her death she put all the winds into this calabash and gave it to me. She told me that after her death her bones were to be concealed in the calabash with the winds.
This I was to keep carefully until my son should need it. Now I place it in your keeping. You will find it very useful on your journey. If becalmed, you can summon any wind you wish. If ridiculed, open the calabash and call for a fair wind which will carry you safely to land. This power to control the wind will win you much fame with the kings.”

Then Laamaomao taught Paakaa the names of all the winds and the prayers and mele used with each. Thus was her only son prepared to go in search of the father he had never seen.³

During the races mentioned earlier in the Nākuina version of the story, Kūapāka’a calls upon his grandmother for three surfs (breaking waves), bringing him victory. Here is the story again as relayed by Fornander, although he does not mention the chant given in the Nākuina version. The Pae i ka Nalu chant is a variant of the one used by Kūapāka’a in the Nākuina version:

On the start [of the first race] the canoe containing the eight men took the lead, while the one containing Kuapakaa was left to the rear. As soon as Kuapakaa saw this, he called out to his grandmother, Laamaomao, to send him three surfs to carry his canoe to shore. Soon after the call, a large surf came from behind him and then another and another; by these surfs he was taken ashore. The other people, when they saw the surfs coming, were frightened, they being too large, and so they held back their canoe; in this way Kuapakaa rode in on the surfs alone and landed ahead of the others.⁴

In the second race, he used the knowledge that he has gained about the ocean to win. Specifically, he read the swirling current left trailing behind the other canoe as a result of the men’s poor paddling technique. He also took advantage of a lack of specificity in the rules concerning riding three waves to shore, helping him win:

On the start [of the second race] the eight men forged their canoe ahead by their powerful strokes of the paddle, while Kuapakaa fell far behind. Upon seeing this Kuapakaa watched how the others were using their paddles, and then he saw then raise their paddles some distance out of the water, and that they held their paddles high up by which action the water was forced up high at every stroke, causing an eddy to be drawn along behind their canoe, he forced his canoe into the current formed by the eddy behind the other canoe. As soon as he had entered
into this current all he had to do was to see that his canoe kept in the current. While the others were forcing themselves to keep ahead of the boy, by using very powerful strokes, the boy followed on behind taking his time; and the faster they went the faster the boy followed them. Whenever the boy saw that the others were slackening up he would call out: “Pull harder so you will win.” When the eight men would hear this, they all worked harder.

When the canoes drew near to the land, the boy’s canoe being directly behind the other, so that he was not clearly seen, the people ashore began to dispute as to the merits of the two canoes, and seeing only one canoe, the people yelled out: “The boy is beaten, the boy is beaten.” After the shouts had ceased, the canoe of Kuapakaa was seen to come out from behind the other and take the lead, causing the multitude backing the boy to raise another shout, for they admired the pluck displayed by the youngster. The canoe of Kuapakaa was seen to draw away from the others farther and farther until it reached land first. As soon as Kuapakaa touched shore he grabbed a surf board and swam out to the surf, according to agreement, but instead of going out to the big surf, he took the small ones near the sand, and after he had thus ridden in three times, the eight men landed and were declared beaten by the boy.5

These stories and chants transmit information on a variety of coastal processes, including how waves interact with the coastal environment. My first understanding of the chant came through my own interactions with the coastal environment. *Pōhuhue* (*Ipomoea brasiliensis* L.), the beach morning glory, is a crawling vine that is found on the front line of vegetation in a coastal dune environment. These vines are positioned seaward of the highest storm berm. Only in high surf conditions, and on the highest tides on certain beaches, do these vines get tossed by the large wave action.

These two chants are visually oriented to the imagery of waves washing high onto the beach and grabbing the vegetation at the back berm, a situation likely to occur in many bays and beaches during episodes of high surf. Through the lines concerning the *pōhuhue*, “I uka i ka pōhuhue/Kū mai ka pōhuhue,” the chanter coaxes the deities that create the surf to do so. The encouragement comes first by asking correctly for a big wind.
that would stir up the ocean and cause waves to swell, and second, for those waves to then reach high up the beach, implying big surf. Geologically speaking, the anatomy of a beach is fairly consistent. Because of this, inferences concerning specific beaches can be made from the general information in the chant, like how high the water comes when a high surf is running. This knowledge can be applied to preventative coastal risk management techniques like where to build a coastal site, place a burial, etc.

The rituals associated with this chant reveal that the pōhuehue vine is more than just a plant existing in the associated physical environment. The mana in this chant concerns the spiritual representations of this plant, as well as the ritual actions involved. “Some pray while lashing the waves at the edge of the sea with a length of pōhuehue vine.” Gutmanis reports on a similar ritual performed on a pregnant woman to ensure a plentiful milk supply:

In another ritual performed at dawn the mother gathered a bowl of wai puna (spring water), in which two sweet potato vines, picked as above, floated. She took the vine picked with the right hand and struck her breast while praying to Ku for copious milk. She then took the vine picked with the left hand and struck her left breast praying to Hina for her milk to flow like spring water.

The sweet potato (ʻuala; Ipomoea batatas L.) is a relative of the beach morning glory (pōhuehue; Ipomea pes-caprae subs. Brasiliensis). Both vines contain a white milky sap that flows out of the vine when broken, so the physical association to breast milk is easily recognized. More complex but purposeful is the unspoken association of two terms: hua, or ho‘ohua, which means “to bear fruit, reproduce, produce, yield; to sire or give birth; to swell high, as a wave”; and ʻōpuʻu, which is defined first as “a bud, the budding breasts of a girl,” second, as “a whale tooth pendant,” and lastly, as “a large surf,
swell.” In both terms, *hua* and ʻ*ōpuʻu*, layered meanings concerning the swelling of the ocean and the swelling of the breasts are present, as occurs at first during puberty and later during pregnancy. The birth and growth of a child, a family, a nation, is a recognized theme, found here in association with surfing terms used as a framework to build the metaphor.

The physical association between the two concepts of swollen breasts and a large ocean swell is obvious. This swelling is ritually accomplished through the action of slapping the breast in the one case, and the water along the shore in the other. By agitating the *wai* (milk/water) within, growth occurs. In the case of the ocean, it would seem that this agitation is a recognition of surf being produced by the agitation of the surface of the sea by another force—physically by the wind, and ritually by the slapping of the plant. The word *pae* is a reference to both mounting a wave by paddling, and landing ashore, and we have already seen its genealogical implications.

The power in this ritual exists in the multiple analogies to one action. In this case, the action of swelling yields the desired results (large surf/swollen breasts that will provide for the child/seed/*hua* within). The second ritual that Gutmanis mentions, “others pray after building a mound of sand and wrapping the *pōhuehue* vine around it,” can be assessed in relation to these analogies mentioned as well. This ritual action, building sand mounds and surrounding them with a beach vine which contains milky sap, relates to the analogy to the swelling sands, “*I loko o one hua, e*” in the first Kanalu wave chant presented. Fornander, in the Kūalii chant, refers to the action of building and surrounding the sand mounds as “*Hōrpuepue,*” the same word that surfers use to describe that feeling of shivering with excitement: stoked! 8

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The importance of visual simile is brought forward by the actions involving this particular vine containing its suggestive powers of lactation/swelling. However, there may be a more direct connection to this ritual action. Gutmanis mentions another ritual meant to induce lactation where an open lei of sweet potato vines was worn by the pregnant woman, an action similar to wrapping the mound:

One ritual to ensure a plentiful milk supply required the mother to pick one sweet potato vine with her right hand while praying to Ku and one with her left hand while praying to Hina. The two vines were tied together and worn without being removed for several days.  

In this case, the sand/breasts are surrounded by the plant, thus encouraging the swelling action. How then, does the vine work without the agitating action of slapping the water or breast? The act of surrounding the mound or breast with the vine may relate to the surrounding action repeated in the chant, ‘alo, as seen again from an oceanographic standpoint. The act might be meant to replicate the convergence of wave energy caused by refraction, the bending inward that a wave undergoes as it experiences a shallow ocean floor contour, such as a point of land that extends under the sea. Perhaps the same is meant in reference to the term “pae i ka naulu.”

The white milky sap within the plant has mana through the law of contagion. The proximity of a plant with milk to the breasts causes them to fill with milk themselves when enacted through the proper chant. Another reason why this plant is used is the kinolau (physical embodiment of a god) of the ‘uala plant. Isabella Iona Abbot explains that, “Lono, now regarded as the god of peace, planting, and fertility, was embodied in
rain clouds, ‘uala, ‘ipu (gourds), and pua’a (Polynesian pig),” and the young kukui leaf can be added to that list. Thus, it may be as an embodiment of the god of fertility, Lono, that this plant would be imbued with such mana as to cause the fruitfulness of a woman and likewise with its relative, the fruitfulness of the sea.

With relationship to the clouds, Handy et al. (1972) describe their interpretations of Lono as “merely an effort to view Lono-the-parent of winds and rains through the eyes of the humble dirt farmer. Although they are not concerned with the Priesthood of Lono, their work truly aids this particular “modern folkloristic unraveler’s” study:

For the priests, the focus of the Kamapua’a cycle of legends on each island was that region of the mountain flanks where the winter winds heap up the cloud banks out of whose turbulence come thunder and lightning and the consequent deluge of winter rains, upon which the life of the land depended. The Pule Ipu that consecrated a boy child when he entered the Men’s House invokes Lono to “Make propitious the cloud omens.” One of the names of the father of winds and rains, the cloud maker, was Lono-‘opua-kau (Lono-whose-place-is-the-rain-cloud). He it was who was invoked by his disciples of the Lono cult who were skilled in reading omens from the changing forms of clouds over land and sea.

However, that is only half the story. Along with the male god Lono, Gutmanis points to the goddess Nu‘akea as patron of nursing mothers, a “part” of Haumea, who is a source god of the Hawaiian people. Emerson and Beckwith describe Kea as the patron of nursing mothers, known as Keakealani or Nu‘akea as well. In the genealogies of the chiefs she came to Hawai‘i with Lonoika‘ouali‘i, but stayed on Moloka‘i where she married the high chief Keoloewa:

At the time that Lono came to Hawai‘i, there also came the goddess Nu‘akea, sometimes called Kea-kea or Kea-kea-lani. She was said to be a “part” of Haumea, one of the kumu ‘aumakua or source gods. In Hawai‘i she became the patron of nursing mothers and is prayed to when an increase or decrease in the flow of milk is desired.
Johnson indicates that Nuʻakea is the granddaughter of Māweke and daughter of Keaunui, and thus the sister of Laʻakona, ancestor of the high chiefs of Ewa.\textsuperscript{14} In the story of Kana, her brother is Moi, the prophet who warns the Molokai chief Kaupepeʻe of defeat for having kidnapped Kana’s mother, Hina. Likewise, Kōlea and ‘Ulili are the bird messengers. Beckwith comments that Nuʻakea “lived on earth as a prophetess and became the wife of Keolo-ewa, ruling chief of Molokai and son of Kamauaua”:

The relation of the god Lono to the Kamau-nui family of Maui, from whom Kamapuaʻa the hog man is descended and with whom the Kamauaua family of Molokai seem by their name connected.... It would seem likely that Lono was the god worshipped by this family.\textsuperscript{15}

Beckwith later remarks in a discussion on the fiery relationship between Pele and Kamapuaʻa that “The Kamaunu and Pele families are represented in myth as hostile, although in some way related.” Kane-apua and Nāmakaokahaʻi are present in the Aukele legend; Beckwith attempts to tie the two legendary cycles together as this author has suggested:

If Kamapuaʻa is equivalent to Kane-puaʻa (Kane-apua), who is worshiped as a god of agriculture to bring rain and abundance to the crops, he would be, like her older sister Nāmakaokahaʻi, naturally pitted against Pele the fire-goddess and consumer of vegetation.\textsuperscript{16}

Nuʻakea, the goddess and the name, may relate to both the goddess Ātea, in Tahiti, and the island called Nukuhiva (Marquesas) that lies at the northeastern edge of what is now French Polynesia. Prior to Taʻaroa conjuring Raʻa in the Tahitian “Genealogies of the Gods,” “Atea was born, a daughter within the dome of the sky, Rumia.” Atea later changed sex with Papahotu and became the male sky father.
Another possible relationship with *Nua-kea* would be the Marquesan story of the daughter of Ātea (k) with whom he has incest, *Ata-nua* (w).\(^{17}\) *Ata* is reminiscent of *aka*, as in Hiʻi-aka, which also refers to the rosy hue and shadows of the clouds at dawn. We have already seen how she fits into Tuamotuan, Tahitian, and Rarotongan accounts of that period, and the place names associate the same areas in Tahiti with these different legendary characters.

Emerson indicates that Lonoikaoualiʻi is married to his sister Laka. Stokes indicates that in Mangaia, it is Rongo (Lono), son of Vatea and Papa, who has an incestual relationship.\(^ {18}\) In the passage below we also see that Rongo and Atea are closely related in the Marquesas. So, it may be that these male/female deities are interchangeable as dual aspects of one natural process, aspects that need to interact for this environmental and/or godly state to be achieved. This adds to the procreation analogy with the singular name of Kea having a dual reference to the whole—both the male and female aspects. In other words, the interaction of the two beings causes growth in the waves as well as the population, metaphorically speaking. The same goes for mana that is inherited from the ancestors, it needs to be enacted by the child in order for them to reach the lofty heights of greatness, or it will remain dormant for future generations to tap.

Perhaps the idea relates to a husband-wife pair that comes out of their own line, an incestual relationship that produces dual aspects of a particular energy. Stokes discussion relates to the various incestual relationships around Polynesia that may correspond to Wākea and Hoʻohōkūlan in Hawaiʻi. Maybe the sex change spoken of in the case of Atea and Papa was accomplished through a similar incestual act, which would then render the mother’s line into the male child’s offspring, or visa versa—effectively
breeding down the other parental line. So it was that Haumea was reborn by sleeping with her offspring, until Kio rejected her. He cut off her high tapu position by choosing instead a woman from another family, whose name implies a break—Ka-ha‘i-wahine. Once cut off, Kio carries the rank of his mother into the next generation from his position as the male progenitor, and in this way a switch in gender is made.

Handy et al. (1972) state that although Lono is usually invoked as a male, O‘ahu planters also call to Lono-wahine. This woman could be Nuʻakea, or Hinahānaiaakamalama, also known as “Lono-moku (muku).” The authors state that they prefer the term “Lono-the-parent” because, “as provider of rain, embodied in sweet potatoes, gourds, hogs, and many other forms, Lono was male and female. Any akua who has an animal form (as in the case of Lono in his hog form), obviously must be male and female.” 19 Henry elaborates on godly incest and its prevalence in Polynesia:

The origin of the Wakea incest-myth in Hawai‘i may perhaps be traced. As related, Wakea continued the human race by means of Hoo-hoku-ka-lani, his daughter by Papa. Hoohokukalani may be translated as “Be-star the heavens” and the account, Emerson (17, p. 317) has clearly shown, is part of a solar myth. The incest in Marquesas is attributed to Atea, with Atanua (Dawn). In Mangaia, it is the son of Vatea and Papa, Rongo, to whom the incest is ascribed. This Rongo is the great god of Mangaia, and Rongo is closely associated with Atea in the Marquesas. In the Society Islands the rest of the analogies are found. Tumu and Papa, upon order of the Creator, Ta’aroa, produce a child, Hotu-i-te-ra‘i, as a pillar to prop up the sky. The name in Hawaiian is Hoku-i-ka-lani, practically the same as the daughter of the Hawaiian Papa. Atea in the Society Islands is sometimes the sky and sometimes the light-space. Atea’s wife is given as Fa‘a-hotu (Hawaiian, Hoo-hoku) and Hotu. In another legend, the wife or husband of Atea (who changes sex) was Papa. 20

In an assessment of the name chant of Kūali‘i, Curtis J. Lyons associates the term Kea with Lono-nui-a-Kea (=Tea=Atea). Lyons translates Lononuiākea as “Lono the base of the island foundations,” and further states that “Kea, part of the name Lononuiakea,
[is] the god of the lower land under the sea.” Hawaiian traditions always associate Ākea with the expanse of the sky, so perhaps this association with the sea comes from the idea that Lono comes from the lands below the horizon, ‘under the sea.’ Perhaps it is a reference to a time before Ātea’s sex change, when she slept with Papatū’oi, (Papa-the-basaltic-peak). The table of Laka is broken by the fishhook being carried down by Pīmoe in that chant, so maybe the association of Lono and Laka come from this early period.

Lonoika‘ouali‘i later became known as the god whose head is hidden in the dark storm clouds—the kind that causes the swelling of the sea. Nāmakaokaha‘i’s brother is so named in the story of ‘Aukelenuaikū. In that story he is the god that ‘Aukele carries in a box/calabash. Furthermore, La‘amaikahiki brought an image of this feather god with him when he voyaged up from Tahiti—could it be the same one? Fornander states that the image was laid to rest with Mo‘ikeha in Wailuanuinohoano on Kaua‘i because it was his father’s god.21

Way down the genealogical path of the Māweke-Keaunui branch lies Keakealani, she is a kapu chiefess for whom the high-walled complex of Kamoa heiau was built. Fornander’s genealogies indicate that this woman is indeed a direct lineal descendent of Nu‘akea and her Moloka‘i husband, KeoloewaaKamaauaua.22 It was at Keakealani’s complex at Kamoa (one of the religious complexes related to surfing mentioned earlier) that Kamehameha I learned how to surf. Beckwith expands on this concept in describing Lono and his counterpart Nu‘akea:

Lono in Hawai‘i is associated with cloud signs and the phenomena of storms…The coming of Lono is heralded by cloud signs in the heavens and finally [they arrive]:

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Lono and Keakea-lani,
Living together, fructifying the earth,
Observing the tapu of women,
Clouds bow down over the sea,
The earthquake sounds
Within the earth,
Tumbling down there
Below Malama.

Kea in the chant is the goddess Nuakea. Nuakea, descended from Maweke of O‘ahu, lived on earth as a prophetess and became the wife of Keolo-ewa, ruling chief of Molokai and son of Kamaaua. Her name is coupled with Lono's in the ceremony for weaning a boy child, in which the symbolic gourd of Lono plays an important part. The common people remembered the fructifying powers of Lono in the shape of a symbolic food gourd, which, like the stone of Kane, was used for family prayers only…

And at the time of the rite of passage a young man undergoes when he joins his position amongst men and is no longer kept with his mother as a child:

The gourd prayer quoted by Malo for the ceremony at the weaning of a male child invokes both Lono and (Nua) Kea, the goddess who provides milk for the nursing mother and is now petitioned to stop the supply. Both god and goddess are called upon to eat the food provided, Kea to see to the child's prosperity, Lono to send propitious cloud omens, and both to guard against the malice of sorcery. After this ceremony the child is transferred to the men's house and eats no more with the women.

In these passages, Beckwith clearly identifies Lono “with cloud signs and the phenomena of storms,” and Nu‘akea with prosperity and fruitfulness (milk production, swelling seas). Here we see a genealogical pairing meant to show relationships between specific natural phenomena and metaphors that relate to the human aspects of the chants. The metaphors that relate to these specific natural phenomena and objects are what animate the prayers, in this case the production of milk for an expectant mother at one level, and the generation of waves at another level. For the expectant mother, the
“fructifying powers of Lono” in the symbolic body of the sweet potato vine are called upon. Nu‘akea is asked to provide the milk—the source of growth and the life giving waters, which are symbolized in the vine’s sap.

*Ka Pule Ipu*, the Gourd chant quoted by Malo that Beckwith mentions, expands on this line of metaphors. The fertility and growth of a people is expressed in the growth and sprawling of the vine that bears many fruits. The gourds represent the product of blessed fertility as granted from Lono and Nu‘akea. These gourds are cared for and nurtured through the act of placing the young fruit in a way to shape it properly that it might be useful. Was not Pai such an offspring in Tahiti?

The analogy of this offspring becomes the world itself, with the sky as the lid and the rainbow as the handle, and thus many metaphors are set forth within this chant regarding the use of a gourd container and its relationship to natural phenomena. The gourd container of Mū-a-Ikū—the container of gusty winds, is an excellent example of such a useful container. This gourd, whose animated natural powers are the explosive winds contained within it, greatly resembles the wind gourd of La’amaomao in both description and use, and it is beyond a doubt a product of this godly pairing.

Emerson, Handy and Pūku‘i, and Chun all deal with this chant differently. It has taken somewhat of an amalgamized translation to achieve fluidity, although the two former authors are very similar as compared to the latter’s translation. So, I relied on all of the versions of the chant in order to bring forward a better understanding of this piece of oral literature:
Ka Pule Ipu

Ala mai e Lono i kohaina awa haina nui
nou e Lono,
He ʻulu mai e Kea, he pepeiao puua,
he pepeiao ilio, he pepeiao
aina nui nou e Lono!
Halapa i ke mau!

Kukala ia halehau!
Mau, malewa i ka po, molia ia hai ka po,
O kuu ka ipu; o kuu hua i ka ipu, hua i
kakala ka ipu kakala, he kalana ipu,
O hua ai na moo Hii, i au ia ‘ko ia.
Ahia la anoano a ke ahi a kanu a
kanu la i pua i Hawai‘i?
A kanu la, o ka ipu nei a ʻulu, a lau,
a ʻulu, a hua la, o ka ipu nei.
Hoonoho la, o ka ipu nei,
kekela o ka ipu nei.
O uha‘i la o ka ipu nei, kalai la,
o ka ipu nei,
O oki, o kua i o ka piha o ka ipu,
O ka ipu ka honua nui nei,
O po‘i o kalani Kuakiki.
A hou i ka hakaokao, kakai i ke anuenue.
O uha o ka lili, o hua o ka hala, u hua o
ka la manolele i ona!
O ka ipu o ka lua Mu-a-Iku, o ka ipu
a kakani koha,
a kau ka hoku aiai.
Owahi! O kani mai, a hea o ka uka mau!
Ka lalau a ha‘a ka manu;
kalalau kulia i Wawau.

He malino e po, e Lono, i ka haunaele;
Na lili la i ka haunaele,
na hala la i ka haunaele o mau
kahuna o ke makala ulua,
Ulua mai, o Lono, ulua kolea ino o

The Gourd Prayer

Arise, o Lono, accept the offerings of ‘awa
to you—an important offering o Lono.
Grant abundance, o Kea, hogs’ ears, dogs’
ears—an abundance for you to eat o Lono!
Make propitious the cloud omens!
Proclaim the building of a prayer shrine!
Peaceful, transparent is the night,
night sacred to the gods.
Let down the gourd—the fruit of the gourd
that it may bear from every branch—
thus becoming a field of gourds.
Let it bear to the lineage of Hi‘i—
gourds as bitter as the gall of fish.
How many seeds have been planted on the
field cleared by fire to flourish in Hawai‘i?
Planted is the gourd; it grows; it leafs;
it blossoms; it bears fruit.
Let it be set so as to be well shaped—
may this be an excellent container.
Pluck it off the vine; carve it out;
Cut it and empty it of its contents,
The great world is a gourd,
its lid the heaven of Kuakini.
Pierce the edges [of the container], use a
rainbow for the handle.
Take out of it all jealousies, all
wrong-doings, the wild tendencies.
[Which resembles] the gourd in the cavern
of Mu-a-Iku—the container of gusty winds.
Let it shine bright as a star.
Break forth with a resounding noise, let the
bird of the mountain utter its call;
Grasp it as it crouches low,
hold it high over Wawau.
The night has been peaceful, o Lono,
from all disturbances,
The jealousies that lead to bickering,
the bickerings of the priests who use the
hook for the ulua fish.
Take possession, o Lono, drive away the bad
Maʻa-ku-newe awa lilelile!  

O makia, Lono, a hano, a hano wale no!  

Kila i nei; muli o hala, muli ke hani o Waioha!

plovers of Maʻakunewa, with their shiny bodies.  
Concentrate, o Lono, on goodness—only goodness!  
Bind it here; put the faults away, back of the babbling waters of Waioha.  

Emerson struggles with many of the terms with regards to meaning and analogies.

For instance, Handy and Pūkuʻi immediately recognize Hiʻi, as Hiʻiaka, Pele’s youngest sister, but Emerson’s footnote shows his struggle. There are other Hiʻi characters in Hawaiian lore, namely those mentioned in the story of Keaomelemele. From the lineage of Moʻoinanea come four progenitors within the story. Kū is the brother-husband of Hinawelegani. Her sister, Hiʻilei, is the sister-wife of Olopana. We hear nothing of the latter’s issue, but we learn that Kū and Hina have two children, first a boy named Kahānaiakeakua, and second, a girl named Paliuli. The two wed for a time, but he eventually wanders off and lives with Poliahu, the snow goddess.

Later, Kū desires Hiʻilei, and from that marriage issued the handsome Kaumaʻiliʻula. At that time Olopana slept with Hina, from whom issued Kaulanaikapokiʻi. She became the patroness of healing and amusements, sworn to chastity and remaining without a husband, for all to call upon. In itself this description matches that of Hiʻiaka’s character. Kaumaʻiliʻula becomes the brother-husband of Keaomelemele, and they retire to Keʻalohilani where they are charged with power over the lands and the people. It was said that of the two of them, Kaumaʻiliʻula would return in the future, a call that echoes that of Lonoikamakahiki.  

Hiʻilei is the youngest daughter of Kūwahailo and Hina in the story of Hainakolo. In that story she weds Kaulawena (the red dawn) and bears him a son named “Keaunini-
of-the-redness-of-heaven.” The boy is wanted for a husband by both her husband’s sister, and Hina’aiulunui, but for her daughter. Keaukai and keaumiki (the names of tides and currents) take the boy to Kū’aihelani, but Mo’oinanea, their ancestress, intervened by arching her body like a bridge and allowing Hainakolo to cross over it, thus regaining her husband and bearing him a child, Leimakani.

This unpublished account of Mary Kawena Pūkui’s mother given to Beckwith by Pūkui seems like the same story from the vantage point of Kaulawena’s family in Kū’aihelani rather than that of Hi’ilei and the mother’s line. With the father and mother, Kūwahailo and Hina being from Kū’aihelani as well, it is possible that Kaulawena arises from his family. In the story of Aukelenuiaikū, Kūwahailo is Nāmakaokaha‘i’s uncle and a brother to Mo’oinanea. In this way, across myths, possible familial relationships are revealed and a tie to Mo’oinanea is established in both contexts.²⁷

Other Hi‘i names in the story include Hi‘ilaniwai, a girl from Wai‘anae whose beautiful voice drew Paliuli to her school of instruction, where they became friends. Hi‘ilawe, a man from Hamakua, Hawai‘i Island, was drawn to Waolani by Keaomelemele’s singing. Upon seeing him, Paliuli makes him her husband because of the infidelity of Kahānaiakeakua. He is shamed, but Keaomelemele gives him the charge of priest and seer, architect and navigator, saying that when he had completed his training that she would give him her dancing friend Hi‘ilaniwai to be his wife.

So, with the two Hi‘i’s who entered into the story as outsiders, they then marry a brother and sister, thus tying them all into the lineage of Kū and Hina. Otherwise, their sister Hi’ilei may be the indicated association, through their issue, Kauma’ili’ula.
Regardless, these lines all tie into the great ancestress, Moʻoina, and in this way we might consider that the root of the vine is uncovered.28

In Malo’s gourd prayer is a footnote made by Emerson with reference to Kea being Nuʻakea. He provides the woman’s prayer for weaning a child as evidence to the identity of Kea, mentioned in the gourd prayer. This chant calls on the two gods Kāne and Lono, as well as the goddess Nuʻakea, to wean the child and “carry away to the pillars of Kahiki” (i.e. the cloud pillars on the southern horizon) the childish nature and imbue it with the dignified character of Kāne’s sacred fish, the hilu wrasse (*Coris flavovittata*). This fish is important as well, because of its analogy to an aliʻi child, and it can be found in context with in the *Kumulipo* creation chant:

**A Prayer for the Weaning of a Child**

_E Lono, e Kane, e Nua-kea, ka wahine_  
_Laia ka poli-waiu o ke keiki_  
_Eia ka ukuhi nnei o Mea [child’s name]._  
_E Lawe aku o ii ka waiu o ka makauhine._  
_Ia oe e ka la, ka mahina, ka hoku;_  
_E lawe oe a kukulu o Kahiki!_  
_Haalele aku i ka omimo, ka uwe wale o Mea._  
_A e hanai oe i ka ia kapu a Kane,_  
_Oia ka hilu, ka noho malie,_  
_Ke ola ia oe, Kane!_  
_Amama. Ua noa._

_O Lono, O Kane, O Nua-kea, the woman with a breast of milk for the child._  
_We are about to wean Mea._  
_Stauch to flow of milk in his mother._  
_Yours are the sun, the moon, the stars._  
_Carry away to the pillars of Kahiki!_  
_And there leave the emaciation, peevishness, and wailing of the child [Mea]_  
_Feed him with the sacred fish o Kane,_  
_That is repose (hilu) and quiet._  
_This is your blessing, o Kane!_  
_Amen, the prayer is ended._29

With regards to the ocean and referring back to the *Pae i ka Nalu* chants in this discussion, it appears that Lono and Nuʻakea are alluded to through their *kinolau* (embodied natural forms). Slapping the pōhuehue vine on the water is meant to agitate the ocean’s surface, as if with winds, or surround the sea with its rough weather, as
represented by the sands that are mounded into a swell. It is meant to cause the swelling of the sea, like an open lei of ʻuala is worn to increase lactation, the swelling of the breasts. If Lono is the vine and Nuʻakea is the milky sap within it, then their presence in the one plant may be an allusion to their being from the same lineage.

Perhaps the two deities reside, one in the sky, and one below in the sea, and the chant calls to Lononuinohoikawai to arouse Nuʻakea, who would then cause the swelling of the waves from within the sea, upon which the embodied form of Lono, the kaupu albatross bird, would flitter across their crests. With reference to the power of Hawaiian prayer in general, if a prayer given utilizes the proper metaphors in an appropriate context, the prayer would be imbued with the mana of those gods and would be effective, said to be pono. The Kumulipo quote given by Johnson in the next passage illuminates this particular in saying that the male gourd of water is the god whose flow makes the vines grow vigorously. Lono holds Kāne’s waters that then bring life to the earth mother.

Johnson helps us to clarify the roles that Kāne and Lono play in these several chants, and why they are paired together as such in her discussion on the theme of dualism. She calls Kāne the “god of procreation” and Lono the “god of natural fertility,” herein embodied by the gourd vine called ʻio (Lagenaria siceraria) a relative to both the sweet potato or ʻuala (Ipomoea batatas) and the beach morning glory vine or pōhuehue (Ipomoea pes-caprae subsp. Brasiliensis). Kāne is symbolized in the water and the kava (Piper methysticum) with which it is mixed to procure the drink, and Lono is symbolized in the gourd container (ʻolo) and associated vines. Looking back at our discussion on ʻIo, here is a sacred gourd that shares the same name and embodies Lono in plant form. Could it be that the call to ʻIo in the Kuʻemanu chant refers to Lono in his gourd form?
Also revealed is an important metaphor that lies within the realm of surf terminology: *olo* without the ‘*okina* is a type of long and narrow surfboard, as is the *olo* relating to sound that she mentions. The ‘*olo* gourd container is similar in shape to the *olo* surfboard, being long and narrow by definition. The relationship of such an immense surfboard with the physical prowess of Lono as embodied in the gourd that holds Kāne’s waters of life fits well into the fertility theme that is nurtured in the Kumulipo. This theme is prevalent within the surfing set of myths and metaphors. These metaphors are employed by the poets in association with the generative phrase repeated in the refrain of Chant 1 (*Ka Wā ‘Akahi*) of the Kumulipo, “*He pō uhe‘e i ka wāwā*”:

The dichotomous style of balanced opposition of the opening chant of the Kumulipo is a brilliant reduction of the theme and metaphysics of dualism within a compressed poetic context. In philosophically reducing all organic and abstract form to dualistic categorization and opposition, however, the ancients were inevitably to grant greater respect to the masculine component of the universe and human life and to diminish the importance of the feminine.

Male-female dualism ultimately realized a most forbidding social aspect for both men and women in the ‘*ai kapu*, or eating taboo. The reason for the law is explained by the requirement that men perform their sacred rituals to the god Lono, god of agriculture, in their own eating house (*mua*). In the *mua* was kept the *Ipu-o-Lono* gourd image representing the god himself. After offerings placed in the gourd were consecrated by prayer, the men ate ceremoniously from the gourd before consuming their meal. Women, who were considered unclean during the menstrual period, were never permitted in or near the premises where the gods and men partook of this sacred ‘*alana*, or sacrifice to Lono.

This god, the *Ipu-o-Lono* water gourd sacred to the Lono worship, is the dominant symbol of the closing epilogue of chant one in the Kumulipo:

‘*O ke kāne huawai, Akua kēnā*  
‘*O kālina a ka wai i ho’oulu ai*  

*The male gourd of water, that is the God  
From whose flow the vines are made vigorous;*

Phallic symbolism is suggested in the gourd image which contained only in a symbolic sense, the “*wai ola ā Kāne*” or the “living waters of Kāne.” Kāne was the god of procreation while Lono was the god of natural fertility. These overlapping functions between Kāne and Lono, as were the forms of lightning and
thunder in the rainstorms of winter, were symbolized by the joint association of both deities in the gourd, which is the god referred to in the refrain:

*He pō uhe‘e i ka wāwa*  
*He nuku, he wai ka ‘ai a ka lā‘au*  

It is a night gliding through the passage  
Of an opening; a stream of water is the food of plants

*‘O ke akua ke komo,*  
*‘a‘oe komo ka‘anaka*  
*‘O kāne iā Wai‘ololī*  
*‘O ka wahine iā Wai‘ololā*  

It is the god who enters;  
not as a human does he enter  
Male for the narrow waters  
Female for the broad waters

The gourd of masculine *wai* (water) was symbolic of male virility, an aspect of *mana* (supernatural power) given by the gods to men. The gourd as an open calabash with a lid is a female symbol. Joined to the earth the living gourd plant is symbolic also of the placental cord or parent stalk from which the race has branched out, alluded to in the epilogue:

*‘O kālina a ka wai i ho‘oulu ai*  
*‘O ka huli ho‘okawowo honua*  

From whose flow the vines are made vigorous;  
The plant top sprouts from the earth made flourishing.

Water that flowed from the gourd in narrow confines, moving and rushing, is the *wai ‘ololī* (narrow waters) of the refrain:

*‘O kāne iā Wai‘ololī*  
*‘O ka wahine iā Wai‘ololā*  

Male for the narrow waters  
Female for the broad waters

*Wai ‘ololā* ‘broad waters’ was water that flowed out of ponds, lakes, and reservoirs. The energy of *wai ‘ololā* is seen as potential rather than kinetic. The antitheses of *kāne/wahine* and *‘ololī/‘ololā* are synthesized in *wai ‘olo*, the gurgling sound of water pouring from the gourd or trickling and tumbling along over river boulders. The relationship of the high, tense front vowel in /lī/ to the open, relaxed vowel of /lā/ in the opposition of *‘ololī* to *‘ololā* to balance the male/female antithesis in sound to be uttered by the human voice is synthesized by the prefix *‘olo*- as the sound of water in *wai ‘olo*. *‘Olo* is an exquisite pun on the name of Lono-i-ka-makahiki, involving the association of Lono’s name with sound. Lono was formally addressed in ritual prayers as *‘Orono* or *‘Olono* with the prefix /‘O/, the subject marker before personal names. *‘Olo* means ‘to resound’ or to sound for a long time. A gourd container, *‘olo*, was used as a receptacle for water or for kava. These objects are sacred to the god Kāne, for whom water and kava were symbols.

The magnetism of the Kumulipo for those who enjoy literature is to be found in such rich and subtle analogies to which effort must be made to extract
the symbolic associations of shape, sound, or color on several layers of subtlety, so deep is the layering of figurative meanings to words or roots of words used as metaphors.\(^\text{30}\)

Just as the narrow gourd symbolizes the kinetic energy associated with male virility, “an open calabash with a lid” is seen as the female symbol of potential energy. The chief Kanalu let down his malo named Hoaka, a calabash-shaped moon (=Hina/feminine aspect), figuratively enacting the bounty through the mana in his chant. Such potential energy is easily hidden within the many metaphors in Hawaiian poetry, especially because of the effort required to extract such metaphors in an arena where their importance as feminine aspects of the universe are diminished to the masculine aspects. His prowess and his malo, named for the calabash moon when planting is best, provide the dual aspects here.

Yet, this container is reminiscent of the wind calabash of La‘amaomao, which also had a lid that was opened in order to activate its potential energy. However, it was not only the opening of the lid that was necessary to procure the winds, but also the act of someone with mana to call upon the presence of the godly ancestor to provide such desired physical embodiments. As with La‘amaomao, not only did Pāka‘a have to call on the proper wind, but he also had to learn the chants in order to do so. Sound intoned by orators when chanting (including stylistic gurgling and wavering of the voice) becomes the kinetic energy that awakens the potential energy within the calabash. Such sound is also the result of the release of that potential energy—like the gurgling and rumbling (nehe) of waters being released from a dam, the rustling of the strong kona winds blowing down the steep mountain cliffs, or the roaring of the breaking surf along the
distant fringing reefs. It is analogous to the kinetic energy aroused in a male when uniting with a female who then releases her potential energy. This occurs through the initial agitation that might be considered Kāne’s life force.

Nāmakaokahaʻi and ‘Aukelenuiaikū

The Gourd Prayer also calls on Lono to “break forth with a resounding noise” in reference to the gourd calabash of Mū-a-Ikū. A footnote by Emerson suggests that this noise is the call of the ‘elepaio bird (*Chasiempis sandwichensis*; endemic monarch flycatcher), which is an embodiment of the forest deity Hinauluohi’a, or Lea. Along with Kūkaohi’alaka, these deities are important to canoe and surfboard builders.31

Johnson describes Ikū as “the great chief of Kua-i-helani,” who by Kapapaiākea had the “great migratory ancestor, ‘Aukelenuiaikū.” In a later discussion on The Nomenclature of Biology and Genealogy, Johnson further describes the relationship of this lineage with the cave of Ikū. It appears in the Kumulipo that along the Palikū branch of the Kapapaiākea genealogy stands the woman named Kapapaiākea, with Uli being an offshoot. It is this woman who bears Ikū his twelve sons:

The combination of hāuliuli/uhi in the refrain of he generation relates the ‘stem’ (hā) of Uliuli to the ‘yam’ (uhi). Uliuli is named on the Kapapaiākea genealogy as father of Kahiko and grandfather of Wākea. Genealogically the root uhi involves the Maui chiefs with uli manauea seaweed and the ‘stem’ of Ka-lau-loa-iā-Ikū:

‘O lo lani ‘oe ‘o Ka-lau-loa-iā-Ikū
‘O Kauhi oe ‘o Kauhi a‘u, a Kama Kamalālāwalu a‘u a Kiha i hānau

Thou art the chief through Ka-lau-loa-iā-Ikū
Thou art Kauhi, I am Kauhi of Kama
I am (of) Kama-lālā-walu, begotten of Kiha-(a-Pi‘ilani)
ʻO Kiha ia o ka uli manaueaKiha of the dark red seamoss/taro

Ka-lau-loa-iā-Ikū, ‘The-long-leaf-to-Ikū’ refers to the genealogical stem reaching back to Ikū, of whose twelve children with Ka-papa-īā-Kea (w) ‘Aukele-nui-a-Ikū, ‘Great -ʻAukele-son-of-Ikū’ was the most famous in migratory legend. ‘Aukele discovered the home of Namaka-o-Kaha’i, sister of Pele, in the land of Ka-lā-keʻē. The cave Ka-lua-mā-a-Ikū, ‘The-silent-cave-of-Ikū’, in which the gourd vine of Ikū grew and where many chiefs have been secretly interred, is supposed to be located along the coast of Kona, Hawaiʻi.

The line of Uli, the name of whom decorates the manauea ‘red’ seamoss or taro, is called the ‘offshoot of Ikū:

ʻO Mai-eli, lani o Uli Mai-eli, King of Uli
ʻO Uli kū huihui lau Uli, the active, the multiform offshoot of Iku
Lau o Iku o Iku, king of kings in heaven, broken for others…
O Iku-lani naha

Mai-eli, identified in the translation as a ‘king’, may really be Kamaieli (w), wife of Kumuhonua on the Kumuhonua genealogy. Kū huihui lau, lau o Ikū, ‘the active, multiform offshoot’ refers to the prolific vine (lau ‘four hundred’, ilel descendants; lau ‘to leaf out’; huihui ‘mixed, mingled, united, joined’) ancestry back to Ikū.32

Beckwith suggests that this ancestress, “Kapapaiakea, mother of Aukele, is Kapapaiakele, wife of Laka on the genealogy of Hulihonua,” adding that:

The names of the characters in this story have very old genealogical associations. The title aiku in Tahiti is almost equivalent to the Hawaiian akua, implying divinity or divine rank. In Hawaiʻi two classes of chiefs are named: one the Iku-pau, descended from Kane or Kumuhonua and classed as high chiefs; the other the Iku-nuʻu, or ordinary chiefs.

This idea of Kapapaiākea being the wife of Laka, son of Hulihonua and Keakahulilani, is plausible when considering that “some equate Ku-pulupulu with the male Laka, called ancestor of the Menehune people, and hence with Ku-ka-ohia-laka, god of the hula dance.”33 We have already looked at length at the ties these genealogies have with the Menehune people, and more connections are made clear here.

In a footnote to Ka Pule Ipu, Emerson states that “Ikū inhabited an underground
cavern, in which grew famous gourds. These gourds are said to have had a voice capable of emitting an explosive sound, ‘an explosive wind-squall’ as put in the translation.”  

His note speaks of the original text in which it reads kaluamuwaiku, and with regards to this word he states: “It is impossible to make sense out of such a formless string of letters. Obedient to the duty of an editor, as well as of a translator, I have arranged the letters into words in such a manner as to make the sense best agree with the context.” Yet, Johnson identifies this word with the name of the underground cavern that Emerson describes—ka-lua-mu-(w)a-Ikū—the pit/cavern of Ikū, which she locates “somewhere on the Kona coast of Hawai‘i Island.”

Soon after, in a discussion on the kuni rituals that divine the source of black magic and protect the intended victim, Emerson quotes another chant that begins with “Ia Awaiku ka ua i Lanikeha,” “The spirits Awaiku send rain from the heavens of Lanikeha [the solid heaven].” Incidentally, Lanikeha was the name of Mo‘ikeha’s house complex. Emerson describes the word Awaikū in a footnote as such:

Awa-iku: These were the spirits that acted as the messengers, spies, and agents to do the bidding of Kane. They were also guardian spirits, shielding and warding off from people the malign influences of the mu, who were a mischievous set of sprites, up to all kinds of minor deviltries according to their power. These awa-iku managed the rain, the winds and the weather and a great many other things, and were beneficient in their conduct.

Both analogies lead back to controlling the weather, whether it be these messengers of Kāne or the cavern and gourds themselves, which could be likened to the calabash of potential swell that holds the ocean. Suppose that these beings are messengers of Kāne, the gourds being an analogy to the children within this lineage. Again, was it not Huauri’s son Pai who was born and raised in a gourd on a vine?
An indication of this group’s arrival and placement in the history of Hawai‘i is given to us by Luomala. The reference is found in a discussion about a Hawaiian language newspaper series (in *Aloha Aina*, 1893) concerning the history of the Mū people, who were kidnapped from the hidden land of Kāne, Kānehunamoku, by the Kaua‘i chief named Kalaulehua. Johnson has already shed light on a chief named Kalaulo-a-Ikū as being related to this lineage, thus if Kalaulehua is the same chief, then the connection is made clear. One division of the Mū people are given as the Iku-ka-mu, and the way she phrases the sentence, it seems to name where this particular group originated:

The story goes on to give the division of this people as “the Mu, the Na-mu, the Na-wa, the Heleliko, the Imihia, the Iku-ka-mu of the land of Puna where the Waikoloa blows, the wild wind from Hauola.” It will be noted that the Mu are distinguished from Na-mu. Who the last three named groups of people are, I do not know.\(^37\)

Here again, Hauola is named as a place of origin, as Fornander mentioned earlier. Thus, the Iku-ka-mu appear to be associated with the time period of the Mu and Menehune peoples brought to Kauai. Their leader is said to have been the chiefess named Nāmakaokaha‘i, who is identified as the oldest sister or cousin of Pele. Herein lies the link that just may tie these two legends, and thus these time periods, together.

Fornander relates the story of ‘Aukelenuiaikū, the youngest of twelve brothers who lived in Kuaihelani. He was a handsome boy, and he was the favorite of their father Ikū. This made the other brothers and his sister jealous, thus devising ways to get rid of him. In one of their attempts, the oldest brother tricked ‘Aukele and threw him into the pit of Mo‘oinanea, the man-eating lizard woman who was the first of the mo ‘o clan to arrive

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in Hawai‘i. Luckily, the kind brother who was closest in age to ‘Aukele called out not to eat the boy since he was her own grandchild.

She heard the brother, so ‘Aukele was not only recognized and saved, but granted special favors that included magic possessions and instructions on how to obtain a certain chiefess in a far off land for his wife. This woman was Nāmakaokahā‘i, a goddess who lived in the land of Kalāke‘enuiakāne. Nāmakaokahā‘i’s body forms include a steep cliff, a vast ocean filled with breaking waves, “he nalu ma na wahia pau loa,” and fire that can consume the land and everything on it. Unbeknownst to ‘Aukele and Nāmakaokahā‘i, they were cousins, so Mo‘oinanea was continuing the matchmaking that began with Kū and Hina in the Keaomelemele story. Indeed, she is causing her grandchildren to arch back into their own lineage, thus preserving the hereditary rights and rank of her family through yet another ni‘aupi‘o marriage.

Mo‘oinanea gave Aukele one other possession for him to care for, one that would protect him when danger was near: the [physical embodiment of a] ‘god’ named Lonoika‘ouali‘i, for whom she made a pahu, a “box,” to carry him. In the La‘amaomao stories, pahu is translated as “calabash,” here, Fornander treats the same word as a “box.” So, it should be noted here that ‘Aukele has a similar means of possessing and transporting his god Lonoika‘ouali‘i as Pāka’a and Kūapāka’a had for the bones of La‘amaomao—in a calabash/box with a lid.

The wind gourd of La‘amaomao is still in existence, residing in the basement of ‘Iolani Palace. Although some doubt its power and function, it is a very significant artifact that is due the highest respect—many secrets have yet to be revealed by this gourd of great winds. Throughout the story, Lonoika‘ouali‘i guides ‘Aukelenuiaiku to

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success by warning him of impending death and advising him how to behave in such a manner that would save his life. Later in the story it is revealed that this god is brother to Namakaokaha‘i.

‘Aukele consistently acts in a bold manner that offends the various elder family members who he comes across. Yet, instructed by his wife, guided by his god, and advised by the elders whom he had last met, he chooses the right course of conversation and action that causes each relative to recognize and weep over him. Each one then instructs him of the next step in reaching the waters of Kane that will bring his nephew and brothers back to life. All of these guards warn ‘Aukele of the wrath of his uncle Kamohoali‘i, that he must not discover that ‘Aukele is trying to take the waters of everlasting life from him.

‘Aukele had flown through the bamboo (‘ohe; Bambusa vulgaris) forest without sounding them, learning the secret from Kanenai‘au, grandfather of Kamohoali‘i and granduncle to ‘Aukele. Hawewe, another granduncle of ‘Aukele on his mother’s side, instructed him to fly through the lama trees (Diospyros sandwicensis) without striking them. Likewise, Kanenaenae told ‘Aukele to fly straight through the loulu palms (Pritchardia spp.) without brushing them, lest Kamohoali‘i here him.

There below the loulu palms, ‘Aukele lands upon the back of his granduncle, none other than Ku‘emanu, whose name is recognized as the same name given for the heiau in Kahalu‘u, Kona. Ku‘emanu instructs ‘Aukele to go down to the base of the cliff where his blind grandaunt, Luahinekaikapu is cooking bananas. ‘Aukele must avoid Luahine’s attempts to kill the unknown intruder and then leap on her back like a relative would. After he succeeds in this task, he restores her sight so that she can help him
retrieve the waters from the pit below the cliff. Another connection with surfing emerges in her next set of instructions given to ‘Aukele. In order to fool the guards who hold Kane’s waters of everlasting life, she asks him to collect the ingredients needed to turn his hands black in the same manner that Kamohoaliʻi’s hands are black. 39

The dark color is that of paʻele, the black paint used to stain and seal canoes and surfboards. This piece of surfing literature indicates that the many different recipes given by ethnobotanists and tested in historic times are also grounded in the oral traditions of long ago. She asks for pōhuhue (Ipomoea pes-caprae subsp. Brasiliensis) and ‘akoko (Chamaesyce celastroides), then mixes it with charcoal, kukui nuts (Aleurites moluccana), and dirt (probably alae clay). I have found that these paints are very effective on wooden surfboards, especially when rubbed over with kūkuʻi after it has dried. It turned both a wiliwili and a norfolk pine (white woods) surfboard black, as well as my hands. Hence, a practical explanation for the black hands of Kamohoaliʻi comes forth, since he was known as a “Kanaka-o-ke-kai” who voyaged often.

Here we have two characters in Hawaiian lore known to be men of the sea, “Kanaka-o-ke-kai.” These men are relatives from different branches of the same family. Johnson claims that her family—descendants of the Puna/Kaʻulili lines—recognizes Kamohoaliʻi with this title over all others. However, in this story, ‘Aukele is given the title of Kanakaokai by Nāmakaokahaʻi because the boy washes up on the shores of her island, Kalakeʻenuiakāne. Through this piece of literature we can see that Kamohoaliʻi holds both the elder position in the family, along with the knowledge, and that ‘Aukele learned it from his cousin’s guards, who are relatives. Kamohoaliʻi is truly the man of the sea from whom ‘Aukele learned the traditional ways of preparing a canoe for voyaging.
But he is very upset that ‘Aukele has injured their grandparents, the gourd Huawaiakaula and net Paleiakalanalana who hold the waters of everlasting life of Kāne. He understands why ‘Aukele needed the water, but thought that it would have been better for the younger relative to have asked rather than just taken. In fact, it is only the breach of protocol and injury to their elders that causes his upset, and so a rift opened in two branches of family that had only just reconnected through the instructions of Kamo‘oinanea. Because of the actions of Nāmakaokaha‘i’s cousins Pele and Hi‘iaka with her husband ‘Aukele, that rift only continued to grow over time.

When Aukeleniuaikū returns to his wife Nāmakaokaha‘i, she is with child, and they have a godly offspring prior to restoring his older brothers and nephew. This offspring is also mentioned in the chant “Ku‘emanu.” His name is Ka‘uilanuimākēhāikalani, and he appears as a stone from the back and a man from the front. After restoring his nephew and brothers, ‘Aukele shares all his lands and his wife with them, and lives as a serf to them, enjoying his fishing trips to the coast. It was on one of these trips that he met Pele and Hi‘iaka, identified here by Fornander as Nāmakaokaha‘i’s younger cousins. He becomes enamoured with them and has regular encounters, all the while concealing the affair from his wife. She began to suspect deceit when he returned with scratches and bitemarks, so she warned him that he may share his body but not his flesh, since the girls were ill-treating him.

It continued until her anger became fully redirected to the younger cousins, whom she beat severely, along with the brothers who came to Pele and Hi‘iaka’s aid. They all left to live in another place, but Nāmakaokaha‘i’s anger was so intense that she followed them until they were driven from their homeland, migrating to Kaua‘i—and thus begins
the saga of Pele *mā* in Hawai‘i. The succession of firepit homes that Pele builds as she goes from north to south along the chain matches the evolution of the Hawaiian Islands as recognized by modern geologists. Each time the fire goddess builds her home, the ocean goddess comes and extinguishes her fire, so she moved on until she reached her present home, Halema‘uma‘u crater on Hawai‘i Island, well protected from the ocean below. In the legend, Pele is killed in the channel off of Maui, but her spirit continues on to Kīlauea. Here there is a cliff named for Kamohoali‘i where Pele’s smoke never touches, in honor of his brother’s high rank and for successfully navigating his younger relatives to Hawai‘i.

When Nāmakaokaha‘i’s anger was satisfied, she returned to her home and lived with her husbands until the older brothers were shamed by a remark made by Kauilanuimākēhāikalani to his younger cousin, so they all left, but did not survive the trip home for a storm overtook them. When ‘Aukele was old he requested of Nāmakaokaha‘i to return to his land of Kuaihelani, which he found deserted. He went to the pit of Kamo‘oinanea and found it grown over with coral, so he stamped his feet and broke the coral into pieces, not unlike the breaking of Kapapaialaka in Kūali‘i’s chant. Under the coaral he found his grandmother. Upon inquiring about his mother and father, she tells him that Ikū went to Kaua‘i where he battled with Kūkoae, the king, and won, thus becoming the King of Kaua‘i for a time before implying that he later died. That is how, at least in legendary form, both the lineages of Pele and Ikū made their way to the Hawaiian Islands.40
In her epic journey across the Hawaiian Islands, Hiʻiaka’s adventures lead her to surfing experiences many times over. When surfing with Lohiʻau, her chant to protect them while surfing the dangerous waves mentions not only Lono, from whom she asks protection in the surf, but also Ikū, as in the clinging sea of ‘Ikū, Kai pipili a Ikū lā! This idea of ‘clinging’ is the tendency that needs to be weaned as a child reaches adulthood, but also refers to her cousin’s lineage. Look closely at Hiʻiaka’s chant (below) and you will see a resemblance with the chant given by Pāka’a and Kūapākaʻa asking Laʻamaomao to bring the waves.

In this version of the story, Kānekauilamākehāikalani, along with Kānemilohae and many more siblings, emerge as brothers of Pele, the volcano goddess, and Nāmakaokahaʻi is shown to be Pele’s oldest sister. At this time period, dated later than the arrival of the main gods Kāne and Kanaloa, surfing is already an integrated cultural activity in Hawaiʻi, judging by the surfers that she met. As we have already seen, surfing was one of the traditions of which Hiʻiaka took note while on her travels and thus it is worth consideration here. Originally a passage contained in a series of Hawaiian newspaper articles, this story was compiled and translated by Puakea Nogelmeier, and it now exists as a new book called “Ka Moʻolelo o Hiʻiakaikapiopele.” In it, we are shown that Hiʻiaka states clearly that she is the kahuna.

The reason for highlighting this chapter is because it contains one of the best and most explicit examples of Hawaiian surf literature that I have found. Hiʻiaka has just revived the Kauaʻi chief Lohiʻau with her healing powers, and upon asking him what he
desires, he requests to go surfing. It appears that Hi‘iaka is also able to procure the waves needed to please Lohi‘au, and she reassures him that he will surf tomorrow:

Lo‘hiau drank every bit of the liquid, and then he spoke, saying, “Oh! I would rejoice at a swim in the sea!”

Then Hi‘iaka asked him, in an indirect way, “What kind of swim do you long for?”

“Surfing. That kind of swim takes you out to deep water where the big, powerful waves rise up in towering crests, like a mountain cliff. On that kind of wave one surfs out on the short break and rides back in on the long break to come ashore where you can rinse off. Then you can just get up and come back home.”

So do you think you would be able to go surfing tomorrow?” asked Hi‘iaka.

“And why would I not be able to, for I am quite strong now. I have no more symptoms. The one thing that would keep me from surfing would be the lack of good waves tomorrow. The only kind of sea that is fun for surfing is when coral rubble is thrown ashore because the waves are up and the sea is rough, for then you see the real delight of surfing,” responded Lohi‘au.

“If that is so, then your wish to go surfing will be fulfilled, O Chief, but first you must see your sister and your aikāne this evening. Perhaps they will want to go surfing with you.

As to turbulent seas that toss the white coral ashore, you shall have your waves tomorrow, O Chief. I shall raise the surf tonight, and by tomorrow, the waves will roar.”

Dear reader, we are seeing the apparent results of Hi‘iaka’s ministrations upon Lohi‘au, wonderful and astonishing as they may be...

The feather cloak that covered Lohi‘au is what she had told him to wear, since the kapu had not yet been lifted. Hi‘iaka then told him, “You are to wear this when we go out in the ocean tomorrow morning to anoint you in the waves.

When your wave comes up, O Chief, you are to remove this feather cloak and toss it into the sea, leaving you our pā‘ū, which you must keep.

The skirt I shall wear when you and I surf, O Chief, will be the kalukalu grass from Kapa‘a entwined with the pahapaha seaweed of Polihale. Your attendant, Pā‘ūopala‘ā, will make all of these things.

All the people of Hā‘ena shall soon see the chief surfing amid the mists and swaths of rainbows. The rainbows will arch into the sky, Kāne’s thunderclaps will rumble and roar, Lono of the fresh water will arise in his cloud presence, Kū of the long cloud, the short cloud, the blustery cloud, and the billowing cloud banks will appear.

Tomorrow I shall display my powers to the people of Hā‘ena; the wild creatures of the sea shall be our surfing companions.

On that same morrow, O Chief, you, your sister, your aikāne, and all of the residents in Hā‘ena will see three of us surfing on the same wave. Now you
should go on down, sit with your sister and your aikāne, and if you’d enjoy some
conversation, that is up to you.
My work, as the kahuna, is finished, the rest is up to the three of you.”

The story continues with an intense storm arising overnight, while her attendants
go off to prepare her pāʻū skirt for surfing. Without digressing, this reference to women
wearing pāʻū for surfing is the first one that I have found. It would serve us to look at
both the botanical aspects of the plants as well as their kinolau to assess and understand
why these plants are called upon. In describing Hiʻiaka’s appearance that morning, the
author reveals the type of pāʻū that was made—“There was no match for the beauty of
this lightning-skirted maiden of Halemaʻumaʻu.” This passage is particularly important
because it clearly ties Lono with surfing, along with Kānemilohae:

Then, Hiʻiaka quietly woke the man, Lohiʻau, saying, “You there! Wake
up! You and I must go so you can bathe in your sea. This is the day of Akua. The
akua, the deity, is close by, fluttering upon the surface of the water.
Lononuinoikawai is there, ready.”
The man awoke, and saw that his body was as good as new. There was no
weakness, no heaviness, and all of his physical problems had been cleared away.
When Lohiʻau had arisen, Hiʻiaka told him, “Here is what you are to wear for
swimming, my skirt, and over it you are to wear your feather cloak.
When we mount your wave, O Chief, and you see a third person surfing
with us on the wave, you must take off your feather cloak and toss it, while
calling out, ‘O Kāne! Here is your garment. Grant me life!’
And when our companion accepts your cloak and puts it on, then our work
is done, for he is who will guard you from now on, as long as we do not meet with
some calamity when we get to your wife’s [Pele] land.”

In the next passage, many of the nature signs mentioned in this paper are here
associated with the surfing experience and Hiʻiaka’s power to arouse the forces that
control the surf. She awakens her friend, Wahineʻōmaʻo, who asks why she is being
awoken, and Hiʻiaka instructs her as to the day’s coming events:
“I am going with our husband to swim in the sea, and you must stay with the chiefs. When they finally awaken, tell them that you should all go down to the hala-covered point of Naue, and watch for the appearance of a low-lying rainbow over the ocean. When the lighting flashes and the thunder rumbles, you should assume that we have caught the wave; when the thunder rumbles again, we are surfing the wave crest.

And when you see the rainbow arching above, with one end in the ocean and the other here on shore, you will see three of us riding the wave. On this day, I shall display the full extent of my power. We are going now.”

Once at the beach, Lohiʻau is amazed at this woman, but chides her in their lack of surfboards. She reassures him that her pāʻū will be his board while she bodysurfs. Then she grabs him and pulls him offshore, thus “skimming the surface of the ocean.”

The many sea creatures join them as they go the the surfing spot, which she describes as having waves that span the sea, as would a long period groundswell. This passage is an excellent example of surf literature. It contains so many terms and metaphors relating to environmental and cultural aspects of surfing, many of which have already been discussed in this text. On this day for surfing, all that Hiʻiaka foretold came to pass:

“My! What an amazing surfer you are, woman. Here we are at first light—how can we even see a good wave to catch? But the real problem with you being so quick to the task is that we have no surfboards.”

“We will have boards, O Chief, once we get to where the waves rise. Once we get there, the light will emerge, the night will be over and the god of the day will appear. This day is Akua; you are an akua, O Chief, according to what people say; I, as a kahuna, am an akua; the sun is also an akua; now I shall go into the sea, and you come in after me with all of your things,” said Hiʻiaka...

They moved amidst the spray of the rough seas with the ocean pitching back and forth and the wild, dark waves pounding.

Hiʻiaka and Lohiʻau’s racing companions were the man-eating sharks, the dolphins, the mahimahi, the other sharks, and all the many frightening creatures of the sea!

They went out until the sea seemed to cover over Waiʻaleʻale, whereupon they stopped and floated, and Hiʻiaka said to Lohiʻau, “of the Hawaiian seas, this one we have entered is called Moanaʻaikaioʻo. This sea stretches out to Oʻahu, reaches the Pillars of Kahiki Kū, and breaks at Kahiki Moe. This is where we will surf. So get ready, husband, for the wave is rising and Kaʻōnohiokalā, the orb of the sun, is breaking free of the horizon.”
As the rays of the sun shimmered upon the surface of the sea, Hiʻiaka beckoned the waves to rise.44

The author shows us first the sea creatures that attend to these aspects of nature and culture, then in this next passage, Hoʻomāhiehie shows the readers those birds associated with the ocean waves and their gods. Hiʻiaka called for the surf to rise in a similar manner to that mentioned in the story of Pākaʻa and Kūapākaʻa, and, as in their case, a large swell rose up. While Lohiʻau rides their wave, he is amazed at his own ability. In discussing the surfer’s prowess on the wave, the author lays out surfing terms that align with those discussed earlier. A conch shell then blows, and the god whom Hiʻiaka had mentioned appears, riding on a pāpaua shell (abalone; Haliotis Spp.):

A great gust of wind suddenly struck and an enormous swell arose, billowed up, and towered steeply, as Hiʻiaka spurred on Lohiʻau. He flew like a wave-flitting ‘akihi bird as he perched on the crest of the wave. Hiʻiaka followed, alighting on the crest. Right then, all of the signs that Hiʻiaka had foretold to her aikāne, Wahineʻōmaʻo, could be seen in the skies. The thunder pealed and rumbled in the lofty heavens. The cloud forms dropped down, the red mist rose, and Hiʻiaka and Lohiʻau rode their wave. Hiʻiaka’s skirt became a surfboard for Lohiʻau, while Hiʻiaka’s chest, her whole body, actually, became her board to ride the waves. As he surfed, Lohiʻau could see that everything about him was in peak physical condition. All of his physical strength had come back to him, just as it was before. Lohiʻau surfed the wave, shifting his stance, coasting forward over the broad part of the break and moving back along the narrows, gliding back and forth. His fellow surfers were the wave-chasing birds, the ‘akihi, the noio, and such, all riding on the same comber of the sea. Lohiʻau and Hiʻiaka had not surfed long when they heard the blast of a conch shell roaring and echoing behind them, as the one sounding it drew nearer.45

Let us pause for a moment before we discuss this person, for the visual imagery may reveal as much as the words. Is not the open mouth of the conch easily likened to the
barrelling lip of a plunging wave? Does not the voice of the wave sound off in a similar
call to that of a roaring wave? Can we not hear the sound of the sea by putting a shell to
our ear? Perhaps we should refer back to the earlier chants mentioned and recognize that
chiefly sound as the one that Lohiʻau now hears—it becomes apparent that this god
resides within the wave:

Lohiʻau turned and saw a man joining Hiʻiaka atop the crest of the wave, a
gray-haired man whose long silver locks hung free at the back and sides of his
head.

The man stood in the hollow of a huge pāpaul shell, the red flap of his
malo blown straight back and his right hand holding a conch-shell horn of the sea
(like the shell trumpet used in school buildings and meeting houses of long ago).
Atop his head was an adornment of kala seaweed.

Then a rainbow arched up from the water and stretched above the land.
One end remained in the sea and the other settled in the uplands.

The intense colors of this rainbow, all the gradations, were clearly visible.
The marvelous signs in the heavens and on the earth were awesome and
eerie, a display for all of Hāʻena to see.

The people there witnessed these miraculous omens and asked one
another, “Who is the great aliʻi for whom are all of these signs, which we have
never seen before?”

This was the day of Akua, the day that the kapu on the uplands and seas
was lifted...

When Lohiʻau saw the gray-haired man gliding easily on the crest of the
wave atop his astonishing shell surfboard, he wondered, “Is this the man to whom
my goddess told me to give the feather cape that I he
r
ar?”

He removed the garment from his shoulders, and began to call, “O Kāne!
Here is your mantle, that I, Lohiʻau may have life.
The feather cloak flew and came down right over the man with the red
malo, at which point he donned the mantle.

He then raised up and blew his conch, and its voice reverberated like the
sound of the rumbling thunder crashing.

When the roar of that wondrous one’s conch stopped, he said to Lohiʻau,
“O Lohiʻauipo, do not fail to recognize me, should you see me hereafter atop my
pāpaul shell. You shall have life, but heed the passage of time. Salutations to you,
O Lohiʻauipo. I return from whence I came, from the Pillars of Kahiki.”

The man then simply vanished, and Lohiʻau’s last glimpse was of a red
mist enveloping a human form, who he knew was the gray-haired man to whom
he had given his feather cloak. Aloha welled up in him for the man.
Who is this man surfing behind our lovers? In an “overleaf” printed alongside the text is this note: “Lohi’au tosses the feather cloak to Kānemilohae when he appears on the wave.” The author relates that he is lord and elder brother to Pele and the Hiʻiaka sisters whose “power shrouded them all”:

When Kānemilohae stood at the doorway of Mauliola Hale, all of the Hiʻiaka sisters prostrated themselves, as did all of the younger brothers of this Kāne, like Kauilenuimakaʻehaikalani, Kānehekili, Kānewāwihilani, and all of the other Kāne brothers who had come with Pele and dwelt in her crater home.47

We can see that this elder brother loves his youngest sister Hiʻiaka dearly, and throughout this epic tale he is considered her protector. Upon following Hiʻiaka’s instructions and giving this Kāne his cape, Lohiʻau also came under his protection.

Further along in the tale, as Pele sends her sisters to cover Lohiʻau and Hiʻiaka with lava, her brother encourages her to have faith in the healing abilities of the waters of life. In doing so, Kānemilohae reveals to us his domain over natural forces:

O Hiʻi. Forgive your elder sister’s treachery. Do not destroy the sacred bond that you two share. When your husband’s body is turned to stone, seek life from Kāne of the life-giving waters. This is me, Kāne. I am Kānemilohae. I am Kāne who controls the waters of life.48

Here he is portrayed not only as Hiʻiaka’s protector, but also as one who carries the adjudication of life and death, thus being able to bring Lohiʻau back to life for a third time. Beckwith seems to confirm this by saying that he joins his relative Kāne-(lau)-apua as an emissary to save men from death.49 It was mentioned earlier that Kāne-apua is possibly Lono. In reference to his controlling the waters, all of Hiʻiaka’s brothers were called upon to send the flood waters that washed away the moʻo named Panaʻewa, but as
Pele had suggested at that early point in the epic, “The prayer should go directly to the dark heavens, the light heavens, the dark clouds, the glistening black clouds of Kāne, to Kāneikawaiola, and to our brothers.” 50 Though we have diverged a bit with the telling of this story, many truths have been revealed. We see here how these gods all relate to the production of storm clouds and the oscillations of even larger air masses that surge back and forth over Hawai‘i.

It has also been shown in Hi‘iaka’s excitement about the coming day of surfing that Lononuinohoiakawai is the akua, the deity who is close by, “fluttering upon the surface of the water...ready” to surf with them. Allusions to the feathered gods Lonoika‘ouali‘i and Lonoikamakahiki surface in her description of the birds joining them in the surf. An ‘ōlelo no‘eau relating to these birds is found here in the context of this poetic narrative, in the description of Kānemilohae’s surfing found below. The chant that follows is one Hi‘iaka offers up for protection from the dangerous surf, and her addressing it to Lono shows us who offers such delivery. The sudden squall that immediately follows the chant, as if to answer her, further identifies Lono, here called Lononuinohoiakawai, as the god who is being called upon. This kind of heavy shower is considered a kinolau of this god. The squall also clears the spectators so that the surfers may go uninterrupted up to the company of their friends:

The sun had risen high above, and some tiny white specks were seen far out on the sea. Wahine‘ōma‘o said to the chiefess Kahuanui, “Those white things we see are your beloved brother and your aikāne, Hi‘iaka, and there’s one other person with them.”

While Lohi‘au and Hi‘iaka surfed in tandem on the crest of the wave, Lohi‘au blinked his eyes as if he’d just awakened, and when he took a second
look, lo and behold, he saw once again the gray-haired man he had given his feather cape to, surfing right along with them on the wave.

Lohiʻau watched, and saw that this man was very skilled at surfing. The man’s effortless manner of gliding on the crest of the surf would have been a proud match for a billow-treading kaʻupu bird.

Oh this man, when the flap of his malo snapped behind him, its rumbling crash sounded just like the rough seas they were riding upon.

The coloring of his malo was truly amazing, like the glowing edges of a rainbow on the outside, and the inner part was a bright reddish gold.

As they rose upon the wave, the dorsals of the giant fishes of the sea surged up and down on that same billow that they climbed. Hiʻiaka stood upon the surface of the water with her skirt of pahapaha seaweed and mōkila grass fluttering behind her.

And Lohiʻau tried out every possible surfing stance, each of which he could perform with ease.

They continued on until the uplands of Hāʻena lay clearly before them and its populace saw these three people standing in the curl of the wave.

They surfed along and cut right in front of where Kahuanui and the rest were sitting. From there, the wave broke and swept back out to sea.

And now they surfed it back out, riding atop the shoulder of the wave. The shore filled with shouting voices of people, their roar echoing against the sea cliffs.

Nothing could compare to the beauty of this surfing. The crowd did not know who these people could be, surfing so expertly, traversing the thrashing swells of the sea.

Everyone was curious about the nature of the man surfing on a skirt of palaʻā fern. They thought, though, that all of the stances he took resembled those of their chief, Lohiʻau.

The surfers went on far out to sea, and then turned back toward the shore. They surfed back in until they saw the village of Hāʻena, whereupon Hiʻiaka offered this chant:

**Chant One Hundred And Twenty Six**

\[
\begin{align*}
E \text{ ala!} & \quad \text{Arise!} \\
E \text{ ala! } E \text{ ka ua!} & \quad \text{Arise! } O \text{ rain!} \\
E \text{ ka lā} & \quad O \text{ sun} \\
E \text{ ka ʻohu e kai!} & \quad O \text{ mist that creeps upon the sea!} \\
Kai nuʻu, Kai eʻe & \quad \text{Cresting sea, mounting sea} \\
Kai pipili a Iku lā! & \quad \text{Clinging sea of Iku!} \\
Ē ua puni & \quad \text{Ah, encircled} \\
ʻOhuʻahuʻa kai & \quad \text{Whitewater of the sea} \\
ʻO ka ʻale ʻi, o ka ʻale moe & \quad \text{The great billows, the low-lying billows} \\
ʻO ka ʻale hākoʻikoʻi & \quad \text{The agitated billows}
\end{align*}
\]
We saw earlier how Johnson uses this chant as an example of the Hawaiian poetic theme rendering dualistic pairs as part of a whole, one implicit to the other. Fornander relates this same chant to the flood of Kahinali‘i. His version is much longer, with Hi‘iaka’s bit of the chant placed in the middle of the longer form. However, Fornander relates that this is only a portion of a much larger chant about the flood. This chant is also found in Handy, Handy, and Pūkuʻi’s Native Planters (1972), with an entire section of Kū forms preceding the section that Fornander displays. These Kū cloudforms match those found in the Keaomelemele story as the guardians of Keʻalohilani.

Kamakau also uses the chant when discussing a farmer’s prayer to the gods at the first feast of the sweet potato harvest. The chant is almost identical in some parts, until the point where Lono is called upon for salvation from the “uprearing billows of Kahiki.” Instead, Lono and the other names mentioned in Fornander’s chant are replaced with the generally patterned ‘e ola’ phrases. These phrases relate to the different classes of citizens, commoners, priests, chiefs, gods, the farmer, and his family, asking to “grant life to the earth from the depths,” “ʻeliʻeli i ola ka honua,” instead of to Lono. Kamakau’s chant ends thereafter,
whereas Fornander indicates that the chant continues with many more verses regarding the floods.

Fornander’s ensuing discussion meanders about the evidence to which this chant points. The chant presents a convincing argument that Lono is the Hawaiian patron of surfing, being the god who protects one from the raging storm surf created by his bodily weather forms:

I have only been able to obtain one Hawaiian chant, or rather portion of a chant, bearing on the subject of the Flood. Its idiom, language, and allusions indicate it to be of great antiquity. It is, properly speaking, only the introduction to the ancient chant of the Flood, and seems to represent the dismay and consternation of the descendants of “Laka,” the eldest son of the first man, at the coming of the Flood, with an appeal to “Lono” to save them. The Hawaiian text reads:—

[Author’s note: The Handy et al. portion of this chant preceding Fornander’s version is herein given, with Kamakau/Pūku‘i’s translation for the first portion, then Fornander’s version and translation are continued.]

\[E ke akua; e Kukulia\]
\[E Kukeaoloa, e Kukeaopoko,\]
\[E Kukeaolewa,\]
\[E Kukeaoho ‘omihamihai ka lani,\]
\[E Kupulupulu, e Kumokuhali ‘i,\]
\[E Kukaohi ‘alaka;\]
\[O mau kino, e Kama i ka lani,\]
\[E Kanepua ‘a, eia ka ‘ai, eia ka i’a.\]

\[Ei ka ai, e ke Akua,\]
\[E Kahuli,\]
\[E Kahela\]
\[E ka wahine moe iluma ka alo,\]
\[O Moe-a-Hanuna,\]
\[E Milika ‘a.\]
\[E ka Lepo-Ahulu,\]
\[E Pahu-kini\]
\[E Pahu-lau\]
\[E Kulana-a-pahu,\]
\[E Ola-ka-hua-nui,\]

O god; O Ku-the-striver,
O Ku-of-the-long-cloud, O Ku-of-the-short-cloud,
O Ku-of-the-hanging-cloud,
O Ku-of-the-intensely-dark-clouds-of-heaven,
O Ku-of-the-thickets, O Ku-who-spreads-greenery,
O Ku-of-the-‘ohi’a tree;
Your many forms, O Kama of the heavens,
O Kanepua’a, here is food, here is fish.\textsuperscript{52}

“Here is the food, O God,
O Kahuli, O Kahela,
O the woman sleeping face upward,
O Mae-a-Hanuna, O Milika’a.
O ka Lepo-Ahulu, O Pahu-kini,
O Pahu-lau, O Kulana-a-pahu,
O Ola-ka-hua-nui,
E Kapapai a Laka,  
O Manuu ka eu,  
O ka paepae nui, ala i ka moku la, e.  
E ala!

E ala! e Ka ua!  
E ka la,  
E ka ohu-kolo i uka,  
E ka ohu-kolo i kai!
Kai nui—kai ee,  
Kai pipili a Iku;  
La! E ua puni!  
O huahua kai,  
O ka ale i, o ka ale moe,  
O ka ale Hakoikoi  
I Kahiki  
A hiki a ola,  
No nei make ia oe la e Lono.

E kaukau nou e Lono,  
E Lono i-ka-po,  
E Lono i-ka-Hekili,  
E Lono i-ka-Uwila  
E Lono i-ka-Ua-koko  
E Lono i-ka-Oili maka akua nei la,  
E Lono, e Lono, ka maka-hia-lele  
A lele oe i ke kai uli,  
A lele i ke kai kon a,  
I kai ko‘olau  
I One-ul i, i One-kea  
I mahina, uli, i mahina-kea.

O Pipipi, O Unauna,  
O Alealea; O hee;  
O Naka, Kualakai,  
O Kama, O Opihi-kau-pali,  
O Kulele poo,  
O helelei ke oho.  
O ka Waa-Halau-Alii o ka Moku,  
Kahi i waiho ai ka hua ‘ōlelo a Pi‘i,  
O Kama a Poepoe ka wahine i ka ipu-wai.

O Kapapai a Laka,  
O Manuu, the mischievous,  
O the great supporter, awaken the world.  
O wake up!

O wake up, here is the rain,  
Here is the daylight,  
Here the mists driving inland,  
Here the mists driving seaward,  
The swelling sea, the rising sea,  
The boisterous sea of Iku.  
It has enclosed (us).  
O the foaming sea,  
O the rising billows, O the falling billows,  
The sea of uprearing billows  
In Kahiki.  
Salvation comes,  
From this death by you, O Lono.

An altar for you, o Lono.  
O Lono of the night,  
O Lono of the thunder,  
O Lono of the lightning,  
O Lono of the heavy rain,  
O Lono of the terrible, divine face,  
Lono, O Lono with the restless eyes,  
Ah, fly to the northern sea,  
Ah, fly to the southern sea,  
To the eastern sea,  
To the dark shore, to the white shore,  
To the dark moon, to the bright moon.

O Pipipi, O Unauna,  
O Alealea; O glide away;  
O Naka, Kualakai,  
O Kama, O Opihi, sticking to the rocks,  
O fly beneath the sand,  
The leaves are falling.  
O the Waa-Halau-Alii o ka Moku,  
Where were deposited the words of Pii,  
O Kama-a-Poepoe, the woman of the waterbowl.
Figure 7.1 Waimea Bay, January 11, 2010; when the chant really matters...my fin zinged as the rest of my 10‘8’ surfboard broke free and I freefell over the ledge above me—I made it. Photo by Sean Davey, seandavey.com
What should be recognized is that from this standpoint we have journeyed full circle to an understanding that Hawaiians may have held concerning the factors that generate surf. Lono resides in the storm clouds—those clouds that carry Kāne’s waters of life, and his sister wife Nu‘akea who rides upon the sea of potential swell. These deities create waves through their embodied natural phenomena interacting with one another, i.e. the kinetic energy of the wind acting upon the potential energy within the sea. In a similar manner, La‘amaomao, goddess of the wind for Pāka‘a and Kūapāka‘a, occupies the same role in that the potential energy within the calabash (wherein resides the god) must be acted upon—called upon and directed, in order to procure the desired waves to ride.

It was with La‘amaomao whom this discussion began, which led to Lono, whose bodily forms include strong winds, and at a causative level the storms that accompany these winds. Lono’s bodies also include the gourd vine and its fruit, ‘io, of which an excellent example is a gourd/calabash that can thus control the wind. In other words, this gourd acts upon another bodily form of the same god thus producing the desired phenomena. La‘amaomao’s mana resides in this kind of gourd, as does Lonoikouali‘i. Speculating on these connections, Laka might be an old form of the word La‘a, just as haki is an old form of the word ha‘i. If this is true and Laka is La‘a, then Laka may be Lono by an earlier name and association. At the least, Lono is the god that Laka’s descendents are praying to, so tying the descendants of the Kumuuli line to Lono worshi.

Handy et al. (1972) elaborates on these many forms of Lono the “Rain Parent”:

Various epithets in prayers to Lono reflect the Rain Parent’s character. There is Lono-i-ki‘eki‘e (the-lofty), the lid of whose cosmic gourd, the “dome of the heavens” as we would say, is the source of winds and rains. Lono-i-ka-Po (Lono-in-the-night, the unseen, or primordial darkness), and Lono-i-ke-ao (Lono-in-the-day, or it may be -clouds) reflect the Hawaiian way of expressing the
ultimate by contrasting opposites. More specific is Lono-i-ke-ao-'ouli (Lono-in-the-dark-black-cloud). Well might he in his ominous but welcomed presence, charged with lightning, thunder, and rain, be invoked as Lono-nui-'aniha (Lono-the-great-angry-one). The 'ualu planter’s livelihood depended on him who could be, when properly invoked, made to listen (ho 'olono). But there was a name for him that describes his turning a deaf ear when offended: Lono-kuli (The-deaf-one). The word lono means to “incline an ear.”...When rain prayers were successful, then the giver of bounty was Lono-i-ka-ua-paka-lea (Lono-in-the-spattering-raindrops), and Lono-i-ka-ua-loku (Lono-in-the-pouring-rain).\

Consider that the Earth is often seen as a giant calabash whose cover is the dome of Rumia, of Kuakini, of the sky father Lono/Wakea who is the “source of winds and rains.” Woman as embodied by Haumea/Papa/Hina/Nuʻakea holds the sea of potential swells within that calabash. These swells (hua) form in the deep dark waters (kai uli) through the action of the storm winds which accompany the large weather systems. So, as a deity being honored, the patron asks Nuʻakea/Haumea to cause the fruitfulness of a woman through the swelling of the breasts, as likened to the fruitfulness of the sea through the swelling of the waves. This action is carried out by a younger relative named Huauri in Tahiti.

Laʻamaomao seems to be the procreative force through her calabash of great winds that create waves. Likewise, Lono is the head of the storm clouds that create big seas through similar forces, and is also associated with great winds, lightning, and thunder that go along with those storms. It should be duly noted however, that in both cases of Huauri and Laʻamaomao (as the grandmother of Paka’a), the position of surfing deity is held, not by a god, but by a goddess, and in the case of Hema, a woman from under the sea. Lono “respects the tapu of women” and his wife Nuʻakea, a part of Haumea, is carried upon the winds of Lonoikaʻoualii to Molokaʻi. Hers is the tapu found
swimming in the sea of Māmala, where the lehua is removed by Pīkoi, and the great kapu Maui chiefess Keleanuinoona‘api‘api surfs with her O‘ahu chief Kalamākua. It is the tapu that was taken by Maui from the mudhens and begot by Kaha‘i, who broke the elder line of chiefs and began his own wave of people.

The breaking of the genealogical line into branches becomes obvious when Hawaiian surf literature is looked at closely. Surfing metaphors follow those breaking points because they have to do with those characters who reach the loftiest genealogical heights. Puna and Hema branches thus honor the one who reaches the highest peak on their own branch, a shoot from the stem/main stalk of people. Huauri was this atua in Tahiti, probably of Kaiuli, the grandfather chief, thus she would be a cousin of rank along the male line. Johnson says that Kaiuli is another name for Wākea. He‘enalu is the metaphor of this highest ranks of bluebloodline chiefs.

These conclusions are tentative at best, but beyond a doubt, Lono and La‘amaomao are the two deities that hold sway as procreators and deliverers of surf in Hawai‘i. Hina holds the genealogical potential for reaching those metaphorical heights here, especially after Haumea jumped into the ‘ulu tree, metaphorically disappearing into the Ulu lineage dominated by Hina characters. La‘amaomao the grandmother of Pāka‘a may have carried a similar genealogical potential when through the generations the line of Nu‘akea and Lono intermingled with Keoloewa on Molokai. A question arises here whether the prophet Moi, the brother of Nu‘akea, is the same as Lonoika‘ouali‘i, who is called the brother-husband of Nu‘akea, or another brother. Regardless, it plays to the association of the Kamauuaua family of Molokai with Lono. Perhaps that is why Pāka‘a and Kūapāka‘a could claim the highest bloodlines, even over the chiefs of Hawai‘i at that
time. That line would pull rank straight back to Kahiki from a line that came later, but related to the first.

It seems that this basic opposition between family groups feeds much of the mythological and real tension amongst the chiefs, priests, and commoners of that era, and in times prior to their occupation of the Hawaiian islands. That tension only mounted as politics escalated in these islands, eventually leading up to the devastation of O‘ahu chiefs that occurred in Kamehameha’s time. Concerning Lono as the god of surf there is much more evidence to be explored, and even after this assessment of surf deities, no one national deity emerges clearly. So, we take a deeper look at Lono and his contemporaries.
CHAPTER VIII.
Who Is The God Of Weather And Surf In Hawai‘i?

Natural weather phenomena associated with heavy storm activity are the physical signs of the gods recognizing a person of very high royal blood—one who carries the highest levels of kapu. These signs are called hōʻailona, symbols showing the actual presence of the gods recognizing their own descendents as chosen people. Here is one such example found in the History of Kanalu:

Several days there after, Piʻialiʻiakaulia died in his sleep, the chiefs, priests, and people grieved. There were joined by the great gods, Kāne, Kanaloa, and Ke[aliʻi]poʻokapuhūnāikeaouli. The heavens revealed that the high chiefs were same in stature as the gods themselves. The solid walls of the skies were closed, the thunder boomed, the earth quaked, the lightning flashed, the mist, the low-lying rainbow and the rainbow patch appeared, the sea rose, the rain came down, and the muddy-red waters flowed. These were the omens of the gods’ love for their chiefly descendants on this earth, the signs pertaining to their eventual deaths.¹

This description almost matches that of Beckwith’s passage describing Lono’s signs, but in this case the signs are attributed to the “great gods, Kāne, Kanaloa, and Ke[aliʻi]poʻokapuhūnāikeaouli.” The prophet Benjamin Namakaokeahi describes this last god as “the third god whom the priests, associated with the repopulation effort, prayed to. His name is a very sacred name to those who observed the stars, to the diviners, and orators.”² It appears that this god may be Lono, as referred to through one of his many sobriquets. If we journey forward along this same lineage of Kanalu priests we come to the Kahuna nui Kaʻopulupulu, who while praying to know the nature of Kahahana’s requesting the priest’s presence, saw a rainbow, and thus predicted his own passing at the hands of the king. Was this a sign pertaining to his own death that he saw?³

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Kealiʻipoʻokapuhūnāikeaulikaʻōnohiʻulaokalanikanāukapualiʻiokāne

Chun translates the name of this third god mentioned as “The sacred head hidden in the sky,” a translation that seems to match Beckwith’s description of Lono, where she states that:

[Teuira] Henry thinks that the Hawaiian Lono as "Great Lono dwelling in the waters" (Lono-nui-noho-i-ka-wai) is the Tahitian god Roʻo, messenger of the gods and especially of Tane, who "sets himself in the cloud" and feeds upon it, is born and matured there, and travels on with it. According to some old Hawaiians, the god ‘with head hidden in the dark clouds above’ (poʻo huna i ke ao lewa) is primarily Lono.”

If Lono is indeed Kepoʻo, then Henry is right to call Lono the messenger of Kāne who dwells in the dark cloud, for this god was born from the head of the god Kāne, tasked with protecting the peace and having the power of passing judgment along with the other gods:

He said to Kanaloa, “Let us go and get a child from [Kumuhonualani, Kumuhonuaiakea, and Kumuhonuailalo] so we too can establish our own lineage…Kumuhonuaiakea blew upon Kāne’s head and a reddish-brown child appeared from the strands of his hair. The chiefly child stood up and asked, ‘Why have I been called upon?’ and Kumuhonuaiakea said, “You are to protect the peace of the heavens and the earth, the adjudication of what is right and wrong, of life and death are ours.”

Kāne and Kanaloa joyously left. Kāne named the child after the appearance of the early morning moon. This happened during the night of Kāne, when it was starless…Kāne and Kanaloa knew that their wishes could be filled at any time now.

This passage says that this child was named for “the appearance of the early morning moon…during the night of Kāne.” On the eve of the night of Kāne, the crescent moon sets in the west just before dark, and hence there is no moon for the remainder of that night. In the early morning hours the waning crescent moon rises before the next day.
(pō) dawns, which in the cycle of the Hawaiian moon calendar is a called Lono. This waning moon is a reflection of Hoaka, the waxing crescent—both visual similes to the broad calabash.

However, in the “Introduction to the History of Kanalu” Chun discusses “The Sacred Head Hidden in the Sky,” noting that both Kamakau and Kepelino associate this “great unseen god in the dark clouds of the heaven” with Kūnuiākea, whose visible symbols are the war gods Kūkaʻilimoku, Kūhoʻoneʻenuʻu, Kūkeoloewa, and Kūkalaniehu. Kamakau recorded the most impressive display of such a god in his account concerning ʻUmialiloa, our surfing chief of Hawaiʻi Island. When he sacrificed his older brother Hākau at the altar, the “tongue of the god” came down and lapped up the offerings.⁷

Judge Abraham Fornander concurs with the idea of Hākau’s cruel leadership in his account of ʻUmi, although he does not deal directly with the sacrificial offering of Hākau. In speaking of Hākau’s poor and cruel treatment of one family, one of his victim’s father uttered prophetic words that his god would take him on the night declared kapu for that god, and hence it came to be:

It is frequently told in the tales of the skilled narrators of old that when ʻUmi-a-Līloa laid the victims on the altar in the heiau [of Honuaʻula in Waipiʻo]—the bodies of the fallen warriors and the chief, Hakau—the tongue of the god came down from heaven, without the body being seen. The tongue quivered downward to the altar, accompanied by thunder and lightning, and took away all the sacrifices.⁸
**Kūwahailo**

Among the lightning and thunder, could it be that this quivering tongue was a funnel cloud formation that was seen as an animated physical embodiment of the god?

Beckwith elaborates on this god and his worshipper Hākau:

Ku-waha-ilo (Ku-maggot-mouth) was by tradition a man-eater and the god responsible for the introduction of human sacrifice. Ellis’s story is that, after Umi’s victory over his elder half-brother Hakau, the voice of “Kuahiro his god” was heard demanding more men for the sacrifice, until eighty of the enemy had been offered. The legend runs that when the body of Hakau himself was laid on the altar the god came down from heaven in a pillar of floating clouds with thunder and lightning and dark clouds, and “the tongue of the god wagged above the altar.”

In fiction the place of this god is in the heavens. He pours “death-dealing bolts” in the Aukele legend. In the Anaelike romance his coming is preceded by earthquake and heavy winds, then by a tongue carrying victims in its hollow, followed by the body. In the Hainakolo romance he is a man-eater with terrible bodies such as a whirlwind, an earthquake, caterpillars, a stream of blood, a moʻo body with flashing eyes and thrusting tongue. All these manifestations are among the bodies of the Pele family of gods, and Ku-waha-ilo’s name is one of those given for the husband of Haumea and father of Pele.9

So here we have testimony that Kūwahailo carries the same signs in nature that Lonoikaʻoualiʻi embodies, but one as an attacker and the other as a protector. What is significant in both cases is the recognition of these nature signs as bodily aspects of these gods. Looking again at Haumea’s husband in Tahiti, the genealogies show that Roʻo-nui, Lono, held this position at one point. Furthermore, if Hinahānaiaakamālama is Pele’s name as a woman on Earth, as suggested by Kilinahe Kaleo, then it correlates the Tahitian genealogy of Hina with Beckwith’s statement about Pele as being the daughter of Haumea. This might identify Roʻo with Kūwahailo (Kuahiro) as one and the same character with different names.10
However, Kūwahailo also appears as the uncle of ‘Aukelenuiaikū in that legend, so Lonoika‘ouali‘i is probably his nephew by the fact that Lono is Nāmakaokaha‘i’s brother. It is acknowledged however, that they are in the same family. Nāmakaokaha‘i sends her brothers with ‘Aukele to heaven that they should be acquainted with Kūwahailo and their cousin Makali‘i. ‘Aukele arrives before his brothers-in-law, and his uncle mistakes him for a wizard who must have killed his niece. He wages war on ‘Aukele by throwing the fire bolts named Kukuena and Mahuia, and the thunderbolts—rocks named for the winter months of Ikuwā and Welehu.

“The roar was deafening, the heavens rocked, the foundations of the earth were shaken, the waves of the ocean rose high as mountains, large rocks were loosened from the cliffs, the cliffs were opened up and the birds on the mountain heights were alarmed.” This description of the tools used by Kūwahailo definitely identifies him with storm and surf production. He is saved by his god Lonoikouali‘i’s warning for Aukele to cover himself with his wife’s pa‘u skirt. 11

Supporting the idea of the tongue relating to the twister, the next chant clearly associates twisters with the great protector, Lonoika‘ouali‘i. It is a prayer in preparation for battle, and it shows the environmentally strong signs of the god—or chief, as the composer refers to him. In the chant, these signs comprise the waterspout, the hurricane, the pounding thunder, and the rustling wind noises associated with storms. These signs match those mentioned in Fornander’s chant for Lono that was already shown. This next chant, composed by the chief priest ‘Ani‘ani II, not only recognizes the bodies of this god, who here is named Lonoika‘ouali‘i, but also clearly associates Lono with Keali‘ipo‘okapu‘hūnāikeauli.
The composer calls Lono “the sacred protector of chiefs” with the “revered sacred laws of the skies.” But, there are varied ways the chant can be read. It is possible that Lono could be the protector of Kāne, Kanaloa, and Keali‘ipo’okapuhūnāikeaouli, but it seems more likely to be read as Lono being this latter god, one who carries this role as a “protector” and who wields these “sacred laws of the skies”:

**Pule o ka la hooili kaua**

Eia ka lani o Kepookapuhunaikeaouli

Eia o oili a iluna
Hoi mai o oili a uka
O Wiliwili a i kai
Hoi a oili a oili
Lele i ka opua

A lele a lele
Ka ua me ka makani
He makani i wilia
Iloko o Ikuwa
I wili ia ka puahiohio
I loko i Kane me Kanaloa
O Kane ka makua
Makani o na [alii]
He ‘lāa ka lani
O Kepookapu
He mau lani kapu
I loko o ka ihi kapu o ka lani
O Lono, o Lonoikaouali`
Ka pale kapu o na [alii]
Ku‘i ka pohaku
Nehe o ‘a iluna
Nehe ka lani,
Nehe o Kepookapuhunaikeaouli
Ke [alii] ku i ka pale
E pale i ka laau a ke hoa
Amama noa.

**(Na Anianielua keia pule hou.)**

**A Prayer for the Day of Battle**

This is the chief,
Keali‘ipo’okapuhūnāikeaouli

Here appears [a twister] above
[Twisting hither from the mountains]
Twisting out to sea
Moving, twisting, twisting,
Moving along to the embankment of the clouds
Moving along
The rain and wind
A hurricane
During ‘Ikuwā
The whirling wind twists
Within Kāne and Kanaloa
Kāne the elder
[The wind of the chiefs]
The chief is sacred
Ke[alii]po’okapu
They are the sacred chiefs
With the revered sacred laws of the skies
Lono, Lonoikaouali‘i
The sacred protector of chiefs
The thunder pounds
Rustling above
The heavens rustle [rumble],
Keali’i[ke]po’okapuhūnāikeaouli rustles
The chief who stands to defend
Warding off the spear of the warrior [hoa].
Ended. Freed.

(Aniani ‘elua recited this new prayer)
David Malo reports a similar event concerning a head in the clouds to that of Kamakau and Namakaokeahi. Concerning Waia of Hāloa, Malo cites that Waia did not choose the disciplined life of kapu that his parents led and had expected him to carry on. Because of this lapse in honoring the gods, a head appeared inside a cloud in the sky that asked the people who ruled well and who ruled poorly:

1. In the words of the Hawaiian island’s people of old, Waia(‘s) chiefdom was very hewa (bad), because he went about [only] seeking after entertainment, sports and pleasures. He had abandoned the orders of his parents to be religious (haipule), and to properly care for the chiefdom, and to care for the makaʻāinana (commoners) so that his reign would be beneficial.
2. This is what has been heard about Waia(‘s) chiefdom. Only a head was seen, without a body, inside of a cloud in the sky. This head called out, saying,
   [In Hawaiian:]
   2. Eia kekahi mea i lohe ia ma ko Waia aupuni, ua ike ia kekahi poo wale no, aohe kino, mailoko mai o kea o, o kalani, a kahea ia ua poo la penei.
3. “Who is the aliʻi below who has made life pono (good)?” Those below cried out, “Kahiko is the aliʻi who has made life better.” This head called out [again], “What did he do that was pono?  
4. The people below said, “Kahiko was skilled at ruling the chiefdom and all things, that is the kahuna, the kilo (seer), the one to rule the makaʻāinana of his chiefdom, and Kahiko was patient.”
5. This head said, “Then Kahiko’s reign was pono. He was a patient aliʻi.”  
6. Then the head again called out, “Who is the aliʻi below ruling now?” The people below said, “Waia, the aliʻi who rules badly.” This head said, “What is his hewa (mistakes)?”
7. The people below said, “He is not religious, he does not have a kahuna, kilo and he cannot rule the chiefdom.”
8. This head said, “Then the aliʻi does hewa. His rule is bad.” This head vanished into the heavens.
9. Furthermore, during Waia(‘s) chiefdom, an illness or ahulau (some sort of epidemic) came to the Hawaiian Islands. People died from this illness. Twenty-six people survived [this illness] because they took the medicines of pilikai and [loloi?]. That was the medicine that saved these people. 

Malo reports that this epidemic was called “ikipuahola,” and further associates it with the ‘ōkuʻu epidemic of 1804—the one that greatly diminished Kamehameha’s
forces as they prepared to attack Kaua‘i in his attempts to unify the islands. Chun footnotes that *pilikai*, the medicine that saved twenty-six people in Waia’s time, is “a vine of the morning glory family” *Ipomoea sp.*, the same as the gourd and sweet potato as well, *kinolau* of Lono.

My fellow readers, let us consider this description: Malo’s example tells of a head without a body, one that is seen in a cloud; one who carries the adjudication of life and death, who passed judgment on Waia, the chief who did not honor the sacred laws of the gods, by sending an epidemic that wiped out his rule; one whose wrath was appeased through medicine from the same family of plant that is considered to be an embodiment of Lono…Although purely speculative, it raises some questions:

Could this god somehow be the related to the god that Kamakau speaks of, who, according to the traditions of ‘Umi, passed similar judgement on Hākau for his poor treatment of the keeper of the gods, as was assigned to ‘Umi by his father Līloa?

Could it be that Hākau’s god was the one whose tongue quivered downwards to the altar while his head remained in the clouds, and would that be Kūnuiākea or perhaps Uli, for whom Hākau built and named a temple?

However, Malo does not associate “the head inside the cloud in the sky” with any named god. As Chun points out in another segment on possession, here is what Malo had to say: “Some akua noho were actual liars. They were called po‘ohūnāikeaouli (*godhead hidden in the dark clouds*) and lying was the reason for this name.” 15 Why then would he have included the above section in his manuscript, if such a god were false? Why would this name be attributed to on the one hand “the sacred protector of chiefs,” and on the other hand to “liars” and false prophets?
Perhaps because Waia lived in the far past, about ten generations before the time of Kiʻi and his sons ʻUlu and Nanaulu, the traditions remain as they were told. After the time of these two brothers, the progenitors of the chiefly classes on many of the islands in the Pacific dispersed. In migrating to Hawaiʻi, waves of people settled, respectively associating with the southern and northern groups of islands in the Hawaiian chain where earlier family migrants had settled. The political aspects of rivaling branches emerging from a rootstock began to intensify here as in the stories of Tahiti like Honoʻura. In attempts to glorify one ruler and his gods over another in the more recent pantheon, the bards of the courts may have been enticed to hedge their stories and chants to do so.

Considering that both David Malo and Samuel Kamakau were associated with the court of Kamehameha, whose lineage is associated with the Hawaiʻi chiefs, they are put at odds with this older lineage. This statement about Kepoʻokapuhũnāikeauli probably reflects such an alignment and political opinion. Indeed, when it comes to the story of ʻUmi, Malo stops abruptly before the killing of Hākau, and Chun’s footnote is one of surprise and wonder. Again, maybe it was the usurping of one lineage over another that might have caused this diminishing in the tale of ʻUmi to the point where Malo does not even take up this event in history; unless the popularity of the story would have made him think it redundant to repeat it—either way, we can only wonder along with Chun at this point.

The evidence here is challenging, and we have already acknowledged that different gods might embody the same forms of nature (at different times). Lono as Kepoʻo is said by the Kanalu priests to reside there in the dark cloud, while it is Kū that resides in the house of Līloa and his son ʻUmi, to whom the sacrifices are normally
attributed. However, Līloa’s priests are those of Pāʻao, who is said to have brought several new gods, and at least one ethnographic source, Dibble, calls Pāʻao a “priest of Lono.” Normally it is said that Pāʻao brought about a change in the order, and a new chief from afar to rule, Pili. He is also attributed with bringing human sacrifice into practice again, but Lono’s is a cult of peace and fertility. The two hereditary priest lines were later brought together and housed by Umialīloa, but what about this period?16

Nāmakaokeahi’s description of Pāʻao’s arrival reveals that he is somehow related to the Kanalu chiefs and priests, correlating with Dibble’s description. He is described as “the energetic one from the foundations of Kahikikū,” and a “servant of the gods.” Pāʻao becomes a lesser chief under Kualoa and his priest Kekuamoeipo. He teaches the chiefs and priests about many things so that they can improve their reign over the people, but neither human sacrifice nor any new gods are mentioned. In a conscious effort, he also chooses new stars to follow, saying that the chiefly stars had disappeared. The others agree, including the observer of the stars, Kauhi, saying that they had not learnt everything from their elders when they were young.17

This analogy to the absence of chiefly stars may have to do with the more popular version of Pāʻao’s story where he brings a new chiefly line because the Hawaiʻi’s bloodline had been tainted 18. There is a very different angle on the story here, where a migration is acknowledged, but not in a way that usurped Kualoa’s rule. Instead, the author says that, “their new chief priest elder [Pāʻao] taught them how to rule as elders for this third population of chiefs, priests and commoners.” He gives Kekuamoeipo and Keonoonālani’s son the name Pāʻao II. Pāʻao is further tied to this group by the description of his arrival. His drum is named Kaiuli, an epithet of Wākea:
The women of Koʻolau” met and it was evening as the canoes entered [into the bay of Waipiʻo] and the drums ‘Owela and Kukona were sounded for the arrival of Pāʻao. The drum Kaiuli on board of Pāʻao’s canoe was sounded [in reply]. The drum, ‘Omaʻo also on board was sounded and the conch shell Kihapū was blown. The menehune saw their chiefly lord, Pāʻao. The signs and omens of the lofty sky (lewa nuʻu) of the priest chiefs of the darkness were again opened (wehe hou).19

If Pāʻao comes out of the source population of Kahikikū, they probably still honor the source god of the first wave of peoples, Kū. So, he may be integrating a system from home that would be honored by the new arrivals described as “the third population.” A pairing of Kū and Lono would come forward that is much like the system popular in more recent times. Tying Pāʻao to the Menehune takes us to both Hema, who journeyed south with them to Aotearoa, and Nāmakaokahaʻi, who was their chiefess on Kauaʻi. It brings us to a breaking point in the lineage that was discussed with Huauri, who we speculated might be the granddaughter of Kaiuli. It is possible that Pāʻao came from this line in Kahiki where sailed Hema, a line of chiefs from the darkness of antiquity (mai ka pō mai). However, Huauri is a Hina goddess—these relationships are very complex.

Returning to our discussion on the identity of the god whose tongue quivered over the altar, Pāʻao’s story helps us to understand more of the relationship between chiefs and the national deities, and how Kū and Lono may have become more closely connected. Lono was the hānai child of Kāne and Kanaloa, born when Kumuhonuaiʻkea blew atop Kāne’s head. Here the child’s parent worship has come from the source land of Kahikikū. It is tempting to read the name of the god whose breath gave life to Kepoʻo, Kumuhonuaiʻkea as Kū-[from-the]-land-of-Mū-[where-rules-the-chief]-ʻĀkea.

It would match up well with the idea that the Menehune were from the land of Mū, where the Hauʻola wind blows, as Luomala pointed out to us earlier. Look back at
the Fornander discussion on the origins of these people; he calls the land where Hina sent
Hema, Kapakapauakāne, by the name of Hawai‘i-kuauli-kaio‘o in Kahikikū. Further
evidence of these connections is found in the name of Pā’ao’s canoe, Kanaloamū‘ia.

Henry described the eastern land from Maha‘ena to Mahina Point in Tahitinui Mare‘a (Big Tahiti of the golden haze) as Ahu‘are, the bailer of waves. That was the place where Hinaarae‘a was the most famous surfrider, wife to the demigod Turi. Hina of the golden haze reminds us that Keaomelemele was born from Kāne blowing atop the head of Hina. Her brother is Kahānaiaakeakua, whom we likened with Lono at one point.

If Pā‘ao really follows this line back to the chiefs of the golden cape, then that might explain why his descendant Kānehameha’s feather cape was almost all yellow like the O‘ahu chiefs, rather than primarily red like those of the Hawai‘i Island chiefs. 20

Suggesting that Pā‘ao is of the Menehune line makes him a descendant of Luanu‘u and Kinilauamānō along the Kumuhonua genealogy, which is the genealogy of Papa. He came up from the land of the original Hawaiian progenitors, so at some point he was tied to the group that left and migrated to Hawai‘i. Pā‘ao’s god is Ka‘ili, who is a visible symbol of Kūnuiākea. Perhaps then Kūnuiakea is the link to the first line of voyagers, where Kūnui‘aiākeakua married O‘ahu, daughter of the voyager Hawai‘iloa and Hualalai, and he was their issue. In Fornander’s account ‘Ahu is the foster daughter of Lua, either way she is linked to this line of chiefs.

Hawai‘iloa was the chief from Ka ‘Aina Melemele a Kāne, The Yellow Land of Kāne. He crossed the sea, discovered Hawai‘i, and settled here, returning for his family. On his return voyage, he brought his younger brother Ki’s son, Kūnui‘aiākeakua, from Tahiti where his brother had stayed behind. The young chief married Hawai‘iloa’s
daughter, Oʻahu. The couple settled at Keauhou, in Puna on Hawaiʻi Island.

Kūnuiʻaiakeakua named that place Puna for his birthplace, Punaʻauia, in Tahiti. Hence, Puna, normally associated with the first migration of settlers on Oʻahu and Kauaʻi, becomes a placename on this southern island as well. This marriage between cousins begot their children the highest ranking (kapu loa), and so Kūnuiʻakea becomes the one atop the crest of this new wave, an appropriate tie for Pāʻao to claim. 21

The youngest brother of Hawaiʻiloa and Kī is named Laʻa-kapu, but very little is said about him, and the populating of islands in the Pacific is attributed only to Hawaiʻiloa and Kī in that story. Kī settled there in Tahiti in a place called Puna, which we have already associated with the worship of Laʻamaomao. Could Pāʻao have brought Laʻa worship back again as well? That might explain why Laʻamaomao becomes associated with the Hawaiʻi island chiefs, but this speculation is challenging to adhere to without more study. Let us move on to a discussion about Kūnuiʻakea.

What is clear is that the gods of Hawaiʻiloa included Kū, Kāne, and Lono, but did not include Kanaloa. Hawaiʻiloa became upset at Kī for leaving their faith and worshipping instead Kūwahailo, who appears as an uncle of Nāmakaokahaʻi and brother to Moʻoinanea. He is also Lonoikaʻoualiʻiʻi’s uncle. These deities had the blood of Kanaloa running in their veins, and he was worshipped along with Kāne. So, every time Hawaiʻiloa goes south, he picks up another child from his brother’s family so that he can strengthen his line. In this way, Kanaloa’s mana is effectively bred down, and the lineage of Kū comes forward. Hawaiʻiloa’s disgust in human sacrifice led him to create the Papaʻenaʻena kapu, forbidding contact with these southern islands because of their man-eating tendencies. 22
Kūnuiākea

Kamakau associates “the great unseen god in the dark clouds in the heaven” with Kūnuiākea, and Chun supports his statement with one made by Edward W. Lilikalani, whom Chun calls “a late-nineteenth century contributor of cultural material” and author. Lilikalani’s quote can be found in an appendix of Kepelino’s Traditions of Hawai‘i (1951/2007) edited by Martha Beckwith, and it should be examined closely. In a description concerning the kahuna class, specifically the differences between the ranks of Pā‘ao and those of Kūali‘i, Lilikalani has this to say about the priests of Kūali‘i:

The god was Lonoikaoualii, whose tapu was the bearing of the tapu loulu palm torch as opposed to the tapu of the god Ku-nui-akea, the tapu called ohiako, which belonged to Holoa’e, the great kahuna of the Paau line; Ku-kaili-moku was the sign by which Ku-nui-akea was made visible. And so were Ku-ho’o-ne’e-nui, Ku-ke-lo-ewa, and Ku-ka-lani-ehu, all signs for making visible to them Ku-nui-akea their god, a great god not seen like things hidden in the heavens. Of these classes in the time of Kamehameha the First, two gods within this high kahuna class were highly esteemed by all the chiefs because of their high tapu power and their peaceful character, Lono-nui-akea and Lono-i-ka-oualii. The one called Lono-i-ka-makahiki (different from the Lono-i-ka-makahiki who was a human being) had, like Lono-i-ka-oualii, bird feathers of the albatross covering the head of his embalmed body, like the torn strip used as a signal flag of victory.23

Chun states that both Lilikalani and Kamakau attribute this sacred head hidden in the sky to Kūnuiākea, based on their similar descriptions. However, in Namakaokeahi’s transcription of Aniani II’s chant, the sacred chief whose head is hidden in the clouds appears to be Lonoika‘ouali‘i, sacred protector of chiefs—unless Lonoika‘ouali‘i is being called for on the one hand, and Keali‘ipo‘okapuhūnāikeauli on the other. Nonetheless, Kūnuiākea is not mentioned in the chant, rather, Kāne and Kanaloa are named as the “sacred chiefs with the revered sacred laws of the skies.” Indeed, this line claims to be the first arrivals in Hawai‘i, as were their gods.24
Lilikalani clearly indicates that Kūnuiākea is the god of the Pā‘ao class of priests, whose visible symbols are Kūka‘ilimoku, Kūho‘one’enu‘u (nui), Kūkeolo‘ewa, and Kūkalani‘ehu. It appears also that Lononuiākea is the god of the Kūaliʻi order of priests, whose visible symbols are Lonoika‘oualiʻi and Lonoikamakahiki. Both names are based on the adjunct of –nui-ākea and also on the statement that the latter two are indeed feathered gods. Perhaps this indicates the highest attachment to their main parental stock.

During the time of Kamehameha I, these Lono gods were considered by Lilikalani to be part of a high kahuna class, and acknowledges that they “were highly esteemed by all the chiefs because of their high tapu power and their peaceful character.” This statement relating to the peaceful nature of Lonoika‘oualiʻi contradicts the idea that he is a warring god, and yet the earlier chant quoted seems to identify him as “the sacred protector of chiefs…the chief who stands to defend, warding off the spear of the warrior.”25 If this god carries the judgment of what is right and wrong, it might be assumed then that he would punish those who are wrong and protect those who are pono in character.

Considering the Hawaiian seasons and how one god or another presides over the rituals that occur, it may be the time of year that indicates the presence of Kū-(during the dry season) or Lono-(during the wet season) -nuiākea. Perhaps it is the categorization of a particular class of gods as identified by the suffix “-nuiākea” whose kinolau or embodied natural form is in the “big broad sky,” as implied by such a name, although according to Henry and Beckwith, Lono-nui-noho-i-ka-wai held this position.

Thus, depending on the family branch or class of priests, it may be that Kūnuiākea or Lononuiākea is the honored god, but either god may be recognized as a dark and
threatening storm cloud in the sky. It would seem that the character of this natural phenomenon is what associates it with the gods of war and protection for a particular family branch. On the other hand, Cordy feels that this is an odd pairing of Kū and Lono, and footnotes this idea in reference to Lilikalani’s passage in Kepelino, which Cordy includes in a table on the coming of Paʻao and Pili:

Lonoika‘ouali‘i was said to have been brought to Kaua‘i and O‘ahu by La‘amaikahiki [see next part of this table on La‘a accounts]. Kepelino may be differentiating between O‘ahu priests (Kūali‘i was a ruler of O‘ahu; Lonoika‘ouali‘i may be an O‘ahu deity) versus Hawai‘i priests (Holoac‘e was a high priest of the ruler Kalaniʻōpu‘u of Hawai‘i). Alternatively, he may be looking at Kū vs Lono orders in an unusual phrasing.26

Valerio Valeri seems to clarify some of these ideas in his discussion about temple types by stating that “transcendence following victory” thus gives Kū an aspect of Lono, as Kūnuiākea:

Each [temple] class is primarily associated with one or more of the major gods. Thus temples for war and fishing are associated with Kū, while those connected with agriculture are primarily associated with Lono and Kāne.

We have seen, however, that Kū and his temples are not associated exclusively with war and that they also function to ensure the prosperity and fertility of the kingdom. In reality, war—for reasons I noted while studying the political system—is the necessary condition for all other activities. Consequently Kū, precisely because of his privileged relationship to war, contains in potentia all peaceful activities that are made possible by conquest and victory. Thus he can be invoked to ensure the fertility of women and the land, to “stabilize” the kingdom and give it peace, to ward off disease, and so forth.

The correlation between war and the creative results that emerge from victory explains why Kū appears in two main forms, Kūka‘ilimoku (or the equivalents, Kūho‘one‘enu‘u, Kūkeoloewa, etc.) and Kūnuiākea. The first form is more properly associated with war, the second with its transcendence following victory (see below, Part 3). Correlatively, there are temples associated primarily with Kūka‘ilimoku (hale o Ka‘ili) and those predominantly associated with Kūnuiākea (see the demonstration of this thesis in Valeri 1982b). For example, the temple of Pu‘ukoholā is a specimen of a hale o Ka‘ili (Wilkes 1845, 4:506; cf. Stokes, n.d., GR 1, box 9.48), while Hikiau temple at Kealakekua, the most important temple in the Kona district and at times on the
entire island of Hawai‘i, is an example of a temple primarily associated with Kūnuiakea (cf. King 1967, 621, cf. 516, 506). I have shown elsewhere (Valeri, 1982b) that this second type of temple is also associated with Lono, since it is precisely the activities connected with this god (agriculture, reproduction, etc.) that are made possible by the victory and transcendence of war that Kūnuiakea symbolizes.\textsuperscript{27}

Valeri goes on to state that there may be an older form of worship that places aspects related to Kūka‘ilimoku in Hawai‘i Island, to Kāne and Kanaloa on Kaua‘i and O‘ahu. With this knowledge, we can achieve a better understanding of why La‘amaikahiki brought his god, Lonoika‘ouali‘i to O‘ahu and Kaua‘i:

However, some traces of a different system exist, especially on the island of Kaua‘i. If we can believe the list of temples on that island compiled by Thrum (1907b), in fact, the luakini po‘okanaka there were usually consecrated to Kāne and sometimes to Kanaloa—not to Kū, as on Hawai‘i. Thrum’s list includes only one po‘okanaka temple explicitly consecrated to Kū. Even Maui, as culturally close as it was to Hawai‘i, had temples for human sacrifice whose main god was Kāne (HEN, 1:197; cf. 199-201; Fornander 1916-20, 4:287). Thus, on Kaua‘i at least, Kāne and Kanaloa seem to have been the dominant gods.\textsuperscript{28}

Finally, Valerie points out that the roles of the major gods overlap, and thus assessing site function becomes complicated:

It should be recalled that the same function can be connected with different gods. For example, medical temples connected with Lono (Lonopuhā) or Kū (coupled with Hina) exist. In the same vein, Kāne and even Kū can be relevant to agriculture. Conversely, several functions may be linked to the same god. But a hierarchy of attributes exists for each god,…\textsuperscript{29}

With this understanding in mind, and without harming the notion shared by Beckwith that “most Hawaiians consider Lono to be the one whose head is hidden in the clouds,” her description of Kūwahailo as being the one who arrives to receive the sacrifice also seems correct, especially considering once again that Kū seems to be the
aggressor, and Lono the protector in that case. That is not to say that Kū does not have his protective and creative forms, as we have already mentioned. Another example is found in the Hawaiian creation story of Kiʿi, Kūkapaoa, Kū the builder, assists Kāne and Lono in creating the first man. Kiʿi’s sons Ulu and Nanaulu are the two brothers for whom the surfing competition described earlier occurred. 30

**Lonoikaʻoualiʻi**

Considering Lonoikaʻoualiʻi once again, the god of ‘Aukelenuiaikū who was given to the boy by his grandmother Moʻoinanea, was named Lonoikoualiʻi. Indeed, there is a close resemblance in these names. As ‘Aukele is flying out of the pit of Kamohoaliʻi his grandaunt, Luahinekaikapu, recites a chant out of love for “her sister, Kamoʻoinanea and her brother Lonoikoualiʻi.” 31 When Nāmakaokahaʻi was with child, she instructed him that the boy’s name would be Kauwilanumākēhāikalani—defined as “the lightning which we see in a rain-storm.” ‘Aukele wanted to name him after his god Lonoikoualiʻi. Nothing more is said about it, but it further associates it with the deities mentioned in the Kuʻemanu chant.

Emerson shows Lonoikaʻoualiʻi associating with the goddess Laka, one of the goddesses worshipped by the hula dancers. In an “adulatory prayer (kānaenāe) in adoration of Laka [that] was recited while gathering the woodland decorations for the altar,” we can see that Laka is considered both the sister and wife of Lonoikaʻoualiʻi. Emerson seems at a loss for the sobriquet Lono-i-ka-ʻou-aliʻi, stating: “The Hawaiians
seem to have lost the meaning of this word. The author has been at some pains to work it out somewhat conjecturally.”

He also questions the offering given to Laka, “the alma mater under whose influence all nature budded and rejoiced,” of a “black roast porkling, said to be for Kane, who was not a special patron, au-makua, of the hula.” He accounts for it with a sense of “propriety in devoting the reeking flesh of the swine to god Kane, while the sylvan deity, Laka, goddess of the peaceful hula, were devoted the rustic offerings that were the embodiment of her charms.” Could Laka then, be Mo‘oinanea?

As for Emerson’s first question concerning the meaning of ‘ou-ali‘i, Handy offers a definition of the suffix: “Io-uli is said by Kawena to be a shortening for Io-i-ke-ao-uli (Io-in-the-obscure-heavens).” Perhaps the answer lies within this chant itself, namely in the lines “I ke po‘o pua‘a, He pua‘a hiwa na Kane.” We have ascertained further along in the chant that Laka is indeed the sister-wife of Lonoika‘ouali‘i. Now we can look back at these lines to see that “He kane na Laka” is being described here as “ke po‘o... pua‘a hiwa na Kane,” possibly a poetic description of the longer sobriquet of Ke-ali‘i-po‘o-kapu-hūnā-i-ke-ao-uli, sometimes known as Lono-i-ka-‘ou-ali‘i, as discussed above. Incidentally, uli is also a shortened form of ‘ōuli, which refers to an omen:

He Kānaenāe no Laka

A ke kua-hiwi, i ke kua-lono,
Ku ana o Laka i ka mauna:
Noho ana o Laka i ke po‘o o ka ohu.
O Laka kumu hula,
Nana i a‘e ka wao-kele,
Kahi, kahi i moll'a i ka pua'a,
I ke po‘o pua'a,

A Prayer of Adulation to Laka

In the forests, on the ridges
Of the mountains stands Laka;
Dwelling in the source of the mists.
Laka, mistress of the hula,
Has climbed the wooded haunts of the gods,
Altars hallowed by the sacrificial swine,
The head of the boar,
He pua'a hiwa na Kane.
The black boar of Kane.
He kane na Laka,
A partner he with Laka;
Na ha wahine i oni a kelakela i ka lani:
Woman, she by strife gained rank in heaven,
I kupu ke a'a i ke kumu,
That the root may grow from the stem,
I lau a puka ka mu'o,
That the young shoot may put forth and leaf,
Ka liko, ka ao i-luna.
Pushing up the fresh enfolded bud,
Kupu ka iala, hua ma ka Hikina;
The scion-thrust bud and fruit toward the
East,
Kupu ka laau ona a Maka-li'i,
Like the tree that bewitches the winter fish,
O Maka-lei, laau kaulana mai ka Po mai.
Maka-lei, tree famed from the age of night.
I ho'i ke ko-kua pa-u;
Truth is the counsel of night--
He la uniki no kaua;
May it fruit and ripen above.
He luna au e ki'i mai nei ia oe, e Laka,
A messenger I bring you, O Laka,
E ho'i ke ko-kua pa-u;
To the girding of pau.
He la uniki no kaua;
An opening festa this for thee and me;
Ha-ike-ike o ke Akua;
To show the might of the god,
Hoi ke mana o ka Wahine,
The power of the goddess,
O Laka, Kaikuhahine,
Of Laka, the sister,
Wahine a Lono i ka ou-alii.
To Lono a wife in the heavenly courts.
E Lono, e hu' ia mai ka lani me ka honua.
O Lono, join heaven and earth!
Nou okoa Kukulu o Kahiki.
Thine alone are the pillars of Kahiki.
Me ke ano-a'i aloha, e! E ola, e!
Warm greeting beloved one, We hail thee! 34

Considering meteorological terms, The chant’s mention of “ke poʻo puaʻa...hiwa” refers directly to the head of the boar being offered, a symbol of Lono.
Symbolically, I might speculate that it would then also relate to an ao puaʻa hiwa, termed as a dark billowing cumulus cloud often associated with convective weather formations.
Such is the nature of this god, whose head remains hidden in the dark clouds in the sky.
His association with Kāne then, comes from the idea that this god was born from the fontanel of Kāne’s head, according to Nāmakaokeahi, and from the fact that Lono is the carrier of the great waters of Kāne, as Henry described him.

In a sense, these two descriptions match remarkably well from a meteorological perspective, as was discussed earlier in reference to the story of Keaomelemele. Herein clarity is brought from a scientific perspective to Johnson’s statement. that the
overlapping functions of Kāne as the god of procreation and Lono as the god of natural fertility are symbolized in the forms of lightning and thunder in the rainstorms of winter. It also sheds light on the joint association of both deities in the gourd (Ipu-o-Lono).

Johnson clearly states the role of lightning in her description of “Po‘o-huna-i-ka-lewa (Head-hidden-in-the-atmosphere),” and she earlier associated the sounds of thunder with Lono, thus there is an alignment with Henry and Beckwith’s statements that Lono is a messenger of Kāne who is born and matures in a cloud and whose signs are the natural phenomenon associated with heavy convective storms:

The kōʻeleʻele/kōpunapuna [Kumulipo lines 59-60] pair invoke the shape of the god Kāne in sugar cane as a firm grass with jointed stem (cp. Kāne-ʻohe ‘Kāne-of-the-bamboo’).” Kāne was symbolized in lightning, kauila, to which the sugar cane alludes as it also may to the kauila ceremony performed on the night of kauila (pō kauila) (see intra. P. 148). Kāne as god of lightning was Kāne-kauila-mākēhā-i-ka-lani (Kāne-lightning-flashing-in-the-sky). Po‘o-huna-i-ka-lewa (Head-hidden-in-the-atmosphere), a form of Kāne, was the storm thunderhead. The month of Ikuwā was named for the fury of the lightning storm shattering the tough sugar cane covering. 35

Indeed, in the index, Johnson calls this Po‘o-huna-i-ka-lewa “the same as Kāne-kauila-mākehā-i-ka-lani,” son of Nāmakaokaha‘i and ‘Aukelenuiaikū. However, she calls this head “a form of Kāne,” which shows a representation, “birthed” from Kāne. The context of Johnson’s discussion relates to the theory of the Kumulipo chant alluding to the birth and growth of a chiefly child. We have seen such allusions throughout this text in reference to imbedded metaphors relating to the growth of waves. Within this chant we can see that preceding her discussion on the thunderhead being a form of Kāne, a reference to the open fontanel of a child occurs. This reference matches Nāmakaokeahi’s recounting that Kepo‘okapuhūnāikeauli was born from the fontanel of Kāne:
The birth theory of the Kumulipo is reflected by *manawaea* [Kumulipo lines 53-54] as the period in infancy before the ‘soft spot’ closes; *manawa* is the anterior fontanel in the heads of infants. 36

Referring back to the Laka prayer, the last line before its closure, “no okoa *Kukulu o Kahiki,“ matches the weaning prayer line regarding taking the childish character back to “*kukulu o Kahiki”—the pillars of Kahiki, and here again is a reference to Lono being a foreign god, one who travels on up (north) in the convective cloud drifts from the south of these islands from time to time, usually in the thundering winter months. Consider the term ‘*Ikuā* and the idea of the gourd of winds being raised up in the cavern of ‘*Ikū…* Perhaps the name of this month arises as a contraction from ‘*Iku-wā*, which would mean “the time of ‘*Ikū.” Such a connection would validate such relationship between the gourd of winds, the flowering cane of Kāne, the convective storms of Lono, and the swelling seas of Nu‘akea.

**Kāneikawaiola: The Procreative Force of the Sun**

In summary, the radiant energy of the sun—Kāne-[‘*ōnohi-o-ka-lā*]—is most intense near the equator, where moisture picked up in the tradewinds from the northern and southern hemispheres converge and the convective heating becomes intense. This convergence causes huge cloud banks and storms to form, where not only the lightning strikes and thunder rumbles, but rainbows often shine through patches of sunlight refracting on the falling rains. The heavy rains and sudden squalls—Lono-[*nui-noho-i-ka-wai*], then arouse the sea (through friction), whose potential for wave growth responds
with the swelling of the sea. The patron is found in this case within the goddess Nuʻakea, sister-husband of this Lono deity. The result is the procreation of waves that form swell trains, a procession of wave after wave with similar properties travelling in sets—

analogous to the birthing of generations, and waves of travellers (born on far-away seas) moving across the ocean and landing upon distant shores, in order to support the growth of the lāhui—the Hawaiian Nation. The root of metaphor for waves and wave generation relates to this growth. Hence, the potent interaction between these male/female-kinetic/potential kinolau empowers this god and goddess as the patrons of childbirth, growth, and maturity, provided that they have been blessed with Kāne’s life giving waters.

The idea transmitted in many of the chants, “nehe i luna, nehe i lalo,” “rustling/rumbling above, rustling/rumbling below,” may also indicate Nuʻakea’s presence in causing the swelling, i.e. billowing, of the clouds. The potential reservoir of energy for her to act upon in the sky holds the life-giving waters of Kāne, carried aloft by the convective tropical maritime airmass embodied by Lono. It is considered by Hawaiians to be like a reservoir that, when its gates break forth, a massive deluge unloads from the sky, like the forty days of rain that Oʻahu experienced in 2006. Looking back through history, Kāne and Kanaloa requested that the gates of Hākoʻilani and Kūlanihākoʻi, the pool that Moʻoinanea placed at Keʻalohilani for Keaomelemele, be opened when the floods inundated the Earth at the start of the Kanalu genealogical epic, the one known as the flood of Kahinaliʻi and Kahinahānaikamalama. In Manu’s story, Keaomelemele was given the key to the gates of this reservoir to control.
In another case, such a deluge occurred as an example of a *hō‘ailona* (a sign) in recognition of and in answer to the 13th lineal descendent from Kanalu, ‘Anianikūkaninui‘aikū. His request of the gods was granted with the birth of his youngest son, Luaho‘omoe, who was blessed to this priest and his wife in their old age by Keali‘ipo‘okapuhūnāikeauli:

On a bright moonlight and clear blue sky in the morning of the famous day of the ranks of the prophets, the famous flood gates of Hāko‘ilani and Kūlanihāko‘i broke forth. The one responsible saw a large mass from the earth appear. It was a true prophecy from the thighs of Ha‘akahulu‘ula‘ula, the old woman, who was about four hundred years old.

The rain fell twice as hard, The thunder pounded three times as hard. The split tongue of lightening was seen to brightly flash in the sky. The earth quaked and shook. One of the very famous priests appeared, who was like the very famous person in the Holy Bible, saying, “The rain was intense in the heavens” was Luaho‘omoe. The bones of Hua were made to rattle in the sun. The people all around Hawai‘i died. 37

This passage ends a chapter, and immediately following the eldest brother of Luaho‘omoe sets up his reign “during the first month of the year, during the month of ‘Ikuwā,” which associates the deluge with this time of year as well. These rains cause flooding that erode the iron rich red soils of the upland plains—the most red being the *alae* clay that often runs in veins along the river valley walls. Such floodwaters pour down the streams and into the ocean, turning it a reddish-brown color rich in terrigenous sediments.

*I lalo,* below, the sea is the potential reservoir to be acted upon, and the kinetic energy from the sky, i.e. strong winds associated with the storms, then cause the swelling and billowing of the sea, which is then surfed by Lono in his embodiment as the *kaʻupu* bird, the albatross (*Diomedea imutabilis*), riding upon those winds—soaring atop the
wave crests. The metaphor is complete with the idea of the agitation and interaction of various natural forces as embodying the male and female roles in procreation. It is the main metaphor being alluded to, and along any point from these meteorological forces that cause the waves, to the coastal environment where waves stand up, break, and wash up onto the sands, the terminology used has a sequential relationship to the conception and growth of a child through layered meanings of each term. Refer to the terms in the wave diagrams shown next and you might see this metaphor come alive.

When the dry season ends, that last month being ʻIkuwā, temperatures cool off in the northern hemisphere. The first few cold fronts of the season begin to drop down further into the lower latitudes of Northern Pacific, interacting with that lingering warm tropical air mass. As these extra-tropical systems begin to pull air in and up towards the low pressure center, the surface winds ahead of the cold front veer out of the south, thus pulling up that moist, tropical airmass within which the convective storms reside. Winds in the upper levels of the atmosphere that generally blow from west to east, tend to move along where the atmospheric pressure is lowest (least resistant, like the way water flows). These winds travel in a horizontal eddy or vortex above the boundary of the maritime polar and maritime tropical surface air masses.

As that upper level wind veers northward, it rips off the tops of those convective clouds in the doldrums and carries that moisture along with it. We see this moisture as the wispy high cirrus clouds often called “mare’s tails” due to the way the falling rain gets swept along by the strong winds aloft. This “snake” of a wind vortex precedes the cold front (which causes the boundary between these weather cells to oscillate at the surface and sometimes aloft) and that is why these high clouds are usually seen for two to three
days before the front passes by. The increasing of these high streaky clouds can be
another weather indication of a possible swell moving towards the islands.

Other times, the swell has already arrived by the time the jet stream slides in
overhead. This happens when the center of the low pressure stalls out, remaining
stationary for a short time and intensifying. Then the low usually breaks up due to the
upper level winds ripping off the tops of the storm. It will continue its easterly advance
and ultimately recede up to the north, being dragged by its top and pulled north by that
associated upper level jet stream. Each affects the other in a three dimensional manner
that creates our complex weather patterns in the Pacific. These situations usually provide
the biggest waves. Although the storms may stall out, the waves already generated move
ahead as long period “groundswells” disperse, associated with the ōpuʻu waves that rise
up on the distant horizon.

The reason a cold front may stall could be a strong high pressure to the east of the
storm that holds it off, or the occlusion of the feature, where the cold front catches up
with the warm front and runs away from the low pressure center along the warm front. It
is under these conditions that the heavy deluges of rains occur like those mentioned
above, especially if it occludes directly over the islands. The floods of 2006 were caused
by the convergence of these cloud pillars coming up from the southeast around the high
pressure ridge, and from the southwest as winds began to suck in towards that Kona-low
pressure center.

Eventually, as that storm boundary, i.e. cold front, advances and weakens the
opposing air mass, the ridge of high pressure under which no winds blow settles over the
islands. Aside from local convective land-sea breezes, clear skies prevail. It is at these
times when the winter surf is the best: calm glassy mornings with cool mountain breezes at dawn and in the evening. This is the time to surf the east side, where normally tradewinds cause unruly, jumbled surf. As the ridge slowly moves south and then erodes under the advancing warm moist air that gets pulled into the cyclonic rotation of the low pressure, Hawai‘i begins to feel those southerly winds. A warm front pushing moisture laden tropical air behind it begins ramping up on the receding high pressure (i.e. the last temperate or cool, dry air mass to have dominated the weather), cools in the upper atmosphere, and begins to form a high level cirrostratus cloud that appears as a haze or smokiness at the top of the sky.

The freezing temperatures at this altitude cause that moisture aloft to freeze into ice crystals as they precipitate, which then cause a rainbow-hued halo around the sun during the day and the moon at night—a seemingly more apt description of ka-ʻōnohi-o-ka-lā, “the orb/eyeball of the sun.” This association with rainbows, an important chiefly sign and an ʻaumakua for some Hawaiians, is further developed in another quote from the history of Kanalu that follows the description of the birth of the chiefly child Luahoʻomoe. It is interesting to note that ‘Anani kūkalaninui‘aikū directed his prayer to Kāne and Kanaloa, and it was this third god who answered him:

Luahoʻomoe was raised up inside of the house. The rainbow appeared and the rainbow patch, “the chiefly eye” appeared. The pūnohu rainbow appeared, the koko rain flowed and these were the continual signs that recognized Luahoʻomoe. The appearance of these signs was not very far away [from Luahoʻomoe].

Ma ka hale e hanai ia nei o Luahoomoe, ke ku mau nei ke anuenue ku ka onohi alii. Ku ka punohu, ka ua koko, a o keia ka hoailona mau e ike ia nei o Luahoomoe, a aole hoi e mao iki ke ku ana o keia mau hoailona.”

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In general, air turns reddish-brown as it rises, due to the tiny particles of dirt and debris that are light enough to rise along with the water vapor being pulled up from the Earth’s surface. Adding to this dirty color, in Hawai‘i, are the active volcanoes on the Big Island, southeastern-most of the Hawaiian Island chain, whose vog gets picked up by the southeasterly winds rounding the eroding ridge of high pressure and carried across the islands. *Ua koko* is translated as a low-lying rainbow, as well as the reflection of rainbow colors in the clouds, which is often the appearance when such soil-laden raindrops fall to the ground. However, it is also described as “a rain so heavy that it turns stream waters red-brown with the wash of the hillside.”  

On an added note, where else does such red air exist? ʻ*Ehukai*, coastal air laden with spray from pounding surf has such an appearance, especially when looking west across Waialua towards Kaʻena from Paumalū, on O‘ahu—yes, looking past the beach called by that name. And where do the reddish rainbows exist in the midday sun? In the fanning spindrift of waves whose crests are being combed and feathered by offshore winds, as well as when a wave spits spray out of a compressing barrel. To an observer in the water or along the shoreline, a surfer may even be engulfed in such rainbows. There are other places to see these rainbows in the reddish-brown mist, such as in the bosom of a mountain pool where the light dances in the spray while cascading off the cliff above, and to tie back into the gourd analogy—Is it not the rainbow-swirl upon the surface of the boiled, ruddy-colored, ʻ*awa* drink that the *kahuna* uses for divination?

This reddish-brown color is reminisce of the ruddy, ʻ*ehu* color so often mentioned in reference to some of the Hawaiian people, in particular, the reddish-brown child created by Kumuhonuaiākea when he blew on the fontanel of Kāne’s head. Perhaps this
god is the one mentioned in Chant Eight of the Kumulipo, placed when daylight arrives,

“A ka pō he‘enalu mai ʻi hanau,” “[At] the time when surfing here [to Hawai‘i] was born”

(translated as “when men came from afar” by Beckwith). Line 606 states “Wave after wave of men moving in company, Ruddy [is] the forehead of the god, Dark that of the man.” 41 She continues:

Just as Haumea in folk legend has a part in the Pele myth, so Laʻiʻilaʻiʻi’s offspring by Kiʻi closely resemble those Hawaiians today called ʻehu people, who are believed to belong to the Pele family from the brown color of their hair and the reddish tint in their skin. The chant of the ninth section describes them as “ruddy” (ke aka ʻula) with “fine reddish hair at puberty” (he hua ulu ʻiʻi) and red-brown beard (huluhuluʻa) among a dark, black-haired, smooth-faced people. They are aggressive and “leap to the heavens” (lele pu i ka lani), meaning perhaps that they push their claim to rank. “The Kiʻi people give good jobs to their children,” says Hoʻolapa. Their advent into the social order is accompanied by the “trembling of earth” (olaʻi ku honua) and the “splitting open of the heavens” (owa ka lani), suggesting the commotion among an established theocracy at the rise of an upstart branch from an alien source. 42

This analysis is quite in concert with the wave analogy as a wave of people set on growing their nation through connecting with the aristocracies and ancient lineages of the people already present at their destination. Looking again at their ruddy god, we see the association in the name of Kanalu’s god—Kealiʻipoʻokapuhūnāikeauli-ka-ʻōnohi-ʻula-o-ka-lani. When the warm front approaches from the southeast and brings up the vog from the active volcanos, the sky, lani, turns red—ʻula, from the ground up, and once again, that rainbow orb around the sun looks down upon it all from the top of the sky (tropopause, where the weather features cease). Likewise, Kaumaʻiliʻula is the red child of Kū and Hiʻilei. If Hina is the yellow cape, perhaps Hiʻilei carries the red cape, and is associated with this god. There is much to conjecture.
That this process begins to occur in the month of ʻIkuwā gives us a better understanding of why Lono is associated with these winter months and convective cloud heads, and why this month is often named in the chants relating to surf production—especially those chants that also mention Lono. Lono appears to be the god of surfing in Hawaiʻi, but he does not stand alone. Among the various families, this position seems to be held by various ancestors who hold a position close to the main stalk of Hawaiian progenitors.

That Kūnuiākea and Lononuinohoikawai appear as national deities has most likely to do with the reigning families of the northern and southern islands that were slowly brought together over time through genealogical interweaving of the branches. These gods came together in the house of Līloa, and Kamehameha I adopted the rest as part of his conquering each island. How these deities became important requires a look at them as ancestors along a genealogical lineage. It also has to do with how a society thinks about individuals’ relationships with each other. These relationships are more easily understood if the wave metaphor is applied to the relationships of chiefs along different branches of a genealogy.

It also might be more easily explained if we consider place. Many of the realizations that brought me to writing this thesis came from my presence upon the land of Koʻolau on Oʻahu, as well as through my travels across the Pacific. In my home of Koʻolaupoko, many place names contribute to a visual image of the concepts and characters presented in this thesis. Hawaiian history is written on the land and sea.
Chapter IX.
CONCLUSION
Hakipuʻu i ka Manawa

For human beings and society, in order to grow the Hawaiian nation as an indigenous peoples united by a common ancestor (*hoʻoulu lāhui*), let us look once again at the visualization of the wave. By twisting and tying (*wiliwili*) and arching back upon the family (*niʻau*), the highest kapu children emerge within the family. Other consorts may be had, but the offsprings of these familial relationships preserve that pure and common source, and hence emerges the idea of a “blue bloodline.” This hereditary line, established by the first arrivals upon a land from a source island back along the migrations, is often coveted by the chiefs of later arrival and/or lower hereditary rank. In order to reach the highest social rank, a chief must break into that lineage by marrying up, thus increasing the kapu of the children.

If a chief succeeds, his family builds social rank and strength. Branches (*lala*) sprout from a line when the ranking chief or chiefess takes another husband or wife from a different line, or when the younger child takes a relative from their parents generation to wed, thus tying into the source line, raising rank through such a union. This idea is displayed in literary metaphor as the branching of a vine from the main stock in the case of the gourd vine of Hiʻi. In the Kanalu line it is described as the diagonal slide a surfer takes when riding away from the highest peak (*kūlana nalu*), there are various angles to take just as more than one branch may form. To ride *lala* is to slide diagonally away from the crest, to create a new shoot off of a stem, a new branch on the vine, a *lala*. 

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The Genealogy of Surfing

The poetic vision which surfing entails follows the lineage of the highest blue bloodlines of the Pacific Islanders that peopled Hawai‘i. Those chiefs who twist themselves into these bloodlines are in effect surfing the genealogical currents often referred to as the ‘au, with each bloodline being the wai from which they sprung, and the kai as the nation or area from which they originated. Storms are generated by their gods’ nature forms that create waves which then travel across the many seas until they reach a shallow reef that causes the waves to stand up, crest, and often peel diagonally towards a channel in the reef, through which flows the fresh waters from the mountains. These mixed, fertile waters (kapu‘ewai) favored fishpond production, for which the Menehune were known, and symbolize the wai‘ololī, narrow stream waters that rush down from the mountains mixing with the wai‘ololā, the calm coral sea protected by that reef (Kapapaialaka).

But there are many waves upon the ocean, many genealogies in the Pacific. When two waves meet from different directions they form a crested peak that is higher than the other waves, potentially as high as the combined individual wave heights. This convergence happens as part of the shoaling process, or the gathering of the waves, alo, which the wave to peak and break, ha‘i, hence the different ocean waters mix. For instance, when kai uli and kai kea mix, you get a mottled sea, kai pāpolohua. Kaiuli and Kaikea are high-ranking lineages on their own right. By crossing those lineages, the offspring rises above the parents, creating a new mottled line that is above each of theirs.
The chief in the lofty heights, balanced on the crest of the highest wave, is a shoot off the main stock, an actualization of the common ancestors that began the branching off of many Hawaiian chiefs. A chief who gathers up other branches of high blue bloodline reaches a higher height than those chiefs around him and gives his children a higher kapu, especially when a marriage occurs within the family. If he is unsuccessful then the $kua$, back of the wave/lip curling over/male line (chief from the dim past/elder line) catches him and he crashes down into the broken wave, $muku$. He is cast asunder without riding $lala$ (branching off), diagonally across the face, $alo$, by successfully gaining children from a high-ranking wife—$alo$.

I see it as riding atop the genealogical crest of dualism realized through the common ancestors and common descendants. The family remains whole when the children honor their roles and the parents remain true to one another. Once the younger desires the rank of the elder, or the parent has another child by a woman of equal or higher rank, then the family splits into competing branches. Parents may wander, and chiefs were known to have many children by commoners, but a high-ranking child from another woman becomes a threat. The story of Līloa, Hākau, and ‘Umi describes this angst well, and shows how the younger may succeed due to his mother’s $mana$ and rank.

Because this poetic surfing theme relates to the preservation of pure bloodlines and the growth of a nation ($hoʻōulu lāhui$), sexual metaphors abound. It is an easy connection to make when we consider the likeness to surfing’s physical reality and the potential interaction of the sexes while playing in the surf. But really, it is a celebration of the highest unions of chiefs and chiefesses whose virility and wombs ensure everlasting
life for their lineage. The language and words used in the poetry support the Kumulipo metaphors relating to the birthing theme and show how the bloodlines intertwine.

The god of weather, fertility, and bounty stands atop this crest as the one who generates the storms and surf, flies atop the crest of the waves easily, soars the oceans. He is the coral reef that causes the waves to gather, he who both breaks the waves, and protects the inland waters and people ashore. He is the kinetic energy that acts upon latent potential. His power comes from the dynamic forces of dualism that arise from the interaction of natural elements that are opposite one another. Ultimately realized as male and female aspects, the inference is to the root patriarchal and matriarchal lines coming back together, as occurred with Papa and Wākea.

Another way of realizing this dualistic aspect is to look at the eldest and youngest of each high tapu union, such as that of Kāne and Kanaloa. Either way of realizing this dualism, it can be spacially separated into what is above and what lies below. So it is with the sun, the wind, the birds, and the ocean, and the currents, fish, and coral below the sea surface—the interaction point of all these forces. A calm sea is a dark sea or a light sea, or even a sea mottled with coral, like that of Heʻeia. Concerning Pele, they say:

“O Pele ia aliʻi o Hawaiʻi, he aliʻi no laʻa uli, no no laʻa kea (prayer),
Pele is a chiefess of Hawaiʻi, chief of sacred darkness, and of sacred light.”

This calm (laʻelaʻe) occurs in the bright and shining heavens of Keʻalohilani, where no winds blow and no waves are breaking. But when elements interact, waves stand up, convective clouds burst, winds gust from the mountaintops, and mottled seas prevail.

In summarizing how this theme runs through Hawaiian history, let’s take a glance at the genealogies of “surfing” aliʻi. Laka is the grandson of Kanaloa and
ʻUkinaʻōpiʻopiʻo (Haumea’s line) on the Kumuuli genealogy, son of Kānehulihonua and Keakahulilani, these progenitors’ names infer a piʻo relationship that puts Laka atop this first wave of travelers coming out of the darkness (uli). As the eldest, he holds rank over his younger brother Pili. The Kumuuli genealogy follows only the lineage of Laka, and it appears unbroken in Fornander’s rendering as a patriarchal line. The Kumuhonua genealogy follows both Laka and Pili, but reconstitutes the two branches at Keaomelemele, and then again at Nuʻu. It appears that these people acknowledge the patriarchal line through the oldest child, and the matriarchal line through the youngest.

The ‘Ololo genealogy that follows Pili down to Wākea does not include Nuʻu or Luanuʻu, thus the male line of the younger brother stayed within the ranks of the father thereafter. It is shorter and appears broken, but it clearly branches off from the Kumuhonua genealogy. This branch follows Kupo, who Fornander considers the youngest daughter of Kawākupua and Kahikoolupa. Kamakau does not see Kupo as the youngest of five siblings, but rather a daughter of Hakoʻakoʻalaʻia and Kāneikoa, where the siblings are instead consecutive chiefs in a line. He follows Kupo on a direct line to Kahikoluamea through the same parentage as given on the Welaʻahilani genealogy. However, these parents are different from those given for Kahiko on other genealogies. That is why this point in time is difficult to resolve or reconcile, but clearly the branches were gathered with Kahiko. It also shows how the Pili and Pāʻao lines later claim the ranks of the patriarchal line, calling theirs an unbroken line of chiefly priests that hail from the darkness (mai ka pō mai).

Fornander does not name a husband for Kupo on the Pili branch of the Kumuhonua genealogy. Instead, he follows the middle son, Kahikoleihonua and his wife
Nahaeikua. They reconstitute with Laka’s line at Hauli i honua and La‘a-a, who appear before Keaomelemele on this younger line. Kumuuli and Kumuhonoua genealogies (through Laka) place Haule and Loa’a just after Keaomelemele. Here we have a La‘a-a, a Loa’a, and a Loa‘a‘io for the same character. This woman represents the first point of reconnection between the elder and younger branches on the matriarchal side, so she has significance as being the closest female tie to the main stalk. Rice calls La‘amaomao’s mother Loa, so I am tempted to speculate as to the relationship of this ancestor with the god of winds in Hawai‘i.  

This would be another gathering point in the crossing of waves, the closest point to the stalk of the vine. As grandmother of Nu‘u, she would carry a similar roll to Lono for this reconstituted line that had branched at Laka and Pili. Nanea (k) and Walea (w) show how both the Kumuhonoua and Kumuuli branches had merged above Nu‘u, at his parents, and so he ascended rank to the highest peak. Although Kumuuli and Kumulipo follow the same people during this early period, we should consider them as two different groups—one patriarchal, the other matriarchal.

Keaomelemele had placed various offspring on two different islands, Kahikikū and Kuaihelani. She encouraged brother-sister and cousin marriages between her children and grandchildren on each island. It was ingenious of her to have the families foster each other’s children so that there would be aloha between these related bloodlines of equal rank. However, numerous high tapu bloodlines (branches) were created by this act, each dwelling on a different island. As these families began journeying up to Hawai‘i, they were likened to numerous waves of competing bloodlines, each with their own high peak. Mo‘oinanea attempted to keep the bloodlines pure by reuniting siblings as young adults,
but the efforts failed over time. Nuʻu survived the flood by reconstituting branches of the source genealogy that had sprung from Laka and Pili both. Doing so recreated the \textit{mana} of their common ancestor who resides in the lofty heights of greatness.

Two branches had formed and taken different paths to these islands, one from Kahikikū and the other from Kuaihelani. Nuʻu became the closest tie for these two branches, the one who had climbed above all others. Because of the tsunami, the sea of Kahinaliʻi, Nuʻu is also called Kahinaliʻi (the Hina chief) on the Kumuhonua line, a name that is not shown on the Kumuuli line…why not? As a patriarchal line, Kumuuli gives his name as Nana Nuʻu, and his wife as Lalohana, which alludes to Hina’s southern origin. Their offspring is named Lalokona, literally, “down south,” indicating the continued association with southern lines, so the patriarch prevailed in grabbing her \textit{mana} while retaining his rank. Kumuhonua’s branches had reconstituted already, so Nuʻu claimed the highest tapu from both the patriarchal and the matriarchal clan. However, the reconstitution of patriarchal and matriarchal lines gives both individuals equal opportunity to raise their family’s ranks—and Hina did just that.

Because the Kumuuli genealogy was oriented to the patriarchal elder line remaining pure, they did not honor Lalohana in the way that the matriarchal line of Kumuhonua does. Looking at her lineage, Hina’s parents are listed as Kahinaliʻi and Hinakaʻalu'alu'alukamoana, obviously high ranking and from one line. The matriarchal clan took the name of the wife’s father, Kahinaliʻi, and gave it to her husband, Nuʻu. It was like overturning the heavens—she seized the male tapu from the original patriarchal line so that her descendants would not have to bow down to other families with higher rank.
This legendary cycle says that the woman from under the sea originally had a husband named Kiʻimaluhaku, a southern chief. However, she was fished up by another chief, in other words, she took another husband from above, one named Lono (Konikonia). In doing so, she broke through the patriarchal ceiling that began with Laka and was held by his line to this point. “The stratum of Laka” was broken when she granted a high kapu lineage to her children with a second husband. This brought strife to the established aristocracy. The parents sent waves of people from their lineage to follow her. Perhaps they were hoping to absorb this mana into their line and gain control over her new domain. But this union placed the couple on the highest mountain peak—the honua, the papa—metaphorically surviving these waves of Kahinaliʻiʻi’s people who had arrived.

From Nuʻu, Kumuhonua follows two brothers once again, Kanaluakua the eldest, and Kanalumanamana, the youngest of four. These chiefs mark the start of Moʻokūʻauhau Elua, the second wave of people known for their chief, Kanalu (Kahinaliʻi’s son). Their names show that they used the wave as a metaphor to describe their people. The ocean is the language of their lineage because their source of rank is the kapu woman from a land under the sea—Lalohana, otherwise known as Kahinaʻaimālama. Nāmakaokeahi calls Kahinaʻaimālama and her husband Kahinaliʻi the youngest relatives of Kāne, inferring that they are related to each other, and to Kāne. By going back to the source population, Nuʻu was able to raise the kapu of their children by adding her godly rank to his, thus outranking any one clan. Crossing with another line of high rank achieved this goal, but it had to be upheld as a bilateral hereditary lineage.

The fact that these descendants honored both the husband and the wife shows them
to be bilateral in the Kanalu genealogy. However, it originated out of the union of a patriarchal and a matriarchal line. This recognition of high rank on both the father and mother’s side is probably what saved Nu’u and his new wife from inundation by the flood. However, the new lineage was not recognized until the son emerged. That is why the mo‘okū‘auhau ‘elua is named for the chief Kanalu, because he is the first chief of this combined rank. This is where the analogy of waves combining is born, where Kahinaliʻi gathered the branches and broke the highest tapu heights.

This new era of people were of mottled descent (Kaipāpolohua), not dark (Kaiuli) or light (Kaikea). This potent interaction of dark and light forces brings forth the rainbow, metaphorically speaking. The incestual arching back into the line was so important because it was the way to retain rank. A line that stemmed from a younger sibling had to strive for rank in this manner, as would the female ranks of chiefs in a patriarchal society. Once achieved, the arching back into the family ensured that the bilateral offspring remained “pure,” inheriting the mana from both parents. They would retain the same or higher rank than those children of their mother and father’s lines who had not intermingled. In this line of Kāne, Lono replaces Laka because he is the grandparent closest to the stalk for a new branch that emerged from these patriarchal and matriarchal lines.

After Nuʻu, these two Kumuhonua lines don’t come together again until Luanuʻu is reached. This is the point in history when chiefs began to surf the various genealogical waves before them, striving to ride the highest tapu wave of people. Kumuhonua traces descent through Kanaluakua and Kanalumanamana, the eldest and youngest children of Nuʻu and Lilinoe. Kanaluhoʻohua is the middle child. These names appear as
consecutive chiefs at the top of the Kanalu genealogy, placed between Kaʻiʻakea (Kanalukea’s son) and Kanaluhoʻomana. In general we see the emphasis of the Kanalu history on keeping the chiefly and priestly lines intertwined, with the youngest children taking these roles.  

On the Fornander charts, the wife of Kanalumanamana is Manamanakuluʻea, hinting at an arching back within his own line. Their issue is Kaʻiolani, an offspring of the highest ranks. Perhaps this is the ‘Io to whom some Hawaiians refer and that we have discussed at length, because in his position he is the closest tie to the main stalk for his branch. This line appears to be that of the mixed lineage of Uli and Kea, and the names that follow show a resemblance to those mentioned in the Kuʻemanu chant. There must have been continued arching between the Kanaluakua and Kanalumanamana lines, because just a few generations after Kaʻiolani the names on these lines bear similarities. Two generations before Luanuʻu, one grandparent matches, Kamoʻoloa. One generation before, the parents’ names match, which would give Luanuʻu the same honor as his predecessor, Nuʻu.  

Luanuʻu is the chief standing above Kū Nawao and Kalani Menehune. We have discussed at length how these migratory clans moved about the Pacific, converging on Kauaʻi according to legend. Fornander discusses two groups coming out of one island area. The Tani /Menehune people speak of a homeland called Puna. This name matches the homeland of Kūnuiʻaiakeakua. The Ātea people claim Take heʻeheʻe as their homeland, far to the west—iao oa. From Vevau (Tonga) to Hawaiʻi (Raʻiātea) they sailed on the winds that cooled the regions.  

Hawaiʻiloa is also attributed to this time period, and he named each island that he
pulled out of the sea for his children. He went back to his homeland and brought Kūnui‘aiakekua, his brother’s son for his daughter, O‘ahu. Here we have again the arching of one family line back on itself. Kūnuikea inherited their combined rank and mana, and that is why he became O‘ahu’s deity, the closest tie to the main stalk.

Meanwhile the Pele clan had arrived during this period, along with ‘Aukelenuiaikū and his clan. Nāmakaokaha‘i and ‘Akelenuiaikū had married and had a child who was of a godly nature, which is a poetic way of identifying this kind of tie. There son, Ka‘uilanuimākēhā is also mentioned in the Ku‘emanu chant, just after Hēkilika‘aka‘a is called upon. Remember that ‘Aukele wanted to name this child for his god, Mo‘oinanea’s brother Lonoikouali‘i. Hekilika‘aka and others relating to Lono are given on the ‘Opukahonua genealogy listed by Fornander.  

Being the eldest child of Lono and Haumea, Nāmakaokaha‘i is considered the wave goddess. So, it is right to follow our surfing chiefs as they ride this wave. The Pele clan established themselves throughout the islands, and her guardian shark brothers were stationed in waters across the chain. Nāmakaokaha‘i and the Menehune remained on Kaua‘i, while Pele and Hi‘iaka based themselves on Hawai‘i Island. Hi‘iaka’s journey across the islands identifies many surfing sites. She and Lohi‘au surf the giant swells off Kaua‘i, and then head back to Pele’s home. Her tale reads like a cultural and environmental travel guide of the islands.  

Perhaps this love story highlights attempts of an early Kaua‘i genealogy to reunite. Kaua‘i historian Frederick Wichman (2003) tells us of two families on Kaua‘i that descended from the brothers Kū Nawao and Kalani Menehune. The family name of Kū‘alu may reflect the name of Kahinali‘i’s wife, Hinaka ‘alu ‘alumoana. Even more
compelling is that this line contains the chief Ola, who Kanalu (Kahinaliʻi II) identifies as his father (Kahinaliʻi I). The other family included in this genealogy is Lohi, as in Lohiʻau, so there may be a connection, but it is purely speculative. If so, they may have been attempting this sort of liaison to gather their branches and raise their family tapu. 14

While on her travels, Hiʻiaka could easily smite down any challenger in a battle of chants that would reveal her highest kapu and ties to the bluest of bloodlines, metaphorically “flashing her paʻu skirt”. But she was a traveler, and a late arrival among settlers, so she had to rely on people’s kindness. Just as ‘Aukele saves himself by showing that he is related to his wife’s relatives, Hiʻiaka relied on those who recognized her as a relative—like Makapuʻu. Though she was a stranger to many people in this land at first, her tie to Lono the parent saves her. Perhaps she carried the responsibility of tending to the gods since she was the youngest, and that is why she was portrayed as a kahuna in the epic tale transcribed by Hoʻouluʻumāhiehie. 15

However, Luanuʻu is not present on the genealogy of Kumuuli at all. Kumuuli branches off with a completely different set of names that do not resolve with Kumuhonua again until Kahiko appears, the father of Wākea. Wākea and Papa reconstituted not only the older and younger branches of the Kumuhonua genealogy, but also the Kumuuli line, by retying at Kahiko. This reconstitution was made possible by the Kapapaiākea branch, which brought together the Kea and Uli families through Hulukaʻeaʻea, the youngest son of Kalei and Keʻelekoha (w). The Chant of Kūaliʻi alludes to the connection between the two families when introducing this genealogy of Kapapaiākea: “O Kaiakea, o ka nalu o ka inaina...” 16
Kaiākea the eldest marries Kaʻehokūmanawa and has Hauiʻi and Haueʻe. The second son, Kamoanaākea, marries Kauakahikuaʻana and has Kānehoalani—a possible link to Luanuʻu on the Kumuhonua line. Johnson also believes Hüukeʻeaʻea is the connection to Wākea along the Kumuhonua genealogy which leads to Papa. This is the surfing lineage that Johnson spoke of regarding Papa, quoted earlier. Kamakau calls this line Palikū and shows how it leads to both Papa’s mother and Wākea’s father, through Kapōheʻenalu in the Kumulipo. The Palikū cliffs stand in Hakipuʻu, below the peak called Kānehoalani. These cliffs are the flukes of the moʻo that Hiʻiaka battled, poetically illuminating her tie to the line that had already settled in the Kualoa area. These efforts, generations of gathering the lines, afforded Wākea and Papa the role of progenitors of all Hawaiians.

I see it as riding atop the genealogical crest of dualism realized as one through the common ancestor and common descendant. The family remains whole when the children honor their roles and the parents remain true to one another. Once the younger desires the rank of the elder, or the parent has another child by a woman of equal or higher rank, then the family splits into competing branches. The bulk of surfing stories portray these various branches attempting to reach the highest peak, something that had not occurred since the time of Wākea and Papa, who reconstituted not only the older and younger branches of the Kumuhonua genealogy, but also the Kumuuli line, by retying at Kahiko.

The battles between lineages throughout Hawaiian history may have been caused by these competing genealogies. The first chiefly lines that came from Kahiki established their hierarchy here, and then more groups came. Although they were closer to the stalk, they may not have had the same rights to the land because the other settlers were the first
to people it. If this later wave of people could connect into, or eradicate, those original lines, then they would truly reach the highest peak in this new land. So, only through the combined *mana* the new arrivals might achieved, or the absence of the other line through genocide, would the newcomers rise in the hereditary ranks of *kapu* in Hawaiʻi.

This gathering of lines by the youngest son happened again with the youngest Maui, who poetically found the secret of the *kapu ahi wela* (the burning tapu) from his mother Hina, and Pīmoe was begotten from the line of Luaʻehu. Akalana was the grandfather. Maui the youngest raised his rank by marrying from his mother’s line, Hinakealohaʻīla. ‘Aikanaka benefits as the first progenitor of this break in the Ulu line. But it happened again almost immediately with Hema and his son Kahaʻi. We have studied how Hinahānaiaakamālama sent her youngest boy back to her homeland to procure a wife of high birth. The cannibalism characterized by southern chiefs arose in Hina’s mother Haumea, and husband, ‘Aikanaka, so she left them in both cases.

It reflects the same disgust that the voyager Hawaiʻiloa felt towards his brothers who remained on islands south of Hawaiʻi. Hina instructs Hema on how he can begin a new branch that rivals his older brother, Puna, who ranks on the patriarchal side. Hema succeeds in making Huauri his wife, a woman from Kahikikū, at Kapakapauaakāne. Taking a wife from this line would set aside Kanaloa in place of Kū’s child with Hina. All along we see the rivalry of Kū and Kanaloa, but through the matriarchal lines of Hina and Haumea. These are the two matriarchal lines that bring about the clan of the Kāne people, Hina being the Kea, and Haumea being the Uli line.

The late arrival of Pāʻao indicates that he had remained close to the roots of Hawaiian progenitors who never came north. After remaining in Hawaiʻi for some time
he went home and brought back a chief of the highest descent, Pili. Speculating that Pili traced his descent to Laka’s youngest brother, Pili, his line would be patriarchal branch that originated from the Kumuuli line. It would lead to Wākea, but on a branch that did not encounter the matriarchal line, most likely the ‘Ololo branch that Kamakau lists.

By marrying a Hina chiefess (Hinaʻauaku), he reties the original line of Kū and Hina, completely bypassing the Kanaloa/Haumea branch that led to Luanuʻu. That is probably why Pāʻao believed the chiefly lines of Hawaiʻi had been tainted. The established aristocracy had been lifted up through twisting the male (Kumuuli/kua) and female (Kumuhonua/alo) branches of the original Kū of Mū line, but this later patriarch from the south looked at it as a dilution of Kū’s lineage. The end of the History of Kanalu speaks of a flood from Hōlanikū, so perhaps this was the final wave of voyagers that followed Pāʻao, pushing Kanaloa’s relationship with Kāne into obscurity and highlighting Kū with Kāne instead. Overturning the heavens once more, until the branches could be gathered up once again. That would bring us to the present system of national deities that ʻUmi honored.

It was Līloa who began to gather up the many branches that sprung from these common ancestors. Each generation thereafter patiently attempted through love or capture to restring every piece of floating DNA in order to reach that highest peak once again. The goal was to recreate the ʻau—the spiritual current of their common ancestors, in a sense being born again, gods and goddesses in the flesh with the highest tapu of the land. This goal took many generations to accomplish, but from that union of the surfing chiefess Keleanuino hoanaʻapiʻapi and Kalāmakua came the beautiful kapu chiefess Laʻieloheloheikawai, the most beautiful in the land. Hers is a surfing story as well.
From there the far off place was reached with the birth of Lonoikamakahiki, Kaʻiʻlimamao, for whom the Kumulipo chant is written and herein justified as starting with the coral polyp and coming into a complete cycle with this chief. In fact, this Lono surfer at Kalapawai in Kailua while journeying around the islands in secret. It is a famous tale told about the reign of Oʻahu’s great chief Kakuhihea. 18

With due respect for all Hawaiian genealogies, it seems that in later times Kūaliʻi’s line and the Oʻahu chiefs were practically eliminated because they could claim the highest bloodlines with ties to these many branches, including the arching back of the stem through Laʻamaikahiki’s marriages with the highest ranks of Oʻahu’s chiefs. Many chiefs attempted to tie into this lineage, and the marriages of Laʻamaikahiki were part of this opportunity to strengthen the Kauaʻi and Oʻahu bloodlines. ‘Umi is also the great grandfather of Keakealani, whose branch is Nuʻakea’s, on the Nanalani line from Keaunui:

*Luanuʻu and Hema* were common ancestors of the Hanalaʻa group of Paumakua chieftains. The descendants of Luanuʻu settled in Kualoa, Oʻahu, and after many centuries the area became one of the most sacred. The chiefs of Kualoa were regarded as relatives on close terms with the high chiefs of ‘Ewa, Oʻahu, the Lō-ʻewa, ‘Ehu, and Kalona families. The ‘Ewa chiefs and descendants of Laʻa-mai-Kahiki had access to the sanctified birth grounds at the temples of Kūkaniloko and Hoʻolonopahu in Helemano (Oʻahu) where the sacred drums sounded to herald the chiefs’ births. When Laʻamaikahiki, lineal descendant of Paumakua, Luanuʻu, and Hema arrived, he married into the Luanuʻu group of Kualoa chiefs and sired three sons whose descendants ruled on Oʻahu and Kauaʻi, the most notable of whom was Ahukini-a-Laʻa. By this reconstitution of the Luanuʻu and Hema lineages via the descendants of Laʻamaikahiki, the Kauaʻi chiefs who were direct descendants of Laʻamaikahiki added the Punu lineage to rank inherited strictly from Haho and Hema as possessed in common by the Hanalaʻa chiefs of Hawaiʻi and Maui. The Kauaʻi chiefs claimed the highest ranks of Oʻahu through Kualoa and ‘Ewa from the Luanuʻu, ‘Ehu, Lō-ʻEwa; the highest ranks of the line of ‘Aikanaka through Punu and Hema; the highest ranks of the Maweke through the early marriage of Moʻikeha to Hoʻioipoikamalanaʻe (=Hinaauulua), descendant of Punu. In order for the Hanalaʻa-Paumakua lineal chiefs to gain the enviable distinction possessed by the Laʻamaikahiki chiefs, the Maui and Hawaiʻi chiefs were wont to effect the convenience of liaison with the
descendants of Laʻamaikahiki who ruled on Kauaʻi…. 

The descendants of ʻUmi were able to claim direct descent from Laʻamaikahiki after the marriage of ʻUmi’s daughter, ʻAkahi-ʻili-kapu to Kahakumakalina, descendant of Ahukiki-a-Laʻa and primary ancestor of the Kawelo chiefs of Kauaʻi. ʻAkahiʻilikapu was a daughter of ʻUmi by Mokuahualeiakea (w), an ʻEhu. The lineage of Ahukini-a-laʻa through ʻAkahiʻilikapu (w) descended through her daughter, Koihalawai, into the line of Keawenuiaumi. From the marriage of Keawenuiaumi, son of ʻUmi, to Koihalawai, his half-sister, Kanaloakuaʻana (k), ancestor of Ka-ʻĪ-mamao was born. 19

Conceptually I can barely grasp the complexity of this level of genealogy and poetry. However, it is obvious that the place names at Kualoa and Hakipuʻu play a major part in the stories of old where physical location of names infers genealogical relationships between branches and chiefs. One allusion becomes clear through this understanding, the idea that the ridge of Kualoa continues in a straight line across the Koʻolau mountains, over the plains of Wahiawa and ʻEwa, and goes all the way to Waiʻanae—these genealogies of the chiefs are connected, as Johnson has pointed out.

Laʻamaikahiki stayed in Hakipuʻu for a reason, not only for its sacredness in relation to the chiefs, but also because it is the place where Lono resides when he comes to Oʻahu—Laʻamaikahiki was bringing his god Lonoikaʻoualiʻi home in a sense, to a temple that had been established for him in ages past. From there, Laʻamaikahiki took Lonoikaʻoualiʻi to Wailua on Kauaiʻi to be buried with Moʻikeha because this was his god. At Wailua, Hikina-aka-lā heiau, also marks the travel of the sun from its borders to the fringes of the surf site across the bay, Makaiwa. It is said that the fires of Puʻu o Mahuka heiau at Pūpūkea above Waimea Bay on Oʻahu warm the walls of Hikinaakalā heiau on Kauaʻi, indicating both communication and political relationship between the priests of these sites, and hints at the alignment of the sun at certain times of year.
Kaʻopulupulu

Waimea and Hakipuʻu were lands given to the Kahuna Kanalu in ancient times up until Kahahana gave the cape of Kualoa over to Kahekili. Kaʻopulupulu protested, tattooing his knee black (knee=kuli=deaf=Lono-kuli), an allusion to the abdication of Oʻahu’s sovereignty through the chief having turned a deaf ear on the godly advice of the priest. This sealed his execution at the hands of the angry chief:

Shortly after his instillation, Kahahana called a great council of chiefs and the high priest Kaopulupulu, and laid before them the demands of Kahekili regarding the land of Kualoa and the palaoa-pae (the whalebone and ivory). At first the council was divided, and some thought it was but a fair return for the kindness and protection shown Kahahana from his youth by Kahekili; but the high priest was strongly opposed to such a measure, and argued that it was a virtual surrender of the sovereignty and independence of Oʻahu, Kualoa being one of the most sacred places on the island, where stood the sacred drums of Kapahuula and Kaahu-ulapunawai, and also the sacred hill of Kauakahia-Kahoowaha; and that the surrender of the palaoa-pae would be a disrespect to the gods; in fact, if Kahekili’s demands were complied with, the power of war and of sacrifice would rest with the Maui king and not with Kahahana.

He represented strongly, moreover, that if Kahahana had obtained the kingdom by conquest, he might do as he liked, but having been chosen by the Oʻahu chiefs, it would be wrong in him to cede to another the national emblems of sovereignty and independence. Kahahana and all the chiefs admitted the force of Kaopulupulu’s arguments, and submitted to his advice not to comply with the demands of Kahekili.²⁰

This Kanalu priest, Kaʻopulupulu, remains in Hakipuʻu today through his living descendants. Kūaliʻi was born in Waikāne, grew up between Kualoa (he lived on Mokoliʻi at times) and ‘Alala heiau in Kailua. Much earlier the voyager Kaha‘iahema lived there with his wife Lea, Hinauluohiʻa from Kailua. Hakipuʻu is one of the famed places where Kaha‘iahemaʻokama first planted the breadfruit tree. When Laʻamaikahiki came, he set up a living compound along the border of Hakipuʻu and Kualoa. Out in the sea, some distance offshore from this complex near Moliʻi, is another feature, said to be a
heiau for Kānehoalani, called Pōhākea. This feature is built on the edge of a reef (the front wall drops over 8 feet to the sandy bottom) in such a way as to refract any wave energy that arrives. It creates a small wave that breaks diagonally along the site on almost every swell angle! Through refraction, the many swells passing by can be recognized, from southeast to northwest—the longer the period, the more it shows at this spot. This ingenious place truly harnesses the ‘au, or currents in the sea.

The site is attached to an underwater fishpond wall called Pili He‘e, both thought to be of Menehune construction, as is the neighboring Mōlī‘i fishpond. I believe this site to be a testimony to the knowledge that Hawaiians had concerning wave formation and shoaling processes. That they should create a site for a line of priest chiefs named for the wave and engineer an underwater temple that then gathers the waves and causes them to break in front of the peak named for their chief Luanu‘u, Kānehoalani, and chiefess, Nāmakaokaha‘i, shows the masterful understanding that the ancient Hawaiians had—the wave gathering is no accident. This site sits at the boundary of three ahupua‘a, since the fishing grounds of Waikāne run out to this point from Pu‘u Pueo. Is this Kaikolu the sea that Hi‘iaka mentions in calling Mokoli‘i a first child of the land?

Follow the ridgeline from this peak along the cliffs of Palikū, we come to a heiau said to be of Menehune construction, called Puakea. It is similar to Hiki‘au heiau in that it was originally a place of refuge, but it seems to have undergone a functional change. A raised hill at the base of the platform was built and used for human sacrifice in later times. By its location on the bottom east corner of the site, it looks as if the priests either chose to put this sacrificial feature near the winter sunrise, or otherwise they did not think it appropriate to place this type of feature within the original walls of the sacred refuge.
The same is also said of Puʻuomahuka at Waimea. Both were associated with the high priest of the Kanalu lineage, Kaʻopulupulu, who resided in both places at different times. Puakea is now on Kualoa Ranch land, left aside and almost forgotten.

**Puakea Heiau**

When I recognized possible place name relationships in Hakipuʻu and Kualoa within the Hema/Kahaʻi chant I began to go to Puakea to watch the solstice and equinox sunrises. Encouraged by the alignments that I was finding, I continued to go annually, and added Lahaina Noon to my visits; what I have seen has convinced me that this site is aligned not only to the sun, but to the navigable stars—including Jupiter, that follow the sun’s path. These stars are the same as those used by the voyager Hawaiʻiloa to cross the sea. The entire district of Koʻolaupoko can be seen from the hill above the site, and the many mountain peaks are easily pointed out. Sounding off the place names, it appears more like a genealogical list at some points, and a directional map at other times.

Kamakau calls the site Puʻukea rather than Puakea, which infers a relationship to Kea, and puʻu means hill but can also refer to a religious site like a puʻu honua, place of refuge. As pointed out, Kea may refer to both Lono and Nuʻakea (because of their bilateral genealogy), or more generally to the family name that occupied the northern Society Islands. This brother-sister, husband/wife pair of deities relates to storm production, and the name is appropriately attached to this site. Puakea sits within the convective center of the island where morning rainbows are frequent and midday
cloudbursts, sometimes accompanied by thunder and a strike of lightning, occur on the hottest days. Being to windward, it also catches the tradewind showers coming off the sea.

Rainbows reflect the path of the sun when it is low. In Hakipuʻu, the many rainbow types constantly reside in the bosom of Nāmakaokahaʻi in the mornings, occasionally reaching over Mokoliʻi towards Kānehoalani in the evenings. Most often the sun creates these rainbows by shining through a light mist that creeps off of the mountaintop; the kupuna in Hakipuʻu call it the Kehau mist, also likened to the morning dew. Such rainbows appear like Moses Manu describes the goddess Keanuenue arriving in a bright splendor of color and beauty, wrapping Kahanaiakeakua in light mist, and flying off. She is truly beautiful and humbling to behold.

Johnson describes the Kahaʻi/Hema passage in the Kumulipo as alluding to the travelling path of the sun annually across its ecliptic, an association that becomes evident from Puakea heiau in Hakipuʻu on Oʻahu. Kamakau states that the gods made Kāneʻohe into an image of all the known lands of the earth. Manu states that Oʻahu is “the center of the archipelago of Hawaiʻi,... the place referred to in the second of the famous prophecies of the priest, Kaopulupulu, ‘The chief destroying land of Kakuhihewa.’ This prophecy of his came true and is known to this day.” That prophecy concerned the giving of the lands of Kualoa and Hakipuʻu mentioned above. Perhaps this idea of being the center of the archipelago is why the name of the center of the skies is given to the point at Heʻeia called Keʻalohi.

These historic statements are very significant, although greatly overlooked by modern historians. If the Hawaiians truly made a mental map of the known worlds
utilizing Kāneʻohe to do so, how did they accomplish this? For those of you who know of the place names within Koʻolaupoko, you might recognize similar places named in the Hema chant, such as the place where Hema was put after having his eyes gouged out, Ulupa'upaʻu. This name is remembered in the crater upon Mōkapu Peninsula, Ulupaʻu.

But what is meant by the rainbow path of Kahaʻi and the floating cloudland of Kāne in that chant? Could that cloud be a reference to Lono as the child born from the head of Kāne, and cared for by his rainbow sister? Or is it referring to the floating land of Kāne, in other words the land that attached itself to Oʻahu, from Kālou at Kahuku to Kalaeokaʻōʻio at Kualoa? This land is scientifically described as a capstone of lithified rock from under which fresh water flows into the ocean. This story from which the chant of Hema derives has many associations with Hakipuʻu and Kualoa, such as Puna and Hema residing there with his mother Hinahānaia-kamālama, and that Kāne and Kanaloa are the gods whose retainers Kahaʻi meets in Kahiki. 22

The term kūkulu is often applied to the rays of the sun that stand like pillars at sunrise, as they do when watching the sun rise along the east side of Oʻahu. From Puakea, the heiau at Hakipuʻu, we can see these landmarks come together in a pattern that might represent a roadmap to the mother’s land, one that follows the passage of the sun. At summer solstice (around June 21), the sun rises where Kualoa ridgeline meets the sea, north of Mokoliʻi, then climbs over Kānehoalani, setting in the gap between Palikū and Puʻuōhulehule. The sun never touches the long ridgeback of Kualoa, arching over both Hapuʻu o Hāloa and Palikū, thus it might be seen as the “floating land of Kāne”. 23

That ridge is aligned with the Pili Heʻe fishpond wall where it meets the large underwater heiau, so that these ridges follow along the northern and southern pathways.
of Kāne and Kanaloa, the tropics line. One the kanaka maoli in Hakipuʻu corrects me when I say Puʻuōhulehule, calling the peak Nāmakaokahaʻi. The name of Pele’s oldest sister, it literally means “the eyes of Kahaʻi,” but also refers to her form as a large wave, so the association is plausible. Another kūpuna associated this name with the lower peak to the south, Kahiwa. Either way, she faces back towards Mōkapu, where Molokaʻiahina is seen rising from the sea behind the low plains of ‘Alele and ‘Oneawa in Kailua.

From the northern slope of this peak in Hakipuʻu, standing on the heiau at winter solstice (December 21), the sun rises out of Ulupaʻu crater and arcs south over the island of Oʻahu, setting over the Koʻolau range. This rising point in the ecliptic path of the sun at its most southern declination gives a bearing 23 ½° south of east, the tropic of . It seems to be an appropriate angle for beginning a voyage to an island homeland that lies south and east from Hawaii, to the home of Hina, whence Lono comes and goes, “reaching to the farthest ends of Kahiki.” It also fits well with the ‘map’ analogy where both Konahuanui and Puʻu-o-Kona (Hill-of-Tonga) align to the southwest, looking from Hakipuʻu, where peers the eyes of the navigator Kahaʻi (nā-maka-o-Kahaʻi).

At the dawn of the winter solstice 2009, I noticed Jupiter sitting aloft at the zenith, positioned like the eye of Leo, with Virgo arching in the south and the big dipper in the north, and Hokuleʻa striving for the zenith, close in line to Jupiter but slightly south in declination. Jupiter shined like hot red fire over Puʻu ‘Ōhulehule, and I noticed that it was setting just near the peak, at about the same place where Makaliʻi (Pleides) sets… Ahh, but where is Makaliʻi? Set already… Where is Manaiakalani (Scorpius)? At the southern horizon, about to climb as I see it now in the early morning—wow, the line of sight became clear. The moon had also been following along this path it seems, judging by the
extremely low tides this past season. All of these signs show an alignment with the latitudinal coordinates of O‘ahu.

I noted that in the early morning there is no shadow on the front ridge of Kānehoalani, and that the sunlight climbs straight up to the peak along the ridge that separates Kualoa and Hakipu‘u. Anywhere that you look from, the shadows are split perfectly so that the ridge remains in the full light. When I mentioned to Professor Johnson that I was going up to Puakea on the winter solstice, she told me to pay attention to the orientation of shadows within the site at noontime, when the sun reached its highest point. I was amazed; the sun at its southern zenith causes a shadow line that follows the walls of Puakea heiau and climbs straight up the back face, above it is now a gravel road.

The epiphany of the shadow was very impressive, hair-raising. From the lanamu‘u platform base on the high center of the heiau the sun rose out of Pu‘uokaha‘i on Ulupa‘u that morning, then climbed over the island. The shadows aligned with the site walls at the midday sun in such a way that any idols or prominent figures would cast a long shadow that would climb directly up the back wall of the heiau at the winter solstice. Then the sun set along the ridge by Kahiwa, really towards Kahalu‘u behind the low ridge of Pu‘u Pueo.

The Kumulipo hints at the setting sun positions from this perspective in Hakipu‘u, saying that Maui’s birthplace/placenta (ēwe) is in Kahalu‘u, his navel cord/center (piko) is in Waikāne, and he fails/plays/dies (hā’ule) in Hakipu‘u. The poetry is ingenious when considering the connotations of these Hawaiian words with regards to the sun. Ėwe relates to an infant as well, such as the infant stages of the sun, it’s shortest day of winter, it sets towards the ancestral homeland, over the mountains of Kahalu‘u. It could also
relate to the idea that his ēwe is in ‘the diving place’ (Kahala’u), just as Kanaloa’s was thrown in the sea. Following that his piko, which also has a connotation to the ‘crown of the head,’ lies in the ‘Waters-of-Kāne,’ the chanters have associated Maui with both Kāne and Kanaloa. Ka piko o Wākea is the equatorial path of the sun, occurring on the fall and spring equinox when the sun as seen from Hakipu’u sets behind Waikāne.24

Finally, at the summer solstice, the point that Maui loses the battle in his attempt to slow the sun, it sets behind the low ridge in Hakipu’u, a diagonal site line across Puakea heiau from the winter solstice sunrise. Considering a subtle layer of meaning, hā’ule also refers to picking lice from the hair. Perhaps the hint is that Maui’s line fell in Hakipu’u with the split of Puna and Hema, brothers in the Ulu lineage from whence Maui emerged. Looking back at this story, it was Hema’s decision to stay back from surfing when his mom, Hinahānaiakamalama, asked him to delouse her hair (Hā’ule).

Hakipu’u is home to the descendants of Maui, and thus it is a center for the ‘Aikanaka cycle of myths. Maui broke through the table of Laka, the first line of chiefs, by seeking the lineage of his mother, Hinaikeahi, i.e., stealing the secret of the fire (-ke-ahi). This analogy relates to his mother having the highest levels of tapu that shine brightly or burn hot (kapu wela). Being the youngest of several brothers, Maui figured out that by taking a wife from his mother Hina’s lineage, he would raise the rank of his children, creating another high-ranking branch from which the Hawaiian and Māori chiefs descend. His one branch was broken, fell, was split asunder (hā’ule) when the younger brother Hema did the same thing that his ancestor Mauiakalana had done—tie back into the mother’s lineage, the lineage of Hina. That raised the hereditary rank of his
children, Kaha‘i the elder and his younger brother Alihi. It created yet another branch or wave of people competing for high rank inherited from a common source.

*Kau ka lā i ka lolo* marks the path of the sun on the days in May and July (in Hawai‘i) that the sun rises directly east and sets directly west along one latitudinal line. It occurs when the sun’s zenith passes overhead and shadows disappear, which only happens in the tropics. Puakea *heiau* marks this zenith passing in Koʻolau, Kūkaniloko *heiau* stands in alignment in Wāhiawa, and Kūʻilioloa *heiau* marks the line in Waiʻanae. When Hiʻiaka pointed to the ridge of Kualoa and said it went straight on to Waiʻanae, she was referring to this idea. A historical note provides evidence and adds significance to the connectivity of these three religious places. This *heiau* stands at Kāneʻilio point in Pōkaʻi Bay:

The kilokilo Hoku, or astrologers. To preserve the folk-lore of their homeland, Oʻahu, the exiled high class priests or kahunas founded a school at Pōkai bay for instructing the youth of both sexes in history, astronomy, navigation, and the genealogies of their ancient chiefs and kings;”  

**Haumea**

The genealogy of the elder Palikū branch found in the Kumulipo begins with Haumea, “by whom are ‘born from the brain’ a brood of offspring, first to the god Kanaloa and then to her own descendants.” Beckwith elaborates:

Haumea’s children are described not only as “born from the brain” (*ma ka lolo*) but as “drivelers.” “*Haʻae wale ka hanauna lolo,*” says the chant, and today Hawaiians call children who drivel at the mouth “Haumea’s children from the brain.” The soft spot on an infant’s head, called *manawa*, they derive from Haumea’s form of giving birth: “*Oia wahine hanau manawa i na keiki,*” as the
chant puts it. Even today, if a mother lacks milk for her infant, a mash of sweet potato bound over the fontanel is supposed to supply nourishment.  

The celestial meaning of Haumea’s births through the brain are described by Johnson in looking at the unions of this woman with many of the gods and chiefs that we have discussed in this text. Here we see how Kanaloa and Haumea, the genealogy of chiefs from the dim past on both patriarchal and matriarchal lines is eventually set aside and a new line is established. It is likened in the sky to the travel of the sun along its ecliptic:

Haumea is identified, not as the wife of Wākea, but that of Kanaloa-akua, whose birth was registered at the dawn light along with Kiʻi (k), Kāne, Laʻilaʻi (w), and Moanalihia. Since no other female was present then, the Kumulipo assumes that Papa is a recurring incarnation of Laʻilaʻi (w) as Haumea (w) since the dawn of time, probably the dawn’s mating with Kanaloa at the southern solstice, just as Laʻilaʻi’s mating with Kāne was at the northern solstice. This suggests that sometime in the Hawaiian past, when Haumea’s reincarnations as the affines of the lineage from Tangaroa/Kanaloa into the line from Kiʻi and Kāne had stopped with Kio (k) [Pisces 125 A.D. Ulu/Nanaulu genealogy], the affinal associations through the lineage of Kanaloa were discontinued, marriages then contracted through other affines. This would explain why the Hawaiians did not continue the practice of investing their chiefs with the power of chiefly title and authority on coral seats and before coral pillars within the temple sanctuaries, as their Tahitian cousins continued to do. Samoans, Tongans, Marquesans, and Tahitians revere Tangaroa as the creator-god. The exception to this principle is the Hawaiian and Maori (New Zealand) veneration of Tāne/Kāne as the god of creation.

Kio’s wife was Haʻi-wahine, who is called upon in the prayer at the altar offered to Laka. The Adulation to Laka presented earlier calls Laka the sister-wife of Lonoikaʻoualiʻi. When gathering plants for the altar of Laka, an accompanied chant begins with “Haki pu o ka nahelehele.” In this chant for the decoration of the altar, the two women, Haʻiwahine and Laka, are likened as one and the same:
The ‘Ōpu‘upu‘u genealogy of the Twelve Era in the Kumulipo branches off at the beginning of the Thirteenth Era with the lineage of Palikū (k). His wife is Pali-ha‘i, and their descendents are Ka-pō-he‘e-nalu (k) and soon after, Papa-he‘e-nalu. The many generations of children born from the brain of Haumea follow. Again, Palikū is the name of the cliff along the ridge of Kualoa, alluding to a branch of the Kumuuli genealogy.

Johnson notes in her discussion on the Twelfth to Fourteenth Eras that:

Lolo means ‘brain’, but it also means the envelope in which the fetus is carried, the caul of the embryo; Manawa is the soft spot of the center of the head, which later hardens at the joint between the halves of the brain; it also means the zenith, when the sun stands over the brain, i.e., overhead on your meridian and latitude.

Ka Manawa

Poetically speaking, Kāne and Kanaloa requested their own hereditary lineage from Kumuhonuiaiākea, so blood was taken from the fontanel of Kāne, and Keali‘ipo‘okapu-hūnāikeaouli came forth. He was named for the early morning moon on the starless night of Kāne—Lono Muku. Hinahānaiaakamalama also carries this sobriquet, for having leapt into the moon from the peak of Pu‘umā‘elī‘elī in Kahalu‘u. That legendary cycle of ‘Aikanaka was brought to Kualoa from Maui with Laka, for whom the sandbar in Kāne‘ohe Bay is named.
From blood seeping out of the fontanel of Hina comes Keʻomelemele, the maiden of the golden cloud whose home in the sky is Keʻalohilani, similar to the point in Heʻeia named Keʻalohi. Kamohoaliʻi was born from the fontanel of Haumea, and he is the guardian shark of Koʻolaupoko. The issue of Haumea and Kanaloa-akua was Kauakahī, who was born from the brain as well. Kaʻopupulu mentions the sacred hill of Kauakahī as being here in the Kualoa/Hakipuʻu area, thus it should be kept. Haumea’s adventures as a woman on Earth ends when she jumps into the ‘Ulu tree in Kalihi Valley; she resided with her husband in Hakipuʻu at that time.

Kūaliʻi’s name chant uses the line "ka hakipuʻu i ka Manawa," to describe the changing of the seasons, and Johnson has suggested the passing of time with all references to heʻe. I believe that the heiau in Hakipuʻu is an embodiment of this concept of time slipping by. It relates to the sun’s journey over Oʻahu at its zenith on the day it rises on the island’s meridian (Kau ka lā i ka lolo). It marks the annual path of the sun (ke ala i ke kuʻukuʻu) from the summer solstice (ke ala polohiwa a Kāne) to the winter solstice (ke ala polohiwa a Kanaloa). It travels “the length and breadth of the land,” from Waiahole (ka wai hole) at winter solstice, to Waikāne (ka wai e hookane) at the equinox, to Hakipuʻu (ka hakipuʻu) at the summer solstice, which marks the changing of the seasons:

\[
\begin{align*}
Ka wai hole a ka ili & \quad \text{The water that cleanses the skin} \\
I ka wai e hookane ana, & \quad [I s] \text{ the water which befriends a man} \\
Ka hakipuʻu i ka Manawa, & \quad \text{At the change of the season,} \\
Ka loana o ka aina & \quad \text{The length and breadth of the land.}^{30}
\end{align*}
\]

Johnson (1993) argues for the existence of such sites, and provides a figure
showing how such sites, oriented to the south, provide a diagonal (lala) across the site from the point of the sunrise at winter solstice to the point of sunset at summer solstice.

The coordination between time and the geometry of sacred space is implied in the structure of the “house of the god” [hale o ke akua] which is the heiau temple. This is not to suggest that all such temples were celestially aligned, except perhaps symbolically.  

She then lists the five aspects given by an astronomer and counselor of Kamehameha I, Kahoʻowaha. These celestial alignments are placed in a gourd diagram as an expression of the sidereal compass. The site Puakea heiau aligns quite well with this diagram, hence the true importance of this site is revealed. Johnson continues:

The symbolic association between Sky Father [Wakea] and Earth Mother [Papa-hanau-moku] as the midpoint of cosmic time and space within the ‘house of the god’ on the meridian, which is the navel center [piko] of these three entities, i.e., the cosmic father, the terrestrial mother, and the self, around which the circumscribed area encompasses all material life proceeding from the same source, positions the individual at the spiritual heart [manawa] which is eternal time and infinite space. That should imply to those who thought these religious thought that the power emanating from the center of spiritual and material causes must be perpetually existent, and therefore, indestructible.

The awesome thing about knowledge is not only does it perpetually exist for us to explore, but it can be transmitted in an infinite number of ways. When I first met Kumu Rubellite Kawena Johnson at Windward Community College and she heard what my thesis entailed, the study of surfing as a truly Hawaiian activity, she said nothing at first. She just smiled, spread her arms, and flew around on the grass like a sea bird. Then she cawed with a laugh and said one thing to me: “Soar!” In her humorous way she added, “Don’t flap Bat Masterson, soar!”
Long did I contemplate that statement. Many years and many thousands of words later, I am beginning to understand what she meant. She transmitted the answer to my research question as if she were gliding on the wind. As I see it now, that is not unlike the Hawaiian idea of passing one’s knowledge onto another by blowing gently on the fontanel...

Johnson’s finishing statement in Moʻolelo Hawaii (1993) suggests that Hawaiian astronomers were those people whose god was the god of weather and the passing seasons, embodied by the many seabirds that migrate along this route in the season of Lono. In this statement lies the meaning of her soaring and swooshing around me, oh daughter of KaʻUlili:

A Sothic cycle is 1460 days, or four sidereal seasons [the number of floods, ke kai a Kahinali‘i, eds.]…[a chart is presented here, eds.]… In this way the Sothic cycle is coordinated with Venus synodic cycles and with Jupiter in sidereal lunations and sidereal years.

How was this expressed in Hawaiian thought? When you see the kaʻupu albatross at the top of the Lono-i-ka-makahiki image, or god of annual time, also represented as Lono-meha, the star Sirius, remember that the Pukapuka (Cook Islands) equivalent was Takupu, Venus. What is it doing above the ‘bird’ Aʻā, the booby, Sirius, i.e., Lono-meha, Lono-aʻa, Lono-kolea-moku, the Arctic Plover, symbol of the Lono priests whose god was the god of time? The kaʻupu albatross, the booby bird, and the golden plover are sea birds. One of them, the kōlea, is a form which classifies all Arctic migrants, such as the ‘Akeke and the ‘Ulili, that fly south to the winter, then fly home to nest before the next season to bring the fledglings to warmer places. The other two, the Aʻa and the Kaʻupu are tropic birds. They are comfortable between 23.5°N and 23.5°S; the kōlea birds are adjusted to the pole north.

The Kumulipo chant is still untranslated in its manifold undeciphered names and enumeration levels, nevertheless, one thing is clear. The people who composed it left behind in a tight package the knowledge they withheld not to be forgotten by their descendants: what was of value to them, what they wished future generations to believe was true about them.
ʻAkahi Nō Au

This thesis has been so much more than an exercise in ethnohistory for so many reasons, namely because I am studying a living culture. Descendants of the gods, priests, chiefs, and commoners are all around me. Having had a chance to glance at my neighbor’s genealogical chart, I was impressed not only by the frequency of the Kanalu name, but that at the top, clearly the head of his father’s chart, stood the name Kaʻopulpulu. In that way, this is a study about first peoples, my friends, and they are still here in spite of the land systems that wrench indigenous people from their personal and sacred places. More so, it is not only the indigenous people who remain, but also their tangible gods in their bodily forms of nature.

It is hard to see such an excellent example of an ahupuaʻa, Hakipuʻu, culturally neglected. It is at risk of disintegration through land grabbing, development, road building, flood control measures, invasive plant species (and the methods of control being used), squatting, and cattle tromping over the sites. This ahupuaʻa is one with all the resources still in place and the water still flowing. It is recognized in legend as the most important place on Oʻahu, if not the entire archipelago. What stones that were not taken for road construction and cleared for pasture and roadways should be identified and cared for. Puakea heiau is a national monument, a tribute to the intelligence and ingenuity of the first navigators to find their way to Hawaiʻi, and the waves of people who followed them. These waves of people remembered each other and how they were related, and those memories were written on the land as place names that we use today.

Every effort should be made to reclaim, restore, and study this archeoastronomical site Puakea, not only for its own sake, but also to help restore the mana of
O‘ahu. The knowledge of the ancient Hawaiians is not lost, and kūpuna such as Rubellite Kawena Johnson work tirelessly to awaken us to this fact. Also, the ancestors are always here to guide us with their knowledge if we not only ask the questions, but actively seek out the answers, for knowledge is only revealed to those who are ready for it. I myself can look back at the many times that some of this knowledge, signs and written passages, passed me by—I was not ready then. I am more ready now, and I will keep striving so that I can honor these great ancestors’ gifts, for the rewards are truly amazing.

One day recently when a tropical depression had made its way up to the islands, my family was driving home along Kamehameha Highway. The air was getting heavy, and the once clear, shining skies were giving way to thick, dark clouds in the still midday heat. As we rounded Keʻalohi Point my daughter said, “Look mom, it looks like that cloud is almost touching the mountain!” There it was, the tongue of the god quivering above the low triangle foothill called Puna—perhaps the hill of Kauakahi, where Puakea sits nestled in its lap. Almost touching down on Mōliʻi fishpond, the funnel cloud grew and remained for some time, then gave way to a boom of thunder followed by a heavy red rain. By the time we got to Waikāne stream, the ruddy mountain waters had come down the stream in a massive torrent that closed the road for several hours. We waited by the shores of Waikāne, where the waves roll in without breaking, and I thought about how fortunate we are to see the gods and goddesses of this place all around us.

In this conclusion I have only been able to share glimpses as to how this thesis was as much about me, my family, and my life in Koʻolau, Oʻahu, as it was about the gods of this place. When I started researching on the subject of surfing as a traditional Hawaiian cultural activity, I got a hunch that the surfing history somehow tied to the
legendary place names and characters associated with my home, Koʻolaupoko. I have not only found that to be true, but also that surfing is of great importance to the Hawaiian people. It is both as a poetic metaphor, and a daily and ritual expression of the love that these people had for their godly ancestors who flew across the crests of the waves upon the deep sea to reach this beautiful group of islands. Someday I may share the liminal process that brought me to these conclusions myself, but I am still adrift in the experience at this point.

In a time when many Americans are searching for meaning and a place to call home, I am thankful to sit amongst the tangible deities that bring life to these islands, constantly acknowledging their descendants on Earth. I am also thankful for those subtle aspects of nature that have revealed themselves to me and my family, for these are truly the gods showing themselves in this heaven on earth called Hawaiʻiʻukuaulikaioʻo.

To experience surfing in this truly Hawaiian way has caused me to transcend what I originally thought it was to be a surfer, and it has permeated every part of my being. For this I am forever grateful to my Mom, Fay Nalani Myers, and my Nana, Jeanne Melim Thornton, who wanted to bring my brother, sister, and I back as kids to their birthplace and raise us in a Hawaiian way. I only wish I had figured out what that meant before they passed on. Perhaps these are the deities that I see, for indeed, I feel their presence all around me, and more so around my kamaliʻi—mahalo ke akua.

There are many pieces of surf literature that have not been mentioned in the limited scope of this paper, and more to share in the analysis of those listed. My own further work stands in the genealogy of surfing, a most intriguing subject that interweaves people with nature, time and space. Until we meet again, let us all keep striving for the
highest heights of knowledge and enlightenment. It is a challenge to look around us and see the simplicity of nature in this complex, globalized world. Surfing is one way of doing that, so it is healing for everyone who tries it. Although surfing is part of this globalized world, at its root it provided opportunity to build skill, display ability, and honor the gods.

Duke Paoa Kahanamoku is our modern surfing ali‘i. He made surfing Hawai‘i’s gift to the world. This gift becomes a kuleana, a responsibility, and we must care for the ocean and keep each other safe in order that we may continue this wonderful practice. Hawaiian surfers were very proud of their surfing places, and we should be too. We must tend to our surfing places and show aloha in and out of the water, so as to properly represent what a surfer really is in the face of all these stereotypes that we are labeled with.

Leave behind all the industry, flash, and media, and you will find a peaceful and positive exercise that strengthens the body, cleanses the mind, and invigorates the soul. It is no wonder that those voyagers who peopled the Pacific Ocean chose this metaphor as a national expression. In the end, I hope that this thesis does more than just share some of the many stories about surfing that have been buried over time. I hope that this paper guides us in understanding surfing as a truly Hawaiian cultural activity. May this wave of knowledge swell up in your na‘au so that you feel the shivering excitement (hōpūpū!) of the surf and ride it to distant shores…. E hua ka nalu e! Mahalo for joining me on this wave, it has been an enjoyable ride. Until we meet again: Respect, train hard, and believe.

Kūli’a i ke kūlana nalu!

Ian ‘Akahi Masterson

A’ole i pau...
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Figure 9.5 Johnson’s gourd/heiau alignment chart & Puakea Heiau, McAllister (1931)
Figure 9.6: The Hawaiian Concept of the Tropics, Celestial Equator, and Ecliptic

THE HAWAIIAN CONCEPT OF THE TROPICS
THE CELESTIAL EQUATOR, AND THE ECLIPTIC

THE PATH OF THE SPIDER

UPRIGHT CRUX

Johnson's gourd/heiau alignment chart, overlaid with the top platform from the Puakea Heiau, Hakipu'u, O'ahu. 'Eia ka ʻIpu Makani, 'a La 'amomo, ka ʻIpu o Lono.

Puakea Heiau drawing by McAllister (1931), and surrounded with pictures from the solstice and equinox taken at Puakea.
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Figure A.22: Sunrise at Pu‘u o Kaha‘i, Ulupa‘u; follow the path of the sun to Hema
Figure A.23: ʻO ke anuenue ke ala o Kahaʻi. The rainbow is the path of Kahaʻi
A low-lying late morning rainbow below Pu'uʻōhulehule

Figure A.24: A low-lying early afternoon rainbow above Mokoliʻi and Mōliʻi fishpond
Figure A.25: High arching early morning rainbow over Kahiwa; spring equinox

Figure A.26: High arching late evening rainbow over the sea, and my house; spring equinox
Figure A.27: Hakipuʻu and Kualoa make up the rainbow-hued floating land of Kāne

Figure A.28: Piʻi Kahaʻi, Koi Kahaʻi...He Kahaʻi i ke Koʻi ʻula a Kane...Iʻimi mai ʻoia i ka Hema... Aia iā Kahiki, aia i Ulupaʻupaʻu... Loaʻa aku i kūkulu o Kahiki.
Ua ‘apulepule ke koʻa o Heʻeia
Me he mahina la i kai Moku ʻoloe

Mottled is the coral of Heʻeia
Like the moon in the sea of Moku ʻoloe.

Lau ke one a Kāne, lau ke koʻa
Lau makalae o Koʻolau
Ua hele wale Koʻolau a kena i ka ‘ino ʻapulepule.

Extensive are the sands of Kāne, many are the coral beds
Numerous are the sea capes of Koʻolau
Koʻolau has had it’s fill of tempests.

Mahalo, a me Aloha Mai Kākou!
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