

Nā Kū‘auhau a me nā Mo‘okū‘auhau Ku‘una: Hawaiian Genealogists and Traditional Hawaiian Genealogies

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‘ŌLELO HŌ‘ULU‘ULU / SUMMARY

Ma kēia ‘atikala nei, nānā ‘ia nā kū‘auhau i ola ma ka māhele mua o ke kenekulia ‘umikūmāiwa, nā kū‘auhau ho‘i i a‘o ‘ia ma ke ‘ano ku‘una. A ua nānā ‘ia ho‘i nā puke mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i i kākau ‘ia e lākou a waiho ‘ia a hiki i kēia manawa, nā puke a Davida Malo, Pelakila Kamokuiki, a me Ka‘ō‘ō. He mau kūmole ko‘iko‘i ia, akā, ‘a‘ole i nānā nui ‘ia e ka po‘e kālaimana‘o o kēia wā. ‘O nā mo‘okū‘auhau i kākau ‘ia e lākou ‘ekolu, ua ho‘ohālike ‘ia kekahi me kekahi, a me ka mo‘okū‘auhau i hō‘ike ‘ia ma ke mele kaulana ‘o Kumulipo. A laila, nānā ‘ia nā kū‘auhau i ola ma hope mai, ‘o S. M. Kamakau, S. N. Hale‘ole, a me Abraham Fornander. ‘A‘ole lākou i a‘o ‘ia ma ke ‘ano ku‘una; ua ‘imi lākou i ka mo‘okū‘auhau a ua ho‘opuka ma ke pa‘i ‘ana. Hō‘ike ‘ia he mau mea ‘oko‘a ma waena o ka hana a ua mau kū‘auhau ‘eono, ma ka nui he ‘oko‘a ma waena o nā kū‘auhau mua a me nā kū‘auhau hope: (1) ‘O nā mo‘okū‘auhau i kākau ‘ia e Malo a me Kamokuiki o ka pū‘ulu mua, ‘oi loa aku ka nui o nā hanauna i hō‘ike ‘ia ma mua o kā ka pū‘ulu hope, a (2) ua hō‘ike ‘elua o nā kū‘auhau hope, ‘o Kamakau lāua ‘o Fornander, i kekahi mo‘okū‘auhau i ho‘ohui ‘ia ai ka mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i Hawai‘i a me ka mo‘olelo Paipala. Wahi a ia mo‘okū‘auhau, ua hana ‘ia ke kanaka mua loa e nā akua ‘o Kāne, Kū, a me Lono.

This article begins by discussing the traditionally-taught Hawaiian kū‘auhau (genealogists) who are known from the early nineteenth century, and the surviving genealogy books written by three of them: Davida Malo, Pelakila Kamokuiki, and Ka‘ō‘ō. Those genealogy books have been little studied by contemporary scholars, but they are quite important sources. The ali‘i genealogies they recorded are first compared with each other and with the genealogy found in the celebrated mele Kumulipo. Subsequently, three later kū‘auhau are discussed who were not taught traditionally but who collected and published ali‘i genealogy later in the nineteenth century—S. M. Kamakau, S. N. Hale‘ole, and Abraham Fornander. Several differences are noted in the work of the various kū‘auhau, for the most part, differences between that of the earlier group and that of the later group, including these: (1) the genealogy recorded by Malo and Kamokuiki of the earlier group goes back many generations further than the genealogies published by the later group, as does the mele Kumulipo; and (2) Kamakau and Fornander of the later group combined traditional Hawaiian genealogy with biblical tradition to create a syncretic genealogy, positing the earliest ancestor as a man created by the gods Kāne, Kū, and Lono, while none of the earlier group did so.

NOTES ON CONVENTIONS USED IN THIS ESSAY

All translations are mine, unless otherwise cited. Diacritics (‘okina and kahakō) are used in my discussion, but not in quotations from Hawaiian sources that did not use them. The spelling of names with diacritics follows Kamakau (1991) or Kamakau (1996) where possible. For names not found in those sources, the spelling is based on the most plausible meaning of the name, with other possible meanings given in a footnote.

I. NĀ KŪ‘AUHAU O KE KENEKULIA ‘UMIKŪMĀIWA / NINETEENTH-CENTURY GENEALOGISTS

Historical sources, mainly the Hawaiian-language newspapers, provide information concerning a number of important and well-respected kū‘auhau (Hawaiian genealogists) of the early nineteenth century. The best known of them is Noa ‘Auwae, who was a kū‘auhau during the reign of Kamehameha¹ and who is said to have taught ali‘i genealogy to Davida Malo.² Following Kamehameha’s death in 1819, ‘Auwae moved to Maui and lived there until he died in 1834 (*Ka Lama Hawaii* 1834).

‘Auwae taught ali‘i genealogy to several other students as well: A. Unauna, Ka‘ō‘ō, and Pelakila Kamokuiki.³ A. Unauna’s son John Ko‘i‘i⁴ Unauna says that his father first requested that ‘Auwae teach him (A. Unauna), and that afterwards, ‘Auwae taught his own wife Ka‘ō‘ō⁵ and Kamokuiki, the wife of Kamanawa II. They were all taught formally, through listening to ‘Auwae and ho‘opa‘ana‘au (memorization).⁶ According to S. M. Kamakau (1867; also in Kamakau 1996, 238), the teaching was done under kapu. Malo is said to have been taught genealogy not only by ‘Auwae, but also by Kepo‘okūlou (J. K. Unauna, January 29, 1866), the author of the first printed Hawaiian mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i (ali‘i genealogy), published in the newspaper *Ke Kumu Hawaii* in 1835.

Three of ‘Auwae’s students, Kamokuiki, Malo, and Ka‘ō‘ō, turned their genealogical knowledge into written books that can be found in the genealogy book collection of the Hawai‘i State Archives. There is no written documentation to show how the genealogy books came to be deposited there. It seems that they were first collected by Ka Papa Kū‘auhau Ali‘i o nā Ali‘i Hawai‘i (The Board of Genealogy of Hawaiian Chiefs), established under Kalākaua in 1880. The board’s 1882 report (*Po‘omaikelani* 1884) states that it held many genealogical books, including copies of Kamokuiki’s, Ka‘ō‘ō’s, and Unauna’s, and Malo’s original. Some of them had probably been collected by Kalākaua himself. Of the works listed by Po‘omaikelani (1884) as held by the board, two had earlier been held by Kalākaua in 1880, according to Adolph Bastian (in Charlot 2014, 3): the mele Kumulipo and Davida Malo’s (n.d.) “Ka Moolelo Hawaii.” When the Bayonet Constitution was imposed on Kalākaua in 1887, the legislature dissolved the papa as a government institution, but its work was continued under the Hale Nauā, a secret Hawaiian society established by Kalākaua in 1886.⁷ The genealogy books probably went to the Hale Nauā at that time. After the Hale Nauā dissolved, the materials it held are thought to have gone to Kalaniana‘ole, nephew of Kalākaua and Lili‘uokalani, and when Kalaniana‘ole died, his widow deposited the materials at Bishop Museum and the Hawai‘i Territorial Archives (Jason Achiu, Hawai‘i State Archives, personal communication, November 2019).⁸

Malo began his misleadingly titled genealogy book “He Buke no ka Oihana Kula” (A Book for School Work) in 1827 while he was living at Lahaina, having moved there

as part of Keōpūolani’s court when she moved from Honolulu.⁹ This was prior to his becoming a student at Lahainaluna Seminary in 1831. Malo is the one who contributed the mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i published in *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*, which was edited by S. Dibble and published in 1838.¹⁰ Malo also included genealogical material in his manuscript “Ka Moolelo Hawaii,” probably written between about 1841 and 1853.¹¹ Kamokuiki’s book “O na Kuauhau o ka Hanau ana o na Alii me na Kanaka” (a copy of the original) gives the date February 16, 1839, and the place Lahaina on the title page.¹² Kamokuiki was the grandmother of Kalākaua and may also be the source of the manuscript of the great mele Kumulipo.¹³ The mele describes the origin of the universe, including gods and people. According to John Charlot (2014, 1–2), it was composed by an unknown author around 1700 AD, and the original manuscript, entitled “He Pule Heiau” (A Heiau Prayer), was obtained by Kalākaua.¹⁴ Ka‘ō‘ō’s book (“Genealogy of Umi”) is undated. A. Unauna, the fourth student of ‘Auwae, wrote a genealogy book too, according to the preface to “Lahaina, Maui,”¹⁵ but no copy has been located as yet. He passed on some of his knowledge to his son John Ko‘i‘i Unauna¹⁶ and to H. K. Kapākūhaili,¹⁷ the wife of Mō‘ī Kauikeaouli.

Samuel Kamakau, S. N. Hale‘ole, and Abraham Fornander represent a second generation of kū‘auhau.¹⁸ All three collected and published genealogy during the nineteenth century, but they were not taught by a kū‘auhau in the traditional way.¹⁹ Their work will be considered in a later section.

2. HE HO‘OHĀLIKELIKE PŌKOLE I NĀ PUKE MO‘OKŪ‘AUHAU NA MALO, KAMOKUIKI, A ME KA‘Ō‘Ō, NĀ KŪ‘AUHAU I A‘O ‘IA I KA MO‘OKŪ‘AUHAU / A BRIEF COMPARISON OF THE GENEALOGY BOOKS OF MALO, KAMOKUIKI, AND KA‘Ō‘Ō, THE GENEALOGISTS WHO WERE FORMALLY TRAINED

The genealogy books by Kamokuiki and Malo both begin with Kumulipo, and the genealogy they record is much longer than that of Ka‘ō‘ō, or indeed of any other extant Hawaiian mo‘okū‘auhau that has been located, other than the mele Kumulipo. Kamokuiki’s and Malo’s genealogy books cover much of the same ground—the same ali‘i names are found in both for the most part—but Kamokuiki’s version is more connected than Malo’s, as shown in figures 1 and 2 below.

Malo’s book has four founding ancestors, Kumulipo, Olōlo, Puanue, and Palikū. The four ancestors are not shown as related except that some descendants of Puanue and Palikū are shown as intermarried (near the bottom of figure 2). In his *Mo‘olelo Hawaii‘i*, written later, Malo says that he knows of five separate mo‘okū‘auhau, although they are connected.

‘O nā mo‘okū‘auhau, ua manamana nā kumu. ‘Oko‘a ke kumu a kekahi, ‘oko‘a kā kekahi. A ma luna o nā mo‘okū‘auhau, ua hui pū ‘ia. ‘O Kumulipo ke kumu kū‘auhau a kekahi po‘e, ‘o Palikū kā kekahi po‘e, [‘o] Olōlo kā kekahi po‘e, ‘o Puanue kā kekahi po‘e, ‘o Kapohihi kā kekahi po‘e. ‘A‘ole i like me ko ‘Ādamu mo‘okū‘auhau, ka ho‘okahi wale nō, ‘a‘ohe manamana ‘ē a‘e.

Concerning the genealogies, the founding ancestors represent different branches: the founding ancestor of one is different from that of another; at the top of the genealogies, [the founding ancestors are] joined together. Kumulipo is the ancestor

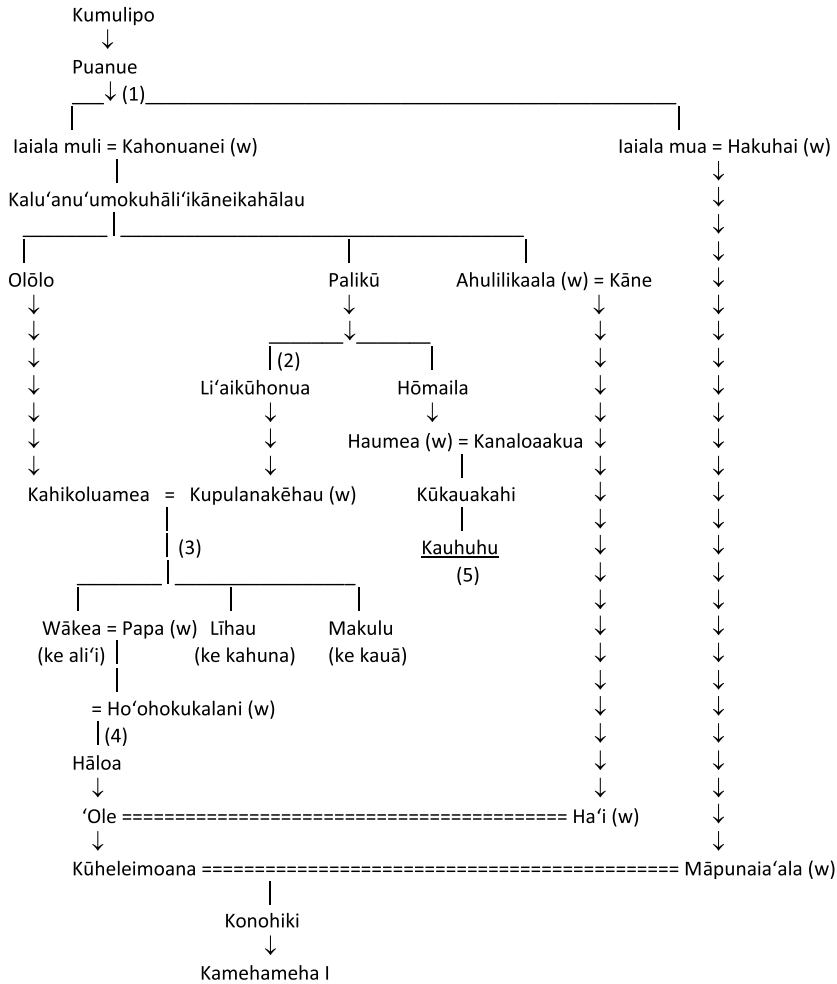


Figure 1. Simplified Genealogy after Kamokuiki (G-33)

Key: = husband to wife tie ↓ descent through many generations

| parent to child tie name line of descent ends here in the genealogy

Named individuals are males unless followed by “(w)” for “wahine” (female)

Numbers refer to differences from Malo’s mo’okū’auhau listed on pp. 9–10

for some people, Palikū for some, Olōlo for others, Puanue for others, and Kapohihi for still others. It is not like Adam’s genealogy, where there is only one line and no other. (Malo 2020, chap. 1, para. 10; brackets in the original)

Thus, although Malo seems to know that the four mo’okū’auhau he presents in his genealogy book are connected, he does not show that connection, and likely had never learned it.

Kamokuiki, on the other hand, begins with Kumulipo and shows how all the ali’i are descended from Kumulipo, through Puanue, and then through Olōlo and Palikū. Not only is Kamokuiki’s mo’okū’auhau more connected than Malo’s, it is also much easier to follow. There are numerous points in the mo’okū’auhau where there is a

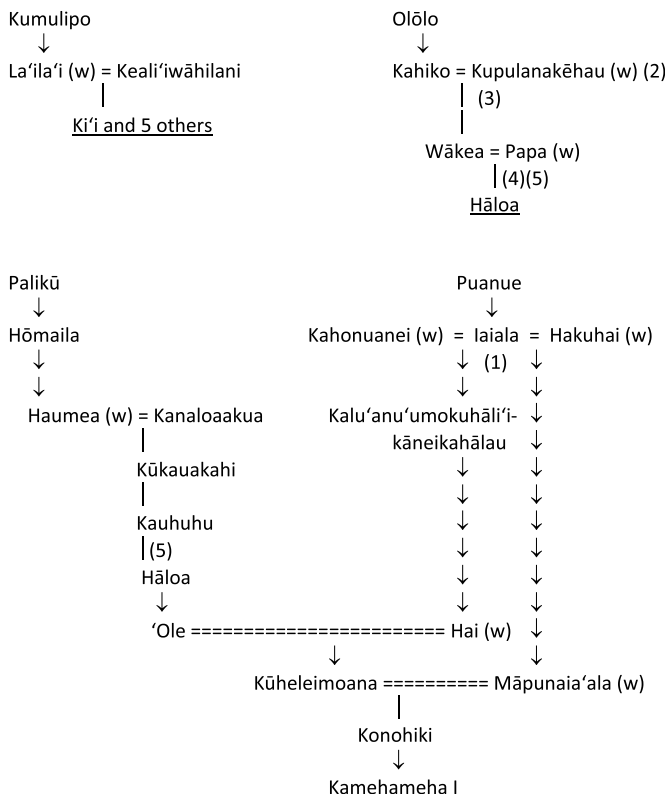


Figure 2. Simplified Genealogy after Malo (G-22)

Key: = husband to wife tie ↓ descent through many generations

| parent to child tie name line of descent ends here in the genealogy

Named individuals are males unless followed by “(w)” for “wahine” (female)

Numbers refer to differences from Kamokuiki’s mo‘okū‘auhau listed on pp. 9–10

branching between two brothers or between the children of two co-wives. The convention for reciting or writing Hawaiian genealogy was to give the name of the (usually male) chief, then the (usually female) spouse, followed by the name of their child, then the child’s spouse, and so on. If there was a branching between two brothers, then the mo‘okū‘auhau followed the line of one brother first, then came back to the line of the second brother. In the Kamokuiki mo‘okū‘auhau, there are page references so that the reader can easily connect the line from the second brother to the earlier branching of the two brothers. (This aid to the reader of the written genealogy would not, of course, have been available for the hearer of the genealogical chant.)

One further point concerning Kamokuiki’s book is that she places “Ke Kai a Kahinalii”²⁰—usually translated as “the flood,” or perhaps “the tidal wave”—after Welaahilaninui and before Kahikoluamea and Kupulanakēhau, the parents of Wākea. In *Ka Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i*, Malo (2020, chap. 42) gives the story of the tidal wave, but he is unable to date it. He says that the ali‘i living at the time of the tidal wave do not appear in the ali‘i genealogies of Hawai‘i:²¹

Eia ka mea pohihihi: ‘a‘ole i ‘ike ‘ia ko Hawai‘i nei ali‘i i ka wā i hiki mai ai ua kai a Kahinali‘i lā. Ma mua paha ko lākou lohe, a ma hope hele mai i Hawai‘i nei.

What is confusing is that the ali‘i of Hawai‘i at the time of this tidal wave are not known [from the genealogies]. Perhaps Hawaiians heard the story before they came to Hawai‘i. (Malo 2020, chap. 42, para. 1; brackets in the original)

There are also other, less comprehensive differences to be considered between the accounts of Malo and Kamokuiki. (The numbers in the following list correspond to numbers on figures 1 and 2, placed there to help guide the reader.)

1. Kamokuiki shows two brothers named Iaiala, the muli (younger) with a wife named Kahonuanei, the mua (older) with a wife named Hakuhai. Malo shows a single man named Iaiala having both wives.
2. Kamokuiki shows a brother of Hōmaila named Li‘aikūhonua, from whom descended Kupulanakēhau, the wife of Kahikoluamea. Malo does not show the ancestry of Kupulanakēhau at all.
3. Kamokuiki shows three sons of Kahikoluamea and Kupulanakēhau: Wākea, the ali‘i; Lihau (often written “Lihau‘ula”), the kahuna; and Makulu (often written “Maku‘u”), the kauā. Malo, however, shows only Wākea as a son.²²
4. Kamokuiki shows Wākea with two wives, Papa and his daughter by Papa, Ho‘ohokukalani. Hāloa is then shown as the son of Wākea and Ho‘ohokukalani. This is the same as the accounts of many later kū‘auhau. Malo’s genealogy, however, shows Hāloa as the son of Wākea and Papa, with no mention of Ho‘ohokukalani.²³
5. Malo first shows Hāloa as the son of Wākea in his Olōlo genealogy, the same as the genealogy in his *Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i* (Malo 2020, chap. 60). But then he shows him in his Palikū genealogy as the son of Kauhuhu, a descendant of Palikū. Kamokuiki, however, shows Kauhuhu without descendants.

The genealogy book of Ka‘ō‘ō (“Genealogy of Umi”) begins with Welawāwahilani (usually written “Welaahilani” or “Welaahilaninui”), just two generations before Wākea and more than halfway through the genealogy given by Kamokuiki. It is not considered further in this essay because it does not reach back to the earliest generations of Hawaiian mo‘okū‘auhau, as do the genealogy books of Malo and Kamokuiki. Most of the comprehensive mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i that were written later start at a similar point to Ka‘ō‘ō’s: that of Kepo‘okūlou (1835) starts with Hāloa, that of Hale‘ole (May 4, 1865) starts with Welaahilani, and two of the genealogies given in Fornander ([1878] 1890, 188–92) start with Wākea. That of S. M. Kamakau (1842) starts a bit earlier with Kumuhonua, seventeen generations before Welaahilaninui. Many of these accounts, but not all, show Hāloa as the son of Wākea and his daughter by Papa, Ho‘ohokukalani.

3. HE HO‘OHĀLIKELIKE PŌKOLE ME KE MELE ‘O KUMULIPO / A BRIEF COMPARISON WITH THE MELE KUMULIPO

The earliest published notice of the mele Kumulipo is from the German ethnologist Adolf Bastian, who was shown the manuscript by Kalākaua in 1880 (Charlot 2014, 4–5). Bastian was allowed to borrow it and make a partial copy, from which he

published the first (partial) translation, depending on suggestions from Kalākaua about the meaning of the mele (Charlot, 5). Subsequently, Kalākaua published the Hawaiian text in 1889 and Lili‘uokalani published her translation in 1897 (Charlot, 6). Kalākaua believed the manuscript had been written in the early nineteenth century (Charlot, 5), soon after the introduction to Hawaiians of a writing system for the Hawaiian language. The mele itself is considerably older than that, having been composed for the birth of the ali‘i nui Kalaninui‘īamamao, son of Keawe‘īkekahiali‘iokamoku, according to the “prose note” attached to the manuscript (Beckwith 1951, 8–9). Lili‘uokalani ([1897] 1978) writes that it was written in 1700 by Ke‘āulumoku. That date fits the time that Kalaninui‘īamamao must have been born, but it would be too early for Ke‘āulumoku to have been the composer.²⁴ The prose note states that the mele was later recited to Kalaninui‘īamamao’s daughter Alapa‘iwahine, thus “passed on” to her. Alapa‘iwahine’s son Kamanawa II was married to Kamokuiki, and Kalākaua was their grandson. Hence the suspicion that the manuscript was perhaps written by Kamokuiki, who was learned in genealogical matters, and then passed down by her to Kalākaua.

The mele Kumulipo may be called a genealogical chant, but it is different in form from the bare-bones mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i learned and recorded by Malo and Kamokuiki. Those written mo‘okū‘auhau state only the names of the male and female who mated in one line and the resulting child (or children) in the following line (or lines). The reader must supply the connections. To illustrate, here are the first eight lines of Malo’s Kumulipo genealogy in “He Buke no ka Oihana Kula” (diacritics added by me).²⁵

‘O Kumulipo	‘O Pō‘ele ka wahine
Pō‘ele‘ele	Pōhaha ka wahine
Pōuliuli	Pōwehiwehi ka wahine
Pōpanopano	Pōlalawehi ka wahine
‘O Kapōhiolo	‘O Kapōhāne‘eaku ka wahine
‘O Kapōhāne‘eaku	‘O Kapōhāne‘emai ka wahine
Pōkinikini	‘O Kapōmanomano ka wahine
Hānau La‘ila‘i he wahine	‘O Keli‘iwāhilani kāna kāne.

Here, it is understood that the male Kumulipo and the female Pō‘ele mated and produced the male child Pō‘ele‘ele, and so on until the eighth line, when the child is shown as the female La‘ila‘i.²⁶ In his *Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i* (2020, chap. 3, para. 2), Malo makes clear that up to the birth of La‘ila‘i, these entities were not human. They were “he pō wale nō” (manifestations of darkness). La‘ila‘i was the first human, the one from whom all other humans derived.

In his *Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i*, Malo (2020, chap. 51, para. 4–5) presents the genealogy (shown below) of ‘Akahiakuleana, the mother of ‘Umi, in a style that is still bare-bones, but one more suited to chanting/listening.

To describe the mele Kumulipo very briefly, it is a 2,012-line chant that describes the origin of the universe and is divided into sixteen wā, or epochs. Near the beginning of the first wā come these lines (Hawaiian and translation from Charlot 2014, 38–42):

Table 1. Genealogy of ‘Umi by Davida Malo (2020, chap. 51, para. 4–5; italics and brackets in the original)

4. Eia ho‘i nā hanauna a <i>Kalahumoku</i> . ‘O ia kai noho aku iā La‘amea, ‘o Ikiala‘amea. ‘O ia kai noho aku iā Kalamea, ‘o Kamanawa[a]kalamea. Noho iā Kaiua, ‘o Ua[a]kaiua. Noho iā Kuaimakani, ‘o Kanahaeakuaimakani.	4. Here are the descendants of Kalahumoku. Kalahumoku slept with La‘amea and Ikiala‘amea was born. Ikiala‘amea slept with Kalamea and Kamanawa[a] kalamea was born. Kamanawa[a]kalamea slept with Kaiua and Ua[a] kaiua was born. Ua[a]kaiua slept with Kuaimakani and Kanahaeakuaimakani was born.
5. Noho iā Kapiko, ‘o Kuleana[a] kapiko. Noho iā <i>Keanianiaho‘oleilei</i> , ‘o ‘Akahiakuleana. Noho Līloa, ‘o ‘Umi.	5. Kanahaeakuaimakani slept with Kapiko, and Kuleana[a]kapiko was born. Kuleana[a]kapiko slept with Keanianiaho‘oleilei and ‘Akahiakuleana was born. Līloa slept with her and ‘Umi was born.
5. ‘O ke au ‘o Makali‘i ka pō	In the time when the night was of the Pleiades rising
6. ‘O ka walewale ho‘okumu honua ia	This was the earth-sourcing mud.
7. ‘O ke kumu o ka lipo i lipo ai	The source of the blue-black is blue-black
8. ‘O ke kumu o ka pō i pō ai	The source of the night is night
11. Pō wale ho‘i.	Now only night.
12. Hānau ka pō	The night gave birth
13. Hānau Kumulipo i ka pō he kāne	Blue-black source [Kumulipo] was born in the night a male
14. Hānau Pō‘ele i ka pō he wahine	Black night [Pō‘ele] was born in the night a female

At the beginning there was only pō (night, darkness). From within the night, walewale (mud) produced the earth. Then the male Kumulipo and the female Pō‘ele were born of pō. Malo’s genealogy does not provide us with this information, but apparently he knew these details of the tradition. In his *Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i*, he writes, “Ma ka mo‘okū‘auhau i kapa ‘ia ‘o *Kumuulipo*, ua ha‘i ‘ia mai ma laila i ulu wale mai nō ka ‘āina” (“In the genealogy called Kumuulipo it is said that the land just grew of itself”) (Hawaiian and translation from Malo 2020, chap. 2, para. 7; italics in the original).

The first seven wā belong to pō (night, darkness), the time before humans; in the eighth wā, the first human appears and night gives way to day; the following eight wā then belong to ao (day, light), the time after humans appear. Each of the first seven wā introduces a male and female couple identical to those given by Malo in his Kumulipo genealogy. The listener (or reader) familiar with the form of the mo‘okū‘auhau (or familiar with the Kumulipo genealogy) would assume descent from one pair to the following pair, but that is not stated explicitly in the mele. There is a great deal of additional material in the mele Kumulipo not found in the Kumulipo genealogies of Malo or

Kamokuiki. In each of the first seven wā, the male and female couple gives birth to animals or plants in addition to the couple of the next wā. This is one of the celebrated aspects of the mele, because through the set of eight wā, the nature of life forms moves from the simplest marine forms (corals and shellfish), through birds, fish and plants, amphibians, pigs, rats, dogs, and finally humans,²⁷ in an evolutionary sequence.

The second half of the mele (wā 8 through 16) mostly consists of ali‘i genealogy that generally matches the Kamokuiki mo‘okū‘auhau, although there is also other material introduced. Like Kamokuiki’s mo‘okū‘auhau, the mele begins with Kumulipo, continues through Puanue, and then through Palikū and Olōlo, and down to recent ali‘i. There are at least three major differences between the ali‘i genealogy given in the mele and that of Kamokuiki:

- 1) In wā 12, the mele genealogy leading from Puanue to Palikū and Olōlo has a long series of names (lines 1624 through 1709) that are entirely different from those in Kamokuiki’s mo‘okū‘auhau (lines 643 on page 27 to 870 on page 36). The last pair of names in this list (line 1709), which are given as the parents of Palikū and Olōlo, are different from those given by Kamokuiki.²⁸
- 2) Also in wā 12, the mele apparently gives three names for a wife or wives of Wākea—Haumea, then Papa, then Haohokakalani (Ho‘ohokukalani).²⁹ Kamokuiki does not have Haumea as a wife of Wākea in her mo‘okū‘auhau. Neither does Malo in his mo‘okū‘auhau, but in his mo‘olelo, Malo (2020, chap. 3, para. 2) says that Haumea is the same as Papa.
- 3) In wā 13 and 15, Haumea is described as having many bodies, many mates (including her sons and grandsons), and many children (often born from her brain through her fontanel). None of this is shown in the mo‘okū‘auhau of Kamokuiki.

4. KA HANA A KA PO‘E A‘O ‘OLE ‘IA I KA MO‘OKŪ‘AUHAU: ‘O KAMAKAU, HALE‘OLE, A ME FORNANDER / THE WORK OF THOSE WHO WERE NOT TAUGHT GENEALOGY: KAMAKAU, HALE‘OLE, AND FORNANDER³⁰

4.1 S. M. Kamakau

Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau was born in 1815, and in 1833, at age seventeen, he entered Lahainaluna Seminary. He remained at Lahainaluna until 1846, first as a student, then as a teacher’s aide, and finally as a teacher. In 1836, he (along with Davida Malo) was one of a select group of ten students invited by Sheldon Dibble, a missionary teacher at Lahainaluna, to join a seminar to collect information from kūpuna (elders) knowledgeable about Hawaiian history.³¹ Dibble used the information to put together the book *Ka Mooolelo Hawaii*. In 1841, Kamakau and several others, including Dibble, Kamehameha III, and Davida Malo, formed the first Hawaiian historical society, the ‘Ahahui ‘Imi i nā Mea Kahiko o Hawai‘i nei, in order to continue their search for information about the past ([Kamakau, September 9, 1865](#)). The society ceased to function after three years, but Kamakau continued to collect information from those with knowledge of the old days until at least 1848 ([Hale‘ole, June 1, 1865](#)), probably even later. In 1856, his house burned, along with all of his papers ([Kamakau, October 28, 1865](#)). By 1865, however, he had managed to compile a substantial genealogy book ([Hale‘ole, May 4, 1865](#)), perhaps from memory together with information from the knowledgeable old Hawaiians

who remained. He writes that at that time, he thought there was hardly anyone left who had such knowledge.³²

On October 25, 1842, Kamakau published a mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i in the mission newspaper *Ka Nonanona*, from Kumuhonua to Wākea and then to Kamehameha and his highest-ranking children. The source(s) of that mo‘okū‘auhau are not clear. He was not taught genealogy by an expert kū‘auhau in the traditional way, by listening to the expert chant and then ho‘opa‘ana‘au (*Kamakau, February 14, 1843*).³³ In 1865, he writes that he had spoken with several knowledgeable individuals about ali‘i genealogy—Ulumāheihei Hoapili and Davida Malo in 1837, Iakobo Malo in 1842, and A. Unauna (no date given)—but what he says is not that he learned from them, but that in the main they agreed with his version of the mo‘okū‘auhau (*Kamakau, October 28, 1865*). In several articles, he writes of using the mele inoa (name chant) or mele ko‘i-honua (genealogical chant) composed for an ali‘i as a source for ali‘i genealogy,³⁴ and in one article, he uses a mele to criticize the mo‘okū‘auhau written by Malo.³⁵

Kamakau’s 1842 mo‘okū‘auhau begins with Kumuhonua, the grandson of Olōlo (according to Malo and Kamokuiki), descends to Wākea, and continues on to Kīwala‘ō and Kamehameha and their respective children. It shows the branching of the mo‘okū‘auhau between two brothers at several points: (1) between ‘Ulu and Nānā‘ulu, (2) between Puna and Hema, and (3) between Hanala‘anui and Hanala‘aiki, but in each case, it follows only the line of the underlined ali‘i (see figure 3 above). In a pair of articles published on September 23 and 30, 1865, Kamakau supplied two of the missing lines: (1) the line from Nānā‘ulu to Māweke to Mo‘ikeha to Kākuhihewa (ali‘i nui of O‘ahu) and his descendants; and (2) the line from Hanala‘aiki to Ka‘ulahea to Ha‘alo‘u to Kālaimoku (chief minister under Kamehameha I). This despite the fact that his papers had been burned about ten years earlier. In an article published on February 29, 1868, he supplied the third missing line, leading from Puna(imua) to Manokalanipō (ali‘i nui of Kaua‘i) and his descendants.

In 1868, Kamakau (February 22 and 29) published a third substantial piece of ali‘i genealogy under the heading “Ka Moololo o Kalanikauikaalaneoepuolani, a me ka Mookuahau Kupuna mai, i Kapaia o Kumuuli a me Kumulipo” (The History of Kalanikauika‘alaneoepūolani and the Ancestral Genealogy Called Kumuuli and Kumulipo), part of the series “Ka Moololo o na Kamehameha.” That mo‘okū‘auhau does not actually go all the way back to Kumulipo. It begins with Hulihonua (“Liaikuhonua” in Kamokuiki’s genealogy book), twenty generations down in the line from Palikū (according to Kamokuiki), and descends to Kūkalani‘ehu³⁶ and his sister Kupulanakēhau, who mated with Kahikoluamea and gave birth to Wākea (see figure 4). It then ascends from Kahikoluamea up to Kumuhonua, who is third in the line that descends from Olōlo (according to Kamokuiki and Malo). It then turns to the line descending from Kūkalani‘ehu, who mated with Kahakauakoko (whose ancestors were “Iewa,” upper heavens) and who is shown as having given birth to Papa, the mate of Wākea.³⁷ The mo‘okū‘auhau is then continued from Papa and Wākea down to Kalanikauika‘alaneoepūolani, the mother of Liholiho, Kamehameha II. Perhaps Kamakau was less knowledgeable about the upper reaches of the mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i above Kahikoluamea and Kupulanakēhau. At any rate, he does not trace the genealogy all the way back to Palikū and Olōlo. Kamakau says that his mo‘okū‘auhau came from mele composed for the O‘ahu ali‘i Kūali‘i, Peleiōhōlani, and Kamahana, and from their

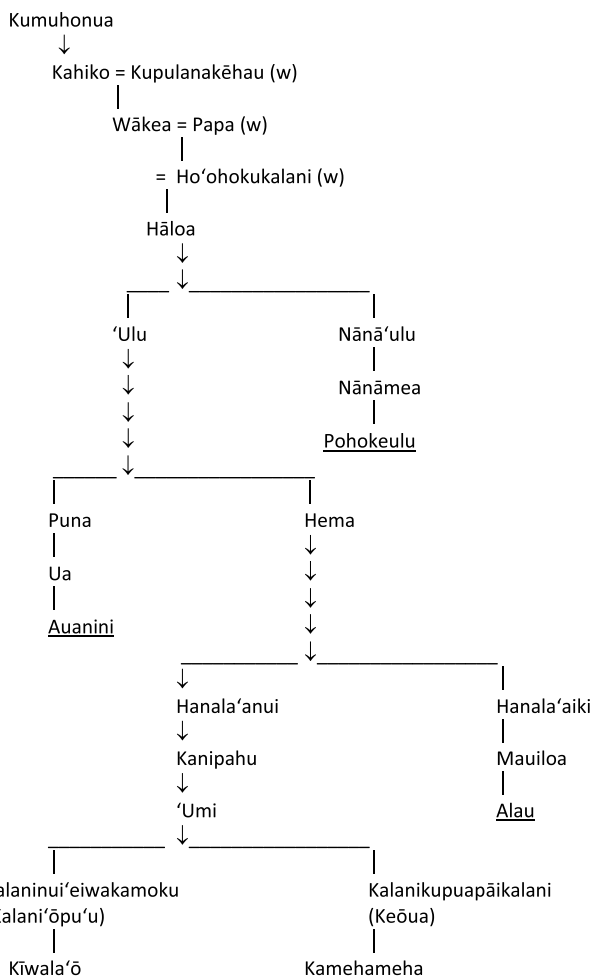


Figure 3. Simplified Genealogy after Kamakau (1842)

Key: = husband to wife tie ↓ descent through many generations

| parent to child tie name line of descent ends here in the genealogy

Named individuals are males unless followed by “(w)” for “wahine” (female)

descendants who were still alive. His mo‘okū‘auhau differs from those of both Malo and Kamokuiki in showing the ancestry of Papa, which is not given in the genealogy book of either.³⁸ This seems to be a difference in the mo‘okū‘auhau maintained on O‘ahu, as opposed to that maintained on Hawai‘i Island, since both Malo and Kamokuiki were taught the Hawai‘i Island tradition by ‘Auwae.

In 1869, Kamakau (October 14, 21, and 28, 1869) published a fourth mo‘okū‘auhau, part of his syncretization between Hawaiian and biblical traditions.³⁹ Kamakau (October 14, 1869) denies the assertion by “others” (including Malo [2020, chap. 3, para. 2]) that La‘ila‘i and her mate Keli‘iwāhilani were the first humans. Instead, he posits Kānehulihonua as the first man, a name similar to the first man Hulihonua in his 1868 mo‘okū‘auhau. He writes in his 1869 mo‘okū‘auhau that Kānehulihonua was created from dirt by “ke Kolu Akua” (the trinity) of Kāne, Kū, and Lono (who were opposed

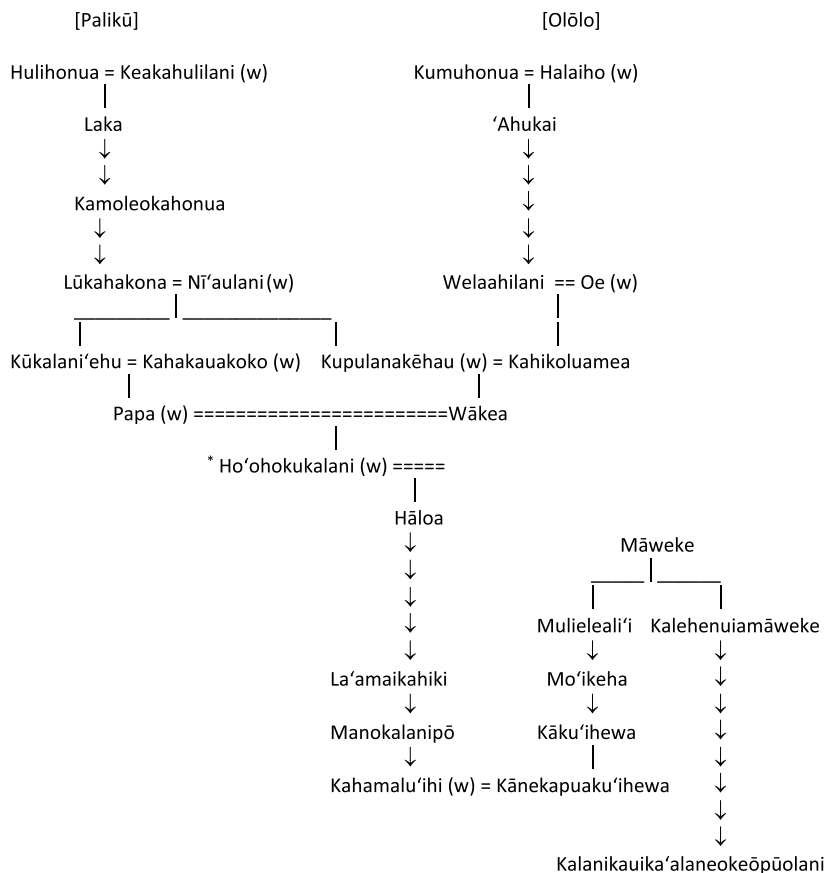


Figure 4. Partial Genealogy after Kamakau (February 22 and 29, 1868)

Key: = husband to wife tie ↓ descent through many generations

| parent to child tie [] Kamakau indicates as ancestor but doesn't give the descent links

Named individuals are males unless followed by "(w)" for "wahine" (female)

* Ho'ohokukalani is the second woman who mated with Wākea.

to Kanaloa, an enemy of this work). The gods then transformed the shadow of Kānehulihonua into the woman Keakahuilani⁴⁰ for him. From this pair were born Laka and his descendants down to Kūkalani'ehu and Kupulanakēhau, who mated with Kahikoluamea and bore Wākea.⁴¹ Except for the name change to Kānehulihonua, and that a creation story similar to that in the Bible has been grafted on to explain the man at the beginning, this 1869 mo'okū'auhau is identical to the part of Kamakau's third mo'okū'auhau (published in 1868) that descends from Hulihonua to Kupulanakēhau. Kamakau calls this 1869 mo'okū'auhau by the name Kumuuli (the same name he gave for that portion of his 1868 mo'okū'auhau) and adds further information showing that it is an O'ahu tradition. Besides noting that he used the mele inoa (name chant) for Kūali'i,⁴² all the ali'i named are said to have lived at various places on O'ahu.

Kamakau was exceedingly confident in his knowledge of mo'okū'auhau ali'i, writing, "Aole o'u hemahema i ka Mookuauhau, ua lako ia iloko o ke poo" (I have no errors in

genealogy; my head is filled with it).⁴³ He was often criticized for what he wrote about mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i, and he responded to his critics with strong, even vicious attacks. Perhaps his most important critics were A. Unauna and Unauna’s son John Ko‘i‘i Unauna.

Immediately after Kamakau published his first version of mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i in *Ka Nonanona* in 1842, A. Unauna (1842) responded to it, making two main points. First, Unauna writes about the inappropriateness of publishing mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i.

I ka wa kahiko he olelo kapu loa keia, aohe e haawi ia aku i ke kanaka e, i kana keiki no e haawi ai.

Aole e loa keia olelo i ka makaainana; aole i na kanaka kuaaina; aia o nalii ka mea e loa ai.

In the ancient period, this information was completely restricted, not to be given out to an outsider, only [by an ali‘i] to his child.

Never would this information be obtained by commoners or by those who lived in the countryside; the ali‘i were the ones who would obtain it.

In writing this, A. Unauna implies that Kamakau should not be publishing mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i for everyone to read. His son John Ko‘i‘i Unauna (December 4, 1865) states this more explicitly.

Ua kauohaia mai makou e ko makou mau kupuna, a me ko makou mau makua “Kuauhau,” aole e hoolaha wale, e malama i ka olelo na ke alii e hoike, e hoolaha, a e haawi hoi elike me kona makemake, a o ke kanaka paha oloko o ka lalani i ike maopopoia he kupono.

We were commanded by our grandparents and our parents trained in genealogy not to disseminate it, to protect it, the ali‘i being the one to exhibit it, to disseminate it, or to give it as he wished, or perhaps a person from within the descent line who was clearly seen to be appropriate.

Kamakau (April 9, 1866) then responds back, “Ua hewa anei au ke hoakea ae ia Kanealāi a me Kumukoa? I ko‘u mana‘o ana, he pololei ke hoakea ia, no ka mea, he Au Hou keia, a he wa e hai ia ai na Moolelo Hawaii.” (Am I wrong to make public [the genealogy of] Kanealāi and Kumukoa? In my thinking, it is correct to make it public because this is a new era, and a time to tell the histories of Hawai‘i.) He also claims (Kamakau, September 12, 1868, “Palapala mai”), in response to the same criticism made by “A Hawaiian,” that it was only on Hawai‘i Island that the dissemination of mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i was kapu; from Maui to Kaua‘i it was not kapu.⁴⁴

In the same article, A. Unauna (1842) criticizes Kamakau for showing Kepo‘okūlou as a child of Kamehameha and as the older brother of Liholiho. This was a misapprehension on the part of Unauna of what Kamakau had written, but Unauna follows it by criticizing the new generation of kū‘auhau in general: “O ko‘u nana ana i keia hanauna kuauhau, aohe pono me he apo wale la. Mai hana i ke kuauhau me ka lohe ole.” (In my observation of the genealogists of this generation, there is no accuracy, [it is as if they are] just grabbing [information]. Don’t make a genealogy unless it has been passed on to you orally.) That is, the proper way to learn

genealogy is the traditional way, by listening to the expert kū‘auhau and repeating after him to memorize the genealogy.

Kamakau’s (1843) response to A. Unauna was respectful: “Auhea oe e Unauna ka haumana kuauhau a Auwae. Ua maopopoloa ia makou i na haumana o ke Kulanui [‘o Lahainaluna] kou ike a me kou akamai [i ka mo‘okū‘auhau].” (Listen, oh Unauna, the genealogy student of ‘Auwae. We, the students of the Lahainaluna Seminary, are very cognizant of your knowledge and skill [in genealogy].) But then he puts forward his own notion of how genealogy should be done.

Ua kakau au i keia kuauhau [1842] ma ko’u noonoo ana a ma ko’u akamai iho, aole ma ko hai manao, aole ma ke ao ana i ke kuauhau; ma ke akamai wale no ka hana ana.

Aka i kuu manao, ina e ala hou mai o Kauakahiakaola ma, ka poe kuauhau, mai ka po mai e olioli lakou i keia, no ka mea, ua pau ia lakou i ka nalowale; olioli lakou ke ike hou.

I wrote this [1842] kū‘auhau by my own thinking and cleverness, not according to anyone else’s idea, not by being taught genealogy, but only through skill.

But in my thinking, if Kauakahiakaola folks, the genealogists, were to rise again from the darkness, they would be happy with this because [this knowledge] was lost [with their passing]; they would be happy to see it again.

Kamakau (1843) continues by complaining about what he saw as a failing of traditional mo‘okū‘auhau, that it only gives the names of those children (and their mothers) who became rulers and omits the others, citing the first one published, that of Kepo‘okūlou in 1835.

Aole o’u makemake e hana pololei loa e haalele i kekahi mau keiki, a ma na keiki wale no i ku i ke aupuni wale no e kakau ai...

O na kuauhau a ka poe i kapaia he poe akamai, ua hana pololei lakou, aole hoomanamana, ua hookoa ia na manamana; ua kapaia he kuauhau okoa kela mana keia mana; aka he hana naupoia i ka manawa kahiko. O ka mea hou ka i oi aku mamua o na mea kahiko.

I have no desire to work straight and leave aside some children and write only of the children who ruled the government....

As for the genealogies of those called clever, they worked straight. They didn’t make branches, they separated the branches and called each branch a different genealogy. But this was an ignorant practice of the ancient period. The new way is better than the ancient way.

Particularly for the recent period following ‘Umi, Kamakau’s practice was to show all (or at least many) of ‘Umi’s wives and children, not only his son Keli‘iokāloa who became the next ruler, and to do the same for following generations.

But was this really something new? Malo’s mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i, given in Dibble’s *Ka Moolelo Hawaii* and in his own *Mo‘olelo Hawaii‘i* (2020, chap. 43), shows a succession of only the ruling ali‘i. However, the genealogy books of both Malo and Kamokuiki, the traditionally trained students of ‘Auwae, show six wives of ‘Umi and children of each

wife, similar to Kamakau’s 1842 genealogy. Apparently, the traditionally trained kŭ‘auhau might choose either plan, depending on the purpose of the mo‘okŭ‘auhau. There are two further considerations concerning the matter of showing all the children and their descendants: (1) If a mo‘okŭ‘auhau is written on paper, it can deal with the branching of a mo‘okŭ‘auhau between two children of a union, or between the children of two wives of an ali‘i—by following one line to its end point and then coming back to the other line, with a reference to the earlier branching. Kamokuiki did that in her genealogy book, giving page references so the reader can keep track of the relationship between the second branch and the branching shown earlier. If the mo‘okŭ‘auhau is chanted, that can still be done (although the listener must be able to keep the larger genealogical framework in his head), as in Malo’s genealogy book. On page 4, he shows the branching between ‘Ulu and Nānā‘ulu, then continues down the line of ‘Ulu. On page 15, he comes back to the line of Nānā‘ulu, referring to the earlier split by using the label “No Nanaulu ko Ulu kaikaina” (Concerning Nānā‘ulu, ‘Ulu’s younger brother). (2) No mo‘okŭ‘auhau ali‘i could continue to include all the lines indefinitely. As descendant lines became more distant from a ruling ali‘i and diminished in rank, they would become less relevant to the society and to the mo‘okŭ‘auhau and would eventually be omitted.

Kamakau also criticized the publication of mo‘okŭ‘auhau without stories of the ali‘i named. Thus, he complains of the mo‘okŭ‘auhau of ruling ali‘i done by Malo for Dibble’s *Ka Moolelo Hawaii* (1838) and then reprinted in Pogue’s new (1858) edition: “Ua hemahema io no anei o D. Malo, i ka mookuahau ana i hoopuka ia ai ma ka buke a Pogue? Ke hai aku nei au ua hemahema a naapo. No ke aha? Auhea ka moolelo no kela Alii keia Alii?” (Kamakau, November 6, 1865; Is not D. Malo incompetent in his genealogy that was put out in the book of Pogue? I say that he is incompetent and ignorant. Why? Where are the stories of the various ali‘i?) A few weeks later, he writes about both the importance and the difficulty of obtaining such stories of the ali‘i: “Ua loa ke kuauhau, o ka Moolelo o kela alii keia alii, ua paakiki loa, aole e loa wale” (Kamakau, October 28, 1865; I have the genealogy, but the story of all the [ruling] ali‘i is very difficult to obtain).⁴⁵

Although Kamakau was respectful of A. Unauna in his response to Unauna’s criticism in 1843, he (Kamakau, November 6, 1865) was extremely rude in his response to the son, John Ko‘i‘i Unauna, when the son (J. K. Unauna, October 9, 1865) dared to question Kamakau’s September 23 and 30, 1865, mo‘okŭ‘auhau. There followed a long series of attacks back and forth between the two in the newspaper *Ke Au Okoa*. Kamakau (December 25, 1865; January 1, 1866) soon began to denigrate the genealogical knowledge of the father as well as the son, and to write that their personal mo‘okŭ‘auhau was “haahaa i lalo lilo” (December 25, 1865; completely low).

4.2 S. N. Hale‘ole

Little is certain about the life of S. N. Hale‘ole. He probably came from Kohala on Hawai‘i Island⁴⁶ and is said to have been born about 1819 (Beckwith 1919, 287). He is probably the student from Kohala named Hale‘ole who attended Lahainaluna Seminary for one year in 1841–42 and then returned to Kohala (Chun 1993, 11).⁴⁷ Hale‘ole (June 1, 1865) writes that he collected ka‘ao (tales) from kŭpuna for eighteen years. In 1862, he published “Ka Moolelo o Laieikawai” serially in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*,

subsequently published as a book the following year (Chun 1993, 12–13). In 1863, he became part of a new Hawaiian historical society “formed in response to a call by S. M. Kamakau,” the second to be given the name ‘Ahahui ‘Imi i nā Mea Kahiko o Hawai‘i nei (Hale‘ole, June 1, 1865; 1919, 68n2, 69). He and S. D. Keolanui were chosen to search for information to write the story of Kamehameha. In 1863–64, Hale‘ole visited Maui and then Kohala ‘Ākau to get information from knowledgeable kūpuna, and he writes that he had filled a large book with material (Hale‘ole, June 1, 1865; “Ua piha he buke nui i ka Moolelo o Hawaii nei”).

As part of his forthcoming story of the life of Kamehameha, he published in 1865 a mo‘okū‘auhau that started with Welaahilani and ended with Kamehameha and his children, asking for corrections in order to try to establish a correct version (Hale‘ole, May 4, 1865).

A nolaila, mamua o ka puka ana o keia moolelo, he pono no‘u, a no makou pu ke waiho aku i kumu hoopolelei no ka mookuauhau a moolelo hoi o Kamehameha: A me kuu manaolana hoi, e ulu mai ana ka hoopaapaa mahope iho o kuu hoakea ana i ka mookuauhau, a mamuli oia hoopaapaa ana, e lilo ai ka moolelo i mea e hoopolelei iki ae ai. Malia paha o ulu mai ka hoopaapaa ana o S. M. Kamakau a me Unauna, a mau mea e ae paha no ka mookuauhau a‘u e pakui ae nei mahope o keia hoakaka ana. Aka, he mea nani nae ka hoopoleleia mahope o ka hoopaapaa ana, ke hoopaapaaia, ke maopopo nae na kumu hoopaapaa i ku i ka pololei.

Therefore, before this mo‘olelo is published, it will be beneficial to me, and to all of us, to present it to referees for the mo‘okū‘auhau and also the mo‘olelo of Kamehameha I. And it is my hope that a debate will arise after I make the mo‘okū‘auhau public, and by virtue of that debate, the mo‘olelo may be made a little more correct. Perhaps an argument will arise between S. M. Kamakau and Unauna, and perhaps others, concerning the mo‘okū‘auhau that I present after this introduction. But correction after an argument is a wonderful thing, if it becomes clear who is correct.

Hale‘ole’s 1865 mo‘okū‘auhau begins with Welaahilani, about fifteen generations later than Kamakau’s 1842 mo‘okū‘auhau and just two generations before Wākea. He writes that it comes from S. M. Kamakau’s genealogy book (“Ua unuhiia mai keia Mookuauhau noloko mai o ka Buke Mookuauhau a S. M. Kamakau”). From Wākea on, it is similar to the mo‘okū‘auhau of Malo, Kamokuiki, and S. M. Kamakau down to the split between the brothers Puna and Hema. In addition to Hale‘ole, Malo (“He Buke”) and Kamakau (February 29, 1868) also follow the Puna line, but each of the three has a different purpose and shows descent to a different ali‘i line.⁴⁸ In his introduction, Hale‘ole points to six other mo‘okū‘auhau that go back different numbers of generations, beginning variously with (1) Wākea, (2) Ho‘okumukahonua (usually “Kumuhonua”), eight generations before Wākea, (3) Pu‘ukahonua,⁴⁹ twenty-four generations before Wākea, (4) Ulehewa, 221 generations before Wākea, (5) Kalonahaikapo, 304 generations before Wākea, and (6) Kāne and Kanaloa, 890 generations before Wākea. He knows of these, but he writes that he cannot publish them now.

Hale‘ole’s genealogy received only one response, a critique from Kauinui two weeks later. Kauinui (1865) complains that Hale‘ole had shown Keōpūolani and Liholiho as

siblings, instead of showing Liholiho as the son of Keōpūolani. This was an error that Hale‘ole (June 1, 1865) acknowledges in his immediate response, writing that he had noticed it even before reading the critique. He adds, “Aole no ke kumu Kuauhau ia hewa, no ka‘u unuhi ana ka hewa mailoko ae o ka Buke Kuauhau nona na aoao 480 e waiho nei imua o‘u” (The mistake is not because of the genealogy source, but because of my erroneous extraction from the genealogy book of 480 pages laying in front of me). Presumably he refers to Kamakau’s book.

Kauinui writes further that Hale‘ole should stop publishing incorrect genealogy. Hale‘ole (June 1, 1865) understood him to be criticizing the source of his knowledge: “Ua i mai oe, ‘Aole oe i ao ia i ke Kuauhau, he lohe mai kou” (You said, “You [Hale‘ole] were not taught genealogy, you only have hearsay”).⁵⁰ To this Hale‘ole (June 15, 1865) reacted strongly. He writes that his search and that of his fellow searchers, such as S. M. Kamakau, is crucial so that the generations of Hawaiians to come will know the story of Hawai‘i’s past.

O ko makou imi ana, a huli ana hoi i ka moolelo o Hawaii nei, he mea nui no ia, no ka mea, e aneane nalo aku ana no ia, a e nalo pu aku ana no na olelo kumu o Hawaii nei. A nolaila, ma ia ano, e pono no makou ke ala, a ku, e imi, a e huli hoi i ka moolelo o ka pae aina Hawaii i waena o ka poe kahiko....

No ka mea, o ko makou imi ana i ka moolelo no ko Hawaii Pae Aina, aole ia he mea na makou e hoolilo ai i mea lealea wale no a paani hoi, a imea paha e kaao wale aku ai, aka, ua imi makou i mau mea e hiki aku ai ke kaulana o ka moolelo i na hanauna mahope aku. No ka mea hoi, ua ane nele loa keia mau la i ka poe i ike maoli i na moolelo maopopo o keia lahui. A nolaila o ka moolelo a makou e huli ai, a hoakea ae, a hoopolei iki ae hoi e lilo i Buke nui, nolaila he waiwai nui ia no kela a me keia, no keia hanauna a no ka hanauna mahope aku.

Our search for the history of Hawai‘i is a really important thing, because it is almost lost, and so are the original accounts of Hawai‘i. Therefore, we must awaken, arise, and search for the history of the Hawaiian Archipelago among the old people....

Because our search for the history of the Hawaiian Archipelago is not something we use to amuse ourselves or just to tell tales, but rather a means by which the fame of the history can reach future generations. Because those who actually know the history of this race are nearly all gone these days. And therefore the history that we search for and make public and correct will become a large book, and therefore a precious thing for everyone, for this generation and the generations to come.

Kauinui makes an additional comment in his 1865 critique, that Kamehameha and Ulumāheihē were both fathers (po‘olua) of Keōpūolani’s child Liholiho, according to what he had heard, although Hale‘ole had shown only Kamehameha as the father. Hale‘ole (June 1, 1865) responds to this by writing, “Ua kapae ae makou ia Ulumehēihē⁵¹ i mea e nani ai o Keopuolani, aole no ko makou ike ole” (We left out Ulumehēihē in order to make Keōpūolani look good, not because we didn’t know that).⁵² Judging from the accounts written by ‘Ī‘Ī and Kamakau, it was not unusual for a child to have two fathers, one the husband of the mother and the other the lover. But the usual practice of Hawaiian kū‘auhau in such cases was to show only the husband as the father.

Hale‘ole died on October 22, 1866, not long after his publication of the mo‘okū‘auhau and before he was able to publish his story of Kamehameha. It seems likely

that his notes on Kamehameha's life went to Kamakau and that Kamakau used them for his "Ka Moololo o Kamehameha I." The genealogy book that Hale'ole mentioned that lay in front of him, presumably that of S. M. Kamakau, is not known to us.

4.3 ABRAHAM FORNANDER

Abraham Fornander was born in Sweden in 1812 (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1887). He first came to Hawai'i in 1838 and soon went off on a whaling ship. He returned in 1842 and settled in Honolulu. In 1847, he married Pinao Alanakapu, an ali'i from Moloka'i. Subsequently, he became a newspaper editor and later was appointed as a judge. He developed a great interest in Hawaiian language and lore, leading to his collection of a large corpus of Hawaiian tales, mo'okū'auhau, and ethnographic notes, published by the Bishop Museum in 1916–20 as *The Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore*. As Fornander ([1878] 1890, ix) himself states, most of the collecting was done for him by Native Hawaiian assistants.⁵³

When I first entertained the idea of preparing myself for a work on Polynesian Archaeology, I employed two, sometimes three, intelligent and educated Hawaiians to travel over the entire group and collect and transcribe from the lips of the old natives, all the legends, chants, prayers, &c, bearing upon the ancient history, culte, and customs of the people that they possibly could get hold of. This continued for nearly three years.

Fornander adds that it would have been much more difficult for him to have done the collecting, because the old natives "maintain the greatest reserve on such subjects," and to a foreigner, "any such revelation is almost impossible."

Fornander published his major three-volume work on Hawaiian and Polynesian history, language, and traditions, *An Account of the Polynesian Race, Its Origin and Migrations*, in 1878–85. In volume 1 ([1878] 1890), he attempted to show by comparisons of language, genealogy, and customs that the origin of Hawaiians and of Polynesians in general lay in the Malay Archipelago and earlier still in the pre-Vedic Aryan ("Cushite") stock of the Persian Gulf and northwest India. His attempt to connect the Polynesians to an Aryan stock has long been discredited, but his history of the Hawaiian ruling ali'i in volume 2 is still regarded as valuable.⁵⁴ The bulk of volume 2 ([1880] 1890) is a description of Hawaiian history after the "migratory period" of movement back and forth between Hawai'i and islands to the south (Kahiki), presenting the mo'okū'auhau of the ruling ali'i of the various islands, with accounts of their rule insofar as he learned them. (It begins with Kalaunuiohua of Hawai'i, Kamaloohua of Maui, Lāuliala'a of O'ahu, and 'Ahukiniala'a of Kaua'i.)

In general, Fornander's approach to Hawaiian mo'okū'auhau ali'i is that of an outsider. Having collected a number of mo'okū'auhau, he points to the differences between versions and to the disconformity in the number of generations from a common ancestor to contemporary ali'i in different lines of descent, regarding both as evidence of deliberate changes to the mo'okū'auhau.⁵⁵ He was, however, misled by syncretic material from the Native Hawaiian scholars S. M. Kamakau and Z. Kepelino. During the process of working up his material for volume 1, he conferred with the two of them (Fornander [1878] 1890,

xii; Barrère 1969, 1).⁵⁶ On the basis of the material they gave him, he constructed a mo‘okū‘auhau from Kumuhonua, described as “the first created man,” created by the trinity of the gods Kāne, Kū, and Lono, and leading to Papa (Fornander [1878] 1890, 86, 181–83). Dorothy Barrère (1969) describes in detail the evidence that Fornander’s Kumuhonua genealogy is his own creation from what Kamakau and Kepelino told him, material which often differed from their own written work, which in turn differed from the mele Kumulipo. She calls it a “variant Kumuhonua genealogy” because, while it begins with Kumuhonua, like Kamakau’s 1842 Kumuhonua mo‘okū‘auhau, it has many differences from Kamakau’s.⁵⁷ Among the differences, a series of non-traditional names is inserted after Lu‘anu‘u down through Hawai‘iloa and then to Papa, the mate of Wākea. Hawai‘iloa is not found in any of the traditional Hawaiian mo‘okū‘auhau, and the story of Hawai‘iloa (Fornander 1916–20, 6:266–81) seems to have been constructed after Western contact with Hawai‘i.⁵⁸

In his first volume, Fornander ([1878] 1890, 181, 184–87) gives four other mo‘okū‘auhau leading to Wākea and Papa that he says are “current among the Hawaiians” and which he calls Kumuuli, Opukahonua, Kapapaiakea, and Welaahilani. These mo‘okū‘auhau, like those of Kamakau and Hale‘ole, do not go back as far as Olōlo or Palikū. The Kumuuli mo‘okū‘auhau published by Fornander is substantially the same as the Li‘aikūhonua branch in Kamokuiki’s book and to the descent line from Hulihonua to Papa in Kamakau’s 1868 mo‘okū‘auhau—except that it ends with Kahiko and his son Wākea instead of Kupulanakēhau and her daughter Papa.⁵⁹ The Opukahonua⁶⁰ mo‘okū‘auhau has not been found elsewhere, but Pu‘ukahonualani is given in the mele Kumulipo (line 1754) as the older brother of Li‘aikūhonua (equivalent to Hulihonua in Kamakau’s 1868 mo‘okū‘auhau) and Ohomaila (‘o Hōmaila).⁶¹

5. CONCLUSION

The nineteenth-century kū‘auhau have been grouped here into an earlier group (Malo, Kamokuiki, Ka‘ō‘ō, and A. Unauna), traditionally trained as students by listening to an expert and memorizing, and a later group (Kamakau, Hale‘ole, and Fornander), who were not traditionally trained but collected information from here and there. Several contrasts have been noted in the work of these kū‘auhau. Generally, the older group contrasts with the younger group, although the correlation is not perfect.

The mo‘okū‘auhau in the genealogy books written by Malo and Kamokuiki, who were both traditionally trained by ‘Auwae, begin with Kumulipo, as does the mele itself, many generations further back than the mo‘okū‘auhau in Ka‘ō‘ō’s book or those of the three later kū‘auhau, who were not traditionally trained.

Malo was respected for his genealogical knowledge, but a comparison of his genealogy book with that of Kamokuiki indicates that she had learned a more connected-up version of the mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i than he had. They both reportedly learned from ‘Auwae, but Kamokuiki evidently had learned more.

In the 1960s, Dorothy Barrère analyzed certain mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i, that published by Kamakau in 1869 and the “variant Kumuhonua genealogy” first published by Fornander in 1878, both of which start with a first man created by Hawaiian gods. She was able to show by a comparison with the mele Kumulipo that both of those mo‘okū‘auhau are

truncated versions of the traditional mo‘okū‘auhau, which go back much further, and that the associated creation stories were inspired by the biblical story of creation. The genealogy book of Kamokuiki closely parallels the genealogy in the mele Kumulipo. It reinforces Barrère’s conclusion by showing us what a traditional mo‘okū‘auhau going back to the Hawaiian beginning looked like.

The traditionally trained kū‘auhau A. Unauna maintained the traditional view that ali‘i genealogy should not be shared publicly. The younger kū‘auhau, Kamakau and Hale‘ole, rejected this criticism, arguing that it was a new era (Kamakau) and that it was necessary to make this information public or it would be lost (Hale‘ole). Malo, although he was older and had been traditionally trained, obviously agreed with the younger men, since his mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i was published in Dibble’s *Mooolelo Hawaii*.

Both Malo and Kamokuiki, as students of ‘Auwae, would have learned a Hawai‘i Island version of the mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i. The genealogy in the mele Kumulipo was also a Hawai‘i Island version, since it was composed for a Hawai‘i Island ali‘i. It is clear that Kamakau sometimes exploited different sources, like kūpuna who came from O‘ahu. But we do not really know how much the mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i taught on other islands might have been different from that taught on Hawai‘i Island. Further investigation of Kamakau’s work might offer more clues.

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I thank my intellectual forbears in this field, Dorothy Barrère for her work on Kamakau’s and Fornander’s syncretization of Hawaiian and biblical traditions, and John Charlot for his work on the mele Kumulipo, for the section “Genealogists and Historians” in his encyclopedic volume *Classical Hawaiian Education*, and for his suggestions concerning this article.

NOTES

1. *Ka Lama Hawaii* (1834): “Mamua, i ka wa o Kamehameha, ua ao ia [‘o ‘Auwae] i ke kakao-lelo, a he kuauhau oia mamua” (Before, in the time of Kamehameha, [‘Auwae] was trained in kākā‘ōlelo [counseling the ruler], and he was a genealogist before).

2. A. (1853): “Having associated much with Auwai [sic: ‘Auwae], a favorite chief of Kamehameha I, who excelled in a knowledge of national affairs, the genealogies of the chiefs, the tabu system, traditions, &c., Malo became very distinguished in all these branches.”

3. J. K. Unauna (February 5, 1866): “O A. Unauna ka mea a Auwae i ao ai i ke kuauhau, oia ka pololei, a mahope iho o Kaoo, a lohe hoi o Kamokuiki, i Waihee no kona wahi i noho ai me kana kane me Kamanawa” (A. Unauna is the one ‘Auwae taught genealogy to, that is correct, and afterward [he taught] Ka‘ō‘ō, and Kamokuiki, who lived at Waihe‘e with her husband Kamanawa, also heard [his teaching]). See also Kamakau (1843): “Auheha oe e Unauna, ka hau-mana kuauhau a Auwae” (Attention Unauna, the genealogy student of ‘Auwae).

The preface to “Lahaina, Maui” gives a slightly different picture, associating Malo’s work with Kamokuiki and Unauna’s work with Ka‘ō‘ō:

Kekahi hakina o Ka Buke a Kamokuiki[,] a o Davida Malo, o ko Kamokuiki paepae ia, o ke aoao ana me Auwae, a o A. Unauna o ko Kaoo paepae ia. Aohe Buke a Auwae. Eha wale no Buke i laha ae, o ka Kamokuiki, ka Kaoo a me Malo a me Unauna.

[This book includes] a portion of the [genealogy] book of Kamokuiki. Concerning the learning from ‘Auwae, Davida Malo was the supporter of Kamokuiki, and A. Unauna was the supporter of Ka‘ō‘ō. There is no book written by ‘Auwae. Only four books have been circulated, those of Kamokuiki, Ka‘ō‘ō, Malo, and Unauna.]

According to Pukui (1943, 214), the term “paepae,” or “supporter,” was formerly used in the hālau hula for pupils not chosen by the kumu hula to be the po‘opua‘a, or head pupil. Presumably the designation of Unauna as paepae to Ka‘ō‘ō means Ka‘ō‘ō was the lead student, and similarly Kamokuiki was the lead student to Malo.

4. Another possible spelling of this name is Koi‘i.

5. Ka‘ō‘ō had three husbands, according to Kamakau (2001, 233), first Kūihelani I, then ‘Auwae, then Kūihelani ‘ōpio (H. Kūihelani).

6. J. K. Unauna (February 5, 1866): “Ua ao o A. Unauna ma i ke kuauhau, hele mai kela a nonoi mai ia Auwae, a ua aoia keia poe e Auwae, a i ko lakou aoia ana, ua aoia ma ka hoopaanaau ana, aoie ma ka palapala, e like me kau e palolo mai nei.” (A. Unauna folks were taught genealogy. They came and requested it of ‘Auwae, and ‘Auwae taught these people, and in their education they learned by memorization, not by means of a document like you use to deceive [others].)

7. Aolani Ka‘ilihou (personal communication, 2018), based on her search in the Hawai‘i State Archives for information concerning the papa kū‘auhau ali‘i for her master’s thesis, “Ka Papa Kū‘auhau Ali‘i ma ka Wā o Kalākaua he Mō‘ī” (2018). Ka‘ilihou discovered that after the papa kū‘auhau ali‘i under Po‘omaikelani was ended by the legislature once the Bayonet Constitution was forced on Kalākaua, its work was continued by Po‘omaikelani under the Hale Nauā. For the nature of the Hale Nauā, see Silva (2004, 104–7).

8. Beckwith (1951, 1) states that the mele Kumulipo, one of the manuscripts held by the board, passed from the estate of Kalandiana‘ole to Bishop Museum in 1922.

9. The author’s name on the first page is written as “Davida Malo ke kahukula” (Davida Malo, schoolmaster). It is not clear what school he might have been master of on January 25, 1827, perhaps a small school for children. January 25, 1827, is apparently the date when he began to write, and he probably continued over some time, as suggested by Malcolm Chun (1993, 2).

10. Kamakau (November 6, 1865), in criticizing Malo’s work, writes, “Ua hemahema io no anei o D. Malo, i ka mookuauhau ana i hoopuka ia ai ma ka buke a Pogue?” (Is not D. Malo incompetent in his genealogy that was published in the book of Pogue?) The “book of Pogue” was a reprinting and enlargement of the earlier book *Ka Mooolo Hawaii* published by Dibble. It contains the same mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i (Pogue 1858, 34–36) as that found in the earlier book by Dibble (1838, 33–36).

11. According to Kamakau (September 9, 1865), the last chapter of Malo’s manuscript, the story of the ruling chief ‘Umi, was written as an essay to be presented to the ‘Ahahui ‘Imi i nā Mea Kahiko o Hawai‘i nei (Society Investigating the Antiquities of Hawai‘i), probably around 1841. Malo was working on the manuscript up to his death in 1853, and it was still incomplete: the last chapter breaks off without finishing the story of ‘Umi, and the last few chapters are noticeably less well edited.

12. The title of Kamokuiki’s book (given the designation “G-33” by the Hawai‘i State Archives) is given on the first page but not on the cover, which has only the words “Kope” (copy) and “Kamokuiki,” written in the same hand as the contents of the book. Below that, in another hand, are the words “with Kumu lipo gen.” Obviously the book is a copy of Kamokuiki’s original. It is not clear whether the 1839 date refers to the original or the copy.

13. McDougall (2016, 55): “A handwritten version [of the Kumulipo] believed to be from Kalākaua’s grandmother Kamokuiki had been part of his inheritance.” McDougall does not indicate the basis for this statement.

14. We know the manuscript was in Kalākaua’s possession in 1880 because he showed it to Adolf Bastian (Charlot 2014, 4).

15. See note 3 for the quotation concerning Unauna’s genealogy book.

16. See the quotation on pages 21 from J. K. Unauna (December 4, 1865), which indicates that he learned genealogy from his father.

17. Kamakau (September 11, 1865): “Ua aoia o H. K. Kapakuhaili, i ka moo Alii, elua ana kumu kuauhau, o Iakopo Malo, a o A. Unauna, aia paha i kana buke?” (H. K. Kapākūhaili was taught the ali’i genealogy; she had two genealogy teachers, Iakopo Malo and A. Unauna. It is perhaps mentioned in her book?)

18. Some additional names come up in the nineteenth-century Hawaiian newspapers of individuals who wrote about genealogy, usually in their criticism of Kamakau, including J. K. Unauna and H. K. Kapākūhaili (both previously mentioned), Iakopo Malo, B. Kaulainamoku, J. Kau’iomānoa, and R. K. Kapihe. See the appendix in Nogelmeier (2010) for their newspaper articles. Except for the first two, nothing much is known of them.

19. For Kamakau, see Kapihe (1868): “Nolaila, ke kapu nei ka’u [‘ike kū’auhau] na ke’lii, aole na ka noa. Pela no ka poe a pau i ike a i ao kumu ia, aka, aole pela ka SMK, ka mea i ao kumu ole ia.” (Therefore, I tabu my [genealogical knowledge] for the ali’i, not for the common folk. That’s what all those who know and were taught by a teacher do, but that is not what SMK does, the one not taught by a teacher.)

20. Kamokuiki gives the spelling “Ke Kai a ka Hinalii” in her genealogy book, while Malo’s (n.d.) “Ka Moolelo Hawaii” and the Hawaiian Bible give the spelling “ke kai a Kahinalii.”

21. Malo (2020, chap. 42, para. 1–3) writes that the ruling ali’i at the time of the tidal wave is said to have been Lono of Kona in one version of the story and Konikoni’ā of Hilo in another version. Neither ali’i is found in the chiefly genealogies, according to Malo, and he conjectures that the story may pre-date the arrival of the ancestors to Hawai’i.

22. By contrast, in *Ka Mo’olelo Hawai’i*, Malo (2020, chap. 3, para. 5) gives two sons, Līhau’ula and Wākea. Later (chap. 18, para. 1), he says that Wākea and Papa are the ancestors of the entire Hawaiian race and makes no mention of Līhau’ula. Malo (2020, chap. 20, para. 10–12) does give a genealogy of the kauā, but it begins not from a brother of Wākea, but from a kauā of Wākea named Huahua’ilani, who slept with Papa, and their child Kekeu was born, a kauā. Fornander ([1878] 1890, 112) mentions a “legend” that gives all three sons, but says that Maku’u was the ancestor of the maka’āinana, rather than the kauā. He argues that other accounts have only the first two brothers, and that the addition of the third son is a late development.

23. Malo (2020, chap. 11, para. 9) is not very willing to credit Wākea’s sleeping with his own daughter by Papa, Ho’ohokukalani. In writing about the ‘ai kapu, he writes that he is unsure of the truth of the story that the ‘ai kapu was established by Wākea so that he could sleep with Ho’ohokukalani and hide it from his wife Papa. Later, he (chap. 43, para. 17) writes that although some people say that Ho’ohokukalani was Wākea’s daughter, others say that she was the daughter of his kahuna Komoawa, and if that was the case, it would have been proper for him to sleep with Ho’ohokukalani.

24. Kalaninui’iamamao (also written “Kalani’iamamao”) was the first husband of Kamehameha’s grandmother, Kamaka’imoku. Thus, he was born two generations prior to Kamehameha, whose birth is dated variously between 1736 and 1761 (Kuykendall 1938, 429). Taking the median date of 1748 for Kamehameha’s birth and allowing 25 years per generation, Kalaninui’iamamao would have been born about 1698. Ke’āulumoku was not born until 1715–16 (Charlot 2003, 20), too late for him to have composed the mele in 1700.

25. The appropriate diacritical marks seem obvious, except for the names Pōhaha and Pōlalawehi. Pōhaha is chosen instead of Pōhāhā, following Charlot (2014, 147, 154).

Pōlalawehi is likely an erroneous spelling, as both Kamokuiki and the mele Kumulipo have the name as “Polalowehi.”

26. Kepo‘okūlou’s 1835 genealogy is written in the same way. Kamokuiki and others present the genealogy more obviously: each line has three names and the names fall into three columns labeled “kane,” “wahine,” and “keiki.”

27. For the first four wā, the sequence of male-female couples in the manuscript of the mele Kumulipo is the same as that in both Malo’s and Kamokuiki’s genealogy books and in Kalākau’s 1889 published version of the Kumulipo, which was printed after the original manuscript and is the version used by Charlot (2014). Lili‘uokalani’s 1897 published translation of the manuscript reverses the position of the second and third wā, as Charlot (9) points out. Beginning with the fifth wā, there are discrepancies in some of the names of the couples—differences between Malo’s and Kamokuiki’s versions and between both and the mele Kumulipo—but all three end with the birth of La‘ila‘i in the eighth wā.

28. The subsequent lines 1710–11 of the mele indicate that Palikū was born before Olōlo, but Kamokuiki (“O na Kuauhau,” 36) shows Olōlo as born before Palikū.

29. As Beckwith (1951, 119) indicates, Haohokakalani is usually written Ho‘ohokukalani.

30. See the section “Genealogists and Historians” in Charlot (2005, 486–547) for an informative discussion of the work of S. M. Kamakau and his contemporaries as genealogist-historians.

31. Dibble (1843) 1909, iii–iv; Arista 2020, 33.

32. Kamakau (October 28, 1865):

Owai na’Lii me ka poe naauao a me ka poe kahiko i koe, e hiki ke hai mai i ka Moolelo o keia poe Alii [i helu ‘ia i luna]; a e huipu me a’u i ka noonoo i ko kakou Moolelo Hawaii.... [Ua wehe ‘ia kekahi mau paukū.]

... Aole loa oia poe i keia wa.

Who are the ali‘i and the knowledgeable people and the old people that are left who can tell the story of these ali‘i [listed above]?... [Several paragraphs omitted.]

... There are none left now.

Kamakau (September 9, 1865):

I keia manawa, he poe malihini ke noho nei maluna o ka aina.

Ina makemake kekahi e ninau i ka poe alii oia wahi au i lohe ai, e hoole mai auanei kela kanaka, he malihini au no Hawaii, a pela wale aku.

No ka pau ana o kahiko mai Hawaii a Kauai. Aole no he poe i ike koe.

At this time there are newcomers living on the land.

If someone wants to ask about the ali‘i of that place that you have heard about, he will say he is a newcomer from Hawai‘i Island and so on.

Because of the death of the elders from Hawai‘i to Kaua‘i. No one knowledgeable is left.

33. Kamakau (February 14, 1843): “E Unauna: Ua kakau au i keia kuauhau [kāna i pa‘i ai ma ka makahiki 1842] ma ko‘u noonoo ana a ma ko‘u akamai iho, aole ma ko hai manao, aole ma ke ao ana i ke kuauhau; ma ke akamai wale no ka hana ana” (Attention Unauna: I wrote this genealogy [the one he published in 1842] by means of my thinking and my smartness, not by means of anyone else’s thoughts, not by having been taught genealogy; purely through my own skill).

34. Kamakau 1867: “O ke mele Koihonua no hoi, ua pili no i na kupuna alii a me na mookuauhau alii, e hoike ana i ke ano o kona alii kiekie a me kona mau kupuna. Ma ke mele Koihonua o Kualii, ua hanaia o Kumuuli a me Kumulipo; a ma ke mele hoi o Peleioholani, ua hookomo ia ka mookuauhau o Ololo me ke Kuamoo o Haloa; a ma ka Noho o Kamahano [sic: Kamahana], ua hookomoia ka Paliku a me ka moalii o Punaimua.” (The mele ko‘ihonua is related to the ali‘i

ancestors and the ali‘i genealogy, showing the high status of the ali‘i and his ancestors. In the mele ko‘ihonua of Kūali‘i are shown Kumuuli and Kumulipo; and in the mele of Peleiōhōlani, the genealogy of Olōlo and the line of Hāloa are included; and in the reign of Kamahana, the [genealogy of] Palikū and the ali‘i line of Punaimua are included.)

In his biographical account of Kekāuluohi, Kamakau (June 24, 1869) uses the mele ko‘ihonua composed for her (which he published in seven installments beginning on August 15, 1868) as the source of her mo‘okū‘auhau. He writes further that although the mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i was kapu and held only by the ruler, it might be inserted into the mele ko‘ihonua for another ali‘i.

35. Kamakau (November 6, 1865) uses a mele to argue against the genealogy written by Malo that appears in Pogue’s 1858 revision of *Ka Moolelo Hawaii* and which has Hua and his descendants in the line stemming from Hema. Kamakau argues that Hua and his descendants were instead in the line stemming from Puna(imua).

36. Kamokuiki’s genealogy book has “Kulaniehu” instead of “Kukalaniehu.”

37. Kamokuiki and Malo, in their respective genealogy books, both give Haumea as the child born from the mating of Kūkalani‘ehu and Kahakauakoko, rather than Papa. However, Malo (2020, chap. 3, para. 5) says that Haumea is Papa.

38. Malo (2020, chap. 3, para. 2) does say in his mo‘olelo that Wākea’s wife Haumea is the same as Papa, and that her ancestors were pali (cliffs).

39. See Barrère (1961; 1969) on Kamakau’s Hawaiian-biblical syncretization.

40. This is spelled “Keakahulani” in the source but has been changed by me to “Keakahulilani,” as spelled elsewhere by Kamakau (February 22, 1868).

41. Kamakau (July 29, 1865) published a similar creation story earlier in which the three gods Kāne, Kū, and Lono created the first man, but his name is given there as Welaahilaninui, the grandfather of Wākea.

42. The name song “He Inoa no Kualii” is included in *Na Mele Aimoku* ([1886] 2001). The mele gives the name Li‘aikūhonua rather than Kamakau’s Hulihonua, and it traces the ancestry of that individual all the way back to Palikū, which Kamakau does not. However, the version of Kūali‘i’s name song known to Kamakau probably did not trace the genealogy back to Palikū. The version Kamakau used is presumably the one he published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* in seven installments, beginning on April 11, 1868, under the title, “He Mele no Kualii.” His version is missing the first part of the genealogy at the beginning that goes back to Palikū.

43. Kamakau, October 28, 1865.

44. A year later, however, Kamakau (June 24, 1869) writes, “I ka wa kahiko ua kapu loa [ka mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i], aia maluna o ke‘alii ia ia ka noho alii moi, ia ia wale no na mookuahau kupuna alii a pau.” (In the ancient period, [the ali‘i genealogy] was very kapu. It was held by the ali‘i who ruled, only he had all the ancestral ali‘i genealogy).

45. See also Charlot (2005, 491–92).

46. Hale‘ole (1919, 67) writes that the man Ka‘ili who raised him lived in Kohala.

47. According to Chun, there is also a record of a student Hale‘ole from the Lahaina area who attended Lahainaluna Seminary from 1834 to 1839 and then became a teacher at Ha‘ikū, Maui, but this seems unlikely to be S. N. Hale‘ole if he came from Kohala.

48. Malo shows the descent from Puna to the O‘ahu ali‘i Peleiōhōlani, Ke‘eaumoku, and Kaneoneo; Kamakau shows the descent to the Kāua‘i ali‘i Manokalanipō; Hale‘ole shows the descent through Kākuhihewa (ali‘i nui of O‘ahu) to Keōpūolani and her son Liholiho. Kamokuiki does not follow the Puna line.

49. Hale‘ole writes the name as “Opukahonua,” which today would probably be spelled “Opu‘ukahonua.” The “o,” a subject marker, was often combined with names during the nineteenth century, leading to confusion as to the spelling.

50. There is some difficulty in interpreting the last half of this statement, “he lohe mai kou.” Listening attentively (ho‘olohe) was part of the process of learning genealogy from the expert teacher—the teacher chanted the genealogy, the student listened (ho‘olohe) and memorized it. Kauinui seems here to draw a contrast between being taught genealogy (“a‘o ‘ia i ke kū‘auhau”), presumably in a formal way from an expert, and merely hearing it (“lohe mai”), presumably in an informal way, and perhaps from someone not considered an expert kū‘auhau.

51. Ulumeheihei is a variant spelling of the name Ulumāheihei.

52. According to Davida Malo (Langlas and Lyon 2008, 33–38), who would have known, Ulumāheihei was not living with Keōpūolani at the time of Liholiho’s conception and birth; Kalanimoku (Kālaimoku) was living with her at that time and would have been considered her other husband besides Kamehameha.

53. Many scholars have assumed that these assistants were S. M. Kamakau, Kepelino, and S. N. Hale‘ole, since Fornander ([1878] 1890, xii) mentions receiving help from them, but I believe this is a misreading. He “conferred” with Kamakau and was “furnished with some valuable chants” by Kepelino. That does not mean that they traveled all over the archipelago collecting material for him.

54. Among others who credit Fornander’s account of ruling ali‘i, see Emory (1959), Barrère (1969, 1), and Hommon (1976).

55. See Fornander ([1878] 1890, 194–95) for different versions of the line descending from Puna, and pp. 198–99 for grossly different numbers of generations from the brothers Nānā‘ulu and ‘Ulu to their descendants contemporary to each other, Māweke and Paumakua, respectively.

56. As Barrère (1969, 1) writes, Fornander’s notes from his conversations with Kepelino and Kamakau are preserved in the *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore*, vol. 6 (2): 266–81.

57. Barrère (1961, 423–24) enumerates the differences between Fornander’s Kumuhonua genealogy and the corresponding section of genealogy in the mele Kumulipo.

58. The actual story of Hawai‘iloa is only a small part (pp. 278–81) of the section titled “The Legend of Hawaii Loa” in the *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore* 6, no. 2. Emory (1959, 32) argues, “It has every appearance of a post-European neo-myth, of which there are many composed in answer to questions and suggestions made by foreigners.”

59. The source of the Kumuuli genealogy given by Fornander is the name song “He Mele no Kualii.” A portion of this name song is published as an appendix in Fornander ([1880] 1890, 371–99) and in the *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities* (1916–20, 4:370–94). The mo‘okū‘auhau ends with Wākea as the son of Kahiko, who is the son of Lukahakona, just as Fornander ([1880] 1890, 184–85) has it. Kamakau (February 22 and 29, 1868; October 14, 1869) uses the same source (called “ke mele inoa alii o Kualii” by him), but his mo‘okū‘auhau ends differently, with Wākea as the son of Kupulanakēhau, the daughter of Lukahakona.

60. Fornander’s “Opukahonua” should probably be spelled “O Pu‘ukahonua.” The “o,” a subject marker, was often combined with names during the nineteenth century, leading to confusion as to the spelling. As for the “u” instead of “u‘u,” a non-native speaker of Hawaiian such as Fornander might easily miss the ‘okina and hear only one “u.”

61. “Homaila” is the spelling given by Kamokuiki in her mo‘okū‘auhau.

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