BRINGING THE BRIGHT LAND INTO BEING:

SEEDING AND FEEDING SPACE AND PLACE IN HAWAI‘I

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Abstract

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Sacred knowledge in Polynesia is believed to live in the higher dimensions of space. Held by a few experts, it is passed down according to the perceived readiness of the questioner. The topic of this thesis is part of that sacred lore. Turning space into place is believed by many to be done by bringing the sacred knowledge to earth; using it to make the land more fertile.

The hidden dimensions of knowledge are contained in the Hawaiian language, which has many ‘bodies of meaning’. What is seen depends on perception. The ‘body’ of the word may be grown like a cord, and intertwined with the physical and meta-physical construction of the human body and the growth of the land. Certain perceptions of the hidden meanings may open to the individual body and consciousness to lighter dimensions, where higher beings and greater knowledge reside.

This thesis builds on previous geographical and anthropological work in place names. Four sequences of names from three islands, Kaua‘i, Hawai‘i and Moloka‘i are studied. I discuss how ‘place’ in Hawai‘i may be conceived of as not yet existing in reality and refer to the legendary islands of the gods. In these examples I illustrate how place may be thought of as being ‘grown’ through a system of imaging and reflection. None of these interpretations are exclusive and are indicative of the multi-dimensional nature of Hawaiian knowledge which must be understood according to perception.

I demonstrate that the word is part of a system of growth, through attraction and creation. This has different results, depending on the perception of the interpreter. The eventual result can be imaged as regaining the land of the gods or ‘bringing the bright land into being’. Frequent comparisons to New Zealand allude to the possibility of a system stretching throughout Polynesia.
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NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION

The Polynesian languages used to be exclusively oral traditions. Nora Chadwick surveyed ‘literary types’ and wrote that the Polynesians’ oral literature shows ‘a greater intellectual activity than that of any other people ...’ (Chadwick 1940: 232, 233). One of the their advantages is that meanings can be interpreted in many different ways. Writing and drawing inevitably flatten cultural topography. Writing, as the Polynesians were to discover when their language was ‘fixed’ into a written language, does mean that one interpretation, a product of a particular background and viewpoint, can overcome all other interpretations. Writing ossifies language, and people read it who may be ‘in a different space’, at other places in background and understanding. So false representations can take over, and finally people forget that there ever was, or ever could be, any other way of living and believing.

However in Hawai‘i the problem is less acute than it might have been, because of the existence of kaona, or ‘hidden meanings’ within the Hawaiian words. That is why I try and use as many Hawaiian words as possible in this dissertation, so I can leave interpretations as fluid as possible for people who read this.

Since the time of the missionaries, the Hawaiian language has been written down, and the standardization for Hawaiian differs from the rest of Polynesia. For example the letter ‘l’ is used instead of ‘r’, and the letter ‘k’ instead of ‘t’. William Ellis wrote: (Ellis 1825: preface iv): ‘Every sound has its appropriate sign; every word is spelled exactly as it is pronounced; and thus the art of reading and writing the language, is rendered to the natives simple and easy’.

But this may not have represented the reality at the time. For example, Anderson, the natural historian on Cook’s voyages, used t and r regularly (Schutz 1994: 59) and there were only minor linguistic differences within the Hawaiian group (Schütz 1994: 111). The representation that is now standard and usually spoken was decided by the missionaries. A committee of seven chose twelve English letters to represent the Hawaiian alphabet in 1826. The consonants are h, k, l, m, n, p and w and the vowels a, e, i, o and u. The process of selection was close, missionaries voting by 4-3 to record the dialect that way (Schütz 1994: 122-5). Perhaps this was a short-sighted decision. The Hawaiian island of Ni‘ihau, the only island where Hawaiian has been spoken without interruption, uses the old pronunciation.

The Polynesian language family is the most homogeneous in the Pacific. The languages of Polynesia such as New Zealand Maori, Hawaiian, Tahitian and Rapanui [Easter Island] are usually mutually intelligible to each other. When Captain Cook arrived in Hawai‘i in January 1778 he found: ‘To general astonishment the people in them were talking a language clearly close to Tahitian, and intelligible’ (Beaglehole 1974: 574). There are many dialectical differences within this, but New Zealand Maori for instance can understand Hawaiian and vice
versa, even though the islands lie at the furthest reaches of Polynesia, eight thousand miles away from each other. Elsewhere in Polynesia, the original letters are still used, so if my examples there differ from the Hawaiian ones in certain letters that is the reason why. I am reluctant to standardize others towards the Hawaiian, as it is an imposed form. But it would be out of keeping with almost all Hawaiian research if I changed back to the old form, although this would be my personal preference. Hence the differences between the representation of Hawaiian and that of other Polynesian languages in this thesis.

It has only become standard to represent the Hawaiian language with diacritical marks in the last couple of decades, and even now their use is sporadic. The Hawaiian language is then represented in a Roman script, with a couple of extra additions. One of these is the kahakō, or macron, such as ā, which has the affect of lengthening the pronunciation vowel: ‘the main difference between the long and short vowels is quantity’ (Schütz 1994: 134). It also changes the meaning of words. Another is the ‘okina, or hyphen the wrong way round. It always occurs before a vowel and acts, to break up the sound and require an extra intake of breath. The first record of it in print is from the Judd, Pukui and Stokes dictionary (1945). The authors wrote (1945: 8, 9): ‘The glottal closure, known to the early Hawaiians as ‘u’īna, we recognize as a consonant and include in the alphabet. It is represented by an inverted comma ...’ The islands the West know as Hawaii, the Hawaiians know as Hawai‘i, and pronounce with a sibilant breath before the third syllable. Many older islanders, additionally, will pronounce the ‘w’ as ‘v’, in keeping with the old form of the old language.

For sources published before diacritical marks became popular, I have not inserted them. For other Polynesian languages I do not use diacritical marks, as most of my sources are older and do not include them. That does not mean they were not important. For example in the New Zealand Maori language, one scholar wrote (Best 1924 I: 18): ‘All vowels have both long and short sounds, and a recognition of vowel quantities is extremely important when conversing with natives ... The word kaka has four different aspects, each having its own meaning, or meanings:-

Kākā ‘Name of a bird’, ‘the brown parrot’.
Kaka ‘Garment’; ‘fibre’; ‘ridge’.
Kāka ‘A bird’, ‘the bittern’.
Kakā ‘Red hot’.

Due to the necessity to add these diacritical marks, the whole dissertation is presented in the Hawai‘i Manokalinipo font.
The Hawaiian word for native is *Maoli* or *Kanaka*, but I usually use 'Hawaiian' or 'some Hawaiians'. By this, I refer to residents of Hawai'i who have some percentage of Hawaiian blood, and see themselves as native. I use New Zealand rather than the New Zealand Maori word *Aotearoa* for my trans-Polynesian comparisons. This is because this thesis is being presented in England, and the term *Aotearoa* is unfamiliar. My intention is not to offend any indigenous sensibilities. When I write the word Maori I refer to New Zealand Maori, any exceptions are clearly indicated. Throughout the dissertation I refer to ‘the West’ or ‘western’ to indicate the system of Judaeo-Christian values, that predominate in the system of ‘objective scholarship’, that has become a standard for much of the rest of the world. This is not to imply that the values are unitary, or that every inhabitant will share them. It is merely a means of comparison with some more traditional values indigenous to the Pacific islands.

I represent the Polynesian languages as much as possible in this thesis, never just quoting just the English, when I have access to the original. This is so that future scholars may have access to the *kaona* [hidden meanings] of the language. All translations are to the source ascribed. When they are my own, I have clearly indicated it. I usually put Hawaiian words in italics to show they are 'foreign', although certain scholars protest against that. Some of the most frequently occurring words such as mana, kahuna, heiau, Maori and hula I do not, both because I use them so often and because there is no English equivalent. This is not to imply there is an English equivalent for words I do put in italics. In keeping with standard representations, I put Hawaiian place names in italics, except the names of the main islands.

Apart from the section on language, where I found it impossible to represent the ideas therein in a non-academic fashion, I have tried to as be as clear as possible. I do not want Pacific islanders to be excluded from a thesis concerning some of their terms of reference because they are not up to date with the latest academic jargon. Nor do I wish to needlessly prohibit anyone else from understanding it.

In keeping with some Hawaiian ideas of passing down knowledge through metaphor, I preface each section of the dissertation with a proverb. They are each understandable in different dimensions. In Pukui’s book of proverbs (1983) I refer to the number of the proverb, rather than page number. All dictionary definitions unless otherwise stated refer to the American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language and the revised and enlarged edition of the dictionary of the Hawaiian Language by Pukui and Elbert (1986). As Pukui, Elbert and Mo'okini’s book on Hawaiian place names is in dictionary form I merely refer to the date (1974) and the name, rather than the page number. I have inserted the illustrations at the front of the thesis, rather than at the back, and received permission to add an extra 5000 words to the thesis.
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I have always had a great deal of help with this dissertation, and many thanks to all those who have helped me throughout the years, both in and around the islands of the Pacific. I cannot name you all here, but, like the islands, your influence is abiding.

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A dissertation is often harder on the ones around one than it is on oneself. ‘Thank you’ to my parents, who are great linguists, and certainly got me started on this academic path. On the ‘other islands’ of Britain, Australia and New Zealand, thanks are due to friends who put up with long absences, punctuated by a sudden arrival with laptop and Polynesian dictionaries. The final writing up was more settled. I would particularly like to mention in London, England; Tim for help in re-structuring, and Neil for some support in other dimensions too and because ‘we grow greater joy as we rise from the sea’.

Finally, without the islands of Polynesia I suspect I never would have written any dissertation at this level. For, ever since I was a small girl, these islands have been the main interest in my life. At first, they were doubtless a way to escape from London, at least in my head, through daydreams of somewhere else. Later they became an opening to new ways of understanding the world - that even led me back to London, but this time with the ability to enjoy it. Perhaps in a dissertation about place, it will not seem so bizarre to thank the place itself. For the islands have given me a great deal. And I believe as long as they remain on earth, their influence provides an example to the rest of the world.

Researching this dissertation has made me realize how much we are all a product of our ancestors and our environment, and writing it up has also made me realize how much ‘we’ are not, but have our own unique blend of knowledge and experiences to bring to the wor(l)d we create through our writing. We will each interpret the same thing differently, nonetheless there is perhaps a structure that we can all perceive in our different ways. Synthesizing the knowledge I gained was the biggest job of all. Whenever informants have given me certain information I have acknowledged it in the text, all the theoretical analyses are my interpretation. All faults and errors, are of course, my own. I can only say they are a product of my knowledge at this time. *Amama*, let the words fly free.
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5.4 Offering ceremony at Halema'uma'u crater, Kilauea Volcano, Hawai'i (source P. Buclarewicz)

5.5 New growth on lava beds, Kilauea Volcano, Hawai'i (source R. A. Bartlett)
1.1 The Islands of Polynesia

1.2 The Islands of Hawaii
3.1 The Body surrounded by the Gods (source R.A. Bartlett)
Figure 4.—The sweet-potato plant, showing habit and terms for parts. 1, moke: tap root; 2, kaluhulu: rootlets; 3, a'a: root; 4, 'nalu: tuber; 5, 'ili kuna: cortex; 6, i'o: flesh; 7, iho: core; 8, 'ili 'nalu: skin of tuber; 9, hua 'nalu: seed potato; 10, maka: bud; 11, huun: stalk; 12, ka: vine; 13, 'ili ka: skin of vine; 14, ha: petiole; 15, hau: leaf; 16, mu'o: leaf bud; 17, a'a kan: veins, midrib; 18, maka: root buds; 19, pua: flower; 20, hua: seed.

3.2 The 'Uala or Sweet Potato Plant (source Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991)
The Big Island of Hawaiʻi (from Kirch and Babineau 1996)
4.2 Place Names of Kilauea Volcano, Hawai‘i (source James A. Bier 1988)
4.3 The Island of Kaua'i (from Kirch and Babineau 1996)
4.5 Streams of Imagining, Kaua‘i (from James A. Bier 1986)
Stream Names of south-west Kaua'i (from James A. Bier 1986)
4.8 Place Names surrounding Kamanuolalo Heiau, Kalaupapa, Moloka'i (source United States Leprosy Station Sites, 1905)

1 Ni'ihau
2 Kaua'i
3 Oahu
4 Moloka'i
5 Lanai
6 Maui
7 Hawaii

4.9 The Hawaiian Islands Compared to a System of Chakras in the Human Body (source Chiles 1995)
Maori epistemology conceptualized ontologically as a spiral or coil, *koru*, analogous to the unfolding frond of a tree fern, *ponga* (source Roberts and Wills 1998)
CHAPTER ONE: SEEDING SPACE

1.1 A Little About the Relationship between Space and Place

“What made them so easy to corrupt?” Admiral to Captain Bligh
“I don’t know - it was the place itself”. Captain Bligh.

From the fifth film version of *Mutiny on the Bounty*

In this study I look at the Hawaiian place names of the Hawaiian islands. I study them in terms of the hidden meanings of their Hawaiian names. I argue that words are things of power, and their meanings lead to a ‘secret system’ of knowledge that creates and materializes place. The hidden meanings of words and knowledge create multiple meanings of place. I attempt to understand the significance of place through an analysis of language, texts and verbal information from informants.

The objectification of knowledge found in conceptions of place provides a means of illustrating the relationship between conception and perception:

There can be no doubt that there is an interesting relation between conception (especially the beliefs we have about how the world works, about what sort of things are to be found in the world etc.) and perception (Sanders 1999: 134).

My argument begins with the premise there is a great deal of knowledge in Hawai‘i which has not been written about before. This is because there are political and social reasons for hiding knowledge in Hawai‘i, which I explore in Section 3.8. My primary way of accessing this knowledge is through the Hawaiian language, which provides a context for many *kaona*, or hidden meanings within the word. The objectification of knowledge is found in conceptions of
place. Place names in Hawai‘i are part of this system of *kaona*, and I use the knowledges of the land as the medium for understanding this. Knowledge in Hawai‘i is always ‘grounded’ and ‘contextualized’, but in far more dimensions than may be suspected if one is accustomed to thinking in terms of western categories.

I take these dimensions into account in my analysis of the word not in terms of what it does, but what it *can do*. That is why Merleau-Ponty (1962: 110) speaks of the body as ‘I can’, rather than as a constraining medium. Some Hawaiians I know understand the word this way, and see its ‘growth-through-perception’, which can be embodied in place names, reflected in the growth of the human body, as I explore in my place name analysis.

I am making a distinction here between ‘consciousness’ and ‘habitus’, in the manner of Hoy who argues that the influence of Bourdieu’s habitus is even deeper than perception is for Merleau-Ponty. ‘It seems so, for the habitus is acquired from early experience and then forgotten: it becomes a “second nature”’ (Hoy 1999: 13). Hence habitus is the time frame from which one chooses, the choosing of experience is known as consciousness, which after Dreyfus and Dreyfus, I am also understanding as ‘cognitive life, perceptual life’ (1999: 105). I see the relationship between conception and perception as like that between the body and embodiment, one illustrates the possibilities, the other a way of ‘living or inhabiting the world through one’s acculturated body’ (Weiss 1999: xiv). The word is the bridge between those realities, acting through its force-field to draw consciousness in, thus creating ‘embodiment’ through choosing one of many outcomes. The *kaona* or hidden meanings provide the means through which this choice happens through human perception.

In Hawai‘i, ideas of place are believed to be mirrored in other realms surrounding one, the realms of ‘space’. These ideas of ‘place’ are always believed to be mirrored in other realms surrounding one, the realms of ‘space’. These lands are the realms of the gods and normally
inaccessible by humans. They are often imaged as situated in higher dimensions external to oneself, although they may be also be conceived of as ‘inner lands’. They represent ‘space’, which must be ‘drawn in’ or ‘hooked’ to be turned into place. Space is made into place by ‘growing’ or ‘feeding’ it through naming and ritual. The word may be imaged as a cord. For growth is inherent in the materiality of the word, which however, can be interpreted or ‘grow’ in a number of different ways, due to the *kaona* within each word. For each perception of the place name is believed to lead to a different kind of conception.

Those kinds of perception may be broadly imaged as being either towards growth, or against growth. Place can be nurtured like the *piko* or umbilical cord of the human before birth, which then, on exposure, may be placed in a particular spot. The word for this is *kanu*, which means both ‘planted’ and ‘buried’; thus showing the two options, growing or not growing. After birth, when ‘the cord is cut’ there is always believed to be free will. Growth is believed to be literally shown in terms of the body or the land. For it is often believed the body needs to be ‘seeded’ like the land, as I demonstrate in Section 3.11, then it will visibly grow. Likewise, the result of planting the land is plant growth, and the feeding of humans. Those results may be believed to demonstrate the choosing of the path of growth, as opposed to the path of infertility and barrenness.

One is believed to be ‘growing’, whether this growth is of person, plant or place, towards a certain space, the realm of the gods. Each step in ‘making place’ brings one closer. The growth of a human and the growth of a place are imaged as being inextricably interwoven like strands on a *le‘i* [flower garland]. For each strand is named after a god, as I shall show. In a sense, this growth is ‘returning’ to the gods, for many Hawaiians believe earth is mirroring the original creation. The homes of the gods are believed to be the ‘origin-al’ lands, of peace, clarity and harmony. The belief that one can make place out of space means there is no real distinction
between legendary space, and materialized space, or 'place' in Hawai'i. For both are named, and thus believed to have the power to bring into being.

I also explore how each place name is related in a sequence of growth. Every name, in certain dimensions, can only be understood in terms of other names. The sequences may concern 'growing' or 'losing' the bodies of a place and a human, as in the case of the Big Island and Kaua'i, or attracting another 'body', as in the example of Moloka'i. But ultimately they each concern 'building up the body' of the human or the land, in the image of the gods. This may be symbolized by greenery or light, and is believed to be actualized, to be available for shared perception.

That 'shared perception' or 'shared reality' differs from individual perception. Paradoxically, it is often believed to be both the result, and the starting point, of each individual's understanding, or under-standing. The growth, inner and outer, symbolized by perception is the 'way through', (the Latin root per means 'through'). In this dissertation I shall concentrate on the process itself, rather than the shared starting point, 'cultural understanding', or the destination, which can be imagined as the materiality of embodiment or the 'shared reality' of place.

Hence I am not interested in Hawaiian culture as it is, or was, but how certain Hawaiians may understand it today. Nor do my conclusions represent an objective picture of Hawai'i today, nor do I believe they could, even if that was my intention. 'Along the way' I provide some pointers to a possible different way of understanding Polynesian societies. For they have usually been seen as representations of external power, part of a system of 'divine kingship', rationally ordered by institutional structuring. Feudal ranking is stressed, and supernatural sanctions work to maintain a rigid, hierarchically-based society. Valeri's treatise 'Kingship and Sacrifice' (1985) represents this view. But this system was an imposed one, introduced from
Tahiti in the thirteenth century, and an indigenous system of shamanism may still remain on
the islands which were conquered. I am interested in an alternative interpretation of Hawai'i/
Polynesia, one of the kahuna or experts, who are ones who know how to use language with
conscious intent, and use it as a way to build power, which may be imaged as both internal
power, and the power of ‘rooting’ place. Both of these are perceived to have external
manifestations ‘in the world’, as a strong human body, and a green place. I find the idea of
Polynesia as a dynamic society, containing free-flowing individuals, much more congruent to my
own viewpoint, which tends to stress interactions, and how they may be altered through
perception, rather than their existing manifestation.

Unlike many other Polynesian scholars I do not specifically write about genealogy, excepting a
brief account about its relation to growth in section 3.3. This is vitally important in Polynesia,
for genealogy is a primary epistemological template. Through it, one transcends the material
world and connects all things to the gods, the universe, the creator; providing the framework
for an all-encompassing system of knowledge. Genealogy is the ‘connecting web’. There are
other ways of representing these connections between land and sky I do discuss, such as star
names, place names, even the land itself. In another dimension, it is all the ‘same thing’, Brian
Murton commented, I need to at least allude to why I am not studying genealogy per se. It is
certainly an extremely significant way of understanding the journey from ‘space’ to ‘place’.
For example Roberts and Wills compared the human to a seed that was sown in a distant place,
hence giving information about ancestry, which is additionally contained in the names of the
land’s features. Hence the human may be located in space and place. For example:

E kore au e ngaro
I will never be lost

He kakano I rula mal I Rangiatea
I am the seed that was sown in Rangiatea
For the Maori ‘to know’ something is to locate it in space and in time. This applies to individual persons, tribes, all other animate and inanimate things, and even too knowledge itself. For example the *whakatauaki* (proverb or aphorism) above locates all persons of Maori descent relative to an origin within the ancestral homeland, referred to in the traditions as Hawaiiki, and today considered to be the island of Raiatea (Rangiatea) in the Society group, French Polynesia. Introductory speeches often contain aphorisms of this sort that give additional information about a person’s tribal identity and ancestry.

The words:

- *Ko Tainui te waka*  
  Tainui is the ancestral canoe

- *Ko Taupiri te maunga*  
  Taupiri is the mountain

- *Ko Waikato te awa*  
  Waikato is the river

enable the listener immediately ‘to know’ the speaker, in terms of origins, ancestry, and place. The name Tainui, one of several voyaging canoes that brought the colonizing ancestors of the Maori to Aotearoa/New Zealand about 1000 years ago, establishes tribal origin and ancestry. Reference to place: to one’s mountain and river (or lake or harbour) further establishes one’s tribal and personal identity.

Fundamental to this ability to locate a thing in time and space is knowledge of its *whakapapa* - its genealogy or lines of descent. To ‘know’ oneself is to know one’s *whakapapa*. To ‘know’ about a tree, a rock, the wind, or the fishes in the sea - is to know their *whakapapa*. In its literal translation, the word *whakapapa* means ‘to place in layers, one upon another’. In its genealogical sense, it provides a framework for an understanding of historical descent, pattern, and linkages, whereby everything, animate and inanimate, is connected together into a single ‘family tree’ or ‘taxonomy of the universe’ (Roberts and Wills 1998: 45).

During the journey from ‘space’ to ‘place’ I describe, I show that individual perception may always shift and change, my own as well as the ‘object’ I am writing about, usually the land.

One of the outcomes is that I show the Hawaiian language, and its outgrowths, such as ‘place’, have often been over-simplified. Thus the reader’s patience is invoked as I go through many of the ‘hidden meanings’ of the language, and some cosmological aspects that, at first, may seem
irrelevant. My goal is to demonstrate that many Hawaiian interpretations are far more sophisticated than have been previously thought. I shall begin by looking at some popular place name studies of the Hawaiian islands and state what my contribution shall be.

1.2 Place Name Studies

It is my land. I know what it says.

Maori proverb (Davis et al. 1990: 8)

In this section I look at the most important place name studies of the Hawaiian islands, situate my work in relation to them, and state what I will be contributing.

There have been several older published studies of the place names of Hawai‘i (Alexander 1903, Thrum 1922). Alexander identified almost 2,000 places and gave the location, type of feature and sometimes one meaning of the place name. This study is of limited use for my purposes as without the diacritical marks other meanings are hard to decipher. Thomas Thrum published a study of about 1,200 names in 1922. Unfortunately he respelled the names phonetically, which makes it much harder to understand them in terms of multiple meanings.

Most useful for my purposes are Place Names of Hawai‘i by Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert and Esther T. Mo‘okini (1974). Mary Kawena Pukui was a noted authority on many of the old traditions and words, having been adopted by her Hawaiian grandmother as a baby. Esther Mo‘okini, the co-author, was a language teacher at the University of Hawai‘i at the time of writing. Samuel Elbert was a noted linguist, who together with Pukui, wrote the different
editions of the huge Hawaiian Dictionary, an invaluable resource for my work. The fifth edition contains about 24,000 Hawaiian names, including place names and diacritical marks and *kaona*. 

Pukui et al.’s book give definitions of about 4,000 place names and topographic features on the islands. Elbert’s preface describes the way everything that was believed important was given a name:

How many place names are there or were there in the Hawaiian Islands? Even a rough estimate is impossible: a hundred thousand? a million? Hawaiians named taro patches, rocks and trees that represented deities and ancestors, sites of houses and *heiau*, (places of worship), canoe landings, fishing stations in the sea, resting places in the forests, and the tiniest spots where miraculous or interesting events are believed to have taken place (Pukui et al. 1974: x).

Some islands receive better coverage than others, for instance the Big Island, where Mrs. Pukui is from, receives more coverage than Kaua‘i.

Interestingly, Pukui et al.’s book, unlike their dictionary, does not refer to the *kaona* of Hawaiian place names. Appendix 6.3 is devoted to homonyms, and the authors say ‘to choose among possible meanings of homonyms it is necessary to consider the legendary associations and the nature of the geographic feature named’. For example, *lua* is translated as ‘pit’ or ‘hole’ 44 times if volcanism or fishing holes are involved. It is translated as ‘two’ if counting is involved, such as in *Wailua*, ‘two streams’, and this happens 27 times. *Lua* is one of the most significant words in my dissertation and I use these definitions, and others, and say why they are important in terms of a greater system. But I do not choose only one meaning, and it is worth noting that the authors, in this volume at least, seem to feel the need to choose one meaning, rather than take several into account. In Appendix 6.6 for example, they say: ‘a computer analysis showed that about 83% of the Hawaiian entries have discernible meanings, a few of these being probable rather than certain’. Although, for example, a local informant may verify
one meaning of the name, I would be very hesitant to say that is the only meaning, and would question how one can claim certainty anyway. Pukui wrote elsewhere:

There were always two things to consider: the literal meaning and the *kaona*, or ‘inner meaning’. The inner meaning was sometimes so veiled that only the people to whom the chant belonged understood it, and sometimes so obvious that anyone who knew the figurative speech of old Hawai‘i could see it very plainly (Pukui 1949: 247).

It is fascinating that the greatest authority on Hawaiian words, and one who, more than any other, has given us the different *kaona* of Hawaiian words through books and dictionaries, argued that there were ‘two things’ to consider, and talked of ‘the inner meaning’. Her word lists, for example provide for more than one ‘hidden meaning’. Makemson, another very learned scholar on Polynesia wrote (1941: 192): ‘Polynesian phrases usually involve a double meaning, a common and an esoteric one’. She then goes on to give several meanings for the star name *Takurua*. I discuss how these may be interpreted in the context of this dissertation, concerning the way place is brought into being, in Section 5.4. It is surprising that a work looking at some of the many different meanings of Hawaiian words has not been done before. Throughout this dissertation I look at the co-existence of different meanings in words, and the way they may be interpreted in terms of the multi-dimensionality of Hawaiian knowledge.

The many interpretations of the hidden meanings allow different understandings to co-exist. Naming not only makes ‘place’ out of ‘space’, it can make many potentially different places. McBride, a historian of the Volcano area of the Big Island, reported:

the language art most frequently overlooked is that of selecting names for places, things, and people. In olden times, the importance of names was fully recognized and, in order to achieve the greatest power capable, a name was never just given, but carefully and
painstakingly selected by a group of kahuna who were semanticists or experts in the meanings of words.

The concept seems to be that in choosing a name, the more meanings that the name incorporated that were apt or apropos, the more power, *mana*, the appellation would contain. Such toponyms then legitimately used in name chants, *mele i'ōna*, and in other poetry would add their power to the whole.

For an example, the name of a black sand beach on the island of Hawaii is Kaimu, a place famous, *(wahi pana)*, from remote times. A few of the meanings of *Kaimu* are these:

*Kaimu* The silent sea
*Kai Mu* The sea of the quiet, hirsute Menehune [little people]
*Kaimu* The body catcher or strangler sea
*Ka imu* The oven
*Kai-mu* A contracted word meaning 'gathering (at the) sea (to watch surfing)' *(McBride 1972: 39).*

Unfortunately McBride did not use diacritical marks, and did not choose to take this analysis any further. But his brief account is useful for it mentions the importance of *kaona* as regards place names. The point I wish to draw out here that the perception of each additional meaning is a sign of the 'growth' of the word, and thus the growth of the perceiver. In Chapter Five, I explore some of the consequences of this, namely the ability to reach the 'hidden islands', the legendary lands of the Hawaiians that may also be situated within oneself.

The most significant recent book on place names is *Kaua'i: Ancient Place Names and their Stories* by Frederick Wichman (1998). Wichman discusses the place names of Kaua'i, one of the islands I also use in my analysis. His work was not intended to be exhaustive:
There are countless more place-names on Kaua'i than are contained in this volume. Every agricultural field had a name, peaks and hills were named, boulders were named, and it is obvious that many names are forever lost. The life of this land is preserved in its place names. Let them be remembered (Wichman: 1998 x).

His book divides Kaua'i into six areas, talking about each district's association with historical and legendary characters, after whom many of the places were named. Then he describes individual name after name, including famous rocks, winds, proverbs, legends and heiau [temples]. He does an excellent job of retrieving information from many different sources such as maps, dictionaries, Hawaiian newspapers and 'conversations with Kupuna [elders] willing to share their knowledge' (1998: ix, x).

His study does not analyze the wider social and symbolic significance of the place names. Nor, crucially, does he consider the relationship between place names. By contrast, I discuss the ways in which place names are interconnected with a grander system of growth and creation. An understanding of the wider system to which place names relate may be reached through a study of the kaona or hidden meanings of the places named.

Some of the published studies coming out of the Geography Department at the University of Hawai'i, under the professorship of Brian Murton, invoke the necessity for an analysis of these. They include Ph.D. candidates Renee Louis and Allison Chun Smith. Louis' study of the place names of Waikiki begins by saying that place names link people to their environment by adding a human dimension, thereby changing chaotic wilderness into a structured landscape. Hawaiians cultivated a spiritually intimate relationship with the land, and this has not changed much today, although people may be forced to live several geographies at once. She quoted DeSilva:
We live in a time of un-naming, in a time when old names for the land, names given in honor, happiness, and sorrow have been set aside for marketing jingles that commemorate little more than a desire for sales, for *ka mea poe poe* (the round thing) - money. We who learn and love these old names are, therefore, people of two worlds, residents of rival geographies. We lead our everyday lives on the congeleum, concrete, and tiff-green crusts of Hawaii's Bay Views, Crest Views, Soda Creeks, and Enchanted Lakes. But when our souls whither and thirst, we seek nourishment in that other, deeper geography where the true names of our *‘aina* (land) are sung by the stones themselves, in what Ellen Pendergast has called *ka‘ai kamaha‘o o ka ‘aina* (the astonishing food of the land), that we, the stone eaters of this land, find sustenance and comfort, pride and purpose (Louis 1999: 45).

I found her account of ‘several geographies’ very true from my own fieldwork, many people find that there is certain sustenance of the soul that is only gained in that ‘other deeper geography’. Louis' study went on to describe the place names of Waikiki in terms of mythology. For example:

*Kaluahole* (the ‘ahole fish cavern) marked the location of an ‘ahole fish cavern at the base of Le‘ahi [Diamond Head]. The ‘ahole fish is an endemic fish, *Kuhlia sandvicensis*, found in both fresh and salt water. According to Hawaiian mythology, Kū‘ulakai, the Hawaiian God of fishermen, asked his son ‘A'i‘ai (a dependent, one living on the resources of another) to establish fishing shrines throughout the Hawaiian Islands. When ‘A'i‘ai arrived at Waikiki he placed a brown-and-white rock in the ocean at the base of Le‘ahi. Near these rocks was a cavern that soon filled with ‘ahole fish. The ‘ahole fish was used both as a food resource and in spiritual ceremonies. Since *hole* has two meanings - to strip away or to caress passionately - the ‘ahole fish was used in two different kinds of ceremonies. One was to chase (strip) away evil spirits and the other to invoke love and passion (Louis 1999: 51).

This analysis is useful, for it shows how the ritual associated with a word is changed through the interpretation of the *kaona* of the word. There are always at least two directions possible to
move in, which I discuss throughout this dissertation. However Louis refers to only two meanings here, and there are many more possible, as I attempt to show in my analysis of ways of breaking down a word in Section 3.6. She also does not compare the place names with each other; for example I have found that place names occurring in the same area are there for a purpose, and it reveals some more about their kaona or hidden meanings. I am also a bit wary of Louis’ use of the phrase ‘evil spirits’, for I have found no evidence of that meaning in pre-contact Hawai‘i. There were certainly believed to have been ‘undesirable spirits’, but the word ‘evil’, and its meaning of something being intrinsically bad, came into Hawai‘i with the missionaries. Indeed, in Section 3.3 on ideas about creation, I explore how darkness was believed to have the ability to turn into light.

My own work has explored the Hawaiian islands in terms of the hula dance and cosmology (1991) and the role of hidden knowledges (1997, 1998). Each study has been characterized by an emphasis on kaona, or ‘hidden meanings’, yet I have only recently begun to realize why. All of these examples contain references to Hawaiian materializations of knowledge, such as the hula dance, and landscape (2001 forthcoming) as being part of a greater system. Even so, I can only ever hope to interpret, and show, part of the multi-dimensionality that comprises Hawaiian knowledge (1999).

In this dissertation, I choose certain named places as sights/sites at which to ‘freeze’ the interplay of meanings, and interpret some of them. I believe my analysis adds to these works on place names because it is the only one to explore them part of a possible grander system of growth and creation. For example, Wichman talks about the hula ground at Ke‘e and the association of these names with knowledges (1998: 130, 132). But he does not talk about how these names are associated with different kinds of knowledge, which I explore in more detail in Section 4.9.
The system I refer to encompasses mythology, navigation, language, the features of the landscape and the growth of the human body and food. It is based on the power of the word and of the repeated word (such as in a chant), which inevitably contains kaona, or hidden meanings.

An understanding of the wider system to which place names relate may be reached through a study of the kaona or the hidden meanings of the named places, and features of the landscape. It is a system that may stretch across Polynesia, as my frequent comparisons to New Zealand allude.

I have introduced my thesis, and a little about Hawaiian culture, thus ‘seeding’ Hawai‘i. I have summarized some of the most important studies of place names in Hawai‘i and situated my work within them. Now, I shall move on to some more general overviews of Hawai‘i. I believe this is important as this thesis will be presented in an English institution, and there is not much general information about Hawai‘i in Britain. I shall begin by looking at some readily-visible characteristics of the islands. I call that section ‘backgrounding Hawai‘i’.

1.3 Backgrounding Hawai‘i

These forgotten - and dissolving - pieces of heaven, the South Sea

The poet Rupert Brooke (Hassall 1982: 422).

In this section I shall look at some condensed background and history of the Hawaiian islands, which may be considered ‘factual’, although I shall discuss a little of the significance of this knowledge at the end of the section.

First a description of some physical and geological characteristics of the Hawaiian islands.

Hawai‘i is the world’s most isolated archipelago, 2500 miles from the nearest land mass; resting
in the Pacific, 'a sea so vast that the human mind can scarcely grasp it' (Beaglehole 1974: 109).
The Pacific ocean is so huge that all the land masses on earth would easily fit into it. To the
gaze of many, the most striking feature of the familiar representation of the Pacific is the colour
blue, representing ocean without land. Yet the Pacific actually contains around 25,000 islands.

The names, and classifications, of the three major island groups: Micronesia, Melanesia and
Polynesia are inventions of the Europeans.¹ Polynesia, Greek for 'many islands', is probably
the most famous grouping of islands in the Pacific. It defines that part of the Pacific which lies
inside a triangle made by drawing lines on a map to enclose Hawai‘i, Easter Island and New Zealand. The Hawaiian islands form the northern apex of the triangle and the other two points are Easter Island to the south-east and New Zealand to the south-west. Tahiti lies near its
centre and Samoa and Tonga towards the West (Figure 1.1).²

The Hawaiian islands are situated in the sea ‘between 18 degrees 50 and 22 degrees 20 north
latitude, and 154 degrees 55 and 160 degrees 15 west longitude from Greenwich’ (Ellis 1825:
240). The equator is 1470 miles south of Honolulu and all the main islands are within the
Tropic of Cancer. Over 90% of the flora and fauna that have evolved in isolation here exist
nowhere else on earth. The islands stretch 1523 miles from Kure Atoll in the north-west to the
Big Island in the south-east. I look mainly at the eight inhabited islands; travelling from south-west to north-east they are Hawaii (or the Big Island), Maui, Kaho'olawe, Lanai, Moloka'i,
Oahu, Kauai and Ni'ihau (Figure 1.2).

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¹ 'The names given here are obviously scientific labels. They have as yet little if any meaning to the
peoples concerned. Most of the islanders, still living within very local horizons, speak of themselves by
their district, tribal or village names' (Keesing 1945: 9).
² It excludes the 'big islands' of the Pacific such as New Guinea and Australia and does not include Fiji,
although it does include one island, Rotuma, now considered part of Fiji. But the islands of Polynesia are
not all tiny, they do not all have coral reefs or blue lagoons and a few, such as Easter Island and many
islands of New Zealand, even have a cool climate.
According to geologists, the Hawaiian islands exist because of a ‘hot spot’ deep beneath the ocean floor. There are forty to fifty active hot spots in the world, such as Hawai‘i and Iceland (Hazlett and Hyndman 1996: 4). As weak spots in the earth’s crust pass over the hot spot, molten lava burst through as volcanoes, building underwater mountains. Some of these finally emerge above the water as islands. In time, as it is separated from its lava supply, the island/volcano becomes dormant, and a new volcano begins to build above the hot spot (Hazlett and Hyndman 1996: 1). The process created a chain of volcanoes in Hawai‘i extending westward from the Big Island, still lying over the hot spot and still active, to the extinct volcanoes of islands further to the north, such as Kaua‘i.

Theories abound about the origins of the Polynesians, and this long and complex debate, more suited to an archaeological study. I shall only summarize a couple of strands of the debate over Polynesian origins. When the first Polynesians arrived in Hawai‘i, approximately a thousand years ago, they brought food, animals and medicinal plants in their canoes. Accounts vary as to whether the islands were uninhabited by humans until then, and I shall discuss certain accounts of ‘the little people’ in Section 5.4. By the time of Captain James Cook’s arrival in 1778, Polynesian society appeared to be in full flower.

Change was then documented as coming rapidly to the Hawaiian islands. At the time of Cook’s visits in 1778 and 1779, the islands were divided into separate, warring chiefdoms. Western influence aided centralization. More and more boats arrived, many disgorging whalers and traders, who sold weapons to certain chiefs, thereby helping them become more powerful. By the beginning of the next century, chief Kamehameha of the island of Hawai‘i had become the ruler over the islands. Despite increasing influence by foreigners throughout the nineteenth century.

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3 Andrew Sharp popularized the ‘accidental discovery’ theory (1957), that the Polynesians sailed to the far-flung islands of the Pacific by accident. Many archaeologists said that the islands were settled originally from Asia, yet Thor Heyerdahl, in his famous Kon-Tiki expedition of 1947, showed it was possible for the Polynesians to sail from South America.
century, Hawai‘i remained an independent Polynesian kingdom until 1893. Kamehameha’s successor Liholiho lifted the royal kapu (taboo) in 1819, an act widely regarded as destroying the power of the Hawaiian religion. It certainly destroyed the public power of the kahuna, as ‘idols’ were burned, and taboos lifted.

Six months later, the first missionaries arrived from America. They believed their conversion would inevitably succeed for Christianity is the true religion ‘that should finally triumph over every system of idolatry in the world’ (Ellis 1825: 72). The field was laid wide open to spiritual cultivation, and ‘he that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him’ (Ellis 1825: 20). Today, most people in the Hawaiian islands are Christian, although not everyone has been converted and I found I got my best information from those kahuna who are not Christian. These representatives of the ‘alternative’ society of Hawai‘i I detailed in the last section remain, even though the external power of chiefly society is now only represented by signs pointing up in the sky (Plate 1.1) or reconstructions of heiau (Plate 1.2)

Immigration boomed throughout the nineteenth century, providing cheap labour for the sugar plantations. Kamehameha III, the last son of Kamehameha the Great, ruled Hawai‘i for 30 years, from 1825 to 1854. During his reign, the Great Mahele of 1848 allowed the majority of Hawaii’s land to be alienated. In 1850 land purchases were opened up to Westerners, and within a few decades Westerners owned 80% of available land. Hawai‘i’s last King, Kalakaua (1874-91), was forced by the sugar barons to accept a new constitution in 1887 which limited suffrage to property owners, excluding the vast majority of Hawaiians. Queen Lili‘uokalani (1891-1893) challenged the constitution in court, and the Hawai‘i Supreme Court upheld her contention. In January 1893, as she was about to proclaim a new constitution, a group of armed American businessmen occupied the Supreme Court to announce a provisional government. The occupation was headed by missionary descendent Sanford Dole, of the famous pineapple
clan. This government inaugurated itself as the Republic of Hawaii on 4th July 1894. In 1898 Hawai‘i was officially annexed by the United States.

The process of alienating land continued. The *Hawaiian Homes Commission Act* (1920) continued the process of annexation the following century. The act set aside almost 200,000 acres of land for homesteading by native Hawaiians, a fraction of the 1.75 million acres of government and crown lands that America took from the Kingdom of Hawai‘i. Less than 5% of the land is leased to native Hawaiians, the remainder being used by big businesses and over 20,000 Hawaiian applicants remain on waiting lists. One friend, Dennis or ‘Bumpy’ Kanahele was put in prison for occupying his land.

Over a quarter of Hawai‘i’s land is presently used by the US military. Most famously, Pearl Harbor was turned into a naval headquarters and was bombed by the Japanese in 1941, an act which brought America into the Second World War and changed the course of history. Hawai‘i was eventually made the 50th American State in 1959, a ‘state’ of affairs which continues to exist. The take-over is not unique to Hawai‘i, indeed Tonga is the only island kingdom which was never taken over by the West. The common language and culture of Polynesia is today expressed in different ways in different places, according to the twin influences of missionization and colonialism.4

In this section I have explored some physical characteristics and ‘facts’ about Hawai‘i. Yet the physical characteristics in these volcanic islands are constantly changing, and the influence of

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4 Tahiti, for example, is part of the Overseas Territory of France, known as French Polynesia. The Cook Islands formed a ‘Compact of Free Association’ with New Zealand in 1965. New Zealand is independent and has two official languages, English and Maori. Easter Islanders speak Spanish and are ruled from Chile, while Tonga is one of the few countries never to have been officially colonized, making a treaty of friendship with Britain in 1900 which allowed Tonga to keep its royal family, chiefly system and land intact, while giving Britain control over its foreign affairs (Howe, Kiste, Lal 1994: 27). Samoa was divided into two in 1899, Western Samoa achieved independence in 1961 and American Samoa has been a territory of America since 1900.
vulcanism should not be underestimated in the discussion about how many Hawaiians perceive it necessary to 'grow' place. Rocks are not solid here (Plate 1.3) and these moving islands may be compared to shifting islands of assumptions. Even the very act of questioning assumptions is enough to cause them to begin to shift:

We ground things, now, on a moving earth. There is no longer any place of overview (mountaintop) from which to map human ways of life, no Archimedian point from which to represent the world. Mountains are in constant motion. So are islands: for one cannot occupy, unambiguously, a bounded cultural world from which to journey out and analyze other cultures (Clifford 1986: 22).

Indeed, those 'islands of knowledge' could be described as 'facts'. Facts are merely generally accepted knowledge as Historian E. H. Carr made clear:

The facts speak only when the historian calls on them: it is he who decides to which facts to give the floor, and in what order or context. It was, I think, one of Pirandello's characters who said that a fact is like a sack - it won't stand up till you've put something in it. The only reason why we are interested to know that the battle was fought at Hastings in 1066 is that historians regard it as a major historical event. It is the historian who has decided for his own reasons that Caesar's crossing of that petty stream, the Rubicon, is a fact of history, whereas the crossing of the Rubicon by millions of other people before or since interests nobody at all (Carr 1961: 11).

That passage had a great influence on me, and indeed changed the way I 'saw' the world. For it was then that I was provided with an intellectual context for my perception that the world exists only in its representations of it. Perhaps it was one of the factors that led to the choosing of this dissertation topic. Its influence will certainly be readily apparent in the next section on the more obvious representations or re-presentations of Hawai'i.
1.4 Seeing Hawai‘i

The world is a mirror, show thyself in it and it will reflect thy image.

Arabic proverb.

I have called this section ‘Seeing Hawai‘i’ because I am discussing the Hawai‘i that is visible to most gazes. Hawai‘i may be readily perceived through these shaded lenses due to the popularity of the representations I am about to explore. I believe they also indicate the co-existence of different meanings, each of which depends on perception, and may ‘appear’ to be the only one. In the same way, the different meanings within the *kaona* of the Hawaiian language depend on perception too, and the visible one may appear to be ‘all there is’. In this section, I concentrate on perception in terms of its meaning as ‘a way through’ to another analysis in the substantive chapters of this dissertation.

Now I move on to the ‘seeing’ of Hawai‘i. Images of Hawai‘i are very familiar. I mention them now, because I think they need to be recognized before I discuss a different mode of representation. The ‘familiar images’ include velvet seas smoothing sugary soft beaches, palm trees swaying above coral lagoons, pliant girls dancing. All of them are popular images of paradise, and David Lodge’s novel, *Paradise News*, is set in Hawai‘i. Before the characters go to Hawai‘i for the first time Sheldrake suddenly says:

“Look at this - ” He whipped out of his briefcase a holiday brochure, and held it up in front of Bernard, concealing with his hand the printed legend on the front cover. It featured a coloured photograph of a tropical beach - brilliantly blue sea and sky, blindingly white sand, with a couple of listless human figures in the middle distance reclining in the shade of a green palm tree. “What does that image say to you?”

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5 In the necessity to ‘present’ this section, I am understanding the reader to be non-Hawaiian.
“Your passport to paradise,” said Bernard.
Sheldrake looked disconcerted. “You’ve seen it before,” he said
accusingly... (Lodge 1991: 62-3).

In a sense we’ve all ‘seen’ Hawai‘i before. All the post-modernism in the world cannot abolish
our familiar ‘ways of seeing’ Hawai‘i that stare out at us from posters in travel agencies, from
films and from newspaper articles. Visible Hawai‘i may become tawdry, tacky Hawai‘i and
many visitors and inhabitants think because that is all they see, that is all Hawai‘i is.

In many ways, the West’s writing about Polynesia says as much about the West as it does about
the Polynesians, as discussed by art historian Bernard Smith (1989). Descriptions of the Pacific
Islands, especially Tahiti, included in the accounts of Wallis, Bougainville, and Cook are closely
bound to the intellectual interests of Europe in the latter half of the eighteenth century (Schütz
1994: 3). Europe in the Seventeen-seventies was ripe for the notion of an earthly paradise
located somewhere else. Rousseau had written his Discours sur les arts et sciences in 1749, and
for twenty years the theory of the simple and unsophisticated man had intrigued philosophical
imaginations. The discovery of Tahiti was the perfect dénouement, the apparent reality of the
preconceived idea:

The island was like one of those unseen stars which eventually come
to light after astronomers prove that it must exist ... And now Cook
brought back the proof that it really did exist, this golden island
inhabited by happy, healthy, beautiful people, and who, best of all,
knew nothing of the cramping sophistries of civilization (Moorehead
1966: 41).

Most Westerners are likely to think of a Tahitian when they think of a Pacific islander. For
Tahiti had become the site of the original ‘Garden of Eden’. Tahiti’s ‘discoverer’, French
Colonel Louis-Antoine de Bougainville wrote in 1768 (Taillemite 1972: 21): “I thought I had
been transported to the Garden of Eden”. By the time of the French Revolution, the very name
Tahiti had become synonymous with paradise, evoked by Camille Desmoulins a few moments prior to mounting the scaffold (Taillemite 1972: 30).

The ideal of the Noble Savage was strangely able to co-exist with the using of the Pacific ocean, and its inhabitants, as a laboratory for observation. This was eventually to result in a scientifically credible theory of evolution after Darwin’s voyage to the Galapagos islands (1831-1836) and the publication of *The Origin of Species* (1859). The emphasis on natives being savages and cannibals, concerns the belief that they occupy a lower place than the West in the evolutionary chain. Some natives became representations of the monsters medieval cartographers used to delineate the boundary between the known and unknown (Todorov 1984: 14). This extract from the diary of Thomas Edgar, Master on Cook’s Third Voyage, shows how natives were expected to be cannibals. He contacted the natives of St. George’s Sound in Canada on 25th April 1778:

A Notion for some time prevail’d amongst us that those people were Cannibals from their having brought several Sculls and hands on board to sell which seem’d as if they had been roasted or Boil’d and by the Signs we made to them and they to us we had all the reason in the World to think they were so. But it was evident we did not understand them or that they did not understand us, for this morning a most Convincing proof of the Falsity of our notions, A Man having come to me on my landings with some hands to sell I bought one of him and then desir’d him to Eat it, which he would not do, I then offered him more Iron and Brass then would have purchas’d one of their most elegant dresses, if he would eat part of it, all of which offers he treated with Great Contempt and departed in Great Anger.

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6 The problem with Enlightenment thought was not that it had no conception of “the other” but that it perceived “the other” as necessarily having (and sometimes “keeping to”) a specific place in a spatial order that was ethnocentrically conceived to have homogeneous and absolute qualities’ (Harvey 1989: 252).
The actions of the natives differed from the way they were expected to act, still that did not change some people’s minds. Edgar continued: ‘Yet there are several Gentlemen in the two Ships who still continue to persist in their former opinion’.

The result of the foregrounding of these images was the insatiable fascination of the West for Polynesia, which has already lasted for over two centuries. Editions of Cook’s voyages were widely read in the main European languages in the 1780’s. ‘The latest Discoveries appear to engross conversation from the politest circles and throughout every class of the Kingdom’, wrote Thomas Banks in the preface to his *Universal Geography* in 1784 (Smith 1989: 114).7

Next century, it was the same story. The myth Gauguin personified lives on: “See Naples and die” - they spell it differently here: see Hawaii and live’ (London 1923: 36).

Even the very act of visiting (placing-oneself-on) the islands was supposed to bring-into-being certain desirable qualities. For example, it can be like going back to childhood; imagined, if not remembered. For Rupert Brooke it was like returning to:

> the childhood that never was, but is portrayed by a kindly sentimental memory; a time of infinite freedom, no responsibility, perpetual play in the open air, unceasing sunshine, never-tiring limbs, and a place where time is not, and supper takes place at breakfast-time and breakfast in the afternoon, and life consists of expeditions by moonlight and diving naked into waterfalls and racing over white sands beneath feathery brooding palm trees (Hassall 1972: 421).

So, it could be argued that the first way of ‘seeing Hawai‘i’, in terms of images of paradise, has led to that way of ‘seeing the land’. The comment I usually get in England, when I mention I write about Hawai‘i is: “have you lived there?”. When I say “yes”, the questioner then says,

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7 The play *Omai: or a Trip Round the World*, based on a Tahitian taken back to England, was staged by the Theatre Royal of Covent Garden in 1785 and repeated fifty times that season (Smith 1989: 114-115).
eyes glazed over: “Lucky you, living in paradise”. Further questioning of them elicits the images I mentioned at the beginning of this section. It could also be argued that the second theme, the using of the Pacific as a laboratory for observation, has led to seeing the natives as somehow ‘inferior’ to people in the West.

In this dissertation I aim to overturn both of those assumptions. I show that Hawai‘i may not be congruent to this Western vision of paradise, but many Hawaiians have their own ideas about the ‘lands of light’ and the ways they can be achieved, not by ‘going somewhere else’, but by ‘going within’. Secondly, through making such a theoretical argument about Polynesian ideas of place, and how they relate to many dimensions of culture and understanding through the hidden meanings of language, I show that Hawaiians have far more understandings available to them than those who speak languages such as English.

The first view has led to Hawai‘i’s biggest industry, tourism. The ‘geography of tourism’ has been seen as an increasingly important study in recent years (for example MacCannell 1976, Urry 1990). Abbeele said the original Greek term *theoria* derives from ‘sight or spectacle’, a form of understanding based on witnessing the world as exhibition, as a symbolic representation of an absent and ideal reality (Abbeele 1980:13). I have briefly explored how the site/sight of Polynesia was constructed as the ‘other’ and became the arena of the exotic, irrational, natural and marginal. Many people have also told me, very positively, that all Hawai‘i is a tourist destination like Waikiki (Plates 1.4 and 1.5) and do not want to hear anything different.

It is hard for me to find a positive side to the success of tourism in Hawai‘i. Unlike other island nations, such as Vanuatu and Fiji, it does not encourage the retention of traditional Hawaiian

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8 Hawai‘i has been systematically promoted as a tourist destination since 1903. By 1978 tourism generated four times the total of the sugar and pineapple industries combined.

9 The consequences of tourism include overcrowding: over 5 million tourists arrive a year on one island, O‘ahu, which consists of 607 square miles. Over thirty years ago, at statehood, Hawai‘i residents
crafts such as wood-carving, or *kapa* making. Most souvenirs are factory goods, made in Taiwan or China, or if they are hand-made, are imported from Fiji. There is none of the ‘return to authenticity’ Tilley (1999) discussed on the island of *Malekula* in Vanuatu. The popular tourist attraction, the Polynesian Cultural Center on O‘ahu, for instance, has ‘villages’ for each important group of Polynesian islands. There is the ‘Maori Village’, the ‘Marquesan Village’ (Plate 1.6) and so on. Yet there is no ‘Hawaiian Village’, only groups of huts and dancers called ‘Ancient Hawaii’, which implies that the Hawaiian culture has gone.

Geographer Jon Goss made several studies of tourism in Hawai‘i (e.g. 1993, 1996, 1999). In his 1993 article he identified paradise as one of five *topoi* that constitute the representation of Hawai‘i to the public gaze, the others are: marginality, liminality, femininity and aloha. Each is ‘guided by the master trope of alterity’. The visual and verbal texts construct the landscape and way of life in Hawai‘i in radical opposition to the built environment and everyday life in the mainland world of the United States. The reader and prospective tourist is promised ‘nothing less than another reality’ (1993: 686). Hence Hawai‘i becomes a ‘reconstructed geography’. I talk about it here, because, in my experience, these tropes can be very pervasive for the non-Polynesian academic. I discuss them to show I am fully aware of them, and thus hope to give more legitimacy to my later analysis which shows another way of presenting Hawai‘i.

Why are the Hawaiians largely unable to represent themselves within the cultural economy of tourism? Partly it is due to the influence of American colonialism, which prefers to down-play Hawaiian culture and represent the ‘native’ as a local. The Hawaiian Visitors Bureau specifically says it is important to promote *all* the cultures of Hawai‘i. I believe this is partly political. There is little danger of the Japanese, for example, wanting the land back, recognizing that they are recent immigrants who benefit from its alienation. Indeed, so effective has the outnumbered tourists by more than 2 to 1. Today, tourists outnumber residents by 6 to 1 and Native Hawaiians by 30 to 1 (Trask 1993: 182 quoted Nordyke).
tourist advertising been, that many people think of Hawai‘i as not even containing the indigenous voice. For example, the HVB produces pictorial maps and ‘these maps stand in for Hawai‘i, a place in which distance, shape, and size are distorted, a place constituted wholly of limited selection of “points of interest” and lines of transit between them. Such maps contribute to the reproduction of the myth of Hawai‘i as little more than a recreational paradise in which indigenous culture is also trivialized, finally reducing Hawai‘i to an amusing cartoon’ (Kapp 1999: 21). The effects may be profound: ‘The perceptions that outsiders have of Hawaiians, and even to some extent the perceptions that Hawaiians have of themselves, have largely been constructed by the tourist industry’ (Buck 1993: 177).

Anthropologist Jonathan Friedman’s research contradicts this. He described a way some Hawaiians may construct their cultural identity in opposition to the material values of the West. Friedman’s chapter comparing modernist identity in a fishing village in Hawai‘i and the sapeurs [young bloods] of Congo-Brazzaville found that the Hawaiians defined themselves against the world system, whereas the sapeurs defined themselves in terms of it. For instance sapeurs leave their society to travel to Paris, where they ‘make the great leap to the custom-tailored luxury attire of civilization’ (Friedman 1992: 350). Then they return to Brazzaville and parade in their designer clothes. Whereas in Hawai‘i, the Hawaiians define themselves by rejecting signs of consumption in western culture. ‘Cultural identity is something that has to be re-established, and it is thus organized ... as a search for roots, not a reinforcement of the inflow of health and wealth from the West’ (1992: 355). This is important in the context of my discussion of how the kaona of the Hawaiian language may define one’s perception. For one’s identity is usually not understood in terms of western cultural artifacts.

My observation showed me that one may be considered ‘more Hawaiian’ if one wears, and owns, very few clothes.
In conclusion, this section has continued the background information on Hawai‘i. I have tried

to show how the islands of Polynesia have been represented by the West in ways which suited
their purposes. For instance they can be considered grossly uncivilized, full of cannibals and
savages, as I showed with the Edgar example, or joyfully primitive, such as Brooke’s comments
would appear to epitomize. I have implied those views of Hawai‘i may say as much about the
West as they do about the Hawaiians. I have also shown how many Hawaiians have had little
chance to represent their islands for themselves. Today, this situation is happily changing and a
‘Polynesian Renaissance’, is ongoing, whereby many islanders are reclaiming their indigenous
knowledges.

All this ‘sets the scene’ for my study, which shows how Hawaiians can represent themselves, to
themselves, and why they may not choose to do so to others. The way to do that is through the
meanings of the language, and I now look at how the Hawaiian language, just like this section
about views of Hawai‘i, necessarily embodies partial representation. But a change in
perception can lead to a greater ‘view’ of these partial representations, in which one can see
slightly more. Hence these representations are not self-limiting, but bear the seeds of their
growth within them. I shall illustrate that in the next section.

1.5 The Hawaiian Language and Partial Representations

‘Found what?’ said the Duck.
‘Found it’, the Mouse replied rather crossly: ‘of course you know what “it” means’.
‘I know what “it” means well enough, when I find a thing,’ said the Duck: ‘it’s generally a frog
or a worm’.
From Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland (Lewis Carroll 1962: 22).

In this study I use the Hawaiian language as a means of interpreting the culture. It is a
mediational interpretive dialectic, in which I am making an intervention, and thus stabilizing a
fluid field. This is possible because the Hawaiian language is a polysemic system, overloaded with meaning. There is an archipelago of meanings, and I am privileging no one over the other, but saying that many interpretations are possible and the choices available to a Polynesian mean that interpretations of Polynesian society need to take more factors into account than other studies have done. I shall show that what we find in the language is what we look for.

I must first make a disclaimer by saying I am not trying to make language conform to any one picture of reality, which may be the same as our own, as in the objectivist model, for example. I do not believe any one interpretation is more valid than any other. What matters to me is that many people believe the interpretations I am making, and they themselves would say they certainly do not invalidate other ways of understanding Polynesia. Rather I would say as Anne Salmond did, in her seminal essay comparing the premises New Zealand Maori and western thought are based on:
Here it is supposed that language is an instrument for the negotiation of meaning, and that contexts of utterance and pre-existing knowledge are important both in saying, and in interpreting anything that is said. Since structures of contexts, language and knowledge may vary (within uncertain limits) cross-culturally and even across disciplines, it is held that the absolute verification of descriptions is not feasible, and their acceptance or rejection may be influenced by epistemological, situational and rhetorical factors as well as physical experience. This is an interpretive account of meaning... (Salmond 1982: 65).

Our experience of the world is always pre-formed by language so that language becomes indelibly part of our being in the world, a point where ‘I’ and the world meet (Gadamer 1975: 431). The amount of possible interpretations available to a Hawaiian is huge, due to the range of hidden meanings in the Hawaiian language, which means the available cognitive environment is broad:

An individual’s cognitive environment is the set of all facts which are manifest to him. A phenomenon affects the cognitive environment by making certain facts manifest or more manifest. As a result, the individual can mentally represent these facts as strong or stronger assumptions, and perhaps use them to derive further assumptions which do not correspond to actual facts, but which are nonetheless manifest to him too (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 151).

Now I will look at how some characteristics of the Polynesian languages lend themselves to multiple interpretations. Austronesian provides the genus under which the local languages fall. It contains all Polynesian and Micronesian languages, and some of the Melanesian, and is the most widespread language family in the world (Howe et al. 1994: 10). As I mentioned in the ‘Notes on Transliteration’ the Polynesian languages are very similar, and so are some cultural practices and beliefs within Polynesia. For instance gods with the same names and corresponding qualities may be worshipped across Polynesia and include Tane (Kāne in Hawaiian), Tangaroa (Kanaloa), Rono (Lono) and Tu (Kū). As this example illustrates, I have
observed linguistic differences tend to concern the substitution of letters, rather than structure and vocabulary. In looking at chants of the other Polynesian languages for example, I have found it easy to substitute letters and thus work out meanings.

The Hawaiian language is dependent on certain principles, and understanding them is crucial to understanding the world-view of many Hawaiians. I quote Marshall Sahlins for a discussion of those principles:

Word order is governed by the principle called ‘fronting’, the advance of the most salient information toward initial position in the sentence, the place usually occupied by the verb. The verbs themselves are marked for aspect, or degree of realization, rather than tense proper; and the most frequently used verbs are the so-called statives, denoting what we consider a state or condition rather than an action. Indeed, in this language without inflections the same terms generally function as nouns, verbs, adjectives, or adverbs, depending on position. I am not rehearsing the idea, commonly attributed to Whorf and Sapir, that the categories of grammar determine the categories of thought. The same interchangeability of being and doing is as manifest in social structure as in grammatical structure, and nothing tells us a priori that one such domain should be privileged over the other. But taken together, the Hawaiian cultural logic does suggest that the opposition between state and process or substance and action enshrined in our own historical and social science is not pertinent - however much the distinction seems to us a condition of thought itself (Sahlins 1985: 28).

Sahlins makes a number of excellent points, especially the lack of distinction between verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs in Hawaiian, that is important on many levels. Parkin (1982) discussed how the notion of ‘becoming’ rather than ‘representing’, affected ideas of animism for example.11 The notion of ‘becoming’ will become important in the discussion of ‘making land’

11 'Among the Giriama of Kenya, among whom I worked, elders speak to the wooden memorial sculptures of certain venerated ancestors ... the Giriama insist that these sculptures "become" these particular ancestors for a while, during which they are dangerous or propitious depending on how they
in this thesis. For the language is indeed a 'performative structure', which can be viewed as literally ‘bringing into being’. For examples place names make place out of space.

Some other features help the Hawaiian language act a performative structure. As I explored in the Note on Transliteration, the Hawaiian alphabet has very few letters, hence it is harder to make up new words which have not been known before. This lends itself to the existence of metaphor and multiple meanings for words. There are no consonant clusters and no sibilants (s-like sounds). Every syllable ends with a vowel, in a pattern of photactics. The role of vowels is to cause change, as I demonstrate in Section 3.6. Hence the structure of the Hawaiian language itself aids its ability to ‘bring into being’.

Some people even found the Hawaiian priestly language to be purely performative and lacking referential sense. Otto Jesperson described the English language as masculine, whereas Hawaiian is ‘effeminate’ ‘you do not expect much vigour or energy in a people speaking such a language’ (1956: 3-4). Again, these are but different notes that do not a melody make. I believe it takes a study of the *kaona*, or hidden meanings, to at least get an apprehension of what the whole symphony may be.

It is now useful to look at structuralist and post-structuralist theories and explore where my work on language may fit in terms of them. According to the classic structuralist approach, language is a synchronic system of difference. The system is constituted by a series of signs. The edited nuances of *parole* or ‘speech’ which occurs ‘on the surface’ are ignored, and an

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are treated and handled. From the Giriama viewpoint the sculptures are at that time not simply wooden containers of spirit, but are fellow conversants. This realization, minor in itself, has implications for understanding their notions of what we distinguish as the material and the animate, and body and soul’ (Parkin 1982: xxxiv).

12 Arago, the draughtsman on the French ship, *Uranie*, wrote (1823: 143):

‘Marini the Spaniard, who has been settled here for a number of years, and speaks the language like a native, knows by heart all the prayers in use among them, and he assures me that none of them have any meaning whatever’.
abstract grammar of language stressed. If one takes this theory, my approach would have no relevance, because structuralism proclaims that *langue*, rather than *parole*, is fundamental.

The role of analysis is to reveal the structures beneath individual speech, thus spoken language is important only because of the deeper structure it signifies: ‘a sort of general language, valid for each system separately and for all of them taken together’ (Levi-Strauss 1967: 61).

According to this theory, a new ‘general language’, applied to society or societies, is needed to talk about abstract meaning, hence individual languages would become obsolete.

In practice, different societal institutions are analyzed according to the science of semiology. Saussure wrote ‘by studying rites, customs etc. as signs, I believe that we shall throw new light on the facts and point up the need for including them in a science of semiology and explaining them by its laws’ (1974: 8). Anthropologist Edmund Leach said:

> I shall assume that all the various non-verbal dimensions of culture ... are organized in patterned sets so as to incorporate coded information in a manner analogous to the sounds and words and sentences of a natural language (Leach 1976: 10).

I believe it is very useful to look at the principles which underpin society, and to compare them to other societies. Yet it rests on another assumption, that there is one layer rather than many underpinning society, and that that layer can be interpreted in terms of the structured and structuring human mind:

Levi-Strauss claims that his anthropological studies produce objective ‘scientific’ knowledge of the Other. The structures he reveals are not just good, bad or indifferent interpretations but accurately represent the real. He is not dealing in a realm of possibility or plausibility but is aiming to secure or anchor knowledge in objectified forms. His structures are *the* structures (Tilley 1990: 42).
I do not find this view relevant to my analysis of Hawaiian cosmology as revealed through the hidden meanings of language. For there are always many interpretations, and they can never be fully understood in terms of a general notion of the unconscious.

The ideas of post-structuralism are famously represented by French *philosophe* Jacques Derrida. In regards to metaphor, the different elements of a text conjoin identities while retaining the distance, the difference of identity ... the difference of the *difference* (Yates 1990: 276, 277). Hence Derrida breaks the relationship between the sign and the signifier into a polysemous chain of signifiers referring only to themselves. Again, this would be of little use, for I have found the *kaona* of the Hawaiian language always refer to something else.

There have been many critiques of structuralism and post-structuralism over the last few decades, which I have no space to review here. For the purposes of this dissertation I would like to focus on the hermeneutic aspect of language use. Structuralism, as I have mentioned, does not take account of the individual response to meaning. As Tilley wrote in his study of rock carvings at Namforsen in Northern Sweden:

The structural analysis, it might be claimed, merely constitutes a depth descriptive interpretation of some aspects of carving form, along with an imputed classificatory or totemic significance in which the carvings signify sets of social relations. This, in fact, might be taken to represent a starting point rather than a finishing point for analysis, the textual inscription of an initial arc in a more comprehensive hermeneutic spiral through which the subjectivity of the archaeologist and the objectivity of the rock carvings become fused in the production of a discourse which of necessity opens out the way to the production of others in a continuous process of grafting meaning (Tilley 1991: 114).
The process of grafting meaning is continuous because the rock carvings can be understood in many different ways. 'Underlying both verbal and solid metaphor is polysemy' (Tilley 1999: 263). According to Paul Ricoeur, polysemy needs no justification:

> ordinary language does not, cannot, and must not function according to the model of ideal languages constructed by logicians and mathematicians. The variability of semantic values, their sensitivity to contexts, the irreducibly polysemic character of lexical terms in ordinary language, these are not provisory defects or diseases which a reformulation of language could eliminate, rather they are the permanent and fruitful conditions of the functioning of ordinary language. This polysemic feature of our words in ordinary language now appears to me to be the basic condition for symbolic discourse and in that way, the most primitive layer in a theory of metaphor, symbol, parable, etc. (Ricoeur 1978: 321).

Language's polysemous nature leads to the concept of 'split reference' whereby the metaphor 'is' signifies both 'is not' and 'is like'. Thus it can 'redescribe' reality, and the apparent constitution of poetic discourse, which appears to be non-referential and centred on itself, need not mean poetic reference. Hence the word 'truth' is very 'tensive' (Ricoeur 1978: 7, 8). Tensive language is fluid, concurring with a reality that presents corresponding ontological traits.

This is close to my findings about the Hawaiian language and the way it constructs reality. For example the word 'is' does not exist in Hawaiian. The corresponding metaphor, the individual word, only functions on the 'as like' level, because the very act of speaking presupposes the world of the word coming into visible being. If the word changes, or, crucially, one's understanding of the word changes, one's perception of creation will also change; thus the semantic universe, as well as the world around one, is constantly being reinterpreted.
Yet Ricoeur wrote that he is now 'less inclined to link hermeneutics to the discovery of hidden meanings in symbolic language' (Ricoeur 1978: 317). This is because he defined symbolism and hermeneutics in terms of each other. Symbolism requires interpretation because it is based upon a specific semantic structure, the structure of double meaning expressions. Reciprocally, there is a hermeneutical problem because there is an indirect language. Hence symbolism cannot be defined in terms of hermeneutics, and the problem of how it can be defined remains. Ricoeur wrote that he has moved to favouring a recognition of the objective meaning of the text as distinct from the subjective intention of the author. The 'hermeneutical circle' is re-formed in terms of a connection between two discourses, the discourse of the text and the discourse of the interpretation:

This connection means that what has to be interpreted in a text is what it says and what it speaks about, i.e. the kind of world which it opens up or discloses; and the final act of 'appropriation' is less the projection of one's own prejudices into the text than the 'fusion of horizons' - to speak like Hans-Georg Gadamer - which occurs when the world of the reader and the world of the text merge into one another (Ricoeur 1978: 319).

I think the concept of 'fusion of horizons' is an extremely useful one for understanding a text such as this thesis, which may be understood in different ways according to the viewpoint one brings to it. It is also useful in doing an ethnography of a society which left a text of place names interwoven with land, because not only does the land act as 'text', it gives a recognition that one's own prejudices help construct the world one sees. Certain Hawaiians believe it does not go far enough though. The land one sees depends totally on what one has brought to it, information such as thoughts and chants, knowledges such as the interpretations of place names. In a sense, one creates one's cosmological universe, one's land through one's under-standing of the hidden meanings of language. I shall be using that metaphor throughout this dissertation.
The inscribing of meaning in free-flowing landscapes involves choosing from a set of particular contexts. Sperber and Wilson's discussion of Relevance Theory points out that (1995: 142): ‘At the end of each deductive process, the individual has at his disposal a particular set of accessible contexts’. The changing of the context inevitably alters the process of understanding. So will making a choice about what one concentrates on, and one needs to acknowledge that one is always an interpreter. To interpret means to ‘use one’s own preconceptions so that the meaning of the text can really be made to speak for us’ (Gadamer 1975: 358). Rather than trying to banish my role, after Gadamer, I am trying to elevate my role in the process of creating meaning. As Tilley summarized:

interpretation is endless, bound up with tradition, and changes in relation to the situation in which understanding is taking place. Understanding is a process in which we need to try out alternative readings of the text to see how to make sense of it from different positions. It involves questions and answers, making choices, being prepared to change one’s position to open out fresh possibilities. To understand is to translate, to bring out certain aspects which seem important in the text while inevitably placing others to one side, emphasizing what appears to be important. Understanding is an ongoing process. As such it can never achieve ontological finality. It is always open and anticipatory. The text does not possess some absolute meaning which inheres self-sufficiently within itself. The meaning only comes into being through the process of understanding (Tilley 1991:116).

I would argue that this is a not-unfamiliar concept to many Hawaiians. Roselle Bailey told me in 1990 that she will only answer the questions I ask on the level at which I ask them. She will not volunteer information. In this, she is close to Gadamer who said:

A person who seeks to understand must question what lies behind what is said. He must understand it as an answer to a question. If we go back behind what is said, then we inevitably ask questions beyond what is said. We understand the sense of the text only by acquiring the horizon of the question that, as such, necessarily includes other possible answers ... The logic of the human sciences is ... a logic of the question (Gadamer 1975: 333).
I could not agree with him more, and it is my desire to look at the horizons beyond what has been generally understood about Hawaiian culture, that have led to me formulating the questions I have asked. I also use the metaphor of horizons (see Section 5.1 for definitions), and stressed the concept of multi-dimensionality. This may be another way of ‘acquiring the horizon of the question that, as such, necessarily includes other possible answers’. For a plethora of meanings is always available, and the question means that one or more forms will be made, concretized, out of an infinity of possible forms.

To conclude, in this section I have looked at some of the characteristics of the Hawaiian language, and the way it can be interpreted in different ways. For example, it was difficult for the missionaries to translate the Bible into Hawaiian because every word had a hidden sexual meaning (Sahlins 1985: 10). Writing may fix the representation of the Hawaiian language, but due to the multiplicity of the hidden meanings, it cannot fix it into one interpretation. If it is interpreted only one way (as I examine in some of the representations of Hawai‘i in Section 3.2), then that is due to the intervention of the interpreter, and their viewpoint, rather than a characteristic of the language itself. Any intervention is inevitably partial, it cannot possibly see the whole and complex edifice of the language as a socio-political system, the best one can hope to do is recognize that, and make the meanings one sees available in the appropriate context. This is particularly the case for a language with as many hidden meanings as Hawaiian, where anyone who interprets words particular ways will be excluding as much as they include. Hence the necessity to recognize that one cannot, and should not, generalize from one’s particular viewpoint; which after all, is only the result of one’s intervention.

Now I will move on to some methodological questions behind this dissertation, in which I stress Ricoeur’s point that the questions one asks are important, and they influence the answers that are available to one. The potentiated meaning then influences the questions one can ask on the future, and so on, and so on. Hence one’s reality is built around one’s initial perception,
although one’s perception can be changed at any time, this is harder when one has materialized forms that correspond to it. There is a relationship here to some Hawaiian views about how growth occurs through the perception of the hidden meanings of the word, which then builds the corresponding structures (whether they are of the human or of the land) which can then be changed through new perceptions. This idea is a keystone of this dissertation.

1.6 Methodology

‘Well,’ he said with a sigh, ‘I’m not much of a magician, as I said; but if you will come to me tomorrow morning, I will stuff your head with brains. I cannot tell you how to use them, however; you must find that out for yourself.’

“Oh, thank you - thank you!” cried the Scarecrow. ‘I will find a way to use them, never fear!’

From The Wizard of Oz (Baum 1982:140).

I would like to begin by emphasizing that in this thesis I am not talking about ‘Hawaiian culture’ in any unitary sense. Nothing makes certain Hawaiians more angry than westerners coming in and making generalizations about their culture from their particular experience - heavily dependent on their (usually unacknowledged) perspective. As I have said, I do not believe it is desirable, or even possible, to talk about a culture ‘in general’, but only about the particular portion of it that one sees. Thus, I am not talking about Hawaiian culture as a whole, but am merely representing the sources I have learned from.

I did not do fieldwork structured along traditional ethnographic lines. For example, I did not go to a village in New Guinea for twenty months, with two months in the capital first to acclimatize, and then return to my original institution to write the thesis without revisiting the fieldwork site. Partly that is due to the nature of Hawai‘i itself - where are the villages? - part of the flux of the modern world. I have perhaps been more in the tradition of George Marcus,
who advocated a multi-sited ethnography and wrote (1992: 316) a: ‘multi-locale, dispersed identity vision thus reconfigures and complexifies the spatial plane on which ethnography has conceptually operated’. Hawai‘i has been an ongoing involvement in my life since 1990 and is not easily separated from the rest of it. My own locale was certainly multi-sited and changed a great deal as I went into libraries or hiked into remote valleys - or even visited a hairdresser’s in the middle of Honolulu, when I was told a man with great knowledge of Hawai‘i worked there. Thus, I did not feel I directed the knowledge, rather the knowledge I was finding directed me. So, I could not plan too far in advance.

My methods of doing fieldwork were participant observation and conducting interviews. I did not use questionnaires for several reasons. Firstly, I was interested in particular qualitative knowledge, which is usually known only to a few. Secondly, I had no reason to believe people would fill in a relatively anonymous questionnaire accurately, since people’s concern, often repeated, was what would happen to the knowledge when it was shared. For this reason, I found I got better results by not preparing questions in advance. The Polynesian islands are very ‘laid back’, and to approach informants in a rigorous, formulaic way would have alienated them and ensured I did not get the information I sought. Indeed, Pacific Island historian, Teresia Teaiwa called the process of fieldwork “deep hanging out” (personal communication 1996). It must be borne in mind that I sought ‘taboo’ information and the secrets that are generally not talked about.

Usually, I would be advised to meet people “Oh Kimo, he know about that old story, you go talk to him”, or introduced to them, for instance at a feast. In most cases it was then up to me to arrange a time to go and talk to them further. This was quite a challenge, as the western system of acquiring as much knowledge in as little time as possible would contrast with the view of

13 According to certain Hawaiians this is no bad thing. For example it means admitting that other things are bigger than your own desires and directions, which is one of the prerequisites for the humility needed to receive the knowledge.
many Hawaiians that knowledge is emotional as well as intellectual and needed to be passed on
to someone who was ready for it. My presentation at the Association of American Geographers’
(Bartlett 1999) was dedicated to this problem, and I see it as the defining factor of my fieldwork.
There was no official process of initiation in Hawai‘i, as happens in many traditional societies,
no stages to go through and honours conferred. This is not only due to the changes that have
happened in Hawaiian society, but because the sacred knowledge is passed on at an individual
level, by the individual. This is no way changes the validity of the knowledge, although lack of
an external context may certainly make the depth and extent of the Hawaiian knowledge more
surprising.

The people who gave me information have come from very different perspectives. There are
‘academic Hawaiians’ such as Dr. Lilikala Kame‘elehiwa, presently head of the Hawaiian
Studies Department at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. She will readily admit she is
politicized, and involved in Hawai‘i’s struggle for sovereignty. She was taught Hawaiian as a
child and is a recognized chanter. Others are Hawaiians teaching in the further education
system, and not overtly involved in politics. They have established a large and valuable corpus
of other work on Hawai‘i such as place name expert Duke Kalani Wise. I was lucky enough to
benefit from some discussions with him. He did not write any books on the subject, although he
collaborated on one on place names of Honolulu (Budnick and Wise 1989). June Gutmanis, the
successor to the archives of Thomas Thrum, had a magnificent knowledge of Hawaiiana and the
Hawaiian language, and was the author of several scholarly books on ancient aspects of Hawai‘i,
published by the Bishop Museum. Unfortunately both these people are now deceased.

Other informants may not be Hawaiian at all, but teaching in the University, such as writer and
clown, Dr. Vilsoni Hereniko, who shared with me many of his insights about Pacific literature
and identity. Vili is not aligned to any specific political movement, but seems to be broadly
accepted by all - unusual in the Hawaiian context. Perhaps this is made easier for him by his
identity as being from Rotuma, rather than Hawai‘i. Some other academics were a rich resource. Anthropologist and navigator Ben Finney spoke to me, as did archaeologists Matthew Spriggs and Buddy Neller. I also benefited from discussions and supervisions with Alfred Gell, Nick Thomas and Stephen Hugh-Jones when I was in the Anthropology Department at Cambridge University.

For example, I went to talk to Ben Finney, Head of Anthropology at the University of Hawai‘i, in 1990. He gave me a couple of names on the island of Kaua‘i where I was going, and one of those people introduced me to Roselle Keli‘ihonipua Bailey, *kumu hula* [hula teacher] of *Kahiko Halapa‘i Hula Alapa‘i* (To Excite in the Ancient Ways of Hula) and director of *Ka Imi Na Au‘ao O Hawai‘i Nei*, an organization which funds insights into Hawaiian Culture. Roselle is a well-respected *kumu hula* and chanter (Plate 1.7), who is, unusually, happy to say she is not a Christian. She worships the old gods, and is a trained speaker of Hawaiian. She was taught many Hawaiian traditions by her mother, who passed more of her traditions down to her, rather than her other children, because she felt Roselle was the one most ready to receive them.

Although Roselle is a well-respected *kumu hula* in Hawai‘i, unlike some other informants I mentioned previously, she is not usually asked for information. She does not allow her name to be quoted unless she feels that the information she gave is being used correctly for the benefit of the people concerned. Thus, Roselle was a prime source for Barrere, Pukui and Kelly’s book about the hula, published by the Bishop Museum, but she told me in 1990 she did not allow her name to be used, because there were some generalizations in the text she did not agree with.

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14 It must also be remembered that many have a stake in the knowledge not existing. For example most Hawaiians are now Christians who have been taught that all knowledge before the advent of Christianity was sinful. This gave me some problems in my fieldwork, both from people who would not talk, or who used Christian words like ‘spirit possession’ for their experiences, rather than the Hawaiian words. I discuss more about that in Section 3.2. It also gave me problems from people who *did* talk, yet wanted me to represent the knowledge as showing Hawaiians were Christian before Christianity came along, for example only believing in one God, *Io*, rather than many. This I could not do, for according to my research, there gods were numerous, *kinolau*, and many-bodied, although in another dimension there is indeed only *Io*. I could not ignore my other findings. This lost me friends and informants, for example hula teacher Earl Pa-Mai Tenn.
For example, for example that the hula was not a religious service Emerson was 'unqualified'  
(Barrere et al. 1980: 2).  

Some people were overtly politicized at the time I gained information, such as Noa Emmett Aluli, founder member of the PKO (Protect Kaho'olawe Ohana), who has been very involved in the struggle for demilitarizing that island (Plate 1.8). Craig Neff was another member of the PKO who talked to me when I participated in the opening Makahiki ritual on Kaho'olawe in 1996, and uses Hawaiian symbols in the art works he sells and gives away. Raymond Dedman was another informant heavily involved in the struggle for Hawaiian independence whom I met at Punalu'u on the Big Island. He taught me the meanings of some Hawaiian metaphors and how they relate to place names there (Plate 1.9). Some of these people, such as June Gutmanis, invited me to stay; mostly I made appointments with them to ask specific questions, sometimes, as with Bumpy Kanahele, they invited me to family events (Plate 1.10).

Many of those people pass on information to students of Hawai'i, but it should not be assumed they pass on the same information. It is likely to be couched in different dimensions, according to the questions that are asked and the relationship of the questioner to the informant. I agree with the question Anthropologist Barbara Bender posed when designing an exhibition of Stonehenge to bring around Britain (Bender 1998: 155): “Who among the multiplicity of voices gets to be heard ...” This quote presages the need both for clarity of

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15 It is typical of the Hawaiian approach to transmitting knowledge which I discuss in Section 3.8 that she did not tell people they were wrong, and the hula not only was, but still is, a religious service to some. It demonstrates the principle of knowledge being transmitted according to readiness. Roselle is prepared to allow the hula to be over-generalized and mis-represented, rather than tell people their viewpoint is limited and not true for a cultural practitioner of the hula. It shows humility in action.

16 The quote continues ‘and how and why’. This is a complex question. It could be argued that my interpretations in this thesis do not allow the indigenous voices to speak directly. As I have tried to show, such ‘direct speech’ would, in some sense, be illusory, because the content would depend me, the person spoken to. I decided that if my study could begin to show the complexity of the Hawaiian language and the different interpretations that are possible within the culture, that would be the best service I could give. Thus I leave people ‘speaking for themselves’ to other audiences and other volumes.
communication and the need to distinguish different voices. The other strand of concern is to do with who is actually heard. While it is impossible to give empowerment to all of the voices, I found it extremely valuable to speak to the people perhaps not normally spoken to, such as the Hawaiian ‘living on the beach’. For example they may not be active in politics, but are busy in the traditional Polynesian role as being ‘keepers of the culture’. I found I would not meet these people around universities.

Thus, I made some effort to physically ‘get out’ in the Polynesian landscape, and experience it. I found so doing would change the nature of my research, because I would get to know the landscape through my senses. When Barbara Bender interviewed Chris Tilley at Stonehenge, his first impressions of the landscape were that it was not particularly interesting. But he was aware that by spending time in the landscape, his perceptions would change:

I’d try to build up an intimate knowledge of the landscape-setting through walking from one place to another, looking at views, the intervisiblility between features, what things go out of sight, or come into sight at various points. This all takes an incredible amount of time. When I first come here, I wouldn’t actually be recording anything, I’d be walking around. And then I’d go back, walking and stopping every couple of hundred metres to make very detailed notes. I’d use a video and cameras. That’s how I worked on the Dorset Cursus. When I finally started making notes it all came out very fast, but it required weeks of preparation. Over time, your perception and cognition of the landscape gradually change and deepen. It’s nothing you can force - you can keep on finding more and more things. I think if I spent two weeks walking round here I’d probably find Stonehenge an incredibly interesting place.

Doing a phenomenology of the landscape involves the intimacy of the body in all its senses. What I mean is that it’s synaesthetic, an affair of the whole body moving and sensing - a visionscape but also a soundscape, a touchscape, even a smellscape, a multi-sensory experience. GIS has become very popular lately, everyone seems to

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17 These roles may of course change. For example, Roselle Bailey became far more politically active at the end of the Nineteen nineties, and her voice was heard in certain contexts.
want to do it, but basically it can only produce an abstract knowledge. It can’t reproduce a sense of place acquired through being in place (Bender 1998: 91).

This passage shows how one’s perception of landscape depends on the utilization of the senses, and how spending time in a place is essential to a deeper understanding. Although it had not been written when I did my fieldwork, I find it is good to find validation from a respected academic for one of the ways I ‘discovered landscape’.

I often met other informants through spending time in the landscape in this way. They were often elderly and living in rural places on remote islands. They may not be overtly concerned with politics, and intellectualizing Hawaiian values, they are just living them, for example, planting with the appropriate chants. I found most of them excellent sources of information.

Some informants did not want to be named, and in all cases, I have respected their desire to remain anonymous. I have also been careful about quoting many of them in the rest of the thesis, because copies of this will find their way into Hawaiian libraries, and I do not wish to cause anyone distress, by their remarks to me being interpreted out of context. On isolated island societies, one is more vulnerable to such sources of stress. Hawai‘i may be part of the modern world, yet the Hawaiian islands still remain, literally as well as figuratively, a small-scale society. It is said you cannot sneeze on one island, without people knowing about it on another island. In my case, as an English geographer/anthropologist doing research into Hawaiian culture, news of my arrival\(^\text{18}\) on the different islands would usually precede me.

\(^{18}\) The most extreme example was when I was walking along Queen Street in Auckland, New Zealand in 1994. I was dropping off some photos in a shop and gave my name and address. A Māori girl in the shop said "Oh, you’re Rima, I heard about you". I have had similar experiences in London and Hawai‘i.
Generally, the information my informants gave me hung together very well, and could easily be checked with books, dictionaries, other Hawaiians and other people studying Hawai‘i too, who would tend to ask questions of the same informants. My other sources include books about Polynesia written by Hawaiians, other Polynesians and westerners. They include academic geographies, anthropologies and ethnographies. I spent much of my fieldwork period in Honolulu, consulting the Hawaiian and Pacific collections at the Hamilton Library at the University of Mānoa. The academic sources include certain courses I took at the University of Hawai‘i such as Place Names of Hawai‘i and Hawaiian Astronomy. Sources for my work on place names include the Polynesian place names on maps and in other places such as the settings of myths or in dance chants. Some books may be ‘fictionalized’ in the form of journals, travel books, novels, reminisces, autobiographies and poetry. I found some of them very useful too, not only for what they told me, but for the interpretive leap they required me to make to try and understand them. As is expected in a dissertation I have read very widely around the subject of Hawai‘i, much of it must be left out here, due to restrictions of subject matter and space.

I have been visiting the Hawaiian islands since 1990. Previously, I spent a couple of years at the other end of Polynesia, New Zealand, and I frequently use some knowledge of the Maori for comparative purposes here. I have travelled widely throughout the Pacific, visiting Tahiti, the Cook Islands, Fiji and Australia, several times. I spent some three months in Hawai‘i in 1993, lived there from January 1995 to June 1997, and at least a month there every year since. I have visited six of the main eight Hawaiian islands, O‘ahu, Hawaii [the Big Island], Kaua‘i, Moloka‘i, Maui and Kaho‘olawe, most several times. It is hard to put a date on exactly where I was and when; often I would visit an island such as Moloka‘i and the Big Island several times, or I would spend a more sustained period there, such on Kaua‘i, where I was in 1990, 1994 and 1999. Part of it depended on the nature of the information I was recording and the accompanying
circumstances (in Moloka‘i a scholarly permit for the area I was researching was not valid for long for example) and part of it would depend on where I had accommodation at the time.

My knowledge of the Hawaiian language is largely self-taught. When learning a language, I am far better at the written than the spoken language and Hawaiian was no exception. I also discovered, with Russian and Latin, that I was much better at interpreting many of the meanings of a language, than I was in composing. After I returned from my first trip there in 1990 I would read the dictionary and Hawaiian myths for pleasure (I did not realize it then, but it was the most useful thing I could have done for this thesis, as they are sources of metaphor and kaona). For this thesis I deliberately did not choose islands where I would have to speak a new language on a daily basis. All of my informants speak English as well as Hawaiian, and I would often take down chants, and prayers and so on in Hawaiian, but any explanation would be done in English. In addition, the subject of this thesis plays to my strength, which is decoding a written language.

I was disappointed to find that the language classes at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa were not couched in the traditional terms of metaphor, but in the more modern terms of vocabulary lists, grades, and getting the diacritical mark in the right place. They are not so useful for the purposes of this dissertation. It is worth mentioning that what I found most useful in informants in general was not the speaking of fluent Hawaiian, because they may be able to do this, and have only a superficial understanding of the metaphors of their language. It was the understanding of kaona, hidden meanings, and this was usually, but not invariably, related to spoken language ability.

The question why I am not writing a more political thesis has often been asked, and I will address it here. While I would not wish to play down the concerns of politics, the Hawaiian islands are already a heavily politicized arena. In general, whatever the rights and wrongs of the
issue - and I am very sympathetic to the right of Hawaiians to determine the future of the Hawaiian islands - I avoided getting too heavily caught up with one political party. This is partly because the existence of several parties wanting Hawaiian sovereignty meant that being allied with one would have meant my information-gathering sources would have been restricted. Moreover, the Hawaiian language, with its flexibility of meanings, lends itself as an ideal resource in relation to the contemporary political struggles. But it is not usually used that way. The Hawaiian struggle for independence is often portrayed in black-and-white terms. Thus it does not provide a fertile arena, for my particular area of analysis, the hidden meanings. There would be an additional difficulty, which is that I am white, and many Hawaiians have said they do not want white people studying the resistance movement, which is why one anthropologist decided not to (Reshala Du Puis: personal communication 1995):

Like Malcolm X I believe white people should not join our cultural and political organizations. We must assert ourselves in our own way. And this means organizational separatism. The role of supportive white people - and this is almost a weary truism - is to convince other, non-supportive white people (Trask 1993: 246).

The Hawaiian resistance movement is an invented tradition, and it has been invented against a specific enemy. The people involved in that, who would be ‘my informants’, are of necessity politicized, and thus gaining information from them would be difficult because I do not have Hawaiian blood. For example, the two leading members of the Hawaiian studies Department at the University of Hawai‘i at Manoa, at the time of fieldwork, Lilikala Kame‘eleihiwa and Haunani-Kay Trask have strong opinions about this. Trask (1993: 248) claims that non-Hawaiians cannot truly understand the cultural values of Hawaiians. Kame‘eleihiwa (1992: 3-4) stated the need for more histories of Hawai‘i to be written from a Hawaiian perspective, which she equates as being by the Hawaiians themselves.
Why am I then, a non-Hawaiian, writing about Hawai‘i? Some white scholars, such as Michael King, have withdrawn from Maori research all together (King 1985: 163). One Maori academic told me that the Hawaiians are going through the same problems regarding representation that New Zealand went through twenty years ago (Paul Tapsell, personal communication 1996).

While I respect the right of these Polynesians to have an opinion about who should write about their culture, I believe that ultimately this must be an individual decision. I do not believe one should necessarily fight fire with fire, and although certain painful misrepresentations are undoubtedly in place, I do not think legislation according to race is ever the answer. I have come across several cases (Puakea Nogelmeier springs to mind and there are some others quoted in this dissertation) who contradict Pualani Kanahele’s statement:

> We of this Lāhui [nation, race] are gifted with the extra sensory perception of our na‘au which connects us to our ancestors. Therefore those of the Hawaiian family feel what ‘others not of this Lāhui could not possibly feel because they are not spiritually and emotionally connected therefore or possible dimensions of understanding are greater than others who choose to write about us’ (Kanahele 1989: iii).

Everyone, whatever their colour, is born with brains, spirit and emotion and I am closer to Evelyn Stokes who argued that the ‘ability to speak’ of the white geographer concerning Maori New Zealand depends on the academic crossing cultural boundaries to ‘see their world through Maori lenses’ (Stokes 1987: 119).

In addition, in Hawai‘i personal relationships will usually over-run the dictates of politics. For example, Haunani-Kay Trask’s partner is historian David Stannard, and she is not opposed to him writing about Hawaiian themes. Lilikala Kame‘elehiwa helped archaeologist Matthew Spriggs with his research, and after he gave me an introduction she allowed me to attend her classes on heiau [temples] of Hawai‘i and Hawaiian place names. Additionally, I believe, as I
have stated, in the multiplicity of meanings within Hawaiian culture, and I do not believe one necessarily has to be a ‘Hawaiian’ in order to apprehend them.

The question of who is a Hawaiian is problematic, and even those with Hawaiian blood may have grown up ‘on the mainland’ and they almost certainly will have been educated within the western education system and its concomitant values. These have their effect, even in the rejection of them. Finally, and most importantly, there is another, older, theme within Hawai‘i and the rest of Polynesia: that knowledge should be passed on according to readiness, not race. Thus, as long as informants gave me information, I have not let my race get in the way of this study.

I have talked about some of the problems I have had as an outsider, but that I do not believe those to be terminal, for the passing down of sacred knowledge is traditionally dependent on readiness, not politics; although that may not always be the case today. Rather those problems stimulated me to try and develop those personal qualities in myself, such as humility and humour, that were so necessary to gain the knowledge I needed to be able to do this dissertation. In general, I got dialogic information from my informants, they would respond to questions I asked, rather than volunteering information. This is the usual mode of passing on information in Hawai‘i, and ensures the questioner is always situated well within the picture, indeed it could be argued the questioner comprises the picture. Here I am trying to convey some of the knowledge that has not been recorded; the knowledge that is nearer the centre of the web, to use a Polynesian analogy. I believe this knowledge is ultimately of great and lasting value to Hawaiians today, which is why Hawaiians have preserved the form that contains it, the language, through so many trials and tribulations, as I explore in Section 3.8.

Many Hawaiians say knowledge is dependent on experience, and, as I realized when I began travelling at eighteen, I could not go to both Kashmir and Kerala, with the amount of time and
money available to me. If I chose one, it would mean missing the other. Hence choices build on each other, and comprise a frame for the window onto the world we could not conceive of being any other way (I chose the mountains of Kashmir, I now cannot imagine Kerala). Our experiences our not invalid because our perspective, and hence our representation is partial. Rather it helps us reach our ‘point of view’, which is no less valid for being only that.

Now I shall explore some ‘land’ I am going to look at in this dissertation.

1.7 Foregrounding Certain Islands of Hawai‘i

He travelled the seas, saying little, and when anyone asked him why he journeyed and what his destination was, he always gave two answers. One answer was for the ear of the questioner. The second answer was for his own heart. The first answer went like this:
‘I don’t know why I am travelling. I don’t know where I am going’.
And the second answer went like this:
‘I am travelling to know why I am invisible. My quest is for the secret of visibility’.

Okri 1995: 4

In this chapter I have described some of the most important ways the place names of Hawai‘i have been looked at, and at the aspects my study will add in terms of looking at the hidden meanings of the names. I have explored the concept of representation always being partial, through looking at some popular representations of Polynesia, at the Hawaiian language and at my methodology itself. But just because we can never succeed in apprehending, or showing ‘the whole picture’, does not mean we should not try to show the portion we do see. In this, I am inevitably an interpreter, someone who chooses to freeze the fluid dance at a certain ‘place’ and so represents it to others that way.
In Chapter Two I explore some academic ways of understanding the knowledge of landscape through the themes of landscape as aesthetics, memory, narrative, cosmology and how it relates to the construction of space and time. I also explore some ways place can be conceived of as growing from space. All these approaches have things to offer, yet none of them provide 'the whole picture'. Even taken together they cannot. Indeed, according to phenomenologists, there can be no 'one truth', there is merely the world seen according to perception and/or interpretation. As Tilley puts it in relation to a critique of Ingold's point that 'culture is a framework not for perceiving the world, but for interpreting it, to oneself and others'; 'it seems unhelpful to polarize, as Ingold appears to do, perception and interpretation ... ' (Tilley 1994: 23). I take up this point throughout this thesis, and try and show that many Hawaiians believe that the world we see becomes the world we interpret, and this question is integral to Hawaiian ideas of knowledge.

In Chapter Three I explore some aspects of Hawaiian cosmology, such as creation, the body, the word, stones, and knowledges. They are all linked because they are all believed to have the ability to be grown through the word. The word acts as a container for different knowledges, which can be interpreted according to the *kaona*. The other spheres I identify may also be imaged this way. Life on earth can be imaged as growing back towards the gods, who live in the realms of space, and can each be identified by a different 'sphere of influence' or quality of light. The importance of growth 'seeds' the idea that naming places is part of a greater system of attraction and creation. In Chapter Four I examine some instances of that through the power of place names.

The names of the places I select relate to the power of imaging, through which fertility is believed to come to the Hawaiian islands. That imaging is always believed to happen through the mediation of the gods and goddesses. Knowledge of the god *Kāne* is represented by the streams and rivers for example. Some Hawaiians believe place, like the human soul, may be
grown by shooting out the rope-body of the place name, each cord representing the activation of a different god. Hence the continual reference to the ‘double thread’ of the word * lua*, which reflects, creates, ties and binds. So visible growth occurs on earth.

My study of place names refers to this ‘forming’ of the bodies around the soul. The incarnating soul, like the word, needs to be given direction. Some of the meanings of the place names are dependent on their sequence as the bodies are grown around the soul. Places cannot be understood in isolation, as other writers have done. Hence many Hawaiian understandings of place are extremely fluid, and ‘place’ is perhaps best understood as ‘placing’, part of a series of relationships. The relationships are between human and god, and place and other places in a sacred sequence which may cover all of the Hawaiian island chain.

In the final substantive chapter, Chapter Five, I explore these conclusions further, by looking at the system of * rua*, or navigation by star-pits. It is no coincidence that this system shares the same word * rua*, as the system of creating by imaging, for navigation is also believed to lead to new land being brought into being. I explore the way navigation chants also consist of chants to ‘legendary islands’, which do not exist in reality, and look at why these should continue to be taught throughout the Pacific. I then look further at some Hawaiian cosmologies, and the way the * reva* or spheres are believed to mirror each other. Not only are the legendary islands named, but space within them is demarcated too. The place names concern the moon. I argue that this is because the moon is believed to image life on earth, and tending the gardens of the hidden islands is believed to help life on earth. Likewise helping fertilize earth is believed to help fertilize the hidden islands, the lands of the gods. I state that ultimately, many believe those islands exist within. The system of fertilization and cross-fertilization through Hawaiian culture is a system of action and reaction on the way to enlightenment.
In the conclusion I explore some of these ideas, setting out some ways I believe they could usefully be developed. I reflect back to the introduction by saying the importance of recognizing that one only has partial knowledge. I suggest that a keynote of the dissertation is growth, growth that is directed through intent plus the hidden meanings of the word; growth that is brought into being, through the system of imaging or *rua* that links domains of Polynesian culture that have usually been perceived as dominions.
CHAPTER TWO: THE LAND WE SEE

2.1 Introduction: Partial Sightings

‘Hanging Clowds and a thick horizon are certainly no known Signs of a Continent’.


In this chapter I will look at how knowledge is ‘grounded’ in the material form of the landscape. In my review of the literature on landscape I shall look at traditions which do not include the Polynesian. I choose five representations of landscape. They are landscape as aesthetic, landscape as narrative, landscape as memory, landscape as a construction of space and time and landscape as cosmology. The categories are linked in the argument that representations of landscape are contextually based. My purpose for including them is to show that the site of landscape studies is necessarily partial, thus I hope to better situate my own partial analysis of some Hawaiian landscapes. In this way, some themes from this chapter are similar to the previous one, and Section 3.2, which continues to show the partiality of other analyses. My categories are not discrete, and cosmological interpretations infuse them all. This is because I believe it is ultimately the most important category, and so I put it last. Anterior to that, I have a section on some theories of the growing of place from space, because they cannot be ignored in a dissertation about the topic.

In all landscape studies, there is an interaction between the participant-observer and the observed. A phenomenological stance, in which the intentionality of the ‘observer’s’ gaze is
recognized, seems to me very useful. Carter wrote:

The basis of the explorer’s interest in the landscape is neither objectively empirical nor is it merely literary or autobiographical: his stance is, rather, phenomenological in nature. It is grounded, that is, in his recognition that he, the observer, does not gaze on the world as through a window, but rather inhabits it. His perception of the world’s appeal is inseparable from his own interest in it, from the ‘intentionality’ of his gaze (Carter 1987: 82).

As Jackson wrote: ‘We are beginning to learn that the world surrounding us affects every aspect of our being, that far from being spectators of the world we are participants in it’ (1969: 2).

Throughout the dissertation I use metaphors such as land, boundary, horizon and ocean to refer to the shifting nature of observer-participation. In this, I am in the grand tradition of western science as discussed by Salmond (1982: pp. 67-73) in which my ‘discourse about knowledge characteristically elaborates a series of metaphors about location in a physical landscape’ (1982: 67).

Even though the postmodern perspective indicates that we will never reach a land of ‘pure understanding’, it is nonetheless important to set sail to cross it. As I move, so the horizon I see will be different, and the land I reach will be different - even the land I have left. For:

> the positioning of a horizon is always relative to the composition of pictorial space and to the establishment of pictorial illusion. That is, it is relative to some notional viewpoint and to some intended effect (Harrison 1984: 220).

Hence, ‘the other’, whether it is the past, Hawai‘i or England, may always be re-interpreted according to perspective. Thus the notion of ‘boundary’ will always be illusory. For boundaries
are drawn by mapping practices, they do not pre-exist. ‘What boundaries provisionally contain remains generative, productive of meanings and bodies. Siting (sighting) boundaries is a risky practice’ (Haraway 1996: 127). An accurate representation is impossible, particularly using words and the notion of perspective. Yet there is little choice about how to write dissertations and perhaps the best the academic can do is to be aware of his/ her boundaries, and through looking at other cultures, learn to see in a new way.

Many of these academic views are characteristic of the late twentieth century. In the nineteenth century, Kant was able to write with confidence:

> We have now not only travelled through the land of pure understanding, and carefully surveyed every part of it, but we have also measured its extent and assigned to everything its proper place. This land however is an island, and is enclosed by nature herself within unchangeable limits. It is the Land of Truth (an appealing name!); but a wide and stormy ocean surrounds it, the very seat of illusion, where many a fog bank, many an iceberg appears to the mariner in his exploration, as New Land, and while incessantly deluding him with empty hopes, reduces him to adventures from which he can never desist, and yet which he can never bring to completion (Ferrier 1991: 42).

Kant’s metaphor using landscape as a ‘ground’ for truth is no longer possible at this point in history. There are believed to be many different ways of conceptualizing the same land, and this chapter concentrates on theoretical reviews of conceptions of landscape, by geographers, ethnographers and others. Operating at the juncture of history and politics, social relations and cultural perceptions, landscape is, according to Inglis: ‘a concept of high tension’ (Bender 1993: 3). It is also an area of study that blows apart the conventional boundaries between the disciplines. The contributors to Bender’s edited collection on landscape (1993) are anthropologists, geographers, historians and archaeologists.
The study of landscape is not well developed. ‘Common landscapes - however important they may be - are by their nature hard to study by conventional academic means. The reason is negligence, combined with snobbery’ (Lewis in Meinig 1979:19). Landscape studies were relatively neglected in the 1950s and 1960s, but in the last couple of decades geographers have reformulated landscape as an active concept, which incorporates ‘individual, imaginative and creative human experience into studies of the geographical environment’ (Cosgrove 1984b: 45).

There is a recent explosion of geographical literature on the importance of the landscape. In American geography, the focus of landscape studies has been mainly cultural, such as Zelinsky (1973). Other work asserts that concepts of reality are socially constructed, for example Duncan and Ley (1993).

Historian Simon Schama wrote that the word ‘landscape’ : ‘entered the English language, along with herring and bleached linen, as a Dutch import at the end of the sixteenth century’. The word (Jon Goss: personal communication 1996) may be from the Dutch landskip, meaning a type/style of painting or view. Others think it comes from the Anglo-Saxon correspondence to the Germanic landschaft (Bender 1993: 2, footnote), meaning ‘a sheaf, a patch of cultivated ground, something small scale that corresponded to a peasant’s perception’. And ‘landschap, like its Germanic root, Landschaft, signified a unit of human occupation’ (Schama 1995: 10).

The definition of landscape I prefer is ‘a way of seeing the external world’, (Cosgrove 1984b quoting John Berger) because this has a high correlation to perception, and it fits in with the leitmotif of this dissertation, that the land one sees is the land one is able to see. Thus one’s land depends on one’s perception.

The verb, ‘to landscape’ can be defined as: ‘to change the natural features of a plot of ground so as to make it more attractive’. In other words, a landscape is a land which has been worked upon and altered by humans. Humans landscape through processes of cultivation, and the word ‘culture’ comes from the past participle of the verb colere, ‘to cultivate’ which draws some of its
meaning from its association with the tilling of the soil. *Cultura*, for example, meant ‘a ploughed field’ in Middle English. Present day usage of the word draws upon the terminology of crop breeding and improvement to create an image of man’s control, refinement, and ‘domestication’ of himself. A ‘cultivated’ person may be known as someone who has ‘culture’. The personality, like yogurt, may be ‘cultured’ (Wagner 1981: 21). Thus, even in English, the word for altering the landscape is associated with the ability for personal refinement, individual improvement. This is true also for the dimensions of Hawaiian culture I shall show, where it may be thought that altering the landscape has the ability to alter one’s perception.

Choosing certain categories, inevitably involves leaving out others. Here I do not delineate the positivist view of landscape as it is less relevant to my (and what I believe is the Hawaiians’) conceptual view, which is based on other principles. Nor do I attempt to trace the effect the Judaeo-Christian view has had on the relationship between man and nature. I also do not concentrate on the relationship between landscape and power, partly because it has been thoroughly alluded to elsewhere (for example Mitchell 1984), and partly because it does not fit in to the way my dissertation is trying to avoid being drawn into an explicitly ‘political’ understanding of Hawaiian culture. I shall identify and describe the main claims of each perspective before evaluating them. Each claim is judged in terms of the epistemic standards (both acknowledged and implicit) set by the perspective itself.

Thus I hope to bring the word landscape into prominence, as a verb, rather than as a noun. For landscaping necessarily involves human agency in ‘cultivating’ or ‘culturing’ the land. The landscape is never inert, people engage with it, re-work it, appropriate and contest it. It is part of the way in which identities are created and disputed, whether as an individual, group or nation-state. The route into these ‘cultures of landscaping’ will examine landscape as aesthetic.
2.2 Landscape as Aesthetic

'To represent means to have a kind of magical power over appearances, to be able to bring into presence what is absent'.

Tyler in Clifford 1986: 131

Landscape painting, which works by re-presenting the wide world in a certain specified form, could be called a 'magical act'. This section will discuss how landscape painting is often 'seen' as aesthetic, yet is dependent on the concept of perspective. Each particular perspective is a product of a particular socio-economic context, despite its representation of the world in universalizing terms. Those terms tend to privilege the visual, and have been called 'masculine' and dependent on ideas such as detachment and action - which in the case of land can often mean possession. The concepts that lie behind landscape paintings have been associated with imperialism and colonialism; I give Australia as an example. Finally some alternative 'ways of seeing' are briefly viewed, such as Susanne Kuchler's study of New Ireland, that may incorporate more 'sensefulness' and result in a new conception of the aesthetic in geography.

Landscape paintings are often seen as fairly shallow, 'aesthetic' paintings, in contrast to other kinds of painting. For instance, the 1998 Sergeant exhibition at the Tate Gallery privileged his portraits, not his landscapes, which are at the end of the exhibition with his war paintings, because they were considered to say less things of interest about the society of the day. The aesthetic may be associated with the superficial in many people’s consciousness. Raymond Williams wrote: 'a working country is hardly ever a landscape. The very idea of landscape implies separation and observation' (Williams 1973: 120). The study of the aesthetics of landscape could be seen as merely studying its beauty. For example the Tibetan explorer, Sir Francis Younghusband, in his presidential address of 1912 to the Royal Geographical Society, advocated the systematic study of the beauties of scenery which constituted the 'neglected,
aesthetic element of geography'. Landscape paintings have been seen as 'scenery' because the perspective inherent in them has not been acknowledged as I shall show.

The aesthetics of landscape is not just a study of surfaces, but a study of the deeper structure beneath. Art historian Erwin Panofsky's distinction between iconography 'in the narrower sense of the word' and iconology 'in a deeper sense' is relevant here. Iconography concerns the identification of conventional, consciously inscribed symbols, such as the lamb signifying Christ. Iconology excavates the intrinsic meaning of a work of art. Iconography is the visible surface of iconology, likewise the language and rites of a culture are signs of a culture. Cosgrove and Daniels (1988: 4) compared Panofsky's themes to ethnographer Clifford Geertz's descriptions of culture as text. I discussed this view in the context of structuralism in Section 1.5. and talked about why I found it less useful in the Hawaiian context.

Now I shall move on to the notion of perspective. It is intrinsically related to landscape painting. For painting combines linear perspective with a relationship between figure and ground, showing alternating planes of shadow and light. Cosgrove has made much of the relationship between the introduction of perspective and the concept of landscape. Perspective purports to represent the way the world 'is'. 'The invention of linear perspective ... allows us to reproduce in two dimensions the realistic illusion of a rationally composed three-dimensional space' (1989: 121). As Harvey put it:

perspectivism conceives of the world from the standpoint of the 'seeing eye' of the individual. It emphasizes the science of optics and the ability of the individual to represent what he or she sees as in some sense 'truthful', compared to the superimposed truths of mythology or religion (Harvey 1989: 245).

Many of the early references in the Oxford English Dictionary support the definition of perspective as a drawing contrived to represent true space and situate relations referring to
landscape and garden layout (Cosgrove 1984b: 55). Cosgrove's conclusion is that ‘landscape is thus intimately linked with a new way of seeing the world as a rationally-ordered, designed and harmonious creation whose structure and mechanism are accessible to the human mind as well as to the eye’ (Cosgrove 1989: 121).

Yet perspective has only recently been recognized as being the product of a particular social and cultural milieu, peculiar to Western Europe of the Renaissance. By the end of the sixteenth century the word ‘prospect’ carried the sense of ‘an extensive or commanding sight or view, a view of the landscape as affected by one’s position’ (Cosgrove 1984b: 55). Cosgrove (1989: 121) later noted that when landscape painting emerged in the Renaissance, so did cartography, astronomy, architecture and land surveying. They were being revolutionized by the application of formal mathematical and geometrical rules derived from Euclid and would restore arts and sciences to their classical perfection.

Elizabeth Ferrier talked about the way space was thereby flattened, measured and conquered:

The gaze is totalizing, panoptic, it surveys the object as a whole. The heterogeneous, shifting fields of the ‘other’ are homogenized and unified, flattened out onto the fixed two-dimensional plane of the map. This is Cartesian space, space to be conquered, measured by an abstract system of co-ordinates (Ferrier 1991: 38).

This space was associated with territorial claims, which were:

certainly more elaborate and abstract than those found in primitive societies (primitives have drawn maps, but not metrical and projective ones), and in this regard they may indicate a qualitatively different level of spatial and temporal awareness, at least on the part of the elites who employed such devices, than existed before the rise of civilizations (Sack 1986: 76, 77).
I have certainly found this to be true, The practice of imperialism attests to the way space was thought to be ‘waiting’ to be conquered.

The West conceptualized the landscape of other countries, inhabited by mere natives, as ‘empty’ before explorers ‘discovered’ it. Paul Carter wrote a fascinating study (1987) about the way Captain Cook ‘named’ Australia. Cook named the country as he travelled, so claiming it for the British crown (Carter 1987: 59): ‘Possession of the country depended on demonstrating the efficacy of the English language there. It depended, to some extent, on civilizing the landscape, bringing it into orderly being’. The landscape had to be taught to speak. Then, according to the Admiralty, land should be possessed. For example, Cook claimed the East Coast of Australia for the crown by planting the British flag on an island, which he called ‘Possession Island’, which ‘bore witness to the symbolic nature of his knowledge’ (Carter 1987: 27).

Certain forms of landscape painting are particularly suited to justifying the possession of land. For instance the ‘romantic gaze’ often pictured classical ideals of order. A traveller in Australia wrote about Bathurst Valley in New South Wales in 1824, as if it was part of an impressionist landscape:

The fatigues of the journey were now over, and we were really in a Christian country - the climate mild and delightful - the prospect cheerful and extensive - the sheep returning to the fold seemed healthy and happy, and awakened thoughts of abundance - of content - of thankfulness. The gorgeous sun was setting in a robe of gold, over that undiscovered country west of the Macquarie, and the scene was altogether worthy of a Claude (Smith 1989: 247).

The unconscious and universalizing use of Western imagery, the ‘Christian country’, the sheep ‘returning to the fold’, the sun setting in a ‘robe of gold’, shows the traveller in a country a long way away, yet familiar. The representation of Australia according to classical mythology can
make it less likely the viewer will question Britain’s ‘right’ to take it. This relates back to Section 1.4, where I looked at how some people have represented Polynesia to suit their own purposes.

Some of the limitations of this western gaze are increasingly being called into question. The components of perspectivism are associated with elements ‘seen’ as important by Western culture. For example the privileging of vision goes back to western ideas of knowing that have been in vogue since the Renaissance. There have been many associations of the primacy of the visual with ‘the masculine gaze’. This gaze is associated with a cognitive style and a particular way of acting. Susan Bordo wrote:

Its key term is detachment: from the emotional life, from the particularities of time and place, from personal quirks, prejudices, and interests, and most centrally, from the object itself. This masculine orientation toward knowledge, which Evelyn Fox Keller sees epitomized in the modern scientific ideal of objectivity, depends on a clear and distinct determination of the boundaries between self and world (Bordo 1986: 451).

The ‘masculine’ orientation may be so familiar, it is unconscious. Doreen Massey criticized Harvey’s interpretations of three films: Blue Velvet, Blade Runner, and Wings of Desire. ‘in them the male is not even recognized as being gendered. He is the universal’ (Folch-Serra 1993: 177). That gendered gaze is so familiar it is easy to take it for granted and see it as ‘natural’.

Take the representation of nature as a female body. Art historian Charles Harrison wrote: ‘the representation of nature as a kind of female body is, after all, ideologically normative’ (1984: 222). Gillian Rose argued that ‘the unknown and unknowable in landscape is explicitly represented by geographers as feminine’ (Rose 1996: 342). When Stoddart (1986: 35) described

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19 I do it myself in this dissertation, using the male pronoun, when I mean both. My excuse is that I am waiting for an acceptable English equivalent.
the first encounter with Tahiti, it was a sexual one - the cook jumped ship to find Tahitian women. Rose wrote:

the new land to be explored, mapped, penetrated and known is thus shown as feminine and desirable, not an uncommon trope in the language of geographic exploration, as written about by Kolodny in 1975 and Said in 1978 (Rose 1996: 347).

Hence (1996: 349) the geographers’ gaze may be structured by a distinction between nature (the feminine scene, to be interpreted) and science (the masculine look, the interpreter).

The interpretation of the concept of the aesthetic must now be widened, to that which encompasses far more senses than the visual. Ong (1967) studied the ways in which the senses are hierarchically ordered in different cultures and epochs. He argued that the evidence of vision in Western, literate cultures has predominated over the evidences of sound and interlocution, of touch, smell and taste. In other words, that sense is privileged over others, thus becoming ‘the truth’.

Mary Louise Pratt provides an example of this. She has observed that references to odour, very prominent in travel writing, are virtually absent from ethnographies (Clifford 1984: 11). Susanne Küchler’s study of the Malangan of New Ireland provides an exception.

Küchler wrote that, according to the Malangan, people become part of the landscape when they die through a complex process of ritual transformation incorporating the sense of smell. Sculptures called ‘skins’ replace the decomposed body of a deceased person and recapture the life-force or *nom an*. The sculpted image is the outer trace of the (usually) hidden, invisible and internalized life-force (1993: 94). Cultivated land is called *laten* or ‘the place of the skin’ and is linked to the sculpted image and the affine system through *musung* or odour:
Odour, a hidden and invisible substance which triggers memory yet is itself not recollectable, is thought to originate on an island beyond the horizon which is believed to be the seat of forces associated with earthquakes (meruli, moroa).

Odours are attracted into the taro tubers by magical spells, which are then consumed by the image maker, who transmits it into the image. Until the mortuary cycle is completed the life-force is thought to be arrested at the mythical place, Karoro, addressed in magical spells performed at the outer edge of the reef in a ceremony called musung. The sculptures are put on the grave and then ‘killed’ and the odour is released (1993: 95, 96).

I wish to draw two concepts out of this study of odour. The first is the way smell is able to solidify a potential connection. This is a property of metaphor. Ricoeur wrote: ‘metaphor works by transforming an actual or attributed property into one of the senses in which the word is to be understood, not only by actualizing a potential connotation but by establishing it as a stable one’ (Tilley 1991: 123). The second is that the privileging of the sense of smell is unusual in academic disciplines. Odour is believed by the Malangan to be a substance with the ability to transcend horizons. Indeed it is thought to originate on an island beyond the horizon, much like the Tahitian concept of noa noa, the sweetly-scented realm of paradise, some islanders on Ra‘iatea told me was represented by the flowers on Mt. Temehani, their central mountain. The cosmological link between the Malangan and the Hawaiians may show that academic disciplines themselves privilege the visual, thus reducing the importance of the other senses such as smell, taste, hearing and touch in the cultures they study. 20 This is a pity, in what should be a multi-sensory understanding of an embodied landscape, and I discussed Tilley’s example in Section 1.6.

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20 Calum Turner’s (1997) concept of sensetfulness is an attempt to break with anthropologists' reductive preoccupation with an idea of culture as solely semantic, ignoring its affective dimension.
The Spanish painter Ortega Y Gasset formulated a new version of the theory of Perspectivism in 1910. He insisted that there are ‘as many spaces in reality as there were perspectives on it’ and that ‘there are as many realities as points of view’ (Harvey 1989: 268). I agree. Yet to Tyler post-modern ethnography needs a return to the idea of ‘aesthetic integration’ (1986: 134). Polyphony is a more useful metaphor, because it evokes sound, hearing, simultaneity and harmony, not pictures, seeing, sequence and line (1986: 137). In Section 1.6 I referred to the necessity for recognizing ‘many voices’, yet continue to use the metaphor of perspective, rather than polyphony, because, despite its over-privileging of the visual, it does convey the sense of reaching a different viewpoint, and change, on one’s journey, which may be internal. I have also, as my sections on landscape show, found it a metaphor the Hawaiians may use themselves.

The study of landscape painting has shifted from a static, flat representation of the world around, to a fascinating product of particular situated views in Western culture, that have helped to create the world around us, and then to justify it. Some of the tales landscape ‘has to tell’ will be looked at in the next section: landscape as narrative.

2.3 Landscape as narrative

Like books, landscapes can be read, but unlike books, they were not meant to be read.

Lewis 1979: 12

Denis Cosgrove talked about the importance of ‘reading’ and then representing the many-layered meanings of symbolic landscapes (1989: 126). One route is via fieldwork, and almost every ethnography emphasizes its importance. To reveal the meanings in the cultural landscape requires the imaginative skill to enter the world of others in a self-conscious way and then re-
present that landscape at a level where its meanings can be exposed and reflected upon (1989: 184).

One can read a landscape, but reading requires words, and words need to belong to a language. Those words, often on purpose, tell a story. That story must be interpreted within a cultural context. 'Landscapes without context would be like books without pages and language' (Samuels 1979: 64). The interpretation itself is necessarily flawed, as the reader cannot be neutral:

> When I say, 'I read the landscape', what I really mean is, 'I understand the landscape by means of a conceptual instrument I call reading' ... metaphors of reading both reveal and conceal, and they do so through an 'interaction' that makes one element the framework of the other (Stock 1993: 320).

The biography of landscape 'has as its central concern the role of individuals - authors - in the making of landscape' (Samuels 1979: 62). The land itself may play a role:

> Places, like persons, have biographies in as much as they are formed, used and transformed in relation to practice. It can be argued that stories acquire part of their mythic value and historical relevance if they are rooted in the concrete details of locales in the landscape, acquiring material reference points that can be visited, seen and touched (Tilley 1994: 33).

This is a reminder of the earlier definition of landscape as object transformed by human agency, but invoking landscape as narrative brings to the fore the relational nature of landscape. Names provide additional 'reference points', that can then be interpreted in different ways.

In this section, I shall look at the words used to refer to certain places in the context of
indigenous languages. The study of naming places has been more popular in the United States than Europe. Franz Boas suggested in 1900 that one of the most profitable ways to explore the 'mental life' of Indian peoples was to investigate their geographical nomenclature. In 1912 Edward Sapir made the same point in more general terms, saying that Indian vocabularies provided valuable insight into native conceptions of the natural world and the elements they held significant within it. Boas' monograph: *Geographical Names of the Kwakiutl Indians* (1934) was essentially a study of Kwakiutl word morphology and demonstrates Boas' earlier idea that the study of place-name systems may reveal a great deal about the cognitive categories with which environmental phenomena are organized and understood.

As I have mentioned, place names create a shared reality. 'The bestowing of names creates shared existential space out of a blank environment' (Basso 1984: 27; Weiner 1991: 32). 'Place names are of such vital significance because they act so as to transform the sheerly physical and geographical into something that is historically and geographically experienced' (Tilley 1994: 18). They are the 'starting points' for individual journeys of perception. Hence place names act to make 'place' out of 'space'. This transformation always occurs through the categories of the mind. For conception underlies perception, and words are the bridge between the worlds.

Anthropologist Keith Basso argued that place names provide the constitution for the Apache moral universe. A category known as 'historical tales' are most important for the study of place names (1984: 36). The Apache landscape is full of named locations where, through the agency of historical tales, the intersection of time and space is 'made visible for human contemplation'
It's hard to keep on living right. Many things jump up at you and block your way. But you won't forget that story. You're going to see the place where it happened, maybe every day if it's nearby and close to Cibecue. If you don't see it, you're going to hear its name and see it in your mind. It doesn't matter if you get old - that place will keep on stalking you like the one who shot you with the story. Maybe that person will die. Even so, that place will keep on stalking you. It's like that person is still alive. Even if we go far away from here to some big city, places around here keep stalking us. If you live wrong, you will hear the names and see the places in your mind. They keep on stalking you, even if you go across oceans. The names of all these places are good. They make you remember how to live right, so you want to replace yourself again (Basso 1984: 42).

Such surveillance is essential, Apaches maintain, because 'living right' requires constant care and attention (1984: 43). 'This land' Nick Thompson observes, 'looks after us. The land keeps badness away' (1984: 44).

Apache narratives about the landscape are ultimately 'a model of how two symbolic resources - language and the land - are manipulated by Apaches to promote compliance with standards for acceptable social behavior and the moral values that support them' (1984: 23). The Apache landscape is full of named locations the intersection of time and space 'is made available for human contemplation' (1984: 45). Hence places may be conceived as 'watching you' for any transgressions, like the previous example of places 'stalking' Old Nick. Basso says that place names are 'semantically very rich' (1984: 27), so it would surprise me if his interpretation of place names, as acting to construct human authority, was the only one. Indeed, in the Nā Pali area of Kaua‘i I explore in Section 4.9, they can stand for the 'way of the kahuna’, the 'expert' or 'shaman' who can deconstruct the power of the chief.
Basso’s 1996 study ‘Wisdom Sits in Places’ alters this interpretation somewhat. This moving and resonant essay, also about the Apache, discusses, among other things the importance of wisdom. The old horseman Dudly Patterson told him the tale of his grandmother:

“Do you want a long life” she said. “Well, you will need to have wisdom. You will need to think about your own mind. You will need to work on it. You should start doing this now. You must make your mind smooth. You must make your mind steady. You must make your mind resilient.

Your life is like a trail. You must be watchful as you go. Wherever you go there is some kind of danger waiting to happen. You must be able to see it before it happens. You must always be watchful and alert. You must see danger before it happens.

If your mind is not smooth you will fail to see danger. You will trust your eyes but they will deceive you. You will be easily tricked and fooled. Then there will be nothing but trouble for you. You must make your mind smooth.

If your mind is not resilient you will be easily startled. You will be easily frightened. You will try to think clearly but you won’t think clearly. You yourself will stand in the way of your own mind. You yourself will block it. Then there will be trouble for you. You must make your mind resilient.

If your mind is not steady you will be easily angered and upset. You will be arrogant and proud. You will look down on other people. You will envy them and desire their possessions. You will speak about them without thinking. You will complain about them, gossip about them, criticize them. You will lust after their women. People will come to despise you. They will pay someone to use his power on you. They will want to kill you. Then there will be nothing but trouble for you. You must make your mind steady. You must learn to forget about yourself.

If you make your mind smooth, you will have a long life. Your trail will extend a long way. You will be prepared for danger wherever you go. You will see it in your mind before it happens.

How will you walk along this trail of wisdom? Well, you will go to many places. You must look at them closely. You must remember all of them. Your relatives will talk to you about them. You must
remember everything they tell you. You must think about it, and keep on thinking about it, and keep on thinking about it. You must do this because no one can help you but yourself. If you do this your mind will become smooth. It will become steady and resilient. You will stay away from trouble. You will walk a long way and live a long time.

Wisdom sits in places. It’s like water that never dries up. You need to drink water to stay alive, don’t you? Well, you also need to drink from places. You must remember everything about them. You must learn their names. You must remember what happened at them long ago. You must think about it and keep on thinking about it. Then your mind will become smoother and smoother. Then you will see danger before it happens. You will walk a long way and live a long time. You will be wise. People will respect you” (1996: 70).

‘Wisdom’ is sustained by three by three mental conditions described as smoothness of mind, resilience of mind, and steadiness of mind (Basso 1996: 73). With the spatial prefix go-, the phrase smoothness of mind, conveys the sense of ‘cleared space’ or ‘area clear from obstructions’:

Like cleared plots of ground, smooth minds are unobstructed - uncluttered and unfettered - a quality that permits them to observe and reason with penetrating clarity. Skeptical of outward appearances, smooth minds are able to look through them and beyond them to detect obscured realities and hidden possibilities (1996: 74).

Smoothness of mind is the product of two other distinctions, resilience of mind and steadiness of mind. Resilience of mind is dependent on combating distractions of the external variety, and steadiness of mind works to eliminate internal distractions. Prefixed by go- the resilient mind means ‘an enclosed mind that holds its shape’, such as a tightly-woven basket yielding but strong; shielded against outside disruptions and preserving ‘smoothness of mind’ (1996: 74). Steadiness of mind, with the same prefix, is like the supportive and accommodating space into which a fence pole is lodged, which is stable and reliable. On a personal level:
This is achieved by relinquishing all thoughts of personal superiority and by eliminating aggressive feelings toward fellow human beings. As a result, steady minds are unhampered by feelings of arrogance or pride, anger or vindictiveness, jealously or lust - all of which present serious hindrances to calm and measured thinking. Because the essence of mental steadiness lies in a capacity to do away with self-serving emotions that exploit or degrade the worth of other people, wise men and women rarely encounter serious interpersonal problems (1996: 75).

None of these conditions is present at birth, and each must be acquired. Knowledge of places and their cultural significance is crucial because it illustrates with numerous examples the mental conditions needed for wisdom, as well as the practical advantages it confers on people who possess it. Knowledge of places embodies an unformalized model of wisdom, and an authoritative rationale for seeking to attain it.

Although some Apache people embrace this knowledge eagerly and commit to memory in exhaustive detail, others are less successful; and while some are able to apply it productively to their minds, many experience difficulty. Consequently, in any Apache community at any point in time, wisdom is present in varying degrees, and only a few persons are ever completely wise (Basso 1996: 73).

This has great relevance to my Hawaiian study, where knowledge of a culture is ‘grown’ like place, and reaches different dimensions in different people. Here there is also recognition that growth is largely dependent on personal qualities, and these include emotion and are represented in the land. This is not a new idea place names and their narratives form ‘the emotional landscape’ of a particular tribal area, by representing and describing the spiritual as well as the physical typography of the area’ (Wills and Roberts 1998: 55 quoted Norman 1988). I shall illustrate that this is the same in Hawai‘i and that the place names themselves can illustrate the power of those principles; particularly through the way they occur in a sequence and represent the principle of growth.
2.4 Landscape as memory

Objects taken in
become intrajects.
We are all taken in.


The study of landscape as memory is a very complex phenomenon, important because it shows
us what lies beneath the surface of representation. We may be guided there by the paths of
memory. Memory is a difficult subject to define, and I shall use Paul Connerton’s definition.
He discussed three types of memory. The first is personal memory, located in one’s personal
past, thought so important by Aristotle. Next is cognitive memory, which exists because of a
past cognitive or sensory state of oneself, but, unlike personal memory, we need not possess any
information about the context or episode of learning in order to be able to retain and use
memories of this class. A third class of memory, habitual memory, consists in having the
capacity to reproduce a certain performance (Connerton 1989: 22) and is centred in the body
(Connerton 1989: 72). ‘It is a quite remarkable fact that there has been no sustained recognition
of body memory from Plato through Kant’ (1989: 147). There are, of course, many other ways
to define memory. I shall talk about habitual or embodied memory here because I can relate
them to the embodiment of landscape, which may then be known as ‘place’.

The landscape may act as ‘body memory’ through literal embodiment, the burial of the
umbilical cord. Robert Layton’s study of some Aborigines of Uluru, Ayers Rock, said that each
individual is identified with one of the tjukurpa [dreamtime] heroes at birth according to where
their umbilical cord fell off (1995: 219). Christina Toren’s research on Sawaike on the island
of Gau in Fiji, discussed how a boy’s umbilical cord was buried and a tree planted on top of it
(1995: 168). This is so he may become a good gardener (1995: 172). Another way of reading

21 Simon Schama, for example, talked about personal and collective memory (Schama 1995: 14).
this ceremony might to be the say the cord acts to bind a person to a place. I show a similar example for Hawai‘i in Section 3.11, and many *piko* [umbilical cord] are still buried in a crevice in the rocks at the most sacred hula ground at Ke‘e (personal observation 1990, 1994, 1999). The concept of the binding power of the cord, symbolizing the link between the gods and man, which is incorporated by the *piko*, is an important one in this dissertation. For instance I discuss its ability to be built up through the word in Section 3.6 and its link to houses in Section 4.4.

Next I look at how the Aborigines encode Connerton’s personal and embodied memory, while the Whites tend to treat place names as a cognitive system. Morphy studied the Roper Bar District, near Katherine in Northern Australia, referred to as *Yutpundji-Djindiwirritj*:

> European place names record the actions of human agents who played a role in transforming the country in ‘opening’ it up. The Hodgson river is named after one of the explorer Leichardt’s sponsors and Mount Warrington was named after Henry Warrington, a large cattle farmer (Morphy 1993: 224).

To the Aborigines however, place names are important in different dimensions. Land rights legislation defines traditional owners as ‘a local descent group who have common spiritual affiliations to a site on the land, being affiliations that place the group under primary spiritual responsibility for that site and for that land’ (Morphy 1993: 230). The *Ngalakan* are the Aboriginal group whose ‘dreaming’ is associated with the Roper Bar Territory, thus showing the power of collective memory. The journeys of the Dream Time ancestral beings created the land and features of the landscape and left songs, sacred objects and practices that commemorated their creative acts. Spiritual forces in the ground are released by ceremonial action and are integral to the process of spirit conception; part of the way in which continuity is established between ancestral beings, social groups and land. The major dreaming for this area is *djadukal*, the plains kangaroo, commemorated in place names such as *Yinbirriyunginy*, where
the rock formations are said to show the bodies of squatting kangaroos revealed at low tide, excreting in the river, ‘for everyone who knows to see’ (Morphy 1993: 232).

These rocks are examples of how ‘geographical features have served the people for centuries as indispensable mnemonic pegs’ (Basso 1984: 44). The marking of the landscape through place-names illustrates at least two different conceptions of the landscape. To the Europeans it is a landscape of memory, to the Aboriginals the land acts as memory. Similarly, Davis et al. reported that place names act as memory to the Maori of New Zealand:

The names in the landscape were like survey pegs of memory, marking the events that happened in a particular place, recording some aspect or feature of the traditions and history of a tribe. If the name was remembered it could release whole parcels of history to a tribal narrator and those listening. The daily use of such place names meant that the history was always present, always available. In this sense living and travelling reinforced the histories of the people (Davis et al. 1990: xiii).

Morphy also discussed how place acts as memory in an earlier example of the paintings of north-east Arnhem Land (1983). They may be approached from two main interpretative perspectives: as accounts of actions that took place on the journeys of the Ancestral Beings through the area of land concerned, and as maps of the topography of the land with reference to its mythological significance. In a sense, these are two sides of the same coin (Morphy 1983: 121).

Perhaps the mythology and topography of the land are ‘two sides of the same coin’ because, in Yolngu thought, the land itself cannot be separate from the representation of it. Thus the picture not only represents the mythology of the land, it is the mythology of the land. This seems to indicate that the distinction between land and scape, set up by its representation in landscape painting, and explored in Sections 2.1 and 2.2, is very much a product of western
culture. Aborigines inhabit a universe where the meanings of the land may collapse the
distinction western society makes between the ancestors and present time. I show how this
works in Hawai'i in Section 5.2, which relates the different aspects of memory to depths of the
ocean and the realms of the ancestors. Perhaps memory itself needs to be redefined, to
encompass such being-in-dreamings.

The use of ‘collective memory’, such as in the way the landscape acts as a mnemonic device is
useful, but restricted. Morphy has written elsewhere that knowledge among the Aborigines is
dependent on age, sex and status and is seen as powerful because some people are denied access
to it, rather than because it is powerful in itself (Morphy 1991:75-77). In the Hawaiian context,
the concept of collective memory is less useful than one might expect, because place names
always have kaona or hidden meanings, as I shall show. Thus meaning depends very much on
interpretation, which must be a product of individual perception.

Thus, the breaking down of the ‘landscape of memory’ into different ways of defining memory
must necessarily be limited. It is important to ‘re-member’ that categories are only valid in
certain dimensions. At a certain layer in the rock formation they all interweave, and the rock
itself becomes a chronotype:

points in the geography of a community where time and space
intersect and fuse. Time takes on flesh and becomes visible for
human contemplation; likewise, space becomes charged and
responsive to the movements of time and history and the enduring
character of a people ... Chronotypes thus stand as monuments to
the community itself, as symbols of it, as forces operating to shape
its members’ images of themselves (Bakhtin 1981: 7).

I see this rock not as a ‘category’ of memory, but as a ‘symbol’ of it. The whole takes over the
part simply because in being visible for human contemplation, it has been contemplated that
way by one human being. The world rests on the back of many turtles. In a similar way, the dimensions of Hawaiian culture I am looking at are viable, because they are seen that way by certain beings. They do not need to be seen that way by everyone to be valid. The rock is a chronotype is a rock. It is up to the interpreter.

2.5 The Construction of Landscape in Space and Time

It is above all contextually constituted, providing particular settings for involvement and the creation of meanings.

Christopher Tilley (1994: 11)

The notion of landscape as a social construction involves defining and breaking down categories from the unitary to the particular and recognizing that each is contextually based. This is what I am doing in other contexts, and the study of landscape in space and time likewise requires the ability to step outside ourselves. The general belief in the ‘reality’ of space and time, makes it very difficult for the academic to challenge it, so pervasive and ‘lived’ is it.

The argument for different dimensions in Hawaiian thought is a difficult one to put across as, despite extensive theoretical study, there is still a sense today that only ‘one kind’ of time and space is valid, and this sense provides many purposes, for example in terms of social analysis.

As Tilley said: ‘A space divorced from humanity and society provided a coherent and unitary backdrop for any analysis, since it was always the same’ (Tilley 1994: 9). He went on to say that

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Clifford Geertz (1973: 28, 29) wrote: “There is an Indian story - at least I heard it as an Indian story - about an Englishman who, having been told that the world rested on a platform which rested on the back of an elephant which rested in turn on the back of a turtle, asked (perhaps he was an ethnographer; it is the way they behave), what did the turtle rest on? Another turtle. And that turtle? “Ah, Sahib, after that it is turtles all the way down”.”
the space of the palaeolithic was considered the same as the space of late capitalism, that of Vancouver identical to that of Canberra.

A recognition of the situatedness of space is long overdue. Harvey famously linked concepts of time and space to the world economy (1989). In Part III, Harvey lays out the experiences of space and time and recognizes that even though they are basic categories of human existence, we rarely debate their meanings, yet they are a product of particular historical events. For instance he referred to the ‘fixing’ of time in the West, which, as might be expected from a Marxist, he associated with magnitudes fundamental to capitalist decision making such as the hourly wage and rate of profit. ‘Increasingly seen as a mechanical division fixed by the swing of the pendulum, time’s arrow was conceived to be linear both forwards and backwards’ (Harvey 1989: 252). The widespread acceptance of this idea is associated with the capitalist system, it came with the advent of: ‘private property in land, and the buying and selling of space as a commodity’ (Harvey 1989: 253). Indeed, the concept of the alienation of land has rewritten the map of the world. One may see this in Hawai‘i where it was relatively easy for foreigners to gain the land, because Hawaiians had no concept that it was possible to buy and sell it. That possibility could not exist in their world view, land was like spirit, like self, like family and therefore inalienable.

My view is that space has become a source of separation:

Today things (and people) are more and more seen in terms of the distances which separate them. And since no two things or no two points can ever occupy the same space, objects can only draw near to or move away from one another. They can never - and this is the anguish today - unite or join together. The essence of desire, and also its futility, is to bridge distances (Gross 1981/2: 69).
Time is the milieu of true commingling and interaction, space is not. Time creates emotional bonds that link people together as something more than co-existing points in space. Heidegger also said distance is inevitable, and even though he talked about 'uniform distancelessness' there is no closeness. He wrote:

All distances in time and space are shrinking ... Yet the frantic abolition of all distances brings no nearness; for nearness does not consist in shortness of distance. What is least remote from us in point of distance, by virtue of its picture on film or its sound on radio, can remain far from us. What is incalculably far from us in point of distance can be near to us ... Everything gets lumped together into uniform distancelessness (Heidegger 1971: 165).

His solution is the concept of 'dwelling', the capacity to achieve a spiritual unity between humans and things. It may be this capacity Jackson was referring to when he wrote:

The new landscape, seen at a rapid, sometimes even a terrifying pace, is composed of rushing air, shifting lights, clouds, waves, a constantly moving, changing horizon, a constantly changing surface beneath the ski, the wheels, the rudder, the wing. The view is no longer static ... the traditional way of seeing and experiencing the world is abandoned; in its stead we become active participants, the shifting focus of a moving abstract world; our nerves and muscles are all of them brought into play. To the perceptive individual there can be an almost mystical quality to the experience; his identity seems for the moment to be transmuted (Jackson 1957-8: 25).

One can argue that this quality is somehow a 'remembering' of the processes that were lost and distorted by capitalism, and in the past it was more common. I believe in traditional Polynesia this sense of 'space' and 'distance' did not exist, and even today it is less than in Western societies - which is one reason why many islands are so popular with tourists - they subconsciously 'pick up' on this view. But this view cannot be proved, although there may be
elements of it in the ways space and time can be ‘bridged’ and brought together, such as through the power of the word, that I talk about in this dissertation.

Harvey wrote that capitalism itself is not a unitary phenomenon. For Harvey, distinctions between modernism and post-modernism are based upon differing reactions to specific bursts of time-space compression, referring to the way processes ‘revolutionize the objective qualities of space and time that we are forced to alter, sometimes in quite radical ways, how we represent the world to ourselves’. They concern the increasing encroachment of capitalism: ‘characterized by speed-up in the pace of life, while so overcoming spatial barriers that the world sometimes seems to collapse inwards upon us’ (Harvey 1989: 240).

For example, when travelling by tube in London the actual distance between Waterloo and Embankment is governed by the time it takes to travel under the river. But we understand it in terms of the represented distance on the tube map, one stop on the Northern Line. Thus the represented distance replaces the actual distance, altering one’s sense of space and time in the city (Thacker 1993: 230). One’s sense of bodily space is also altered. In 1902 Simmel argued that the individual’s sense of reserve in crowded cities was: ‘because the bodily proximity and narrowness of space makes the mental distance only the more visible’. Foreigners often remark on the reserve of Londoners on the London underground, where strangers are pushed up against each other in the crowded conditions, and do not look at each other and where speaking to someone would be considered bizarre behaviour. John Gould Fletcher’s poem ‘London excursion’ talked about the altering of his body image: ‘Yet I revolt: I bend, I twist myself,/ I crawl into a million convolutions’ (Thacker 1993: 234).

Fredric Jameson argued we are ‘in the presence of something like a mutation in built space’ which we are unable to comprehend completely. This is because ‘we do not yet possess the perceptual equipment to match this new hyperspace’ (1991 : 225). This is a fascinating point,
particularly when linked to the amazing rise in use of the Internet. It is no longer necessary to be present to experience space in the society of today. It has revolutionized communication.

Sherry Turkle wrote that now one can speak about computer’s involvement with ideas about unstable meanings and unknowable truths, in a way one could not ten or fifteen years ago (Turkle 1996: 149). The self is no longer simply playing different roles in different settings at different times. It is a decentered self that exists in many worlds, that plays many roles at the same time.

That ‘new cognitive mapping’ may take us closer to certain indigenous Hawaiian perceptions of space and time. Several of my informants have told me, in response to my questions, that many anthropologists’ and geographers’ conceptions of their ideas of time as cyclical is limited. When I studied Anthropology, for example, I was told that ‘primitive’ ideas of time are cyclical and non-linear. Geographer Yi-Fu Tuan said:

> a world model that lays stress on its vertical axis coincides often with a cyclical conception of time; a culture with a sharply articulated calendar of festivals is likely to conceive a highly stratified cosmos (Tuan 1974: 129).

I suspect that the description of time as ‘cyclical’, may be due to the lack of other ways to describe it in English. I am only speculating here, but modern physicists say that, in a certain sense, time is simultaneous. Many Hawaiians understand time that way too, and believe it can be ‘shaped’ as I show in Section 5.3. Space can also be experienced differently, as a fluid, collapsible entity which can be ‘shaped’, as I show throughout this dissertation.

Jackson showed how visible land may be altered according to cosmic programming (1986). Landscapes are ‘places where: the slow, natural processes of both growth and maturity and decay are deliberately set aside and history is substituted. A landscape is where we speed up or
retard or divert the cosmic program and impose our own’. In the ‘Great Awakening’ in the US, for example, which occurred in the early nineteenth century, religious space was less differentiated:

Eventually the hierarchical seating arrangement was abandoned, and services were held out of doors or at private houses - as well as at odd hours. Finally the new sects built their churches at some distance from the established communities, as if to dissociate themselves from the traditional spatial organization (Jackson 1979: 157).

This provided a contrast to evangelical Protestantism, for there the traditional organization of time and space predominated: ‘space as centripetal and hierarchical, time as a stately procession of inevitable events leading to a dramatic climax’ (Jackson 1979: 156). Jackson discussed how religious space may be demarcated by others. I argue that the hidden meanings of the Hawaiian language provide the possibility for the Hawaiians to alter ‘the land they see’ themselves, according to their perception. One’s perspective is just one’s present view, one of Turkle’s subjects said: real life is ‘just one more window’ (Turkle 1996: 149). The way the ‘construction’ of space and time has been recognized in the post-modern world may not be so new after all.

In this section, I have shown some examples of the way different views of the landscape are related to the belief system behind them. Harvey’s discussion of capitalism has provided some reasons for the change, although his critics, including many feminist geographers such as Massey, Deutsche and Rose, reserve their harshest judgements for ‘Harvey’s reduction and subordination of everything to the question of class’ (Folch-Serra 1993: 178). For example it has been shown that different social and ethnic groups have different images of the city, ‘with higher status and white groups possessing more detailed and extensive images than lower status and black groups’ (Eyles 1989: 112). Indeed it is my argument that class, race, and to the
Hawaiian context I would add colonialism, are not, and cannot be, all-defining. For they miss out the role of individual perception, often wrongly viewed as almost entirely dependent upon those categories. 'Reality' is consciously created, by our position in our culture and ourselves. It may slip and slide as our viewpoints change, the least we can do be aware of it.

2.6 The Growing of Place from Space

The power of place will be remarkable. Aristotle, Physics, Book IV (Casey 1996: 13).

In this section I shall look at the growth of place from space. First I look at the dynamic nature of space, and then move on to discussing the results of that movement or growth - the making of place. That intersection of perception, experience and intention can be defined in many different ways. I find the notion of 'place naming' particularly useful in this dissertation. Those places can also be understood in various ways, and the notion of individual perception is very important. The result of the growth of place may be an attachment to place, what Tuan calls topophilia, as well as a distinctive sense of the spirit of place, for example the Hawaiian islands as a whole, as well as individual 'places' within them. I do not look at sacred space per se, because my intent is to illustrate how, on certain levels, all place in Hawai'i may be conceived of as being sacred.

In general, I see space as something amorphous, yet continually moving (for instance in Polynesian terms, the pō), from which the specificity of place is grown.\(^{23}\) First space itself must

\(^{23}\) Another way of understanding it is that place comes first. For example an Aborigine may find the ground to be a coherent collection of pre-given places. This is the case, both in his or her experience, and in the Dreaming which sanctions this experience. 'For the anthropologist, Space comes first; for the native, Place; and the difference is by no means trivial (Casey 1996: 15).
grow. In a sense the growth of space is the journey from enclosed space to open space. The German word for space is Raum, and the word raumen means ‘to clear away’, ‘to free from wilderness’ or ‘bring forth into openness’. Raumen is thus a clearing away or release of places, a making room for the settling and dwelling of man and things (Heidegger 1969b: 5 quoted in Pickles 1985: 167). The growth can mirror the birth of the human, as well as the birth of the world:

Open space signifies freedom, the promise of adventure, light, the public realm, formal and unchanging beauty; enclosed space signifies the cozy security of the womb; privacy, darkness, biologic life ... individually every birth is a move out of the dark protective womb to a bright world that seems at first far less accommodating (Tuan 1974: 27, 28).

Place is space which is distinguished in some way, that is what makes it ‘place’. As Sack put it: ‘place involves specificity out of the undefined formlessness of space’ (Sack 1980: 3). Tuan put it a different way ‘place is security, space is freedom’ (1977: 3). As he said (1977: 6), the ideas ‘space’ and ‘place’ require each other for definition. Place may be distinguished from space in many ways, such as by naming it, constructing boundaries around it or marking it in some way - such as with a particular stone. None of these ways are mutually exclusive, and through constructing place, patterns of being in the world are built up.

Place naming, star naming, maps, myth and tales, the orientations of building, the spatial implications in dances and ceremonies, all facilitate the construction and maintenance of spatial patterns in which the individual must live and act (Hallowell 1955: 186).

Edward Casey wrote that we first understand place through our own lived body. The study about places is so important because ‘human beings - along with other entities on earth - are ineluctably place bound. More even than earthlings, we are placelings, and our very perceptual apparatus, our sensing body, reflects the kinds of places we inhabit’ (Casey 1996: 19). Tuan
wrote (1974: 27) that people everywhere tend to structure space - geographical and cosmological - with themselves at the centre and concentric zones of decreasing value beyond, which are characteristic of the human body. It could be argued that when that structure moves from the realm of perception to the realm of experience, then space becomes place.

Places can be built up in terms of realms of being. For example a pattern of places, paths, districts and realms of significance can be defined by the interests and experiences of the groups concerned: ‘these various realms of relevances are intermingled showing the most manifold interpenetrations and enclaves’ (Schütz 1962 quoted in Relph 1976: 20, 21). Relph went on to discuss how these significators become places:

The regions are opened up by paths or routes which reflect the directions and intensities of intentions and experiences, and which serve as the structural axes of existential space. They radiate from and lead towards nodes or centres of special importance and meaning which are distinguished by their quality of insideness. They are places (1976: 22).

I find this a very useful definition, not least because it includes the importance of intention. That is particularly important in the Hawaiian context, both for the intention behind saying the name (for instance in terms of perceiving some hidden meanings) and the understanding, which is also in terms of perceiving the said meanings. It could be argued that intentions lead to experiences. The word node is a useful one, because it implies an intersection of different realities. This discussion of the ‘forming of place’ does not imply that it ought to exist in ‘reality’, in other words in general perception.

Places grow by gathering. What they gather may be things, experiences, histories, languages, thoughts (Casey 1996: 24).
A place is generative and regenerative on its own schedule. From it experiences are born and to it human beings (and other organisms) return for empowerment, much like Antaeus touching the earth for renewed strength. Place is generatrix for the collection, as well as the recollection, of all that occurs in the lives of sentient beings, and even for the trajectories of inanimate things. Its power consists in gathering those lives and things, each with its own space and time, into one arena of common engagement (1996: 26).

One of the things I wish to draw out of this is that of the specificity and uniqueness of each place which ‘gathers’. There will be many examples of that throughout this dissertation, from the islands of Hawai‘i themselves, to the uniqueness of each island, and places on them, such as Kilauea volcano. Within that, there is the specificity of each place, defined by its name.

Lukermann (1964: 167 - 172) identified six possible ways of defining place. First there is the idea of location, in which places have a spatial extension inside and outside. This is because each place has the internal characteristics of its site, and external connectivity to other locations. The second definition involves the specific integration of a place’s elements, which makes its place a distinct entity. ‘Each place has its own order, its special ensemble, which distinguishes it from the next place’ (1964: 170). The third characterization involves each place being part of a framework of circulation, being interconnected by a system of spatial interactions and transfers. The fourth definition involves places being localized, hence part of a larger area and focii in a system of localization. The fifth way of defining adds a historical element. Places are emerging or becoming, one of the effects of historical and cultural change is that new elements are added and old elements disappear. The last element involves places having meaning. They are characterized by the beliefs of man. The analyst needs to understand: ‘what beliefs people hold about a place ... it is this alone that underlies man’s acts which are in turn what gives character to a place’ (1964: 169).
Now I shall look at how these definitions are useful to me in this dissertation. I take the last definition as a framework: it concerns exploring what meanings place may have to the indigenous people who inhabit the islands I look at. I do not look at the fifth element, that of historical and cultural change, although that characterization may be very useful if the focus was different. Nor do I specifically look at the fourth definition, although there is a sense that the system of naming place can be understood as part of a greater system, this is only alluded to in the dissertation. The third definition is more useful for me, about each place being part of a framework of circulation. Place names certainly act like that, occurring more than once throughout Polynesia for example. The second definition, that each place involves a specific integration of elements, thus is a unique entity, is important because the name is believed to invoke a certain power, that is specific not only to that particular name, but to understandings of that name (see the example of Kaimu in Section 1.2). To return to the first definition. I have found the idea of places having a location, which corresponds to spatial locations both inside and outside useful for the understanding of the power of naming places in Hawai‘i. For the word is believed to manifest a power in itself, which works both within a place, in terms of its name and in its connections to other places through naming them. Although I have analyzed these definitions through the power of place names, they would work equally well with one of the other possible ways of constructing place discussed earlier, that I tend not to use.

In this dissertation, in general, I look at the specificities of constructing ‘place’ in terms of naming. I believe this is a very important category. For instance Relph said space is claimed by naming it (Relph 1976: 16). I have already referred to Carter’s discussion of the naming of Australia:
Before the name: what was the place like before it was named? How did Cook see it? Barring catatonic seizure, his landing there was assured: but where to land, where to look, how to proceed? Where was the place as yet? Ahead, it was dense, cloudy; the report of small waves behind. The sound of voices calling to each other out of sight, displaying the invisible space, making it answer. Birds with human voices. The legend of giants. What we see is what the firstcomers did not see: a place, not a historical space (Carter 1987: xiv).

Carter went on to say that naming is so important because:

Cook moved in a world of language. He proceeded within a cultural network of names, allusions, puns and coincidences, which, far from constraining him, gave him, like his Pacific Ocean, conceptual space in which to move. His was not the definitive univocal language of the dictionary. Unlike dictionary definitions, Cook’s place names remained to be defined: they certainly claimed no finality or universal validity. On the contrary, they were deployed contextually, strategically. What they referred to was not a life elsewhere. It was not the imaginary leisure of an honoured retirement that they aimed to secure. They alluded to the journey itself, as it unfolded horizontally, revealing itself as a succession of events (Carter 1987: 7).

This implies that the naming coincided with Cook’s world view, perception and attitude, they are also the result of ‘the journey itself’, his experience - which of course may be dependent on all of these. I like Yi-Fu Tuan’s characterizations of the differences between them:

**Perception** is both the response of the senses to external stimuli and purposeful activity in which certain phenomena are clearly registered while others recede in the shade or are blacked out.

**Attitude** is primarily a cultural stance, a position one takes vis-à-vis the world. It has greater stability than perception and is formed of a long successions of perceptions, that is, of experience.

**World view** is conceptualized experience. It is partly personal, largely social. It is an attitude or belief system; the word system implies that the attitudes and beliefs are structured, however arbitrary the links may seem, from an impersonal, objective viewpoint (1974: 4).
Out of all of these I believe perception is most important. For when we change our perception we change our attitude and world view. For this I do not find Soja's concept of Thirdspace\(^{24}\) particularly useful here, for space is more than the sum of its parts. The missing link is perception.

Hence the particular mix of experiences of place is different for each individual. The world we each perceive is different. Aldo van Eyck wrote ‘a village (town or city) is not just one bunch of places; it is many bunches at the same time, because it is a different bunch for each inhabitant’. J.K. Wright suggested in 1947 that ‘the entire earth is an immense patchwork of miniature terrae incognitae’ (both quoted in Relph 1976: 36). I find this extremely relevant, and in my study will be looking at ways places can be understood by certain people. Hence my stress of individual understanding, which of course shifts according to intention, experience and knowledge. My own changing understanding of place must be located within, not outside, this rich tapestry.

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\(^1\) Edward Soja’s characterization of a concept he calls Thirdspace is a synthesis of the traditional dualism of Firstspace and Secondspace. Firstspace is the concrete materiality of spatial forms (things that could be empirically mapped) and Secondspace is ideas about space (representations in cognitive forms), such as Henri Lefebvre’s perceived and conceived spaces. ‘Thirdspace’ is represented in the landscape of Los Angeles where ‘there remains an economic order, an instrumental nodal structure, and essentially exploitative spatial division of labour ... it has also been increasingly obscured from view, imaginatively mystified’ (Soja 1996: 246). As Gregory wrote ‘Soja clearly remains close to Western Marxism’ (1994: 274). Space can be produced. For example Soja called spatiality a social product and part of the ‘medium and outcome of social action and relationship, concrete spatiality is a competitive arena for struggles over social reproduction’ (1989: 130). Peet wrote (1998: 223, 224), Soja’s spatiality, which encompasses both materializations of space, and the social relations which put them there is another form of illusion. Myopia gives the illusion of opaqueness and the focus on surface appearances, space as a post-Enlightenment collection of things. The set of social relations can be described by the word transparency. This is because it gives the illusion of seeing through concrete spatiality into the intuitive realm of the the purposeful mind. The production of spatiality is literally represented as cognition and mental design, therefore space is reduced to a mental construct.
Another way of looking at the question of where knowledge about place resides is to use vertical and horizontal metaphors. For example Relph said that places have both a vertical and a horizontal structuring:

The vertical structure is one of intensity and depth of experience and has layers corresponding basically to the various levels of outsideness and insideness. The horizontal structure is that of the social distribution of knowledge of places within and between individuals, groups and the mass (1976: 56).

Here the horizontal structure corresponds to group knowledge and the vertical structure to individual knowledge. Rather than ‘outsideness’ and ‘insideness’ though I prefer to use the concept of perception. Because the way one perceives hidden meanings affects one’s ‘viewpoint’, it is not only dependent on one’s position of view. One may use the horizontal/vertical metaphor differently. For example Yi-Fu Tuan associated a vertical understanding of the cosmos with medieval times, and a horizontal understanding with the world today:

In Europe, some time between 1500 and 1700 AD the medieval conception of a vertical cosmos yielded slowly to a new and increasingly secular way of representing the world. The vertical dimension was being displaced by the horizontal; cosmos was giving way to a flat nonrotary segment of nature called landscape. ‘Vertical’ here means something more than one dimension in space. It is charged with meaning. It signifies transcendence ... (Tuan 1974: 129).

This difference in perception is almost impossible to measure, yet I find it has great relevance to my thesis, where, if I had to choose between the vertical and horizontal metaphors to describe some Hawaiian understandings of space, I would choose the vertical. This may be, as Tuan put it, associated with the difference between modern and medieval viewpoints. He went on to say:

To look out in the night with modern eyes, as one scholar puts it, is to survey a sea that fades away into mist. To the medieval man the stars are not so much at a great distance as at a great height (Tuan 1974: 134)
Or one may associate differences in aspect with a valuation. Robert Sack, in looking at the conceptions of space, made a distinction between sophisticated, fragmented thought and unsophisticated fused thought (Sack 1980 26 - 30). Unsophisticated thought is associated with low levels of abstraction and frequent confusion or conflation of symbols with what they represent. For example creating a symbol is expected to create its referent, such as in a rain dance to bring on rain. It is associated with less developed societies, whereas sophisticated, fragmented thought is characteristic of the complexity of western societies.

I have been familiar with similar views in my previous studies of Anthropology, and find them highly problematic. For example, I demonstrate Hawaiian thought is far more sophisticated than many academics have previously been thought. This is not because Hawaiians do not associate the symbol with its referent. Rather it is because their association, for example between the syllables of the word and the word or name leads to great complexity, once the importance of kaona or hidden meanings is invoked. In addition, indigenous knowledge has many of the attributes of western science such as being based on observation of the natural world. In both the information is accumulated over time, systematised stored and transmitted, either orally or in written form (Roberts 1996: 62). Some researchers consider it more accurate than that of western science, having been accumulated over thousands of years (Roberts 1996: 65 quoted Freeman 1989). I believe it is false to characterize western societies as having sophisticated, fragmented thought:

The notion that our chief task is to mirror accurately, in our own Glassy Essence, the universe around us ... is the complement of the notion that the universe is made up of very simple, clearly and distinctly knowable things (Rorty 1979: 357).
Many experiments in vibrational medicine and quantum physics for example, show that the appearance of fragmentation is only an illusion. That which appears sophisticated, seen from a different viewpoint, is very simple.

When space feels thoroughly familiar to us, it has become place (Tuan 1977: 73). The result of the growth of place is the recognition of a particular place. Yi-Fu Tuan defined the word topophilia as the affective bond between people, place or setting:

useful in that it can be defined broadly to include all of the human being’s affective ties with the material environment. These differ greatly in intensity, subtlety and mode of expression. The response to environment may be primarily aesthetic: it may then vary from the fleeting pleasure one gets from a view to the equally fleeting but far more intense sense of beauty that is suddenly revealed. The response may be tactile, a delight in the feel of air, water, earth. More permanent and less easy to express are feelings that one has toward a place because it is home, the locus of memories ... (1974: 4).

The recognition may be understood in terms of the ‘spirit of the place’, which, as Lukermann said, spreads itself inward and outward, and may be believed to be shown, for instance, in the nature of the person who lives there. According to Ronald Blythe (1969: 17, 18), the man who says he comes from Akenfeld (a village in East Anglia) is revealing a great deal more than this, ‘the unique mark of his particular village’. The genius loci or ‘spirit of place’ was discussed by DH Lawrence who said ‘different places in the face of the earth have different vital effluence, different vibration, different chemical exhalation, different polarity with different stars; call it what you like. But the spirit of place is a great reality’ (1964: 6). Rene Dubos said that ‘distinctiveness persists despite change. Italy and Switzerland, Paris and London have retained their respective identities through many social, cultural and technological revolutions’ (1972: 7 quoted in Relph 1976: 48)).
In this section, I have looked at the way space may be conceived of as opening to grow more space. This space may be ‘thicker’ and ‘denser’ though, and redolent with individual intention and experience. When enough of these paths intersect at a particular point, which can be known as the node, then place is formed. It is distinguished in some way - which can include naming - from the space around it. This place is not static, but continues to be formed, as well as form those who inhabit it. This is because its boundaries (real or perceived) must have a certain porosity, to allow places to grow and change (Casey 1996: 42, 43). Those porous boundaries, are part of the ‘external horizon’ for the very nature of the horizon is to open out, even as it encloses. Horizons are the perceptual basis of boundaries. These also alter according to perception.

2.7 Landscape as Cosmology

Metaphor is fundamental to all belief systems
Tilley 1999: 10

Cosmology is usually distinguished by treating the world around one very broadly indeed, as opposed to other smaller divisions. Charles Frake quoted Thomas Fuller in his definition made in 1642: ‘Acquainted with Cosmography, treating the world in whole joynts; with Chorography, shredding it into countries; and with Topography, mincing it into particular places’ (1996: 234). Looking at the ‘whole joynts’ of the world reveals some surprising similarities in the way the land is melded into human thought and experience. I shall explore this through looking at two societies, Northwest Amazonia and Mongolia. In Northwest Amazonia I shall look at the ways cosmology in interwoven with the features of the land, and in Mongolia explore this further in terms of simultaneous cosmologies.
Northwest Amazonian cosmologies, like those of the Australian aborigines and other indigenous groupings around the world\textsuperscript{25} are fused into their ancestral lands. In Northwest Amazonia, for example, elaborate ‘shamanic geographies’ are interwoven into the land and river groupings. For example, the \textit{Pira-Parana} groups conceptualize the cosmos as an immense \textit{maloca}, a ‘World House’ with doors, posts, beams, walls and roof. The sky is the roof, the hills and mountains are the supporting posts and protective walls, and the earth is the floor. Along the middle of the \textit{maloca} runs the Milk River, debauching in the Water Door in the east. The Water Door is the entry to the World House, the point of creative beginning and the source of all life. The Door of Suffering in the west is the exit and opening into the underworld, associated with death and decay (Arhem 1998: 84, 85). Woman travels to the Water Door in the east to give birth to the ancestral anacondas, progenitors of all current life-forms on earth, including humans. As they mature, the ancestral anacondas swim upriver towards the centre, each taking possession of its proper place and establishing the ancestral territories of the different exogamous groups. Having completed their work, the ancestors ascend to the sky, each occupying a distinct level, thus creating the different layers of the cosmos (Arhem 1998: 87). Behind them they leave the world in which house, river and anaconda merge ‘into a single, commanding image of the unity and internal differentiation of the exogamous group’ (Arhem 1998: 81).

The river systems are referred to as the ‘paths of the ancestors’ and embody the mythic memory. They are strings of names, each telling a distinct story of ancestral deeds. Water Door, placed in \textit{Yuisi guma}, begins the narrative:

\begin{quote}
from here to the centre, every name and place - every bend and stretch of the river, every rapid, pool and tributary - is known and charged with meaning. The story describes, indeed creates, the semantic topography of the \textit{Makuna} territory, thus constituting it as meaningful landscape (Arhem 1998: 88).
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{25} Tilley (1994) and other contributions in Bender (1993) and Hirsch and O’Hanlon (1995).
Makuna topographic names enclose ancestral events and literally turn them into places. Each named place embodies particular powers emanating from the ancestors and their creative work, for instance the streams are the poisoned blood and urine of the dying Eagle; a pool of still, dark water marks where the gods drank yage (1998: 89). Thus the land itself is mythic memory, just like in Hawai‘i.

That memory is, as I have discussed, not unitary. Caroline Humphrey’s study Chiefly and Shamanist landscapes in Mongolia (1995) talked about ‘at least two ways of being in the landscape, which are simultaneous possibilities for any Mongol group. Each combines its own sense of place with spatial awareness ... one is that of the chief or ruler, and the other is that of the shaman’ (Humphrey 1995: 135). They co-exist and are not mutually exclusive.

Mountains in the central steppes are representations of the chiefly system of power. They are virtually all called khan (chief, prince) (Humphrey 1995: 145) and are named after parts of the human body:

Mountains have backs and fronts. The northern (or back) side of mountains is given the following epithets: uulyn shil (nape), nuruu (spine), seer (vertebra); the eastern and western sides are: uulyn zuun/ baruu xatsar (east and west cheeks), mor (shoulders), shanaa (temple, cheek bone), xavirga (ribs), suga (armpit), tashu (side) and the southern or front side has magnai (forehead), xomsog (brows), ovdog (thigh) and cleg (liver) (Zhukovskaya 1988: 27 quoting Mongol sources). A hill standing on its own, or a high summit in a mountain range, is called tolgoi (head). A mountain cape, or elevated prong, is its xoshuu (nose, beak, snout). A valley opening from a mountain is am (mouth) (Humphrey 1995: 144).

Humphrey said that the chiefly landscape is characterized by denying movement and one of the ways this is done is through place names, and the same, rather limited number of names are
repeated over thousands of miles. Thus, there are ‘numberless examples of *Ulaan Uul* (Red Mountain), *Xar Bulag* (Black Spring), *Elest* (Sandy), *Xujirt* (Place with Soda) or *Bayan-gol* (Rich Valley)’ (Humphrey 1995: 144). Hence mountains act to construct authority, similarly to Basso’s study of the Apache whereby ‘like older relatives places are always watching. Mountains and arroyos symbolically stand for grandmothers and uncles’ (Basso 1984: 40).

The shamanic landscape, by contrast, is characterized by movement. This is because, unlike chiefs, shamans do not acquire their power from social processes, but ‘from the energies of the world, conceived as spirits which decide who is to be a shaman’ (Humphrey 1995: 151). This distinction means that:

> chiefs need only external power as some abstract energy, driving and revivifying the social group (for example ‘destiny’, or the ‘landmasters’ which are everywhere more or less the same).

Shamans on the other hand must acknowledge the variety of the world, the infinite multiplicity of beings which people feel to have power’ (Humphrey 1995: 151).

Thus the landscape is much more ‘open’. In the shamanic landscape, the earth as a whole is always seen in relation to the sky, with its ethereal layers (Humphrey 1995: 149). The shamans are motivated by the different spirits who choose certain shamans on which to descend. The shamans may be understood as being the land below the realms of the spirits. For example, the *Buryat* say that deceased shamans ‘become cliffs’ (*xada bolxo*, the term *xada* meaning both ‘cliff’ or ‘rocky hill’ and the spirit of such a place (Humphrey 1995: 151 quoted Goldanova 1987). Here, away from the central steppes, in the *Altai* and the Shamanist Buryat areas, bone metaphors for mountains are much less prevalent, and the spirits of mountains may even be ‘grandmothers’ or ‘girls’, or they can consist of a man and wife (Humphrey 1995: 145).

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26 The processes for chiefs acquiring power vary but include genealogical descent, political or military structures and teacher-pupil lines in the Buddhist system (Humphrey 1995: 151).
Thus the change in the naming of the mountains means that the cultural topography of the ‘shamanic landscape’ is mapped onto the differential physical topography, and mountains no longer stand for the ‘skeletal structure’ of the way things ought to be (I am assuming here grandmothers do not stand for authority). Instead, shamans may become mountains, thus mountains show the actualization of individual potential, as they are not chosen by external social forces. The co-existence of these differential landscapes of mountains shows the part played by different systems of empowerment, which means mountains can stand for legitimized social processes or the actualization of individual potential. The mountain is the same, but the cosmology is different, thus the mountain is different. This refers back to Bakhtin’s definition of a chronotype.

The Amazon example showed us a cosmology which was not only fused with the land, but where the individual cosmologies within it were fused as well. The Mongolian case, by contrast, showed us an example of differentiated landscapes, chiefly and shamanic. It could be argued that from about the thirteenth century until the arrival of the Europeans, chiefly and shamanic landscapes were both ‘in place’ in Hawai‘i, and I shall discuss this more in representations of landscape in Hawai‘i in Section 3.2. Now only shamanic ones remain, co-existing with more visible representations of the islands, and lying very close to the horizon indeed. I use the plural form to describe them, as the part each perceiver of those glimmering landscapes sees varies according to their perspective.
2.8 Another Horizon?

There is no whole picture that can be ‘filled in’ since the perception and filling of a gap lead to the awareness of other gaps.

Clifford 1984: 18.

In this chapter I have explored a little of the history of landscape studies, as well as constructing some categories of landscape as aesthetic, narrative, memory, cosmology and space and time. I have also explored some theories on the growing of place out of space. I have pointed out the limitations which prevent any one theoretical approach gaining the ‘whole picture’, as there will always be limitations dependent on perspective. It could be argued that perspective lies behind perception, and one’s particular perspective needs to be at least acknowledged for one’s perception to change. Until then, the ‘landscape one sees’, will be the shared reality of land.

I have shown that in traditions which do not include the Polynesian, knowledge is ‘grounded’ in the material form of the ‘landscape’ or ‘land’. I believe the difference between ‘landscape’ and ‘land’ is that ‘landscape’ is representations of land created by human artists, whereas ‘land’ is land believed to have been created by creator beings, such as the South American example. This is also true for Hawai‘i as I shall show. Hence the participants in that particular reality do not view it as landscape, which I earlier defined as ‘land which has been worked upon and altered by humans’. So henceforth in this thesis, I shall use ‘land’ and not ‘landscape’, as I am trying to show some views that may be from the viewpoint of the indigenous people. The change from ‘landscape’ to ‘land’ does not alter the ‘fact’ of partial viewing I spoke about in the introduction, indeed it is inherent in some Hawaiian constructions of the land one sees, and I shall give some examples of that throughout this dissertation.
In the introduction to this chapter Harrison spoke about the positioning of a horizon ‘always being relative’. Many Hawaiians use the same metaphor, but they believe in a double horizon, an inner one and an outer one, which is then represented in outer reality. When one alters one’s inner reality, then the outer reality one sees changes. I shall discuss this further in Section 5.8. Hence boundaries are illusory and dependent on perspective. Paul Carter illustrates, in the context of mapping, how they become ‘fixed seas and lands’:

> Despite its *tabula rasa* appearance, the map was, from the beginning, designed to record particular information. As the spaces of its grid were written over, there was revealed a palimpsest of the explorer’s experience, a criss-cross of routes gradually thickening and congealing into fixed seas and lands (Carter 1987: 23).

In Section 1.3 I looked at how what becomes known as a ‘historical fact’, is what is generally accepted. When ideas of acceptance change, then ‘shared reality’ is forced to change. That shared reality could be metaphorically thought of as continental land, and islands are lands of individual assumptions. Beaches are points of contact where these different knowledges meet and change. One historian at least includes the word ‘beaches’ in his metaphors for the knowledge of the islands:

> ‘Islands and Beaches’ is a metaphor that helps my understanding. It is not a model that makes behaviour predictable. ‘Islands and beaches’ is a metaphor for the different ways in which human beings construct their worlds and for the boundaries they construct between them. It is a natural metaphor for the oceanic world of the Pacific where islands are everywhere and beaches must be crossed to enter them or leave them, to make them or change them (Dening 1980: 3).

Indeed, this is a very useful metaphor in a dissertation which deals with, among other things, how one constructs islands of knowing. There is some evidence, which I discuss in the substantive chapters, that the land one first creates through one’s perception in Hawai‘i is
believed to be land on the coast of islands. The process of ‘making land’ or ‘landing’ is believed
to begin here. It is often imaged as ‘points’ of land, in which perception is inherent in the
Hawaiian meaning, as well as the English. For example, one of the ‘hidden meanings’ of the
word /ae, the word for ‘point’, ‘headland’ or ‘promontory’ is ‘wisdom’. Thus the creating of
land can be associated with perspective, and a subsequent increase in knowledge. One’s
perception has changed because one’s perspective has been altered.

Now I shall move on to the next chapter on Hawaiian cosmology, in which I shall attempt to
show such analogic constructions are not unusual in Hawaiian thought.
CHAPTER THREE: SEEDING THE ISLANDS

3.1 Some More Ideas about the Islands

Conceal in secrecy, preserve in silence, disguise our inner teachings with a false outer mask ...

Kahuna to Leinani Melville (Melville 1969: 5)

In this chapter I shall look at the underlying cosmology of Hawai‘i. It is essential to glimpse some of its aspects, for my work on the hidden meanings of place names is dependent on them. Even though the linear mode of expression requires dividing the chapter into different sections, in reality the categories flow into each other, and should not be understood separately. Each section represents part of a greater system of fertilization through the word that many believe affects the growth of the land.

I begin by exploring some representations of Hawai‘i. Some see the power of Hawaiian cosmology as externally-based, in a system of chiefs and kings which has now vanished. Others image that power as internal, which can be ‘sprouted’ in offshoots of the word that lead to creation. The kahuna can represent that system, and it has not vanished. Throughout this dissertation, my analysis favours the latter category and I explain some of my criteria for ‘reading’ writers who discuss these themes, implicitly or explicitly.

Then I talk about some ideas about the creation of Hawai‘i, and the way the earth can be imagined as coming from a distant realm, associated with the gods. Then I talk about the way its growth, including the growth of man, is associated with knowledge and light. I move on to discuss the animism of stones, and the way they can be conceived of as both holding knowledge and needing to be grown. In this way they act like chants, as the holders of knowledge which can be interpreted in different ways.
Next I talk about the human body and its relation to the gods. It can be imagined as being surrounded by the major cosmogonic gods, who however, also make up the body physically and metaphysically; thus illustrating the multi-dimensional nature of some Hawaiian conceptions. The body is thought of as a quantity that can change and grow, not just physically, but through knowledge. In doing so, the body is compared to a plant, whose growth needs to be directed, so it can regain the land of the gods.

Next, I move on to the corresponding realms of the word and silence. I show that the power of the word is balanced by the power of silence, and this is necessary in a world where the word is believed to create realities. If no word is said, that no undesirable reality is created - hence silence. I also talk about the link between perception and hidden meanings, which mean that certain realities are constructed out of many possible ones. That is one of the reasons behind the Hawaiians tending not to pass on knowledge of their culture, unless questions are perceived to be accompanied by corresponding qualities, such as emotion, in the questioner. Hence different individuals hold varying amounts of knowledge within the system, for example in the hula dance. This is because knowledge of the sacred was never seen as a quantity to be transmitted, dependent on age and gender. Rather it was seen as a varying quantity to be passed on according to the readiness of the individual.

The next sections explore some means to acquire this sacred knowledge. I explore a new definition of mana. Then I describe the role of the kahuna as being the ‘holder’ of knowledge. I end the chapter by returning to the correspondence of the body and the gods, by describing how the body is dedicated to the different gods in its growth, which is imaged in terms of light. The keystone of this chapter is reinvoked: creation leads to growth, which is imaged in terms of light, which represents knowledge, and is identified with the greater sphere of influence of each god.
3.2 Re-presenting Polynesia

Between the truth and the fable I have never been able to distinguish ...
Paul Gauguin (1923: 75)

It is necessary to have another section on what people have written about Hawai‘i to further situate my work. I shall divide some relevant literature into two categories. One is representations of Hawaiian society and beliefs in terms of external power. The other understands Hawaiian society and beliefs as internal power. It is worth noting that the former approach tends to concentrate on analyzing Polynesian societies in terms of rank, kinship and taboo. The latter talks about ways of ‘growing your own power’, such as through the teachings of kahuna or experts. Perhaps the distinction between chief and kahuna, is similar to Humphrey’s distinction between chiefly and shamanic landscapes. It is worth noting that, as ever, they are not discrete categories and have co-existed for a long time, even if the latter is the only one still ‘in place’.

People who believe in Hawai‘i embodying a system of external power do not even recognize the existence of alternative ways to power through the kahuna. A strong statement, yet one I have found to be true. Many who believe in the power of the kahuna say that the systems of external power used to be in place, but say they were only imposed in the last few centuries and did not stretch over all of the islands. Generally these people are not academics. Unlike other academics writing on Hawai‘i,27 I have not disdained ‘New Age’ books per se.28 For many of them, such as those of Dr. Serge King and Scott Cunningham, contain much valuable knowledge, from often unacknowledged sources. In general, in this dissertation, I am trying to redress the academic balance a little, by concentrating on internal, rather than external power.

27 R. Douglas Herman is an exception. I am not aware of any others.
28 However there are some ‘New Age’ books about Hawai‘i I do not find useful.
I shall explore the academic views first. What I explore here is not a sampling of all academic literature that has been written about Hawai‘i; that would not be possible. Nor is it a sampling of all I have read, most of which is detailed in the bibliography. It is not a recapitulation of some important writers I have already mentioned in Section 1.3. I have selected a body of literature that illustrates my point, that many Hawaiians have recognized the way to gaining mana as being through internal power. I greatly regret that for reasons of space I must leave out literature concerning Polynesia, which is how my interest started, an inspiration which has continued. In many ways the divide is artificial, as Vilsoni Hereniko wrote:

Although the authorial voice in so-called objective ethnographies is hard to shake off; the divide between the subjective and the objective or fiction and nonfiction still exists in popular consciousness. In recent years, however, much debate and contention in anthropology has been concerned about the nature of culture, truth and representation, leading James Clifford, for example, to claim that ethnographic texts are ‘constructed domains of truth, serious fictions’ (1988: 10). Many fiction writers will say this is what their work has been about all along, and they should be forgiven if they are unimpressed by the late arrival of the social scientist (Hereniko 1995: 8).

Even though I cannot write about the subjectivity of fiction, I do talk about the subjectivity of representations, the topic of this section.

Some of the most important writers with relevance to Hawai‘i have not specifically written about it. It is part of their broader work on the Pacific as a whole, for instance Anthropologist Alfred Gell and Historian Greg Dening. Gell (1993) concentrated on tattooing as a process for creating social distance in Polynesian societies, intimately bound up with a system of hierarchy

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29 Some early inspirations, when I was a young girl, was Ballantyne’s Coral Island, Grimble’s A Pattern of Islands and Holmsen’s Singing Coral. Since then, I have tried to keep up with fictional tales of Polynesia, particularly by Witi Ihimaera, Albert Wendt, Cathie Dunsford Patricia Grace and Keri Hulme. I am particularly interested in how Polynesian culture affects world-view and writing, and have spoken about the poetry and literature of Keri Hulme at some conferences.
and war. By contrast, tattooing was not practiced in Pukapuka and Mangareva in the Cook Islands, (Gell 1993: 298) because they were (and are) relatively peaceful societies with little social distance between chief and commoner. Tattooing was also not in evidence on strife-ridden Niue:

Religion on Niue was very aberrant in the light of the standard set by most other Polynesian islands, being wholly in the hands of ecstatic shamans, and taking the form of elaborate masked dances in which gods were directly impersonated (Gell 1993: 300).

The reference to shamanism not only provides an exception to Gell’s thesis. I postulate that it shows an example of the way to the gods through internal power, which is one of the major themes of this dissertation.

Greg Dening has written about the Pacific at length in books that deserve to be valued for their literary merit as much as their scholastic range (e.g. 1980, 1988, 1992, 1995, 1996). I shall look at one aspect here in a recent book about the ‘theatre’ of encounters between the Pacific and the West (1996). Dening is particularly sensitive to the nuances of the Polynesian word, and said that one problem of cross-cultural history is that both sides always experience one another in translation:

I, for one, believe that cross-cultural history should be written in such a way that the reader is always reminded of strangeness by leaving key words untranslated, and by attempting to describe more discursively what is the cultural experience behind the word (Dening 1996: 76, 77).

I agree and attempt to use Hawaiian terms as much as possible, in fact the purpose of this chapter is precisely to try and describe ‘the cultural experience behind the word’.
In the academic domain, representations of Polynesia can say more about the disciplines that study it, than they can about the islands themselves. Functionalist anthropology, for example, lays an emphasis on the way different parts of societies fit together and work, whereas structural anthropology looks at a society’s underlying ‘structure’, and is part of the structuralist discipline I looked at in Section 1.5. The following is a summary of two widely accepted explanations of the way Polynesian societies were organized and Hawai‘i’s place in them. Marshall Sahlins wrote *Social Stratification in Polynesia* (1958) and Irving Goldman wrote *Ancient Polynesian Society* (1970).

For Sahlins, Polynesia was divided into Traditional, Open and Stratified Societies. Traditional Societies were religious systems headed by a sacred chief, whereas in Open Societies secular power had some differentiation from religious power. In Stratified Societies such as Hawai‘i, status was determined by economic and political power as well as seniority. The differences between ramage-system societies and descent line societies (such as Hawai‘i) may be associated with environments where resources were dispersed or concentrated.

Irving Goldman wrote that most Polynesian societies, including Hawai‘i, were organized around the principles of bilateral descent and primogeniture. The senior male of the senior line held the highest rank, and was believed to be descended from the Gods. The chief is charged with mana, the invisible power to accomplish, and separated by a system of taboo. His domain was subdivided among lesser chiefs in return for tributes and services. Meanwhile, the common people of Polynesia do not have power.

Both these studies classify Polynesian societies according to an externally imposed order. They can be written about in terms of rank, hierarchy and taboo, where the ‘common people’ are pawns of the chief, and there is little opportunity for manipulation and mobility. Indeed, the chief may order his subjects to be sacrificed and many studies and representations of Hawai‘i
focus on this relatively unimportant issue. Marshall Sahlins' protégé at the School of
Anthropology in Chicago was Valerio Valeri. His book: *Kingship and Sacrifice* (1985)
exemplified this approach. Valeri stressed the significance of the god *Kū* 'the most
encompassing male God' (Valeri 1985: 35). The *luakini* rituals, which he studied on the Big
Island of Hawai‘i, were dedicated to *Kū* in his function of the god of war.

I found Valeri's book, on several counts, mistakes the part for the whole in order to fit his
interpretation of the Hawaiian culture as one concerning external power. He completely misses
many important connections the Hawaiians make, which make their religion remarkably
elaborate, and misrepresents others. For instance the *heiau luakini* [temples for human
sacrifice] could be used for abundance as well. Malo (1951: 212) wrote that: ‘also when he [the
king] wished to make the crops flourish he might build a *luakini*'.

Hence *luakini* temples fit into the system of growth I describe, as well as the system of sacrifice
Valeri writes about. Valeri misses some chances to link his interpretations to content and
meaning as well as context. For example, he imposed Durkheim’s analysis of the sacred as a
quality opposed to the profane onto Hawaiian culture. *Akua* [god] ‘is clearly characterized by
two dualities'. They are the ‘natural’ and the ‘human’, the ‘pure’ and the ‘impure’ (Valeri
1985: 31-33). They form a ‘logical’ construct in the more ‘limited’ sphere of primitive religion.
He considers the Hawaiian religion as being ‘primitive’ and ‘limited’.

I believe this example illustrates one of the themes of this dissertation, that one only sees what
one is capable of seeing. *Akua* is a very complex concept, but one that is always dependent on a
two-way flow. That flow is between the *pō* and the *so*, the potential and the manifest, not the
‘pure’ and the ‘impure’ or the ‘natural’ and the ‘human’. Valeri does not recognize that the
system in Hawai‘i was an *imposed* system, brought over by Tahitian invaders sometime around
the fourteenth century, led by the chief *Paao*. Sahlins wrote of:
the celebrated *Paao* who many generations earlier had come, like
Vancouver, from invisible lands beyond the horizon to institute a
new religion - indeed, to install along with his religion a new line of
ruling chiefs, from which Kamehameha traced his own descent
(Sahlins 1981: 9, 10)

This system should not be understood as being the indigenous system. This imposed system of
‘divine kingship’ achieved its apotheosis on the Big Island, and King Kamehameha used it to
conquer the other islands of Hawai‘i in the eighteenth century, which became ‘islands of the
King’. This is a very important point to understand in this dissertation, which describes
another system of power, based on the creative power of the word, that is in ‘place’ but not
usually written about.

For example, that system of chieftains never reached the island of Kaua‘i, ‘Kaua‘i had the
distinction of never being conquered’ (Goldman 1970: 201). Even on the islands where it was
strong, the kahuna nui, the ‘big kahuna’, was believed by many people to be more powerful
than the chiefs. For the kahuna was responsible for controlling the mana of the chiefs, and
could deconstruct it (Bartlett 1991: Appendix A). I believe Valeri’s oversight is an apt
illustration of the dangers of generalizing about Hawaiian culture.

The indigeneous system was a system of the kahuna, who had very little to do with the ruling
class. These may have been dedicated to the God *Lono* (Beckwith 1976: 121): ‘The milder
*Lono* ritual was practiced in a heiau of an inferior class and without human sacrifice. It might
be used, but not solely, by a ruling chief’. Many of them believed in the definition of mana as
creative power, and believed the answer to problems is not to fight them, but to increase your
internal power. Nowadays, the old kingly orders have disappeared and they will not return. In
contrast, the older, ‘unrecognized’ system of the kahunas is still in place. I talked a little about
the general lack of recognition in Hawai‘i of indigeneous culture in Section 1. 4.
In recent decades, Marshall Sahlins' interest has moved on to using metaphor in a structuralist approach to interpret the interaction between two peoples. Sahlins is most famous for his writings about why the Hawaiians killed Captain Cook (for example 1981, 1985, 1988, 1995), which he said can be understood in mythic terms, for the Hawaiians understood Cook to be Lono, one of the four major Hawaiian gods, associated with growth. He was famously criticized by Gananath Obeyesekere (1992). This debate has become famous, spreading into Anthropology departments all over the world, and bound up with questions of rationality, native agency and colonialism. Sahlins found the Sri-Lankan Obeyesekere to make some extraordinary claims:

A Sri-Lankan is the same as a Hawaiian in the capacity of being a ‘native’ thus an insider in these matters of belief, as opposed to the ‘outsider anthropologist’ who projects his Western ethnocentric beliefs onto the ‘natives’. From this it follows that Obeyesekere can explicate Hawaiian concepts from Sri Lankan ones (Sahlins 1995: 195).

These points relate to some that came up in my fieldwork and methodology. It is important to be aware of our own reference points, because as Said (1978) pointed out, they affect the way we construct the ‘other’. Edward Said demonstrated that ‘low culture’ is equated with being on the ‘edge of civilization’ (1978: 49). This point has been taken up by others, including Gauatri Spivak (1987) and Homi Bhabha (1994) and has not been confined to any one discipline, but there has been an increasing awareness in fields ranging from literature to film studies to politics that the West has taken away far more than natural resources. In Rod Edmund’s study about representations of Polynesia in the West, he wrote that Said’s representation of the other is now routinely criticized for denying native agency (1997: 10). For example, some Tahitians

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30 My own research appears to bear this out, although I have found a difference in the way Cook was understood by the chiefs, and subsequently portrayed to the kanaka. I originally had a further chapter about the Sahlins/Obeyesekere debate here. There is no space to write further about this here.
and Marquesans climbed out to meet the explorers' boats and interacted with them, thus should not be seen as 'passive natives', whom were acted upon, but did not act (1997: 13).

Yet one problem in giving the native agency can mean skating over many of the deleterious effects of the occidental encounters. Perhaps one may gain the understanding that 'agency' can be understood in different ways, for example one of the ways Hawaiians understand it, is in terms of internal, not external, power. Marshall Sahlins does not take up the question of the system that was in place before Paao, and continues through the power of the kahunas. He described the necessity to study kaona, but, referred to them simply in sexual terms (1985:1-31). I consider this a neglected issue, and to rectify it one must look at other metaphors contained in the hidden meanings.

Professor Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa wrote (1992) that it is essential to understand Hawaiian society in terms of indigenous metaphor. For example, the past is referred to as:

*Ka wa ma mu a*, or 'the time in front or before'. Whereas the future, when thought of at all, is *Ka wā mahope*, or 'the time which comes after or behind'. It is as if the Hawaiian stands firmly in the present, with his back to the future, and his eyes fixed upon the past, seeking historical answers for present-day dilemmas. Such an orientation is to the Hawaiian an eminently practical one, for the future is always unknown, whereas the past is rich in glory and knowledge (Kame'eleihiwa 1992: 22, 23).

This helps make sense of certain beliefs. For example many Hawaiians say that the answers are in the past, in the land of the gods who once interacted with earth, rather than in the future, which does not exist as a separate construct. For more information see Sections 5.2 and 5.4.

Kame'eleihiwa wrote about two paths to mana of *Kū* and *Lono* (1992: 44); thus illustrating my earlier point in the context of Valeri's work, that another way to power is possible. *Kū* was the
path of war and sacrifice, and there were two ways mana could be obtained: through sexual means and through violence (1992: 46). That is the way Valeri described. Lono is the path of dancing, pleasure and caring for the land. Today:

only Lono has prevailed with strength among the Hawaiian people. Modern Hawaiians celebrate life through sports, hula, and sexuality. Hawaiian youth devote themselves to preparation for the many hula festivals and canoe races (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992: 49).

That agrees with my contention that the way of the kahuna (associated with Lono as I show in Section 3.9) is still in force. Yet, Kame‘eleihiwa does not write about the path of Lono being important in terms of gaining mana through personal power; perhaps because, in common with others in the Hawaiian Studies Department, she tends to focus on power as being external. I shall show some ways mana can be gained through the god Lono. Thus many Hawaiians believe land is grown through ‘placing’, or naming space.

I would like to make an observation that I have found, in my personal navigation through the differing water-levels of Polynesian culture, that books written from a non-academic viewpoint may also be extremely helpful. Perhaps this is due to the nature of what I am studying, the ancient knowledge of Hawai‘i. These books have often been written as a means of transmitting ‘the knowledge’ before it disappears. There is no necessary contradiction between books as a means of reporting knowledge, and the necessity for hiding knowledge. For example, Cleve Barlow, a Maori academic, wrote in the preface to his book about Maori culture:

I do not wish to suggest in any way that I know everything there is to know about these matters; yet I feel there are some valuable insights that I can offer to those who wish to know more. I have pondered for a long time as to how best disseminate this knowledge to others without revealing too much (as I was taught in my own training), but still being able to offer a useful basis from which others could achieve greater understanding. I have therefore not included all there is to know about each concept (Barlow 1991: xvi).
The unusualness of an academic not writing down everything he knows, shows how important Polynesian ideas of transmitting knowledge can be to a Polynesian.

The books of Samuel Kamakau and David Malo, were written to report their experiences of growing up in Hawai‘i. Kamakau (1815 - 1876) wrote about Hawaiian customs, particularly as they pertain to the islands of O‘ahu and Maui, on which he lived. He has been a useful source for many Anthropologists. Barrere wrote (foreword Kamakau 1991) that taken together with David Malo and John I‘i (whom I do not discuss in this analysis), the three of them provide: ‘a composite picture of Hawaiian beliefs and customs as they were in the ancient days and in the transitional period of acculturation to introduced thoughts and concepts’.

I also find Kamakau’s work very useful, but probably not so much for its ability to provide ‘a composite picture of Hawaiian beliefs and customs as they were in the ancient days’. For we all see the world through our own lens, and Kamakau’s particular lens is a Christian one. For instance he described noha ana as ‘medium possession’, thus using Christian terms to describe a Hawaiian phenomenon (1991a: 53). Rather, the value of Kamakau’s work is in the Hawaiian terms which he provides and from which I am able to make my own analyses. In this case, for instance, noho ana is better translated as ‘live’. It may also be translated as to ‘reside’, ‘inhabit’, ‘occupy (as land)’, ‘dwell’, ‘marry’, ‘be in session’; ‘rule’ or ‘reign’. The word ‘possess’ does not appear, and indeed this was not a concept in Hawaiian thought (see Kame‘elehiwa 1992: 25-33 for a discussion in the context of caring for the land).

I perceive Malo’s work as having similar strengths and problems to Kamakau’s. They were contemporaneous - Malo lived from 1795 until 1853 - and lived through the period of foreign encroachment on island. Malo replied in answer to a question about his life’s work:
A ‘companion of the chiefs - a counsellor for them at times, a school teacher, sugar planter, and a licensed preacher’ but he also ‘treasured’ up the meles [songs] and genealogies of the chiefs and that he was an ‘eye and ear witness’ to the early post-contact events that radically changed life in the Hawaiian islands (Chun 1993: 1).

One may see a closeness to the chiefs, and he was a Christian minister on the island of Maui and ‘fired with an enthusiasm for the acquisition of all the benefits it [Christian civilization] had to confer’ (Emerson, preface Malo 1951).31 My view is that his classic work Hawaiian Antiquities provides a record of certain aspects of Hawaiian culture, particularly as relates to the Big Island, but again, one needs to read bearing his conversion in mind. For example, he also wrote: ‘a spirit that enters into a person and then gives forth utterances is called an akua noho, that is, an obsident deity, because it is believed that it takes possession of (noho mahuna) the individual’ (Malo 1951: 115). The translation of the word noho as ‘possession’ shows the influence of Christian belief again. The belief that the body can be occupied also shows the concept of a single body. In Section 3.5, and the sections on place names, I show that this belief cannot be assumed in the context of Hawai‘i.

It is likely that both these writers, hailing from the Big Island, would write about the Hawaiian system as one of chiefs and sacrifices, and indeed they did. They are not going to write about the alternative ‘way to power’ of the kahuna remaining today, for it is in direct conflict with the belief system they chose to support. Malo, for example, described the kahuna as shoring up the power of the chiefs, with the notable exception of the kahuna anaana [capable of causing death] who was ‘feared and shunned as an assassin would have been’ (Malo 1951: 99 footnote 3).

31 Of course there are many alternative views:
'in the case of Davida Malo, we now know the extent of his determination to protect the rights of the kānaka (commoner) from his advocacy of land rights to his questioning of the growing foreign influence in government ... it is ironic that contemporary “young Hawaiian radicals” perceive Malo to be a “mission boy” rather than a role model’ (Chun 1993: iv).
‘Children of the Rainbow’ by Leinani Melville, provides an interesting example of the reporting of the knowledge of the kahuna by a Christian. Melville promised his grandmother as she was dying he would write the book on the tahunas [kahunas], his grandfather was unable to write (1969: xii). Much of the information in the book comes from an elderly Hawaiian lady: ‘a native fisherwoman’ (1969: acknowledgments). She was not an ali‘i, chief, by any stretch of the imagination. ‘Whenever I asked what family she came from she merely shrugged her shoulders and replied, “I am just a poor native fisherwoman searching for products of the sea”’ (1969: vi). Yet she was still the possessor of much knowledge, and I discuss her means of transmitting it in Section 3.7. Even though the book is filled with concepts such as ‘the illumined spiral staircase of the Cross that led to an eternal life of blissful serenity’ (1969: 47), which I do not believe came from the original Hawaiian, there is much knowledge in this book which is relevant to this thesis. For example the god Tane [Kane] was the ‘supporting root’ that contained the essential spirit principle of life that caused the vine to develop in growth, expand and blossom’ (Melville 1969: 13, 14). This relates to what I have been able to find out about the role of the gods in embodying and causing growth, which I explore in the sections on place names.

‘Tales from the Night Rainbow’ was written by two Hawaiians of Moloka‘i, Pali Lee and Koko Willis, to report the knowledge of their ancestors. In the Ho‘ohui or Introduction, it is said ‘our family elders have agreed that the truths held “in” family should be shared with all the children of our ʻohana (family) and the children of other clans who have lost their family stories’. In a statement worthy of a phenomenologist, the authors then say: ‘History changes with the years and the view of the person telling the story. How one “thinks” an event occurred is often construed as history. Moloka‘i is known as the island of the kahuna32 and it has not

32 Lee and Willis (1988: 24, 25) described the coming of Paao and his system of ali‘i to the islands, then talked about way the people of Moloka‘i were feared. ‘The ali‘i feared the people who lived on Moloka‘i for they thought all who lived there had great personal power. The reason for this belief was that when Paao’s warriors came to invade Moloka‘i’s shores they found the people standing there waiting for them. They did not run. They stood together as a silent army. No fist was raised. When the warriors began to beach their boats the chanting began. It began small and became a mighty roar. The warriors threw their spears but they fell short of hitting anyone. Men trying to come onto the beach were falling back
usually been written about in anthropological accounts. This book by Lee and Willis ‘fills a gap’ and reveals some knowledge about the way to power of the kahuna, that I describe throughout this thesis. In Chapter Four I describe some ways place names represent the gaining of power on the island of Moloka‘i.

Some works about Hawaiian mythology have given me a useful basis for my comparisons. For example, the work of Dr. Martha Warren Beckwith, who studied Anthropology under Franz Boas at Columbia. Her magnum opus Hawaiian Mythology (1940) provides the reader with a huge reservoir of myths she collected about Polynesia. As Dorothy Lee put it:

For me, the value of this work lies in the fact that it is the only study of mythology I know in which the writer has not intentionally or unconsciously, interfered with the ideas which are presented ... She draws no distinctions where the Hawaiian does not draw them. She has steeped herself so thoroughly in her material, that she accepts what most of us would have tried, at best, to justify. In this way, she can transfer directly to the reader, Hawaiian concepts unacceptable to the reasoning of the Euro-American mind (Luomala in Beckwith 1976: xvii).

Her friend and colleague Dr. Katherine Luomala contributed another superb collection of Polynesian mythology and poetry (1955). One flaw, from my point of view, is that she does not report the chants in the original language, thus I cannot look for the hidden meanings. There is less dissonance between the reporting and the justification, because neither of these women were strong Christians, thus did not feel the need to represent the Hawaiians as thinking in a certain way. 33

33 The reader may detect criticisms of Christianity here. My distaste is not for Christianity itself, but for the way people have imposed it on other cultures and used it to justify their point of view as being ‘the truth’ and ‘the only right one’, then changing the myths and the traditions of the culture to reinforce their viewpoint.
Elsdon Best wrote many things about the Maori of New Zealand, including some volumes called *The Maori* much quoted by Anthropologists and others; perhaps most famously by Marcel Mauss. I take far more knowledge of this work in this dissertation, than I do about other books about Maori lore, many of which are derivative. I also quote from this book so much, because I have found Best wrote more than anyone about the lore of the kahuna and I have found many examples of rituals which, I believe, have relevance to Hawai‘i.\textsuperscript{34} The knowledge Best collected and put into print is a useful justification of examples I have found to be true, but for which there are no printed sources in Hawaii.

Best was born in 1856 and grew up near Wellington, New Zealand. His research concentrated on the *Tuhoe* of the remote *Urewera* district of the North Island, where he then spent the years from 1895 to 1910. He felt a close personal link with the Maori:

> In many bush camps have these notes been collected, in the depths of the Forest of *Tane [Kane]* in native huts, and in military encampments, in lone places where now is heard the rushing locomotive and the whirring motor car. The comforts of life surround one here by city streets, but the graceless Bohemian mind wheels regretfully back to the 6 x 8 tent, the far-spread forest, the brown-skinned friends, and the life that men live. *E! Aka ri tua!* (Best 1924 I: xi).\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{34} This is not to deny criticisms. ‘The criticism voiced by Charles Royal that texts such as Best’s *Tuhoe* are partial is, I think, supported by the selected readings discussed above. Best clearly locates his tribal history within the colonial reality of New Zealand. His primary audience is an educated *Pakeha* [white] reading public’ (Reilly 1995: 38). I believe all accounts are necessarily partial, Best’s, Reilly’s, mine - and none the worse for that. I think the best we can hope for is to be aware of our biases, and that is considerably easier in the academic climate of the new millennium. Best, as a white New Zealander, was a product of ‘colonists’, and took colonial posts among the Maori. As Reilly pointed out, it has influenced his narrative. But I cannot take the criticism about Best’s audience seriously, for no writer is responsible for his or her audience - such factors as the literacy rate, and access to information sources need to be taken into consideration. I think underlying many of these points is the question as to whether Best had the ‘right’ to write about the Maori at all. Reilly began his article by saying two Maori historians, Joseph Pere and Charles Royal, are asserting a claim of *tino rangatiratanga* or sovereignty over history about the Maori of Aotearoa’ (Reilly 1995: 20).

\textsuperscript{35} One of the reasons I enjoy Best’s works so much are because they are infused with emotion as regards the Maori. If one understands books as creation, then they are indeed in keeping with Polynesian ideas of the necessity to create with emotion. The climate of academia has not in general encouraged this (some
He published many books on the Maori including two volumes called *The Maori* [1924]. The exhaustive discussion of Maori society is divided into sections such as ‘Maori magic’, ‘Textile arts’ and ‘Customs pertaining to birth’ and includes comparisons to elsewhere in Polynesia, including Hawai‘i.

In general I find Best to be less judgemental than other writers of the period regarding Maori traditions. Perhaps that may be partly because of his own Northumbrian heritage. According to his great-nephew and biographer, the Northumbrians in the Wellington area kept alive their own struggle for autonomy against the English and the Scots, hence a degree of sympathy for the Maori may be felt. They also told tales concerning ‘supernatural creatures’ (Craig 1964: 11-19). Perhaps it was more straightforward for Best to see Christianity as an imposed influence, rather than as a truth finally revealed. Hence, he did not see Christianity as a barrier to reporting the rituals of the *tohunga* or kahuna.

I have looked at the ways in which some of the writers which I find most useful have represented Hawai‘i and the Pacific. I have specifically said that many writers have tended to see Hawaiian society in terms of the ‘external power’ of the chiefs and kings. Some of these writers can ‘see’ Hawai‘i in terms of their Christian viewpoints. Others have ‘seen’ kahunas within society. The system of kingship previously mentioned was an imposed one, and is no longer ‘in place’, whereas some kahuna practices are still carried on in secret. It is the foundation for my work on how the individual may grow, and the kahuna are embodiments of this ability.

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exceptions include Rosaldo 1993). Some Polynesian ideas of transmitting knowledge recognize the need to infuse creation with emotion. I discuss them in several sections of this dissertation.
Now I will explore some Hawaiian ideas about creation, and necessity for growth with direction, that I show later is replicated through the growth of the body and place. Creation, and subsequent growth, may be symbolized as the journey from darkness to light.

3.3 Growing Creation

*Hele 'e ka pila, hele 'e ka leo*

The music is in one pitch and the voice in another

(Pukui 1983: Hawaiian proverb no. 735)

This section looks at the way humans make their ‘place’ in a dynamic universe, which is continually evolving. To introduce this notion I first look at what lies before the *pō* in N.Z. Maori traditions (as I do not have any information available about Hawaiian ones). Then I look at the dynamic movement of the *pō* in the *Kumulipo*, a Hawaiian creation chant.

Schwimmer (1966) thought that the Maori ‘have the distinction of peering most deeply into the infinite darkness that existed before life began’ (quoted in Roberts and Wills 1998: 44). I shall look at an infinestimal aspect of this, *Te Aho Tuatahi*, ‘The first strand’ (Roberts and Wills 1998: 72 quoted Hurinui 1960).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Te Kore</td>
<td>The Formless Void</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotahi Te Ki</td>
<td>The One Unspoken Thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotahi Te Korero</td>
<td>The One Spoken Word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotahi Te Wananga</td>
<td>The One Sacred Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Kore Whīwhia</td>
<td>The Intangible Formless Void</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Kore Makiki Hi Rere</td>
<td>The Formless Void pierced by a Line extending into Space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makaka</td>
<td>The Sacred Curve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Io</td>
<td>The Supreme Being</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I find this a fascinating genealogy, for it is represented by growth through the word, and then ‘a line extending into space’, and then ‘a sacred curve’. It is almost as though matter is being shaped through the thought and the word, and that idea will come up again and again in this dissertation. The eight periods (Nga Po) that accompanied this include Te Po aoao nui, translated here as ‘the night with the aroma of sprouting things’. The Maori also use the word po, but in this example, it is not formless like Te Kore, but divided into categories. The po itself is growing, towards the appearance of Te Po tamaku, the creation night, when Io himself appears.

Now I move onto Hawai‘i where the Kumulipo is widely considered the most important of the Hawaiian cosmogonic chants. There are many possible ways of interpreting it (Beckwith 1972 summarizes many of the important ones), and I shall highlight the theme of growth. I believe the po, or realms of the gods, was undifferentiated darkness in this account. Then the night began to give birth to earth. Here is the translation of Hawaiian chantress Pokini Robinson (Beckwith 1972: lines 4-11), with the exception of the last two lines where I changed her interpretation to my own:

\[
\begin{align*}
E \text{ ho'omalama} & \text{I ka malama} \quad \text{At first faintly like the light of the moon} \\
O \text{ ke au o Makali'i ka po} & \quad \text{At the season of Makali'i [time of the Pleiades] in the far past.} \\
O \text{ ka walewale ho'okumu honua ia} & \quad \text{From the slime of the mother the stock began,} \\
O \text{ ke kumu o ka lipo, I lipo ai} & \quad \text{Began in the spirit world,} \\
O \text{ ke kumu o ka Po, I po ai} & \quad \text{Began in the time of the gods in a world of gods,} \\
O \text{ ka lipolipo, o ka lipolipo} & \quad \text{In the far distant past lost in remoteness;} \\
O \text{ ka lipo o ka la, o ka lipo o ka po} & \quad \text{At the time of the inky sun, at the time of the deep, dark night} \\
Po \text{ wale ho'i} & \quad \text{Then the night turned to sticky sap.}
\end{align*}
\]

The po contains all possibilities within its cosmic dynamic and the direction of movement leads to the specialized form of the earth and sky. Wākea, the sky, and Papa, the earth, gave birth to
the Polynesian islands (Pukui, Haertig, Lee 1972: 3). The gods were on the land first. For example, the first stanza also contains the line (Beckwith 1972: Line 111):

\[ O \text{ ke } Akua \text{ ke } komo, \text{ ‘}a\text{‘oe } komo \text{ kanaka } \]
\[ \text{The gods enter, man cannot enter.} \]

The world must progress to being suitable for the Hawaiian race. For that, generation is needed and the refrain of generation is important throughout the *Kumulipo*:

The *Kumulipo* chant opens with four sections or odes of identical pattern, each heralding the birth of a special class within the animal and vegetable world. Each class is governed by a parent-pair passing progressively from darkness toward the light (Beckwith 1972: 50).

As the stanzas progress, the growth in the sea is mirrored by the growth on land (Beckwith 1972: lines 185-189)

\[ Hanau \text{ ka } he’e \text{ noho } I \text{ kai } \]
\[ Born \text{ is the } he’e \text{ [squid] living in the sea} \]
\[ Kia’i \text{ ia } e \text{ ka } \text{ walahe’e } \text{ noho } I \text{ uka } \]
\[ Guarded \text{ by the } \text{ walahe’e } \text{ [shrub] living on land.} \]

Living man does not arrive until the eighth stanza, and he then procreates. The eleventh stanza describes eight hundred pairs of descendants (Beckwith 1972: 109). Those descendants represent the power of gods and man working together to promote growth. That theme is still found in many Hawaiian rituals today. One prayer, said to the the *wauke* [mulberry tree], goes (Gutmanis 1983: 66):

\[ O \text{ kokolo } \text{ ka } a'a \text{ I ka } \text{ po loa } \]
\[ That its roots will grow during the nights, \]
\[ O \text{ puka } \text{ ka } \text{ maka } \text{ I ke } \text{ ao loa } \]
\[ So that its eyes may be seen during the long days \]
\[ O \text{ 'oukou } \text{ I ka } \text{ po } \]
\[ You during the night, \]
\[ Owau \text{ nei } \text{ la ke } \text{ ao } \]
\[ I \text{ during the day,} \]
\[ E \text{ ulu, e } \text{ ulu. } \]
\[ \text{Shall cause it to grow, grow.} \]
The ‘you’ refers to the gods in the realm of the po, and the ‘i’ to man on earth. The gods, in their realm, and man in his, can help growth. Plants grow upwards, towards the realms of the gods, which are often envisioned as being the realms of light. Growth was associated with light, and also the making of land. They are both symbolically associated with knowledge.

For example, in my two examples of the creation of land, on Kaua‘i and the Big Island, I concentrate on the coming-into-being of places on the coastline. David Malo (1951: 7) called the coasts of an island, ao. This literally means ‘light light’. It contrasts with the po, the realm of the gods. Ao is also the word for ‘world’ or ‘earth’. This describes the world that must be grown, through such activities as planting the land and planting oneself - for instance through ritual, mythology and naming places. Sex education lessons in Polynesia traditionally took place on beaches and I believe this is because their eventual purpose was to result in conception, the making of a new person or a new land. The word ao occurs frequently in the context of human creation. For example, the ritual of bonding for the sake of procreation was called ho‘ao, or to ‘make light’ (Gutmanis 1983: 45). Ao is also a word used to describe consciousness in Hawai‘i, as well as ‘world’. This goes with the seventh definition of ‘land’ in the Oxford English Dictionary as ‘realm, sphere, domain’. Again, there is a sense is that the world one sees is the world perceives.

In this section I have explored how the world was believed to come into being through movement-with-direction, the sky and the earth separated and the Polynesian islands were born. Many gods and godlings inhabit the worlds, largely keeping to their own domain of the po. But creation has not been frozen in the chant of the Kumulipo. Many Hawaiians continue to believe they need to continue to create today, create the desired land of Hawai‘i. Some Hawaiian festivals, such as the Makahiki, recreate the original creation and I discuss them further in Sections 4.8 and 5.4. Gods are believed to be able to influence the growth of plants on earth, as
shown in Gutmanis’ example of the prayer. I have stated how growth occurs towards something, one’s perspective is altered, and the world one conceives is different. The place of the gods is associated with light and the gaining of wisdom. It is gained through the making of land, and the making of the body. This is the key to regeneration.

3.4 The Tone in Stone

Hele aku nei e ‘imi I ka ‘ilī‘ilī hānaa o Kōloa
Went to seek the pebbles that give birth at Kōloa

Hawaiian proverb no. 731 (Pukui 1983).

In this section I shall explore the importance of stones. I shall show that they have significances in many different dimensions of life. For instance they can be seen as ‘holding the knowledge of the unseen’ and also as transmitters of knowledge about it. Thus, in a sense, they can represent the hidden meanings of worlds. Through this role, stones are thought to have the ability to grow and change the physical world.

Stones are very important in Hawai‘i. David Malo described 58 different kinds of stones ‘and no doubt there are many other stones’:

The ancients applied to various hard, or mineral, substances the term pohaku, rocks or stones. A rocky cliff was called pali-pohaku; a smaller boulder or mass of rock would be termed pohaku uuku iho. The term aa was applied to stones of a somewhat smaller size. Below them came ili ili or pebbles. When of still smaller size, such as gravel or sand, the name one was applied (Malo 1951: 19, 20).
Stones had many material uses. It is hard to find a realm where they were not utilized. They were used in cooking, building temples, marking boundaries, worshipping gods, weaponry and as ornaments. New Zealand jade, known as greenstone or *pounamu*, remains the most valuable.

The New Zealand Maori writer Keri Hulme told me she always wears greenstone (personal communication 1996). It is associated with ancient times, she wrote (1992: 17):

> I have a stone that once swam  
> strange, warm ancient seas

A lump of *pounamu* I was given is very valuable to me, and often sits on my desk when I write.

Stones were also powerful transmitters of knowledge. For example, the *Whare wananga*, or schools of learning in New Zealand, were always associated with stones, thought to contain the original knowledge of the Great God Io. Best wrote about that in those houses, there:

> would be buried at the base of the rearmost post supporting the ridgepole some object, generally a stone, that was known as a *whatu*. This served as a *mauri* or talisman for the house. It acted as an abiding place, a kind of shrine, for the gods under whose protection the house had been placed; it preserved the welfare of all connected with it, and of all proceedings connected with it. In at least some cases a few hairs, plucked from the heads of the priests conducting the ritual connected with the building of the house, were buried with the stone. In other cases a lizard was so buried.

> At the base of the rearmost post alluded to was the most *tapu* spot of the *Whare wananga*: it was known as the *ahurewa*. At this place was performed any ceremony performed over the scholars, and here were kept a number of small stones used in the rites pertaining to the establishment. These small stones were used for a very singular purpose, for we are told that one was given to each pupil, who placed it in his mouth and retained it there while listening to the lectures of the adepts whom we may term the professors of the School of Learning. In some cases a small stone was handed to each scholar who had passed the examination test, and he had to swallow it during the performance of a religious function (Best 1924 I: 70).
Roberts and Wills (1998: 51) described the names of the stones. The white-coloured one which was swallowed was called *Hukatai*, which means ‘sea foam’, one of two given to *Tane* by *Io* when he received the baskets of knowledge. Upon graduation, the student repeated the ritual with the second red-coloured stone, called *Rehutai*, ‘sea spray’.

The act of swallowing symbolizes the transition from knowledge to wisdom through a process of ingestion, while the names of the stones convey the metaphor of a canoe journey. White sea foam generated in the wake of a canoe represents the accumulation of knowledge as facts picked up along the way. At the end of the journey, the rays of sunrise piercing the spray at the bow of the canoe represent the spiritual experience of illumination when the knowledge is integrated into the center of one’s being (Marsden and Henare 1992 quoted in Roberts and Wills 1998: 51, 52).

In some Native American traditions ‘the stone people’ are known as the ‘keepers of knowledge’. I believe stones are used, because they are the best material symbol possible on earth to represent the unchanging knowledge of *Io*. Indeed one Maori gentleman reported:

> The great aim of the *Whare wananga* was to pass on old-time lore unchanged to succeeding generations. Any deviation from olden teachings was black treason (Best 1924: 71).

In some districts, scholars kept a stone in their mouths while listening to the lectures, and were given a fragment after they had passed the final examinations:

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36 The addition of hair and a lizard is also interesting. Hair is traditionally associated with sacredness: a very powerful lady of Maui told me she always collects her hair after she gets it cut and buries it at the back of her house, because she does not want anyone else to have access to the mana it contains. One informant told me the lizard is traditionally associated with the Pleiades, which he said is the home of ‘old knowledge’.
This stone was called the *Whatu whakahoro*, and it had to be swallowed at a certain stage of an intoned invocation. The swallowing of the fragment of stone, we are told, had the effect of stabilizing the acquired knowledge (Best 1924 I: 75).

Another small stone, termed a *Whatu kairangi* was given to each scholar and always retained (Best 1924 I: 75). For the stone was believed to continue to affect one. He described the function of another stone given in the School of Learning in the Whanganui district, the *whatu whakatara*, as told to him in 1876, by Topia Turoa, a chief of the district. This stone should be placed under one's pillow at night and an invocation said. The invocation makes it clear that the *mauri* or life force may change and grow (Best 1924 I: 77).

There are many other examples of stones which induce growth (Kanahele 1992: 82):

Erect stones, standing near springs, presumably phallic, were called *Pohaku a Kāne*, or stones of Kāne. Springs were a primary source of water for irrigating taro. On the shrine consecrated to the inducing of growth *Hoʻonuuluʻai at Pakini* which was dedicated to Kāne and stood in the midst of taro plantations on the rain-and-dew watered plains of eastern Kaʻu, there is an erect stone on which we discovered a petroglyph designed to induce birth. This we assume to have been a *Pohaku a Kāne*.

The word Kāne [or Tane] means both male and man. Kāne is generally the term which refers to the male fertilizing factor, element or agency in nature. It is the linguistic symbol for the pantheistic procreative force, precisely what Kāne, as the name of a deity or entity, embodied.

The result of the stone growing is fertility. Indeed stones are associated with fertility, the stone *Kauleonāhōa* [the penis of Nanahoa] on the island of Molokaʻi is said to make any woman who sits on it have a child (Plates 3.1 and 3.2). There were believed to be both male and female
stones, told apart by their characteristics. The stones themselves could transform. Some stones are believed to be so fertile, they can even give birth. At Punalu‘u, on the Big Island, I was told by Raymond Dedman that if you took a male and female stone and looked after them properly they would give birth to a smaller ‘bebi stone’ (personal communication 1994). When I asked what ‘looking after it properly’ meant, I was told chanting to it daily, massaging it with oil and wrapping it in the finest kapa cloth. It may also mean covering it with a lei, and many stones at Punalu‘u had their garland of flowers. Looking after a stone properly is as hard work as looking after a baby and some stones are believed to be just as demanding.

For the stone, like a baby, needs to grow. Like a baby, it needs to grow with the correct direction. One may expect the hidden meanings of the word to be important, and indeed they are. The word for stone, pōhaku, has the tools for transformation within it. It is the breath, ha, from the unseen pō, that transforms the power of Ku [standing upright] to the power of Kāne.

I discuss this process in the next section. The transformation is aided by the stone being dedicated to Kāne, therefore the name Kāne is chanted whenever one was in conscious contact with it. This was my experience with stones in Polynesia, they were all, without exception referred to as Pohaku a Kāne, the stone of Kāne, even if they had another name. Ultimately they are dedicated to the place where Kāne lives and knowledge resides, the heavens:

The Stone of Kāne was called a pu‘uhonua, and ‘a gate to heaven,’ puka no ka lani. It was the kuahu, altar, where men talked to the [family] gods; where men were freed from defilement and wrongdoing; a place at which to ask the gods for blessings (Kamakau 1991a: 33).

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37 ‘Stones were understood to possess gender. Male stones include solid rock, ‘a‘a lava (coarse and crumbly), and column-shaped or long stones ... Female stones include porous rocks, pahoehoe (smooth-flowing) lava, loaf-shaped or round stones, and rocks split with hollows (Cunningham 1995: 107).

38 Punalu‘u was famous for its ‘birthing stones’. ‘Placing a male stone with a female stone and keeping them either wrapped in kapa (bark cloth) or under water will result in the birth of pebbles, which might grow to become large rocks. These were then used, after proper ceremonies, as figures of the akua’ (Cunningham 1995: 107).
Some examples of stones being used in the communication between gods and men is found in the monograph *Pohaku, Hawaiian stones* by June Gutmanis (undated). One stone at *Wahiawa* comes from *Kaukonahua* gulch:

The two stones stayed along the stream bank until some time in the early 1900s when the road through *Kaukonahua* was being widened. During construction a large stone was dislodged and thrown to the side of the road. That night the *haole* [non-Polynesian] supervisor, George Galbraith, had a dream about the stone. According to his own account, he heard a voice that kept repeating, ‘You have my feet up and my head down, please turn me around’. When he awakened he recognized the stone in his dream as the one he had moved to the side of the road. Haunted by the dream, Galbraith had his workmen turn the stone over. Two old Hawaiian men who helped turn over the stone told the supervisor that the name of the stone was *Kaniniulaokalani* and that it was held a legendary spirit that should be cared for. Out of respect for the old men’s belief, Galbraith had a bullock cart move the stone to the clearing at *Kukaniloko heiau* [temple] (Gutmanis undated: 8).

This story illustrates how stones need to be placed ‘in the right position’. For one of their roles is to *kau*, ‘place’, ‘demarcate’. It may be expected that one of the things they place and demarcate is the land, and indeed they do. I discuss examples in Sections 4.2 and 4.4.

To sum up, stones have many roles in Hawai‘i, so many it is difficult to initially comprehend. One thing I never heard was: “leave it, it’s only a rock”. Quite the opposite. Stones may act as both the container and transmitter of knowledge. They are associated with fertility, both of humans and the land. They are believed to have the ability to change and grow, and so in turn influence humans, in acts of reciprocal seeding. In this they act like the gods in the realm of the *po*. Stones, like the gods, can help with ‘placing’ and ‘direction’. Hence they are important in ‘growing place’ and I shall show examples of that throughout this dissertation.
In the next section I show how the growth of a plant is compared to the growth of the human body. It is preparation for the later sections on place names, where the growth of plants can represent the growth of humans.

3.5 Growing the Body

_He hale ke kino no ka mana‘o_
The body is a house for thoughts

(Kanahele 1992: 244)

In this section I shall explore the gods of Hawai‘i, and the way each god is believed to be represented by a ‘body’ of thoughtforms, that surrounds the physical body of the human being.
I shall also explain how the human body may be conceived of as being both physical and metaphysical, and braided with the bodies of the gods. Then I shall look at the association between the human body and the plant, in terms of situating it concerning the growth of place.
Then I look at the necessity for growth with direction.

Now the concept of the body needs to be redefined. In the West the body is conceived of as an autonomous entity, possibly containing one soul (if one is a Christian). After death the body is not to believed to reincarnate, or ‘grow again’ around the soul. This is not the case in Hawai‘i.

The soul and body were considered as different entities in Hawaiian thought (Beckwith 1976: 144). In this dissertation I am going to assume one soul, and several bodies (as I shall explain); although for reasons of ease of understanding, I usually talk about ‘body’ rather than ‘bodies’. Other writers may assume one body and several souls. There is no contradiction here. In my representation, the body, _kino_, is merely the outgrowth of the soul. Dr. Serge King described it
as 'an intensely energized thoughtform' (King 1983: 89). In one dimension, it may conceived of as being the 'out-growth' of one's perception. One's soul is believed to have many reincarnations, and in each one on earth, the body needs to be 'grown'. One of the ways it can be grown is through the power of 'place' or 'placing' as I explore in the next chapter.

Now I am going to explore two of the ways the body may be conceived of as needing to be 'grown' towards the gods. In one, the human being can be imagined as being surrounded by the 'greater bodies' of the gods: Kū, Lono and Kane, which can also be conceived of as minds. They surround the human body in ever-increasing concentric circles; Kū closest to the human and Kane furthest away (Figure 3.1). Humans reach the gods by travelling symbolically through each body. The body of Kane may be thought of as gauzy and golden, the body of Lono a little thicker and very stretchy, and Kū is thick, dark and dense, the closest to the more unaware human body. The quality of light stands for the quality of knowledge, hence Kane is conceived of as having a different kind of knowledge from Kū. The goal is to reach the 'light body' of Kane. Many Hawaiians believe that the thoughts one sends affect the 'body' one reaches - and in turn feed back into the materialized body one creates through those thought-forms. Therefore, perception may lead to the materialization of the human body.

In another image, the gods can also be conceived of as beings of different qualities of light. Here they can be imaged as each letting down a cord to 'feed' the human foetus. These cords can be imaged as being interwoven to form one big cord, and may be similar to the umbilical cord. Then they metaphysically 'cut' the cord, and the humans are 'set free' to grow back on their own towards the gods. Humans do this by building their internal power in the image of each god, as I discuss in Section 3.11. The solidified thought form metaphysically connected to each god shoots forth; travelling upwards towards its source. Here too, perception leads to creation.

In this chapter I have sections on the role of the word, which may conceived of as a corded covenant binding gods and man, and the role of mana, the enabling force.
In both these interpretations, the human body is both a metaphysical and a physical
construction. The metaphysical is believed to come first, then the physical. This must then be
re-blended with the essence of the gods, and this is achieved by ‘growing back’ towards them,
however this is done. One of the ways this can happen is through place, and in my sections on
the creation of place, I shall explore through place names how first place is metaphysically
‘imaged’, then ‘conceived’, then ‘grown’; the strands of the gods being braided together around
the first direction of thoughtform, like the strands of the human body are woven around the
soul. These two interpretations are not contradictory, rather they provide an illustration of
Ricoeur’s answer being ‘yes’ and ‘yes’ as I discussed in Section 1.5.

Now I shall look at how the human body and the plant may be conceived of as being the same.
The gods are a parent, or makua to the human. Makua also means the ‘main stalk of a plant’,
and many Hawaiians say they help humans move towards the ‘main stalk’ of the god Kāne.
Kāne can also be translated as the blueprint from which the other minds ‘grow’. Indeed, the
human body can be imaged as being like a plant. The next diagram shows the parts of the sweet
potato plant (Figure 3.2). I was very interested to find that each of the words in the diagram
above also refers to some part of the human body. For example, mole, ‘tap root’ also means
‘ancestral root’; i‘o or ‘flesh’ is the word used for human flesh (and figuratively for a relative);
maka or ‘bud’ means ‘eye’ and ka, ‘vine’ means ‘pelvic bone’. A planter may identify with his
plants.39

39 ‘The stems were exposed to the sunshine that shone down on the farmer, causing his lungs to flutter
with joy. He rejoiced in his labors, as he saw the banana stalks bent over with the weight of their fruit,
the tall bunches of sugar cane with their ripened stalks tied together lest they become uprooted by the
wind, and the wauke [mulberry] plants luxuriant as the candlenut tree. Moved with delight, he leaped
with joy; and at night as he rested he thought of them with happiness and desire, as a lover of his beloved
one. His hands were eager to grasp his o‘o [digging stick]. As he slept through the night, his hands
throbbed to till the soil. When the morning star arose, the farmer’s o‘o was heard thumping amid the
rocky soil, as he made mounds and dug holes for planting’ (Kamakau 1992: 29, 30).
But growth on its own would not be enough. Growth with direction is also needed. The theme of direction is one of the most important in this dissertation. To show its importance, I look at two kinds of spirits, thought to live in the ‘space’ between the skies and the earth. ‘Aumākua or ancestral spirits were believed to help humans grow back towards the gods. Ghosts, on the other hand, are wandering souls, who represent an example not to follow. They are differentiated from the ancestral spirits because they lack direction. The role of direction is associated with hidden meanings in names, because there are always many perceptions to choose from. Therefore conception, and thus creation, may be different according to perception.

First it must be understood that, according to many Polynesians, what is actualized is only a tiny part of what is available. Therefore direction is needed to bring the desired outcome into being. For example some Hawaiians believe we are surrounded by ‘a sea of souls’. Melville described them as ‘tiny effervescent sparks, scintillating with phosphorescent brilliance’ (Melville 1969: 2). Only a few of those gleaming souls will choose to become infused with life on earth, and I discuss this process of choosing and incarnation further in the sections on Kaua‘i in the next chapter. Indeed, the use of place names compares this process to the choosing of hidden meanings in the word.

Many Hawaiians believe there are spirits known as ‘aumākua, who are the ‘guardian spirits’, one’s family who have gone out of flesh. They can be seen as ‘the guiding lights’ of the gods. Hence they can be conceived as inhabiting a space above humans, but below the ‘high gods’. Every Hawaiian family has their own. Lee and Willis discussed the ‘aumākua of their family on Moloka‘i:

There were many clans in ancient days, each with its own color and its own ‘aumakua. There was the shark family with its colors of grey. There was the shell clan who wore a dark red, and the owl family who wore kapa [tapa cloth] of browns. The thunder clan of Maui wore only the darkest black (Lee and Willis 1990: 18).
The role of 'aumakua is to protect their family. Unlike ghosts, the 'aumakua move with
direction, and this direction was considered to bring greater life. Here is this ho'ola or 'life-
giving' prayer addressed to the 'aumakua (Malo 1951: 11):

No 'aumakua mai ka la hiki a ka la kau!  Ye 'aumakua from the rising to the
Mai ka hookui a ka halawai  setting of the sun!
Na aumakua ia ka hīna kua, ia ka hīna alo!  From zenith to the horizon!
Ia kaa akau i ka lani!  Ye ancestral deities who stand at our
O kiha i ka lani  back, and at our front!
Owe i ka lani  Ye gods who stand at our right hand!
Nunulu I ka lani  A breathing in the heavens,
Kaholo I ka lani!  An utterance in the heavens,
          A clear, ringing voice in the heavens,
          A voice reverberating in the heavens!

The 'aumakua contrast with the undesirable influence of ghosts. The difference is that ghosts
lack direction. The first place, Mānā, I shall look at in Section 4.10 on Kaua‘i, was said to be
filled with ghosts:

since so many ghosts get lost or wandered about dazed, people who lived
in Mānā built their houses with gables facing east and west so that the
doors opened to the north or south. Spirits, who seemingly could only
move in a straight line, would hit against the gable ends of the house and
pass around it, instead of through the door where they would bump
against the other inside wall and be unable to continue - and become

According to my interpretation, there were so many ‘wandering souls’, because their decision to
incarnate had not yet been made. Houses were usually built facing east, because they were built
for humans. But in Mānā houses opened to the north and south. North to south is only for the
gods and the ghosts, the direction east to west is for humans. I shall explore those significances
more fully in the discussion of directionality in Section 4.2.
In this part, I have looked at how the human body in Hawai‘i cannot be conceived as a separate entity. It is fluid and changeable, continually interacting with the ‘bodies’ or ‘minds’ of the gods, and it can also be compared to the plant. Several philosophical constructs have to be ‘in place’ for these representations to be effective. For example thought-forms and bodies should be considered inter-connected, which the concept of *kinolau*, or ‘many bodies’ provides for in Hawai‘i. Gods and man should not be considered significantly different in kind, merely in degree. Man needs to grow back towards the gods, but needs to do so with the appropriate direction. These ideas have great relevance to the growth of ‘place’, which needs to be planted. For the gods are believed to be able to ‘seed’ the human, and humans are believed to be able to seed ‘place’. This is a reciprocal interchange, which then ‘feeds back’ into the awareness of the gods, and humans. Hence the body of the human, the plant and the body of place is grown.

Now I shall look at how the power of the word is believed to be able to materialize. I image it as being like a cord, thus following on from my second description about how the bodies of the gods may be imagined as interwoven with the bodies of the human. I shall show how the word may be conceived of as having the ability to do this.

3.6 Shaping the Word

*I ka ‘ōlelo no ke ʻola, I ka ‘ōlelo no ka make.*
In the word was life, in the word was death.

(Pukui 1983: Hawaiian proverb no. 1191)

In this section, I look at how words themselves can be thought of as inducing growth. Because of the amount of *kaona* or hidden meanings within them, which I shall also examine, I see them acting as containers of knowledge, like the stone, which may then be interpreted in different
ways. This can be, and has been, represented in material form in the ‘gourd game’ in Hawai‘i, and other games throughout Polynesia, as I shall show.

Words exhibit materiality in Hawai‘i. This is similar to the Pentecostal ‘Word’ movement in Uppsala, Sweden, whose adherents believe words create reality and so:

appear to collapse distinctions between the symbolic and the real, the metaphorical and the material. In the process, words are seen to take on many of the qualities of things. People talk of ‘walking on the Word’ as if it were a solid foundation for physical as well as spiritual support ... It is said that to repeat sacred words is not to render them banal, but rather to give more potential to influence the world, as if one were accumulating quantities of a given resource (Coleman 1996: 112).

Likewise, the word has a ‘shadowy body’, which is insubstantial until it is breathed into, or magnetized by mana. The word is conceived of as growing outwards, like a cord, or worm, then attaching itself to its goal. So prayer is believed to work.

Some other societies share this idea about the importance of words. For example, in the Trobriand Islands:

at special times, the force of magic is perceived necessary to effect one’s will over others. Under those circumstances, words and objects are thought to take on extraordinary qualities of weightiness and rarity. These qualities differ in degree rather than in kind from the use of words and objects in everyday interactions (Weiner 1984: 163).

But I believe what is unique about Hawai‘i is the amount of kaona or hidden meanings in the words. I am going to explore an example of this in one seven-letter Hawaiian word, and then
give a game in which they were embodied. Then I will discuss their significance in terms of the choosing of meaning or 'perception'.

It is now appropriate that I give some examples of the many hidden meanings to be found in one word. The explanation must be a long one, because the hidden meanings are a fundamental part of my work on place names and I want to show how many there are.

_Kaona[hidden meanings] of the word Makali'i_

The word has a whole has three main meanings:

_Makali'i_  
'the Pleiades star-system'  
'the collective name for the six summer months'  
'tiny', 'very small', 'fine', 'wee', 'small-meshed', 'narrow wefts', as of a net.

Then the word is broken down into separate words:

_maka_  
'eye'  
'face'  
'beloved'  
'point'  
'bud'  
'protuberance'  
'centre of a flower'  
'nipple'  
'sharpedge or blade of an instrument'  
'point of a fishhook'  
'source'  
'any new plant shoot coming up'  
'mesh of a net'  
'raw as of fish'  
'unripe'  
'canoe bow and stern'  
'a seaweed'  
'a variety of sweet potato'

_li'i_  
'small', 'tiny'  
can be short for _ali'i_ or 'chief'
Or one can take the word *makali'i* apart another way:

*ma* is a preposition meaning ‘an indefinite locative’

*ka* ‘the’

*li'i* ‘chiefs’

Thus *makali'i* is ‘the indefinite location of the chiefs’

Then one can lengthen the vowels of the word *makali'i*. Thus one produces *kahakō* or macrons over the vowels, which gives a longer sound, and alters the meaning.

*ma* ‘faded’

‘wilted’

‘discoloured’

‘defeated’

*ma* may also be short for eye, mesh, or desire, and mean exclusiveness in the first person dual and plural pronouns.

*māka* ‘mark’

‘blaze’

‘target’

*mākā* ‘a kind of stone’

*li* ‘chills’, ‘to have chills’, ‘to tremble with cold’

‘lace’, as of shoes, ‘to lace or tie’

to ‘hang’, ‘gird’, ‘furl’ or ‘reef’, as a sail

‘prefix to many kinds of seaweeds’

‘tight’, ‘difficult to extract’

‘frown’

‘to move swiftly’ (in a variant found on Kaua‘i)

‘lost, as old knowledge’
Doubling the vowels, as the Hawaiians did in their word games, gives another range of meanings:

maʻa
- ‘accustomed’
- ‘knowing thoroughly’
- ‘to cast a stone in a sling’
- ‘the string of a musical instrument’

māʻā
- ‘bad smelling’

Then the individual syllables of makaliʻi may also be doubled:

mama
- ‘chew’

kaka
- ‘rinse’
- ‘clean’
- ‘arched’, ‘curving from end to end as top of a canoe’
- ‘cluster’
- ‘bow for shooting arrows’
- ‘deep sea fishing with weighted line’

lili
- ‘jealous’
- ‘blasted, as fruit’

līlī
- ‘here and there’
- ‘piecemeal’
- ‘a little at a time’
- ‘diminutive’
- ‘infantile’
- ‘little’

Then one can also add macrons to the doubled syllables:

māmā
- ‘fast’, ‘speedy of movement’
- ‘light of weight’
- ‘eased of pain, ache or distress’

kākā
- ‘strike, as flint and steel’
- ‘to hit broiled breadfruit with a stick’
- ‘to remove the blackened skin’
- ‘to kick and flail the arms as an angry child’
Further extensions of meaning can be found by adding various vowels to the individual syllables:

- maʻo  'green'
- kaʻu  'my', 'mine'
  'hesitation', 'fear'

Kaʻū  name of district on the island of Hawaiʻi containing Kilauea volcano.

Then one can add even more vowels:

- māʻāʻā  'to reach out, as a baby or an octopus'

Or one may use makalii as an anagram, and switch syllables around:

- kamaliʻi  'children', 'progeny'

Or lengthen vowels giving altered meanings:

- kamālīʻi  'royal child'

One may also substitute letters:

- makakiʻi  'image face'
  'flirtatious eyes'

Forms 'sprouting' out of the anagram will also help explain the word:

- kamalino  'a variety of sweet potato'.

That was a long list of some of the hidden meanings of the word Makalii and ways to decode them. The principle of hidden meanings is well known in Hawaiʻi, even if it is not discussed. Roselle Bailey told me: “When you're on your own looking up words, look at every
combination, for it gives you every aspect of the combination". When I asked why it is relevant to look at every aspect, she said “because every aspect of the word is in the word”.

This knowledge, contained in coded form, was structured in such a way that the knowledge would survive as long as the language was in use. Some people believe it is very important. For example Dr. Brigham, former curator at the Bishop Museum, spent many years trying to work out the knowledge. No-one told him the key and he died without having found it. The answer was left to his young assistant. Max Freedom Long described how he found the ‘missing link’ years after he left Hawai‘i:

In California I continued half-heartedly to watch for any new psychological discovery that might again open up the problem. None came. Then, in 1935, quite unexpectedly, I awakened in the middle of the night with an idea that led directly to the clue which was eventually to give the answer. If Dr. Brigham had been alive he certainly would have joined me in a scarlet flush of embarrassment. Both of us had overlooked a clue so simple and so obvious that it had continually passed unnoticed. It was the pair of spectacles pushed up on the forehead while we hunted for hours unable to find them.

The idea that had struck me in the middle of the night was that the kahunas [experts] must have had names for the elements in their magic. Without such names they could not have handed down their lore from one generation to the next (Long 1948:16).

These names always contain hidden meanings. Lest it seem this idea is a bit far-fetched, I wish to show how they were embodied in objects hidden inside a gourd, in a ‘gourd-game’. My idea is that the gourd stands for the ‘body’ of the word, and the objects hidden inside it stand for the kaona or hidden meanings.

First a look at the games themselves, which were played out through material forms, the contestant carrying a travelling-type gourd, full of different objects. Riddling competitions
were popular in the chiefly courts of Kaua‘i and some other islands of Polynesia. Among the Maori of New Zealand: ‘Riddlers must be well informed in the names of plants and stars. Geographical knowledge was important’ (Beckwith 1976: 462). In Tahiti, the study of enigmas and similes, called paraupiri, was a favourite past-time in the schools (1976: 462). In the Marquesas contests of wit were held between the masters of learning and the defeated tuhuna [kahuna] was killed (Handy 1930: 106-107). Beckwith described the games in Hawai‘i:

In such a contest high stakes are set, even life itself. In more homely usage the art consists in betting on a riddle to be guessed, in a brag upon which the opponent has been induced to put up a bet, or in merely playing with language in a way to entangle the opponent with contradictory and seemingly impossible meanings. Puns were delighted in as a way of matching an opponent or fulfilling a brag. Taunts after the manner of ‘stringing’ a less sophisticated rival must be met with a jibe more bitter. One series of objects of a kind must be matched with another, or a forgotten item, no matter how trivial, added. One object proposed must be met with another analogous in every detail, or its antithesis. A spider web is thus matched with the dodder vine ... the contestant being careful in every case to follow exactly the words of his opponent, which he must show to apply equally well to the parallel he has chosen. Real knowledge is necessary for such a contest (Beckwith 1976: 455).

The objects must be matched through some sort of a connection in the hidden meanings of their names. Knowing meanings could literally be a matter of life and death - the Hawaiians still love gambling, and it is outlawed in Hawai‘i, but Las Vegas is one of the cities with the greatest Hawaiian population.

I believe the gourd, as well as representing the body of the word, also represents the god Lono, the god of consciousness and growth, who appears many times in this dissertation. It is one of his kinolau or ‘many bodies’ (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991: 219). This example also illustrates the way the body was not considered a discrete entity. The gourd can also represent the earth. For example, the Pule Ipu, or prayer to Lono, I talk more about in Section 3.11,
includes the line (Pukui 1972: 98): *O ka ipu ka honua nui nei;* ‘The great world is a gourd’. As I showed in the example of the word *ao*, in Section 3.3, it means ‘consciousness’ as well as ‘world’. I do not believe a link to perception is too big a leap to make.

Now I wish to return to the distinction I made in the introduction between the body and embodiment. In it, I compare them to conception and perception. The gourd is the conception of the world, and the objects within it represent possible perceptions. When one is chosen, and the others ignored, then it is ‘embodied’ and becomes one’s perspective. Hence, in a sense, one’s interpretation of the word-world, or ‘embodiment’ is believed to grow one’s literal body. It may also grow place.

Now I will look at an example of how one needs to work to create appropriately through the word. For many believe the worm-like, or gourd-like, body of the word needs to be placed on a firm foundation and infused with the appropriate energies. Roselle’s speech in 1999 was about that subject. The foundation of words is based on several principles. *Mālama*, the act of nurturing or caring, gives the word energy. *Kūpono*, honesty, is essential as a basis for the word. *Kōkua*, often translated as ‘help’, Roselle translated as ‘we are the forceful foundation with the forceful spiritual humanity of enlightenment’. This refers to the way humanity is believed to be ‘clearing the path’ towards the light, an ancient Hawaiian belief now often embraced by those known as ‘New Agers’. *Mā’a hana* means ‘to work’. These definitions are

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40 For example *ho‘ōhiki*, keeping one’s word, is a sign of one’s integrity. *Ke ho‘opo‘a nei a I ka‘u ‘ōe, ‘I give my word’, was a binding pledge with greater force than a legal contract today. The sanction on a broken promise could be fatal, in a land where magic was believed to be in constant use. The effect of *ho‘ōhiki* on Hawaiian behaviour is still evident. Social workers connected with the Queen Lili‘uokalani Children’s Center, for example, have reported their Hawaiian clients’ reticence to promise to keep a definite appointment or to make specific pledges because of a deep fear of punishment for failing to keep their word (Kanahele 1992: 410). Honesty is also important. *Kupono*, honest, combines two words: *Kū* in this case meaning in a state of, resembling; and *pono*, meaning rectitude, uprightness, or goodness. Thus *kupono* means literally means being a condition of *pono* (Kanahele 1992: 411).

41 For example, Hawaiians ‘knew that the path to the light of the High Self is through the unconscious, and that the clearing of blocks of negative emotions, guilt, fixations and complexes in the unconscious [Kū] allows a function and communication at this level. They contended that the High Self *faumakua* is
interesting because they illustrate the way the word needs to be ‘fed’ with mālama, while built on a good foundation of kūpono. The repetition of work is necessary to bring the word to life, and kōkua or help gives the word correct direction.

In Hawaiian, every word and syllable ends with a vowel (here defined as a, e, i, o and u), as I discussed in Section 1.5. Each word and syllable has different meanings, which the length of the vowel affects. The vowels are the agents of change (Bartlett 1991: Appendix B). Roselle told me that the macron, the long sound found in chants, literally ‘drags out’ the power of the word and helps to bring creation into being. The macron may also create the plural form, as I discussed it’s function with ‘aumakua, the singular form, or ‘aumākua, the plural one.

Roselle detailed the individual vowels and the differences between them: “O is the first vowel and is the foundation upon which we stand, earth and birth. It is kūkulu [the pillars which hold up the sky] the site, the fruit, the mālama [care] that nourishes the fruit, it is recognition and gratitude”. Emotion is interwoven with the principle of creation, reflecting the belief of many Hawaiians that it needs to be infused into every aspect of life. Roselle said the next vowel is i, which stands for fresh water (as opposed to the salt water of the oceans) flowing into a gourd-like bowl. It shows the effect of kanawai, the ‘laws of life’, and well as ola ‘life’. It also means kainu, ‘to replenish’. Then u gives assessment and charge. It fills the bowl with the force of spiritual humanity that is known as mana. It gives papalani, ‘independence’ through aloha, ‘love’, and ho‘olulu, ‘inspiration’. Then there is a which “takes the water to give it life”. It also

an utterly trustworthy spirit self who is there to guide and help us when we ask - but we have to ask. When this connection to High Self is open it is said that the blessings of Heaven rain down upon one ...’ (Chiles 1995: 171, 172).

Kristin Zambucka wrote similarly about the lower mind or body of Kū and the ‘aumakua:
‘It must be controlled ... but also befriended
For it can lead you home
It is the messenger of God ...
The gift of mana and prayer must rise without obstruction on an invisible beam to the higher power where it will materialize ...’ (Zambucka N.D.: 10).
stands for the sun and fire. It talks about the importance of *lama*, ‘teaching’ and *ma’o*, ‘accustomed knowledge’. It warns that mastery is not enough and if one *kōkua*, ‘helps’, then knowledge will *kama*, ‘increase’. The last vowel, *e*, gives rhythm: “It gives the *mana’o*, the feeling or thought one feels when one breathes in, *hana*, and out, *leo*, using the voice. Through it one can *pa*, touch or be in rhythm. It is *kamakani* or ‘the wind’”. She went on to say, in a comment that shows the importance of interfusing emotion with feeling: “Nutrients are carried through the sea-breezes, or *ehukai*. We are revelling in the rhythm of the glow of love, the wonder we are love”. Roselle told me (personal communication 1999) that studying the word and giving it life through the breath is ‘an enlightenment of the act of the creation’.

To summarize, sound can be conceived of as creating the word-world around one through the vowels. It may be through preparing the foundation (*o*), through the force from above flowing into a gourd-like bowl (*i*), the charge of the force (*u*), the firing and the passing on of the force (*a*) or the direction and repetition of the force (*e*). This is considered very powerful knowledge and one of the keys as to how words are believed to create in Hawai‘i. One of my informants told me the word is the agent of growth, because it directed the sacred breath of the body, which originally came to us from beyond the body, through the bodies of the gods. I discuss an example of this in Section 4.2. Through the word one always has a choice, to become closer or further away from the gods. That growth must be directed. Direction is achieved by choosing which form of the word to activate through the chanted breath. Each word has many hidden meanings, and the meanings vary according to both pronunciation and interpretation.

Thus, the word itself gives choice. Roselle told me there are always at least two forms of the word, those that create and those that dissolve power. For example in English ‘to decree’, means to make something come into being, but broken down another way it means to ‘de-cree’, or disbelieve. Many Hawaiian cultures believe that there are always at least two ways a word can be directed, because it is a ‘free will’ world. One deals with different emotional qualities
through the word. For instance the word *paili* or ‘cliff’ means an obstacle. It also contains the means of overcoming it, by travelling to get a different view from the ‘*aumakua* or high self. I discuss some of the significances of this in terms of the cliff in Section 4.9, and the ‘*aumakua* in Section 5.2. The direction of the word is believed to be important, and affects the direction of ‘placing’. One may, or may not, be figuratively moving towards the source of light.

In this section I have looked at how the word may be conceived of having a power of its own. I have commented that the word is associated with creation, and shown how one Hawaiian believes it must be based on the correct foundation because this is essential to create consciously in the desired way. I have looked at some ways the word can ‘help grow’, such as through the vowels and their different meanings. I have continued to look at the necessity to direct this growth because of the many hidden meanings within Hawaiian words. When one remembers that Hawaiian has the longest words in the world, the meanings become almost infinite. One must not forget that one can only see what one perceives, not what ‘is there’. The Hawaiian language is very rich in hidden meanings and there will always be a tremendous amount the interpreter misses, because one’s awareness only encompasses some of them. Due to the nature of the transmission of Hawaiian knowledge, which I shall explore in Section 3.8, the person will never be told what they missed. Therefore a humble attitude is essential, for humility must be monitored by oneself, not by others - who may only make their disapproval explicit by withholding information. They are invoking the power of silence, which I shall explore next.
Silence is ‘filled with meaning for both the spirit and mind’.

(Kanahele 1992: 279)

The corollary to the power of words is the power of silence. Silence is part of ‘letting go’, the ‘slicing away’ of undesirable qualities in the transformation of the human body to light. It has great power. In pre-contact Hawai‘i, silence was an established part of religious and educational practices and etiquette in relationships between superiors and inferiors. ‘saying they had an oral culture does not mean that Hawaiians went about babbling endlessly’ (Kanahele 1992: 278). It is important to remember that knowledge was not passed on until one was ready for it. One does not get ready by gossiping and babbling. Words create, and need to be focused with direction. Practice is needed for this control to happen, hence the importance of a period of silence.

In silence there are all possibilities. That is why silence is associated with ʻapo, the land from whence all comes. Silence is also associated with the ‘little people’ called the Menehune I discuss in Section 5.4, said by some to still live in Hawai‘i, reminders of the continent of Lemuria, called Mu or silence (Luomala 1955: 132). Silence, in a culture where words-create-worlds, helps control undesirable outcomes. For example:

Fishing was often done in complete silence. Fishermen did not speak when gathering oysters in ʻEwa [oysters] ‘but gestured to each other like deaf-mutes’. Apparently they maintained silence for fear that if they did speak a gust of wind would ripple the surface of the water and cause the oysters to vanish! (Kanahele 1992: 277).

This quote shows the connection between the different elements in Hawai‘i, that can be drawn together by the word. Lack of words means realms can maintain their separateness, thus
Oysters cannot ‘pick up’ human words, so may be removed from their world, and used and eaten in the human world.

Once words leave the mouth, the hidden meanings ensure many possible outcomes are set in motion. As might be expected, the act of breaking the silence, whether it is through chants, drums, bellstones, or practices such as the hula was considered a very important one. For example, stones were sounded to tell of certain important events. They were utilized by priests of the heiau [temple] at Poli’ahu and Malae on Kaua‘i, to signal each other or to announce the approach of expectant mothers to the birthstone at Holoholoku Heiau (Kanahele 1992: 279). I explain why these heiau were placed on the east side of the island in Section 4.2. It is interesting to note the link between bellstones and maternity heiau. Sound signals new life coming into the world.

The biggest appropriation that can be given by a Hawaiian, even today, is silence. When you do wrong, you will rarely be told what you do wrong; unless people care about you very much, they will ‘shut off’. Wrongdoing, for an intellectual haole, may often mean not having one’s questions infused with emotion. For creation should be accompanied by emotion. But one Hawaiian told me the necessity to accompany words by emotion should not be told, because if people do not ‘get it’ on their own, then they are not ready and the emotion would be false. And so silence may be employed as a weapon. It is worth noting that silence, in a bounded island community, means that idle words do not threaten the social structure.

Ho‘omalu, or ‘to make peace’, also translated as ‘periods of silence’ (Shook 1985: 105) was an essential part of a process called ho‘oponopono. This therapy, which means ‘to make in order’ is based on an ancient Hawaiian practice being resurrected today. Usually restricted to the immediate family, it provides for times of confession and restitution of wrongdoing and mutual
forgiveness. The whole process may be conceived of as ‘clearing the path’ to the gods, who are invoked in the opening prayer, and thanked in the closing prayer. Thus it relates to the ‘clearing the path’ that concerns the word that was briefly discussed in the previous section.

Afterwards there would always be ho‘omalu about the subject (Pukui 1972 I: 62).

If one did not try ho‘oponopono (for example if the hibiu or emotional entanglements were not close enough), the continuation of silence meant that someone had done something that was unforgivable. If one did not work it out on one’s own, one would never know what it was. The worst punishment of all was banishment, which meant that one’s name would never be spoken again. Words could not continue to ‘bring into being’ and the person effectively ceased to exist.

The ultimate power of silence had been invoked. Hence silence could be conceived of as the only law needed in a system which did not depend on the power of the ali‘i, such as on Moloka‘i:

The ali‘i put thieves to death; we did not. The fear of banishment seemed to work for us, for few were ever guilty of stealing. The few that were, during my lifetime, were frightening for me to see. They were told at a meeting of the entire family that from that time forward they did not exist. They would not be spoken to. They would be ignored and even if they were to walk among us, they would not be there. They were now kauwa [outcast]. They were dead to us. In fact, they were less than dead, for we honoured our family in spirit. The outcasts just ceased to be. Some of these people would throw themselves into the sea to die; others left and were not seen again. We never spoke their names, so we could not ask family, or people of other families, if they had been seen. This was an old rule of the family system and not challenged to my knowledge. This law of ceasing to be, was a very powerful one. We needed no other (Lee and Willis 1990: 29).

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For example Mrs. S---- mother was sick. She came for ho‘oponopono. The process removed confusion and resentment, and ended with a prayer from the practitioner, called The Lady (probably to avoid any mention of kahuna). ‘The Lady prayed again to Jehovah God, thanking Him for opening up the way and giving us an answer. And she thanked Jehovah for bringing things out into the clear’ (Pukui 1972 I: 66). Sometimes practitioners today may only call upon God (the Christian God), depending on the cultural context of the participants.
In this section, I have shown that it is necessary to match the power of the word by another power, one of silence. They both work together in order to create desired realities effectively.

Now I shall move on to how explore how knowledge was transmitted. I will show that silence is also an important quality here.

3.8 The Growth of Knowledges

‘Ike no I ka lā o ka ‘ike; mana no I ka lā o ka mana.
Know in the day of knowing; mana in the day of mana.

(Pukui 1983: no. 1212)

The world, for a traditional Hawaiian, can be considered as alive and filled with meaning. The concept of the ‘five senses’ limits the way knowledge is perceived in Hawai‘i. For example, some words to describe them include far more meanings (Meyer 1998: 39):

- **see** *akakū* vision; also a trance or reflection; vision where one is awake
- **see** *hihi‘o* vision; a dream just before sleep or just before awakening
- **hear** *‘ūlāle o* supernatural voice or sound; sacred sound
- **smell** *honi paha‘oha‘o* mysterious smell; smell that cause wonder
- **touch** *‘ili ‘ōuli* skin signs

Knowledge can perhaps best be described as multi-dimensional, for often what one can perceive, is not limited to the world of ‘shared reality’. Of course, this is also the case in other cultures, but the words used in Hawaiian show the preponderance of ‘other ways of seeing’:

Hearing, seeing, touching, and smelling are culturally mediated acts founded on Hawaiian practices and beliefs. In one views a past relative not as a ghost, but as someone to help and guide them through life’s problems and hardships (*‘aumakua* concept), then one this person shows up in a *hihi‘o, akakū* or *‘ūlāle o*, they will be welcomed and listened to (Meyer 1998: 40).
In a sense the word ‘to feel’ can be described by words such as *komo*, ‘to enter’ (I explore this further in my sections on place names) and *Ike* ‘to know’; which I believe show its importance as an encompassing category. For feeling, as I later illustrate, is the basis for correct growth.

Knowledge in Hawai‘i is still considered by many to be a sacred, secret commodity. Because knowledge is hidden, many people believe traditional culture in the islands has disappeared. I explored this point in Section 1.4. Now I shall show how knowledge is believed to be retained through the hidden meanings of the language, to return at the appropriate time. Hawaiians have allowed the world to believe their sacred knowledge has died out.

I believe there are two main reasons. The first is to preserve the culture by keeping it hidden, the second is the traditional system of knowledge in Hawai‘i. The first concern of the many Hawaiians is to preserve their cultural practices. First cultural contact was devastating, bringing disease and the loss of 90% of the Hawaiian population, the alienation of land, new weapons, the destruction of temples and questioning of the old ways. The Hawaiians have coped with it by carrying on many practices in secrecy and silence.

For example, when they do not trust someone, they will admit that cultural features are there, never that they are there for a purpose. “People used to know about these things but they’re all dead now” or “the meaning’s been forgotten”. One of Melville's neighbours would always ask *tatu* [grandmothers], about gods and ghosts:

He was always received most amiably “Ah, but the tutus could tell him nothing. They knew absolutely nothing about the primitive concept of gods and goddesses ... our former deities departed nearly a century ago. That was before our time. We are Christians and worship the same God that you do,” was more or less the stock reply. Invariably the testimonies of faith swerved the old missionary from his curiosity. He would beam at the
gathering and bless them all, including me. Once the conversation had been switched to Christianity, the tutus were on safe ground. Surely they did not want to be thought pagans or heathens. And, the minute the old gentleman left, the tutus freely discussed the answers to his questions which they all knew very well. He once made the statement that it was impossible now to extricate them from the pit of confusion. The old ladies agreed with him. After he left, one of the women chuckled, “We are not confused, he is confused. We know what we are talking about; he doesn’t” (Melville 1969: 18).

“People used to know about these things but they’re all dead now” is not ‘true’. But if it is true in the interpreter’s perception, then it becomes true for them, even though there are other landscapes to explore. This relates to some points I made in Section 1.6, that whatever someone believes become true for them. I find it interesting that the Hawaiians have incorporated it into their means for transmitting knowledge. I believe the decision, taken in humility, to keep the culture a secret and allow people their misrepresentations, kept the culture going in a time of foreign occupation. There is a time for darkness as well as a time for light.

The traditional system of knowledge, which values secrecy, is not unique to Hawai‘i. Many societies report gender and age cults, guarding esoteric knowledge. For example, Best wrote that holders of the *Kauwae runga* or esoteric law in New Zealand did not pass it on to the average person:

The ordinary people of a community were never made acquainted with such matter [*Kauwae runga*]. The inner or sacerdotal version of the origin of the universe pertained to the cult of *Io*. This could not be vulgarized by placing it in the hands of the people. Thus it was that a secondary version was evolved and taught by second-grade adepts to the people (Best 1924: 86).

I believe what was, and is, unique about Hawai‘i, as far as my knowledge goes, is the idea that knowledge should be passed on according to readiness. Unlike the teaching system in the West,
the Hawaiians did not teach everything they know according to a set syllabus and timing. One of my informants told me that knowledge had to be let go very carefully, to the right person, at the right time in their development. Knowledge is divided into different categories, and some is available to question and change, and some is not. Not all knowledge is necessarily passed on. For instance, Roselle Bailey usually credits her mother as a wonderful source of Hawaiian culture, and she passed different amounts of her knowledge onto each of her children.

The kahuna only answered the individual questions each pupil asked. They did not volunteer verbal knowledge. Kanahele wrote:

It was a common practice for teachers, crafts persons, specialists, and others of the professions to share or withhold their knowledge and their 'secrets' from disciples, students, the merely curious and others. This secrecy was due in part to the belief that their mana might be diminished if ever the knowledge were misused. What the practice meant in terms of privacy is that an individual had the right to determine when, how, to whom, and to what extent he chose to divulge information he possessed (Kanahele 1992: 201).

There was no unified body of knowledge to pass down, for the *kaona* mean that knowledge can always be interpreted differently (Bartlett 1997). When knowledge was being passed down to many students at once, such as in learning the hula, each student would make their own interpretation according to their understanding of the *kaona*. So not only did each pupil know

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43 Explication of Maori knowledge may involve: ‘different categories of discourse including te-pae-a-waha in which information is freely available; te pare-a-waha, in which information is partially concealed, and tautohetohe. In the last mentioned, knowledge is subjected to the test of debate of debate and argument, and by this means is verified or corrected (Haami in prep.). Encouragement of such debate concerning differences in interpretation provides for the expression by orators (and through them of each tribe) of their own individuality and mana. This relativism of tribal knowledge assisted Maori to respond positively to the challenge of colonization and literacy whereby selected aspects of an alternative worldview were woven into the fabric of their own cultural paradigm without destroying the underlying pattern and process. Thus, the Maori worldview has always been characteristically dynamic and open to challenge and to change, all without relinquishing its unique epistemological foundation’ (Roberts and Wills 1998: 63, 64).
different information, the ones who knew less did not know that they knew less. This system guards against people abusing knowledge for which they are not ready.

Knowledge is still transmitted this way today. Each dancer in a hula troupe learns a ‘skeleton of knowledge’, and an impression of uniformity is encouraged. Understanding is differentiated through the hidden meanings of the words in the chants. The dancers creatively understand and use that knowledge in different ways, and one dancer in the troupe may know different things from the other dancers, because they have asked different questions. The role of the kumu, which means ‘stalk’ in contributing to knowledge of Hawaiian culture cannot be overemphasized. The kumu hula [hula teachers] ‘have helped to shape the Hawaiian renaissance as much as, if not more than any other artistic or cultural group’ (Kanahele 1991: 433). Roselle told me the dance contains the means for each dancer to gain internal sovereignty if they chose to. So the dancers ho’okuakahi, or ‘clear the way’, to move through the bodies of the gods to the lands of light. They do this through learning to unite. Ho’o kahi means ‘to make one’, ‘unite’. The difference with ‘clearing the way’ is kua, ‘edge’ or ‘perception’. An appearance of uniformity should not mean that the Hawaiians were not aware of, and did not encourage, many different interpretations. The result is that each dancer can grow according to their perception - and the outside world may be none the wiser.

Hawaiian knowledge differs from the Second or (Communicative) Principle of Relevance, claimed by Sperber and Wilson, whereby ‘every act of ostensive communication communicates a presumption of its own optimal relevance’ (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 260, 261). It suggests that part of the content is ‘a presumption that this very act of communication is relevant to the addressee’ (1995: 271). I do not find this relevant in Hawai‘i. There are many different meanings to each word in Hawaiian, and that is why there is so much insistence amongst Hawaiian experts about the form of the language, and the exact memorization of that form, learning chants, genealogies and so on. Someday, it is believed, there will be a student who will
understand it very deeply, but such an understanding of the complexities at work may not occur in the present generation, or at the present time.

Melville’s kahuna illustrated that point. They were on Waikiki beach when she said:

From where I am lying here on the sand I can look right up to Seventh Heaven and envision everything that is transpiring in the four planes of the spirit world and the three planes of heaven. I wish the veils that separate the supernatural from human vision could be torn from your eyes for even a minute so that you too could envision what I see. But you are yet too earthly-minded and bogged down with the trivial trials and tribulations of mundane living (Melville 1969: v).

Because it was not the right time to pass knowledge on to him, and she was already an old woman, she had to ‘plant the seed’ for when she believed her pupil to be ready to receive it.

This happened one night:

One beautiful night, while the moon was dusting the beach with gold light, she drew upon the sand with her forefinger the sacred symbols of the tahunas and explained to me what they meant. I was fascinated by the designs she sketched, which stood out in bold relief, even though I could not fathom her definitions which, at that time, transcended the powers of my limited spiritual comprehension. Then she told me, ‘Twenty years from now you will come face to face with the originals of these pictures I have engraved upon the beach of Waikiki for you to behold. When you do, just remember me. No matter where you may be, or I may be, I shall receive your message. I will come to you in spirit. And I will refresh your memory of the things I am teaching you now. I am merely planting the seeds of my knowledge in the fertility of your mind. As you grow, they will grow. When they mature, they will ripen and blossom (Melville 1969: vi, vii).
The kahuna was ‘seeding’ the knowledge in her initiate for the time when she believed it would later flourish. The human being is seen as like the land; growth can only happen when the conditions are right. Meanwhile a great number of ‘seeds’ must be planted, only a few of them will actualize. A further line from the ‘gourd prayer’ is *A hia la anoano a ke ahi-kanu, a kanu la I pua I Hawaii?* ‘How many seeds have been planted on the field cleared by fire to flourish in Hawai‘i?’ (Handy and Pukui 1972: 97, 98). This is similar to the amount of hidden meanings in the word, only a few of which will be perceived. It is also like the multitude of souls circling earth, only a few of which will be incarnated, as I discuss in Section 4.9.

For Melville the conditions were right after twenty years and then the seed bore fruit:

> Strange to say, twenty years later I was walking through the gallery aboard the *SS Mariposa*, a passenger vessel cruising the South Pacific. I happened to notice a window containing rare old tapa cloths on exhibition from the Bishop Museum. I paused for a moment to study the designs which I had not seen since the native fisherwoman had drawn them for me in the sand at Waikiki.
> Remembering the fascinating experience as I stood there analyzing the prints, her explanations returned to my consciousness completely digested and comprehensible (Melville 1969: vii).

In my opinion, the Hawaiian system of passing on knowledge is one of the most important aspects of the culture. If no-one is ready to know, then the passing down of the chants, the form of the language, is enough to ensure some-one gains the knowledge in the future. Thus Max Freedom Long was correct in his assumption in Section 3.5 that the terms of the language used to describe magic were the means for magic to work. Indeed, it can be explicated to all language. When the individual is ready to decipher the hidden meanings in the words, the individual is ready for the levels of knowledge they see.

Therefore I, for instance, will never know how much I do not know. As I change, so does my knowledge of Hawai‘i. Things I did not previously understand become revealed. One example
is the way many Hawaiian words are the word for a ‘type of fish’ and ‘shrub’, as well as ‘star’. After nine years of studying the Polynesian culture I did not understand why, until earlier this year, where, in a moment, I suddenly ‘got it’. Thus my own growth, according to perception, mirrors one of the themes of the dissertation, that this idea is also contained in the metaphors of the Hawaiian language. Hence this thesis can never claim to be definitive, and I apologize for the many omissions, for it can only be a result of my present understanding.

In this section, I have explored how The body of knowledge, in Hawai‘i, also include what Judaeo-European traditions now classify as extra-sensory perception. Knowledge, due to historical circumstances, has needed to be hidden in Hawai‘i and accomplished by only passing on the ‘form’ of the knowledge in the language, only answering the questions people ask, and never volunteering extra knowledge. For knowledge can be seeded, but must be ‘ceded’, or passed on, only at the right time. That is because knowledge leads to growth and the foundation must be correct, or the direction of growth will not be able to be controlled. That theme will be very important in the growth of place.

3.9 Making Mana

Ka ‘ai nānā I luna
The food that requires looking up to

Hawaiian proverb no. 1273 (Pukui 1983)

The next two sections will explore some means of gaining knowledge. In this section I shall explore mana, a very complex concept. In the next section I will study the role of the kahuna, who are experts in using it. Mana plays a vital role in this dissertation, for it is the means through which power is believed to be activated. Thus growth, both internal and external, may occur on earth, and in the heavens.
Mana is a concept famous throughout the Pacific. Codrington was responsible for introducing it into the anthropological debate. He wrote that mana ‘is what works to effect everything which is beyond the ordinary power of men, outside the common processes of nature’ (1891: 95). Many other commentators have written about it, most understanding it as divine power. Luciano Minerbi, for example, defined mana as a divine, supernatural force (Minerbi 1996: p. 3). Raymond Firth studied the various meanings of mana occurring in texts he recorded. He found the Tikopian notions of mana and manu related and translated them as ‘success’ or ‘to be successful’, ‘efficacy’ ‘to be efficacious’ (1967, 91). This success has its origins in ‘the world of the spirits’ (1967: 89). Implicit within this formulation is an assumption that the natural world is separate and distinct from the supernatural world.

Hawaiians do not traditionally make a divide between natural and supernatural power. Hawaiian artist and writer Herb Kane wrote:

Polynesians did not share the European vision of the supernatural as a sphere separate from the natural universe and there is a general absence of equivalent words to concepts such as divine, sacred, etc. in Polynesian dialects (Kane N. D.: single page).

Therefore, I prefer Roselle’s definition of mana as creative power. For mana concerns the interaction between gods and humans, who may not be considered separate entities (Figure 3.1). Thus, using the word ‘divine’ is inappropriate in this context.

Mana was seen as a quantity that can change and grow, affecting those things it comes into contact with. The perceived word-worm, going out from its sender into the world, may be conceived of as containing a sticky quality called aka that attracts different things to it. This is possible because of mana. It works because it:
sticks to everything it touches, pulling away only to leave an adhering thread of its shadowy substance stretching out to an endless distance and remaining as a permanent connecting thread of contact or communication. This thread is not filled with vital force [mana] and is, for this reason, not activated under ordinary conditions. But, once such a thread has tied together any person and thing or any two persons, it may at any time be activated by sending along it a flow of vital force [mana], and by projecting a small portion of the shadowy body to follow the thread and make it large and stronger for the moments of contact (Long 1948: 68).

This is the way, many believe, the verb, mana, correctly applied, must bring into being the image it connects with. Valeri said (1985: 99) ‘in Hawai‘i the use of the word mana as a noun is as common in its uses as a stative verb, and that the two usages appear to be interchangeable’. So the verb becomes noun, but this happens according to one’s perception of the hidden meaning of the word. It is no coincidence that the word kaona means ‘the one who’, ka is ‘attracted’, ona. This is why there are believed to be different ways of materializing place for example, which I shall now look at.

In Section 1.2 I showed some examples of McBride’s understanding of kaona in place names. Because there are many different ‘hidden meanings’, naming not only makes ‘place’ out of ‘space’, it can make many potentially different places. He continued to write:

The concept seems to be that in choosing a [place] name, the more meanings that the name incorporated that were apt or apropos, the more power, mana, the appellation would contain. Such toponyms then legitimately used in name chants [mele inoa] and in other poetry would add their power to the whole (McBride 1972: 39).

McBride’s statement makes clear that ‘meanings make mana’. The more understandings one has, the more mana one is able to utilize. This is another sense in which perception is believed able to utilize potential.
I believe that some Hawaiians were, and are, aware of this, although I realize this is a controversial statement. For mana also means ‘true’. What is true though, Roselle pointed out, depends on the level of perception, therefore ‘true’ does not mean ‘truth’. Here we must invoke the meaning of integrity, for it must be built on the power of the word, out of stricture one builds structure. The thought, and the emotion, behind the word is also critical. To get it, every emotion, thought, word and action must be in agreement. Every no'o no'o [thought]; mana'o [opinion]; őlelo [word, language] and haka [action]. This goes back to the necessity to build the foundation of the word I explored in Section 3.6, and suggests that the connecting force is mana.

The association of mana with growth is found in the naming of place. For example, Mānā is a place on the west coast of Kaua‘i. The macron is a sign of vowel lengthening and is no coincidence. The association between place and the human body is continued, because the growth of limbs around a foetus is called mana. Ultimately the body needs to become the short-vowelled mana, rather than mānā. That is believed to be achieved by bringing ‘creation into being’ through mana. Section 4.10 on ‘growing place’ in Kaua‘i, explores how the growth of that area can be imaged as the growth of a foetus, and shows how the hidden meanings of the Hawaiian words can be conceived of as bringing creation into being - or as not doing so, according to the free will of the humans who must grow back towards the gods. For ultimately mana can be measured by its perceived effect.

In this account, I have shown how mana is best understood as a creative, rather than a divine, force. When activated, it is believed to embody an ‘attracting’ quality. One of the ways of activating it is through the word, which has many hidden meanings. Attraction depends on perception. The more meanings, the more mana. Again, perception may be believed to lead to conception, and this conception can be of place, or of the human body.
3.10 The Kahuna

He ko‘e ka pule a kahuna, he moe no a ‘ono mai.
The prayer of a kahuna is like a worm; it may lie dormant but it will wriggle along.

Hawaiian proverb no. 699 (Pukui 1983)

In this section I shall look at some general characteristics of the kahuna, and how they act as transmitters of sacred knowledge through the prayer.

Kahuna have had some very bad press. For example, one book talked about the necessity for wariness:

If you meet with one, seated beside you perhaps at a lunch counter or bar, he will seem to be an ordinary person, but you must do or say nothing to offend him. You will recognize him by the ruby flash when he focuses on you. His eyes have been turned a flaming red by the magic potions that have helped develop his extraordinary powers (Rodman 1979: preface by Evelyn Wells).

Stereotypes, such as this, are often based on very little. The word kahuna merely means expert. Kahuna are expert in different spheres (McBride 1972: 7). For example one can be an architect, kuhikuhipu‘one, another a weather forecaster, nanauli. For the kahuna were divided into many different classes, known as papa. This is the word for the ‘earth’ and perhaps symbolic of how important the knowledge of the kahuna was considered.
Dr. Serge King explicitly equated the kahunas with shamans by defining their unique characteristics:

The shamans of Hawai‘i have two rather unique characteristics which set them apart from the shamans of most other cultures. First of all, they do not use drumming or rhythmic percussion or even chanting to help them enter into trance states for journeying through inner worlds. For that they use the mind alone. They do use percussion or chanting to produce various kinds of altered states in themselves and others, but not trance states. Secondly, they do not use masks of any kind, and this holds true for all Polynesians. In most cultures which have shamans, including those of Europe, masks or costumes representing gods or animal spirits have been used to enhance a sense of connection with such spiritual beings, but not in Polynesia. My attempts to obtain a reason for this among the Hawaiian shamans I have known have not met with much success. When I ask, ‘Why not?’ they answer with, ‘Why?’

The concept of aka shows that everything is interconnected and that these connections can be perceived and acted upon by one who knows how to do it. That is, the connections are real and not abstract, and can be given form by consciousness. The two forms most widely used by the Hawaiian shaman are those of an etheric ‘web’ and an etheric ‘net’. In the web concept, the shaman sees himself as a spider at the centre of a three-dimensional web stretching out in all directions to every part of the universe. Like a spider he can be aware of vibrations of activity anywhere in the web, and can move along the web without getting caught in it. He can also send out vibrations along the web and consciously affect anything in the universe according to his mana. In the net concept, the shaman is a weaver and fisherman, able to weave and cast a net in order to capture ideas and events, symbolized by fish (King 1987: 192, 193).

The kahuna is believed to have the ability to work on the web or the net according to his mana at the time. This relates to ideas of creation: the spider at the beginning of the universe is called *Ki Ha Wahine*, ‘the carrier of the breath of the old woman’, according to Roselle Bailey. The kahuna spins the rope-body of the word, infuses it with breath and mimics that spider.
Kahuna still exist - most of my informants are kahuna for example - and I have never seen the 'ruby flash' of their eyes. Some do advertise their powers directly. For example typing in the word on the internet will reveal some interesting web sites. But not all of them are on the 'internet'. For kahuna are distinguished by their mastery, which may, or may not be known to others. They may choose to invoke mystery. Knowledge must only be shared when appropriate.

The power of the kahuna partially depends on the mana of the word, which has a force of its own:

In prayers, not merely the words and the inner meanings of the words, but also the total rendition of the prayer was a psychic entity.... The ritual ending of a prayer, ‘Āmama ua noa, (Now the prayer is free, now the prayer has flown), carried a sense of actual power flying from petitioner to deity ... In a traditional memorized prayer not a word could be changed ... In extremely sacred ceremonies, a ritualized closing dialogue often took place between officiating priest and high chief. Here the key word was ‘aha, connoting the sacrosanct nature of the prayer or of the total religious ceremony (Pukui, Haertig, Lee 1972 II: 124).

‘Aha is a word that means ‘sparkle’, it also refers to a piece of rope. It describes the rope-body of the word, which is believed by many to have actually been created through the prayer. So it abolishes space and time and attaches to the object of the prayer. I show a demonstration of this in Section 4.14 on love magic in Moloka‘i. It acts like a comet of the inner skies. Many Hawaiians make a parallel to comets in the visible, or ‘outer’ skies’. I explore some more of their significance in Section 5.5.

Ultimately, a kahuna is only believed to be different from the rest of the Hawaiian population because he, or she, knows how to use knowledge for manifestation in the material world. Those forms can be represented by objects inside a gourd. He īpu kā ‘eo, ‘a gourd full of knowledge',
was an epithet applied to the calabash of knowledge (Pukui 1983: no. 643). An empty calabash was ‘umeke ala ole, ‘an unripe calabash’ (Handy and Pukui 1991: 318). A ripe gourd, or calabash, had many different material uses in Ancient Hawai‘i, as I described in Section 3.6 on ‘shaping the word’. They often needed to be altered in some way. James King described the gourds he saw on Cook’s Third Voyage:

The gourds, which grow to so enormous a size, that some of them are capable of containing from ten to twelve gallons, are applied to all manner of domestic purposes; and in order to fit them the better to their respective uses, they have the ingenuity to give them different forms, by tying bandages around them during their growth. Thus, some of them are of a long cylindrical form, as best adapted to contain their fishing tackle; others are of a dish form, and these serve to hold their salt, and salted provisions, their puddings, vegetables, etc.; which two sorts have neat close covers, made likewise of the gourd; others again are exactly the shape of a bottle with a long neck, and in these they keep their water (Cook 1784: 150, 151).

Likewise the kahuna can ‘shape’ the word to grow with direction.

I have explored how the type of kahuna varies. Nonetheless, each is an expert, who know how to create consciously, and utilize the hidden meanings of words to get the desired outcomes. In this, they may be viewed as different from the rest of the population, who use words without awareness. They do not how to ‘grow the word with direction’ or direct the word. The ability to be a kahuna is not inherent, and anyone may become one, if they can develop the mana. I was told they played a significant role in the growing of ‘place’. The word kahuna contains meanings of mastery over the hidden realm. Ka huna means ‘the hidden’. It also means kahuna, ‘the guardian of something’ (McBride 1972: 64). The kahuna is someone who has opened their per-ception, and hence changed their con-ception of the world. Their new conception has the ability to alter the world around them.
3.11 Body Into Light

Hele a lushelu I ka ua noe
Is made bright by the misty rain

(Pukui 1983: Hawaiian proverb no. 733)

Now I shall look at some examples of how the body may be ‘grown’ through its dedication to the gods at different stages of life. Each subsequent ritual corresponds to the greater light of the god it accesses. Hence the light of the human may be imaged as becoming correspondingly greater.

In a sense, human life is a journey to regain ‘the great light’ of the lands of origin. The ultimate dedication is to Kane, the mind of light. I discuss this further in Section 5.4.

Humans may be believed to start with the potential to access this ‘great light’. For example:

Each child born has at birth, a Bowl of perfect Light. If he tends his Light it will grow in strength and he can do all things - swim with the shark, fly with the birds, know and understand all things (Lee and Willis 1990: 18, 19).

As I showed in Section 3.6 on the word, there is always a choice, for there is always a process of free will. One of the purposes of words and ritual is to help Hawaiians make the choice ‘to grow back to the light of the gods’ - or not - from a place of greater perception.

I shall now look at some examples marking the ‘stages of life’. For many Hawaiians life begins at conception, not birth. Aka, the sticky quality which attracts, and ‘the first glimmer of moonlight’, is also the word for the moment of conception. Moe means ‘dream’, as well as ‘sleep’ (in the sense of leading to conception) and a child is believed to arise out of a ‘shared

\[\text{44 I apologize that most of my information is about boys. I do not believe that lack of information means that certain rituals did not occur with girls, but would like the reader to take it for what it is, my lack of information.}\]
dream'. It is also the name for the first of the directions, south, and I discuss its significance more in Sections 4.2 and 4.18.

Now I shall look at the way a foetus grows. The Hawaiians have many words for embryo such as hauli, ‘small fish with formerly transparent body beginning to darken’; ‘embryo of human or animal’, and ‘e/e, ‘spring’. All these words can also refer to the forming of place from space. For example, in the following chapter, I show how the growth of a place (which may be believed to begin with a spring) is like the growth of a foetus and the growth of a fish. Here too the direction of growth is important, and this is where the role of intention (which can also perceive the hidden meanings of the word) is utilized. When the mother knows she is ua kanaka [rain person], ‘with child’, she must be very careful of her thoughts, or else the foetus will be adversely affected (Handy and Pukui 1972: 77). As I explored in Section 3.9, the foetus beginning to develop limbs is called mana. The direction of the growth is vitally important, and this is why the mother must be so careful. For the cord has not yet been cut, and the growing-child is not breathing on its own, therefore it does not have sovereign life.

Birth was usually performed in a squatting position. Afterwards the placenta must be washed and buried, preferably under a tree, where it would be protected by its growth. The tree was then identified with the person whose ‘iewe [placenta] it guarded (Handy and Pukui 1972: 78). Ewe means ‘sprout’, rootlet’, ‘lineage’ as well as being another word for placenta and ‘the white of an egg’. Here is another example of the identification between the growth of the human body and the growth of a plant.

After the piko, the umbilical cord, representing the connection between human and god, was cut and breath was taken the new-born became an island who needed to ‘grow back’ to the gods. When a baby was born a feast was held which must include sea-food such as kala seaweed, a'ama crab and mahiki shrimp. Kala means ‘to clear’, a'ama means ‘to lose a hold or grip’ and
the *mahiki* crab means ‘to peel off like removing fish scales’ (Handy and Pukui 1972: 81). This feast was called *Mawaewae* or ‘path clearing’ (Handy and Pukui 1972: 80). It ‘set the child’s feet, *waewae*, in the way, *ma*, of the spiritual flow of channels, ‘*au*, of his responsible elders, *makua*’. My theory is that the path-clearing was important, because it provides a way for the child to return to the ‘realms of light’.

This procedure happens through ‘letting go’. The child is losing the fish-body of *Kū*, hence seafood is incorporated. Thus the child is being associated with life on the surface, such as the placenta-tree, rather than forms such as fish, which live below the surface. For now the child is visible-in-the-world. An ending to a New Zealand Maori ritual of baptism, held in a moving stream after childbirth, is the response: “Welcome, O child! To this world, the world of light” (Best 1924: 18).

The child’s continuing passage into the ‘worlds of light’ was aided by a ceremony when the boy was four or five years old and allowed to enter the *mua* or men’s house. The *Pule Ipu* or ‘sacrament of the Gourd’, I have already quoted from, is the chant used for the dedication of the young boy to *Lono*. I reproduce it here (Handy and Pukui 1972: 97, 98):

*Ala mai, e Lono, I kou haaina awa, haaina awa nui nou, e Lono
He ula mai, e Kea, he pepeiao puaa, he pepeiao ilio, he pepeiao aina nui - nou, e Lono!*
*Halapa I ke mauali! Kukala ia hale-hau! Mau, malewa I ka po; moli ia hai ka po.*
*O Ku‘u ka ipu; o Ku‘u hua I ka ipu; hua I kakala ka ipu kakala;*
*he kalana ipu.*

*O hua I na no'o Hi'i! I au i'a ko ia*
*Ahia la anoano a ke ahikanu, a kanu la, I pua I Hawaii?*
*A kanu I a ka ipu nei; a ulu; a lua; a lau; a pua; a hua I o ka ipu nei.*
*Hoonoho I o ka ipu nei. Kekela o ka ipu nei.*

*O uha‘i o ka ipu nei. Kalai I a 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 ka lani o Kuakini.*
*A hou I ka hakoakao; kakai I ke anuenue.*

*O uhao I ka ili; o uhao I ka hala; o uhao I ka la manolele I ona!*

*O ka ipu o ka lua mua-a-Iku, o ka ipu a makani koha, a kau ka hoku a 'ia'i*
Arise, O Lono, accept the offerings of ‘awa to you - an important offering, O Lono, 
Grant abundance, O Kea. May there be an abundance of Hogs’ and dogs’ ears - an abundance 
for you to eat, O Lono.
Accept this plea in the place of life! Proclaim it to the sacred shrines! [May the good] be 
lasting! Let it pass into the night - an offering acceptable 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 [Hi‘iaka] - 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 a 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 a handle.
Take out of it all jealousies; all wrong doings; the wild tendencies,
[Which resemble] 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 plovers of Ma‘akunewa with their shiny bodies.
Concentrate, O Lono, on goodness - only goodness!
Bind it here; put the faults away in the background, back of the babbling waters of Waioha.

This prayer contains many themes, and I shall analyze a few of them. First of all there is a
request for an abundance of food, Lono is asked to plant the ‘gourd’ or ‘body’, let it grow and
use its contents. In return, the growth of the young man, was believed to ‘feed back’ into Lono.
Every young man was initiated by this prayer because they were each believed capable of
achieving it, albeit in different ways. Then the whole world, the container for the prayer and the initiate, is compared to the gourd of Lono. Throughout the thesis I show how one's perception may be conceived as part of a greater whole.

The next part is particularly interesting in terms of the ability to achieve knowledge. The container of the body should be pierced, the rainbow of transformation used as a handle, all wrongs should be removed to allow the body to shine ‘bright as a star’. Thus the body is becoming light. I discuss how the body may be conceived of as ‘opening’ to light elsewhere (Bartlett 1991: Section Four). Then the ‘bird of the mountain’ must be held high over Wāwau.

Wāwau is an insulting term meaning ‘dumbness’ and both wa and wau refer to the passage of time. Perhaps there is an assumption that ignorance may be changed through the passage of time. The ulua fish is a pun on ula, the word for ‘breadfruit’ or ‘growth’, and refers to a sweetheart, who may be reeled in with the ‘hook’.

First the ‘bad plovers’ of Ma‘akunewa must be driven away. In looking up some metaphorical meanings of plovers, I found the attractive, shiny-bodied creatures stood for a big ego (Pukui 1983: 110):

Kōlea no ke kōlea i kona inoa iho
The plover can only cry its own name

Many Hawaiians have told me self-interest precludes an ability to live in the way of the gods, and people motivated by those qualities are not the most desirable mates. The next place name Ma‘akunewa can be broken down as: ma, ‘indefinite locative’, aku ‘away’ and newa ‘to reel’, ‘stagger’. These meanings imply one is not close to the gods. However it also represents the way one can change those qualities to become closer to them. Ma‘aku means ‘to sling with a sling and a stone’ an act used to catch birds. Newa is a ‘fluted stone, as held in the hand as a stone club’. The ‘bad plover’ can be caught through the force and direction of the stone.
Hence the place name refers to both a fault, and the means of losing a fault. I discuss another example in Section 4.18. Another proverb is (Pukui 1983: no. 2405):

\[ O \text{ ka } hua \text{ o ke } kōle\text{a aia I }\text{ Kahiki}\]
The egg of a plover is laid in a foreign land.

It was said, a plover’s egg was never seen in Hawai‘i, only in the legendary land of the gods, Kahiki. It refers to an impenetrable subject or something far away and impossible to reach. However Kahiki also means ka, ‘the’, hiki, ‘appearance’. As in the last place name, there are two opposing meanings in the word. If the plover’s egg can be brought to Hawai‘i, then the land of Hawai‘i can thrive. The ‘bad plover’, the migratory Pluvialis dominica, the golden plover of the Pacific, need not remain at fault - unless it chooses to.

The last place name is Waioha. Waioha can have connotations of wastefulness but wai means ‘water’ or ‘semen’ and oha, ‘spreading’ and ‘to grow lush’, as well as ‘affection’, ‘love greeting’. ‘Ohā is the word for ‘taro corm’, which grows from the older root. There are connotations of fertilizing the islands through emotion and the necessity for creation to be infused with emotion was mentioned in Section 3.6. Then faults have been put away, the night is peaceful and the boy, infused with love, can continue to grow.

The next ceremony occurred when the boy was about eight and dedicated him to Kāne. This is in keeping with my diagram (Figure 3.1) of Kū being closest to the human, then surrounded by Lono, whose dedication has already been referred to, with Kāne the most distant god. This was the kaha ule, ‘slit penis’ or subincision ceremony. A kahuna placed the boy on a sun-warmed rock and made a longitudinal cut in the penis. Then the boy was (Handy and Pukui 1972: 161):

\[ Kokoke e ‘a ke ahi o ka ‘aulima..\]
Almost ready to make fire with a fire-stick held in the hand.
The name of the goddess of sex was *Kaha Ula*. *Kaha* means ‘to mark’ or ‘to cut open’. *Ula* means both ‘blood’ and ‘red’. Her name is very close to the name of the subincision operation, *kahe ule*, which scores the skin and leave blood behind. The linguistic closeness is no coincidence for that operation was believed to help the initiate enjoy sex even more. Genitals could have the ability to respond to the word, hence the existence of *mele ma'i*, daily chants for the breeding parts (Handy and Pukui 1972: 93). The body, like the word and the gourd, needed additional shape. Genitals, for example, were moulded (Handy and Pukui 1972: 94). Girls were taught skills such as *amo amo*, the contracting and relaxing of the paravaginal muscles, said to increase the sexual pleasure of both parties. *Amo amo* means ‘to sparkle’, ‘glimmer’ or ‘twinkle’ and the name indicates its stage on the journey towards the ‘land of light’.

Another occurrence of the light metaphor occurred when one decided to ‘settle down’ with one partner. That ceremony was called *ho‘ao* or ‘making light’ and the prayer includes the lines (Gutmanis 1983: 45):

\[
\begin{align*}
O \text{ 'imiinations, o nalowale a loa'a} & \quad \text{There was a seeking of the lost, now it is found} \\
Loa'a \text{ ho'i ka hoa e} & \quad \text{A mate is found} \\
Pupu'u \text{ ako o ke anu o ka Ho'oilo} & \quad \text{One to share the chills of winter} \\
Ke \text{ 'iloli nei ka lani} & \quad \text{The sky is changing} \\
Loa'a \text{ ka hale kipa maha o Hako'ilani} & \quad \text{For Hako'ilani, the house of welcome where rest is} \\
Na \text{ ke aloha I kono e hui 'olua e} & \quad \text{Love has made a plea that you two become united} \\
I \text{ ka hakamoa kela, ke halakau nei ka lani.} & \quad \text{Here is a perch, a heavenly resting place, A perch in the heavens.}
\end{align*}
\]

The place name in this extract has the meaning of the path to the heavens. *Hako* means ‘to carve out a pathway, as a passage through coral or a water-course’. *Lani* is ‘heavens’. The

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{45 This contrasts to circumcision as performed in both the Jewish and Muslim faiths, and by many doctors for reasons of ‘hygiene’, where the whole foreskin is removed. I heard one Muslim cleric say that it performed so the man will enjoy sex less, so he will want to “give more to god”.}
\end{align*}
\]
vowel / is the agent of change, and stands for the flowing passage of love. The union of a couple in love is believed to provide the correct ‘house’ for the child to grow in and I have already shown how conception was compared to ‘making light’. It was desired that the couple would live together in love until they were old and withered like rats.

The final stage in the journey of earthly life is death. Some Polynesian traditions considered it ideal for a person to die outside and the dying person may be bid farewell thus:

Farewell! Go forth on your way to the place where mankind originated. Fare out on the broad path of your ancestor Tane-te-waiora, the path that has been trodden by man since the days of the Dawn Maid. Your ancestors and elders there await you that they may greet you. They will guide you by way of the Toi huarewa upward to the bespaced heavens by which Tane ascended to Io the Parent (Best 1924 II: 52).

When one dies, one’s soul is separated from one’s body and I discuss more about its journey through the ‘bespaced heavens’ in Chapter Five. The body is buried, and the word also means kanu, or ‘to plant’. As the body decomposes, there is a sense of life beginning again. The earth is being nurtured, ready for a new crop.

In this section I have looked at how the human body can be considered a flexible quantity that can, and should, be altered. This is because it needs to be grown with direction back to the realms of the gods. That journey may be imaged in terms of light, as may the gods themselves, to whom the rituals were dedicated in a journey of increasing light. Hence the human was believed to have the means necessary to regain the shining realms. The power of the word, and the hidden meanings within it, then gives them the chance, and the choice, to do so.
3.12 Flowering

*I mohala no ka lehua I ke keʻekeʻehi ʻia e ka ua*

Lehua blossoms unfold because the rains tread upon them

Hawaiian proverb no. 1236 (Pukui 1983)

In this chapter, I have explored a way of conceptualizing domains of Hawaiian culture, such as chants, stones and kahuna, which are usually considered as separate realms. As I mentioned in the introduction, my divisions are artificial for they can all be understood in terms of a system of growth, which I have explored.

Some of the ‘things’ and ‘people’ I discuss can be imaged as containers, such as the stone, the gourd, the kahuna, the word and the human body itself. They each contain many different possibilities, which can be ‘grown’ in different ways, and moreover grown according to interpretation, which can be conceived of as directing the growth. Hence the importance of perception. I believe it may have been the recognition of its importance, that led to the Hawaiian way of transmitting knowledge according to readiness, not to other criteria such as age and gender.

Knowledge may be imaged in terms of light. The mind is also referred to in these terms:

> The seat of knowledge was believed to be in the *naʻauao.*
> *Naʻauao, combines naʻau, mind or body, literally ‘intestines’, or, ‘guts’ and ao, or ‘daylight’. That name means the daylight mind*
> ... (Kanahele 1992: 411).

* Ao means ‘light’, ‘daylight’, ‘dawn’; ‘to dawn’, ‘grow light’; ‘to regain consciousness’. A similar word ‘ao means ‘a new shoot, leaf, or bud’. Light may symbolize the gaining of knowledge, as may the growth of a plant or body. In the next chapter I compare this growth, more specifically, to the growth of place, represented in terms of the gods. The imagery of light used
for the human body is no co-incidence, for that imagery is also used for the realms of the gods, as I shall show in Chapter Five. Hence the body, after being imagined, may be ‘imaged’ as returning to those realms. Realms where the light of consciousness is regained, and a new world is perceived.
CHAPTER FOUR: PLANTING THE ISLANDS

4.1 Placing Space

He pūko ʻa kani ʻāina
A coral reef that grows into an island

Hawaiian proverb no. 932 (Pukui 1983)

In this chapter, I am going to show how place names are part of a greater process of creation or ‘landing’. It is believed by many in Polynesia that land is brought into being through knowledge. Knowledge is essential, for creation needs to be directed, or it will grow out of control. That direction is the role of the human, and there are many options available, such as choosing different interpretations of the power of the word and placing certain elements of boundary around the word. Next I look at the words used for demarcations of space and their significance. Then I move on to some more substantive work on place names. I choose four areas on three of the main eight islands of Hawai‘i: Kaua‘i, Moloka‘i and the Big Island. In each of them I look at the way place names form a sequence of growth and resistance to growth. This sequence needs to be understood in relation to Hawaiian cosmology and I have already tried to delineate some aspects of it.

For these examples have one significant factor in common, just like they all did in the last chapter. Man must eventually grow back towards the land of the gods. He does this by imaging the gods and growing back towards them by activating strands of his flexible body, each one of which is named after a god. In the sections that concern the creation of land, I show how this is achieved through a sequence of names in two different areas, one on Kaua‘i and one on the Big Island. In addition, I explore ideas about how man loses his physical body on death, while the soul continues on its journey. Thus place names are an active part of a greater system of cosmology.
I have found it useful to image place as being like a human body which must be grown with direction. In this context, it is essential to understand the word *lua*. This word has various *kaona* such as: ‘pit’; ‘two’, ‘double’; ‘equal’, ‘likeness’, ‘duplicate’, ‘copy’, ‘match’; ‘mate’.

The meaning of *lua* as ‘pit’, refers to the ‘pits’ from which the stars rise and set, as I illustrate in Section 5.6. These may be believed to be the original homes of creation, and the earth has been ‘duplicated’ or ‘copied’, as their ‘likeness’ or ‘equal’. But due to the existence of free will on earth, as illustrated by the different ways the word can grow according to human perception, growth may occur in different ways. Hence it may not always image the creation of the gods.

Before I begin, it is important to understand that I am not asking the question whether there is one original meaning of each place name - that would subvert the purpose of this work - and if the meanings of the Hawaiian place names represent an unbroken continuity. Nor am I asking how the hidden meanings were used in the past. I am interested instead in how they may be interpreted in the present. The reader may be surprised at the interpretations I have made in analyzing some of these place names. For example, Yoon (1986: 100) wrote that Maori place names in New Zealand often ‘describe the landscape of the area, such as Pukekohe, which means ‘the hill of the Kohekohe tree’. In most cases, I do not find that Hawaiian names are a reflection of the natural environment. Rather the power of the word embodies the desired reality, but there is usually another choice involved in the word as well, which imaged on a very broad level, can be seen as a resistance to growth. Hence the occurrence of hidden meanings within the word.

The cosmology concerns attraction of disparate elements, heaven and earth, in which earth reflects heaven, and seed in the image of the original creation of the gods. The subsequent growth is in accordance with the blueprint of the original, and may, or may not, have the same result. This is because of the existence of free will. There is always a choice as to which way the
word grows, embodied by the hidden meanings of the language. That is where the system of
directions becomes important. To my initial surprise, I found many of the names incorporate
two, seemingly contradictory, elements. For example the place name Nāulu, which I analyze on
the level of sustenance, means both 'to scatter, as seed', lu and 'munch', 'chew', nau. Thus it
appears to refer to both the preparation and the consumption of food. Many other names also
have seemingly contrary meanings in their syllables, and this is because there are always two
forms of the word, creative and destructive, and the result depends on the degree of
consciousness applied to the word. Thus the power contained in the word Nāulu can either
produce food, or scatter it. I shall explore the idea of choice in terms of the ways the soul can
travel after death.

Firstly I shall look at how the directions may be believed to be 'grown'.
The embryo is dark in colour, like the pō discussed in the beginning of the Kumulipo, contrasting with the forms of the ao malama, or ‘world of light’ arising from it. Springs in Hawai‘i are also associated with creation. For example this chant is from the late Harry Kūnīhi Mitchell and describes the origin of a certain spring on the island of Kahoʻolawe (Reeve 1995: 47):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mai ke Kumu o Lanikau} & \quad \text{From the source from heaven above} \\
\text{Ka maka o Lonokaʻeho kū šinuenue} & \quad \text{The eyes of the god Lonokaʻeho who stands on the rainbow} \\
\text{E pill I ke Kumu o Kahiki} & \quad \text{Whose knowledge comes from the creation of Kahiki} \\
\text{Ke Kumu o Moaʻulanulākea I hānau ′ia} & \quad \text{Born from the kahuna class of Moaʻulanuiākea} \\
\text{Kumu uli paʻa o na kupuna} & \quad \text{With deep knowledge of his ancestors' teachings} \\
\text{Mai ke kihi o ka honoʻo} & \quad \text{And from the east bend of Kamohio Bay} \\
\text{Kamohio I hikina} & \quad \text{Spring forth the flowing waters of Kane.} \\
\text{Ka wai puna pua o Kāne} & \quad \text{From the source from heaven above} \\
\end{align*}
\]

This illustrates one of the main themes of this dissertation, that the land of Hawai‘i is believed to have been brought into being by the gods.

Many legends say that Hawaiians originally came from the islands of Kahiki, which lie to the south. The ancient priestly word for south is ‘elemo‘e. It means ‘dream’, moe, of an embryo, ‘ele. The conception of a child in Hawai‘i was believed to start with the dream of an embryo as I discussed in 3.11. This may mean that an idea needed to precede manifestation in the material world of the ao. The conception may be of a child or the land.46

The south is materialized in its mirror-image, the direction north. The ancient priestly word for norti is ‘eleku, which means the ‘standing’, kū, of the ‘embryo’, ‘ele. Here is where land is fertilized - kū also means erection - and believed by many to be the first land materialized. Kū

46 For instance in Pukui’s book of proverbs (1983): numbers 387, 1447, 1691 and 1833 all refer to the identification of natives with the land.
is associated with the ‘standing’ of vertical space (Makemson 1941: 10), Ku also refers to the necessity to build up the body of the god of that name. It is worth noting that the north coast of the northernmost of the main islands, Kaua‘i, is the oldest land in Hawai‘i. Those cliffs are said to be the solidified form of Kua, the shark god who came from Kahiki. Ku means ‘to stand’ and a to ‘move with direction’. Hence the shark-god by moving with direction has become materialized into land. Kua also means ‘to hew’ referring to the process of formation, as well as ‘ridge’, the outcome. I discuss a myth of that place in Section 4.18, which I believe indicates the power the human has in choosing which way to grow, or which land they form.

Then we turn to the directions of the human, east and west. Elbert reported (Pukui et al. 1974: preface): ‘The Hawaiians love to express in sayings the eastern and western limits (never the northern and southern) limits of their domain’. That is because those directions belong to the gods. The third cardinal direction is west. The priestly word for west is eleilani. It is the realm of potential, where the soul may be grown before reincarnation. Hence it could be considered the beginning of life, the way the new day begins with nightfall. A period of germination is necessary for growth to happen.

The west, eleilani, is the reflection of the east, elelani, and these words are similar, separated only by an extra two vowels, ia. They mean both ‘a unit of measure’ and a ‘spar on a sailing vessel’. Both quantities refer to the ability of the soul to travel after death, which I shall detail in some of the place names of Kaua‘i. Indeed the West is associated with death.

For example a Maori proverb says (Orbell 1985: 208):

\[ Nga\ kotuku\ awe-nui\ o\ te\ uru \]
\[ Ka\ moe\ whakaiao\ ki\ te\ mate. \]

The long-plumed white herons of the west
Sleep peacefully in death.
The ancient name for the east is 'eleiani, or 'embryo', 'ele, of the 'heavens', lani. The east is the direction of sunrise and a children's game in Hawai'i47 shows that sunrise was associated with the first breath of humans, but that the breath is from elsewhere.

I shall look at a myth which shows how sunrise was associated with the breath of humans, seeded from another realm, and the connection of that breath to the direction east. The myth is set on the easternmost point of the easternmost island, Hawai'i. This windy point, known as Cape Kumukahi, is associated with the ability of a famous sorcerer to transmogrify:

\[
\text{Kumukahi came from Kahiki at the time of Pele, whose relative he was, together with a brother Palamoa born in the shape of cock, moa, and a sister named Sun-Rise, Kahikinaaaka. He was able to take the form of a man or of a k\={o}lea bird at will (Beckwith 1976: 119).}
\]

The k\={o}lea bird or plover, the form of which Kumukahi chose, is associated with Kahiki as I showed in Section 3.11. Kahiki represents some of the legendary space surrounding earth.

The k\={o}lea birds are associated with life from the unseen dimensions:

\[
\text{The kingdom of angels which lay in the tranquil realm of the rising sun [or the direction East] was often referred to as Papa Torea - the stratum of the Torea [Kolea] birds. Torea birds were thought of by the unenlightened as plovers ... (Melville 1969: 29).}
\]

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47The game is found elsewhere in Polynesia and there is an interesting correlation between 'first life' and the stars. Best (1924 II: 127, 128) wrote: 'a childish pastime was the breath-holding competition, known as tatau manawa. Quaint jingles were repeated by children in a curious 'jerky' manner, in order to see which could do so in one breath. The following is a sample recital: Ka tahi ti, ka rua ti, ka haramai, te pati tore, ka runa, ka rauna, ka noho, te k\={i}w\={i}w\={i}, he po, he wai, taketake, no pi, no pa, ka h\={u}ia mai, kai ana, te whetu, kai ana, te marama, ko te tio, e rere, ra runga, ra te peka\={e}ka, k\={o}tore, wiwi, wawa, heke, heke, te manu, ki o, tau tihe... The above peculiar and apparently meaningless recital was sometimes repeated by a person when performing a simple ceremony to dispel a frost ... In that case it was termed "star telling," and the reciter kept moving his index finger as though counting the stars'.

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The birth of the humans in the east may be believed to be the result of activity from elsewhere.

Now I shall look briefly at how the system of directions are believed by many to replicate each other. I have mentioned the directions image each other through mirroring. This is believed to be possible because of the meanings of the extremely important word *lua* I discussed in the last section. *Lua* means ‘to scatter’, *lua*, ‘with direction’, *a*, thus showing the importance of direction in the correct seeding of places. Another meaning of the word *lua* is ‘duplicate’ or ‘match’. Thus it could be argued the *lua* works to ensure balance, necessary in the seeding of place from the *po*. Perhaps this is an explanation for the famous dualism of the Polynesians:

My ancestors and I believe in a life that integrates the world of the seen and the world of the unseen as complementary parts of a whole. My ancestors and I believe that a theme of *lokahi* or balance, is necessary for a healthy, natural existence. Both worlds are part of that theme, as are male and female, day and night. Dualism was evident philosophically and physically in the life of my ancestors. *Wahi pana* [sacred places] were part of this dualism, thus some *wahi pana* favour females, some favour males, and some are useful to both sexes (Edward Kanahele in Van James 1991: foreword).

*Lua* also means ‘a pit’ or ‘the hole out of which a star rises’. This pit always has its image or double in the opposite direction. A pit in the west would mirror a pit in the east for example, thus reflecting the meaning of *lua* as ‘double’.

To illustrate this point I return to the sorcerer *Kumukahi*, who is associated with the direction east. Beckwith described a ‘Contest of Sorcerers’, in which knowledge of healing is brought to earth. A priest called *Kolea moku* was taught the medicinal arts by the gods and deified after death and worshipped in the heiau at *Kalua*:

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Kōlea moku is probably another name for the ‘aumakua of the kōlea birds elsewhere called Kumukahi, who comes with Moikeha’s company but stops off at the eastern end of the island of Hawai‘i and settles at the point of land that bears his name, where he is represented by a red stone at the extreme end of the point. Two of his wives, also in the form of stones, manipulate the seasons by pushing the sun back and forth between them at the two solstices. The place is called ‘Ladder of the Sun’ and ‘source of the Sun’ and here at the extreme eastern point of land of the whole group, where the sun rises up out of the sea, sun worshippers bring their sick to be healed. The legend says that Kumukahi can take the form of a plover, enter a medium, and cause him to do marvellous things (Beckwith 1976: 119).

Gutmanis (undated : 12) provided another example of this myth:

On the easternmost point of the island of Hawaii, in the Puna district, are a number of stones believed to have been used in ancient times to measure the divisions of the year. Both the point on which they stand and a pillar of stone on the northern border of the cape were named for Kumukahi, said to be the younger brother of the Polynesian adventurer Moikeha and a cousin of the volcano goddess, Pele.

Standing opposite the stone Kumukahi, on the same side of the point, was once a monolith called Makanoni. The name which has been translated as ‘speckled-face’ was given in honour of one of Kumukahi’s wives. In the summer, when the sun is at its northern point, it shone on Kumukahi, and in the season of cool weather the sun moved and passed over to Makanoni (Gutmanis undated: 12).

The east, observation shows, is the ‘source of the sun’. The two pits or ‘sources’ or ‘ladders’ of the sun provide a metaphorical mirror for the passage of the sun and of man, the way Kumukahi’s two wives manipulate the sun between the east and the west. I believe this is because the sun is associated with the ao, day, the realm of the humans. The place name Kumukahi means ‘first beginning’ (Pukui et al. 1974) and observable human life begins here, which is why birthing heiau are situated on the east point of islands.
I have shown why *Kumukahi* can take the form of the plover. *Kōlea moku* or ‘island of the plover’ is the word for the heiau in *Kailua* built after the healing has occurred. It figuratively stands for the making of the land of *Kahiki* on earth. Healing, in Hawai‘i, is also associated with the breath, a necessary part of prayer. The place name *Kailua* means ‘double pit’. This place is named *Kailua* to bring the ‘double pit’ of the gods and man into being.

I have looked at the way each ‘direction’ is the result of directing growth, which is brought into being by the meanings of the priestly words used to describe them. I have shown that all the directions are believed to spring from a source elsewhere and illustrated it with a myth concerning the direction east, which manifests in the ‘first breath’ of the human. I have mentioned the significance of the word *lua* or ‘pit’.

Now the role of the directions as a quadruplicity needs to be considered. The directions north and south are for gods and ghosts, the directions east and west are for humanity. One may think that east should be the first direction, as it is the side of sunrise, and birthing heiau are placed here. But life was not considered to begin at birth, in the same way the day was not considered to begin at sunrise. First a period of germination is necessary, and hence day was thought to begin at night, in the time of the *pō*. Similarly, West, the ‘side of the night’ is the first direction. The *pō* belongs to the gods, and it is believed that humans need to be formed by them, before they can emerge at the ‘daylight’ end of the island. I illustrate this in Section 4.11 on Kaua‘i.

---

48 In the legend of Pele and Hi‘iaka, for example, Hi‘iaka restores Prince Lohiau to life through her chanting (Emerson 1993: 138-151). Chanting consists of breath combined with direction. Thus it may be considered an act of creation similar to making places, which consists of the breath (often represented by a seed) combined with direction.
I would like to posit an interpretation which snares more of Polynesian culture. That is to understand place as part of a system of *lokahi* or 'unity'. Unity between night and day, god and man, south and north, east and west. For ultimately place may be believed to manifest on earth as an outgrowth of the gods. Their names, which initially divide, ultimately unite through a deep understanding of their hidden meanings. Thus man is ultimately able to make the source of division a source of unity. For the perception of place names, which directs growth, is believed to provide a way for man to return to the land of the gods.

4.3 Knowledge is the Food of the Land

*O ka 'ulu o laloa he la'a I ka pinana, o ka 'ulu o luna loa he loa'a I ka lou.*

A breadfruit that is low can be reached by climbing, but a breadfruit high above requires a stick to reach it.

(Pukui 1983: Hawaiian proverb no. 2446)

This section looks at the way place can be believed to be created by being 'seeded'. These seeds may be literal, as in plants, or metaphorical, as in knowledge. *Aina*, the word for land, means 'the land is the source of food'. But knowledge of the gods is required to gain the fruit of the land. One of the *kaona*, or hidden meanings, of the above proverb is that different levels of knowledge catch different food. A 'stick' is required for the breadfruit high above, which can be imaged as existing in the invisible islands of the realms of the gods. A Hawaiian saying referring to them is *Ulu no ka ulu, a ai no*, 'Here the breadfruit grew and was eaten' (Beckwith 1976: 68).

I begin by looking at how knowledge is spatially constituted. For example, in the West, knowledge may be summarized as 'horizontal knowledge' - people are expected to get knowledge from sources in the same dimension, easily seen and heard, both by oneself and by
others, such as books and teachers. In Hawai‘i, many believe knowledge is also gained from the vertical dimension, of the different levels of the heavens.

The Hawaiians inhabit a universe which is differentiated in terms of the vertical, not the horizontal. Some writers think this concerns the physical constitution of the islands:

Because we live upon ‘high islands’ (as opposed to low-lying atolls such as are found in Micronesia), we tend to see geography more in the vertical than the horizontal plane. With hills, valleys, and mountains all around us - more than 75% of our island terrain is classified as mountainous - our entire perceptual experience is with relationships of height (Kanahele 1992: 189).

The higher the ‘source’, the greater the knowledge. Higher dimensions were considered symbolically superior to the lower ones:

Expressions of height symbolized superiority, hence, royalty the gods or the sacred. Deities, for instance, dwelled in lewa lani, the highest stratum of space, and ‘Io, the hawk, is symbolic of royalty because of the altitudes to which it can soar. Related to the world above is light, or ao, which stood for awareness, knowledge, or enlightenment (Kanahele 1992: 47).

In New Zealand, the Tohi or Tua ceremony dedicated the new-born child to the gods. It must always be performed near fresh water, and afterwards the priest is handed:

A captive bird, which is either a miromiro or a tatahore [two small forest birds]. Holding this bird in his hand he chants another formula. In this he calls upon the child by name to open its ears, to cultivate a receptive mind, that it may imbibe all the higher forms of knowledge as represented by their personified forms, the Rua brethren. At the conclusion of the chant he places the bird in contact with the head of the child for a moment, and then releases it (Best 1974 II: 16).
This ceremony is interesting for the dedication of the body of the child-on-earth to knowledge, believed to reside in the higher spheres. It is another way of imaging the dedication of the body to light I discussed in Section 3.11. Here, the steps to knowledge are represented by the release of the bird, which then becomes a denizen of those airy realms. So the vertical nature of knowledge may be imaged. There is a parallel to the Whare wananga: ‘The original Whare wananga, assuredly the most renowned of all, was that known as Rangiatea, which was situated in the uppermost of the twelve heavens’ (Best 1924: 66).

According to the interpretation of Hawaiian culture I am giving, everyone was considered capable of reaching those ‘heights of knowledge’; they are not restricted to the chiefly class, but may be reached by anyone with mana. This, I believe, is an indicator of the importance of the way of the kahuna who followed Lono over the system of human sacrifice following a certain aspect of the god Ku. The Hawaiians were an agricultural people, who planted the land. They also planted the human. As I discussed in Section 3.11, every boy was dedicated to Lono in the Pule Ipu rite, when the boy was introduced into the men’s house:

It is significant that in this rite the boy child was dedicated to Lono, the rain god, not to the war god Ku-ka’ili-moku (Ku the land snatcher) or the fishing god Kuʻula (Red Ku). The dedication of the boy to Lono implies that the primary concern in ancient Hawaii was planting - providing sustenance (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991: 297).

This rite concerns the planting of the ‘inner seed’ of growth in the boy, that was believed, through the system of lua to mirror out in the world. For just as the system of directions did not begin with the visible, planting did not begin with the literal inserting of the seed. Preparation was considered necessary.
Preparation may include visits to *heiau loulu*, or 'hooking shrines'. They consisted of:

A temporary frame thatched with the broad, fanlike leaves of the *loulu* palm. The roof was flat; it did not shed the rain but gave shade. Such shrines were erected in times of dearth, and were believed to promote an abundance of fish (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991: 385).

A 'hook' is believed to have the ability to bring different spheres together through the use of its name. For example *loulu* also means *Aluteria monoceros*, a fish, perhaps so called because its greenish-white skin resembled the *loulu* palm, used in sorcery to cause death because the name contains the word *lou*, 'to hook'.

Different food comes from different gods. For example *Kāne* is associated with the taro, the sugar cane and bamboo. Bananas and marine life are identified with *Kanaloa*, the god of the oceans. The coconut tree and the breadfruit are considered forms of *Kū*, and he was the patron of fishing as an organized enterprise. The pig, sweet potato and gourd forms of *Lono* (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991: 14, 15). In other words, each god has a different 'sphere of influence' and the foods fall under a particular realm. The verbal association of each food with a god provides a 'hooking' effect. Thus both planting, and naming, can be considered ways to return to the gods.

By exploring the ways the spatial constitution of the universe and knowledge stresses the vertical, rather than the horizontal domain, I have foreshadowed the way the earth is considered a reflection of the heavens. I reiterate that knowledge was not believed to be a general quality to be shared by all according to age. Rather it was 'hooked' or manifested in material terms (that may concern foodstuff, or signs of the wealth of the land and sea) according to readiness. The association of each foodstuff with a god above reflects a means of attaining them in the realms of love. That is the role of both planting and 'hooking', attracting through
words and represented by special ‘hooking shrines’; thus drawing the world of words and the worlds of love together.

4.4 Marking Space

A place always has bounds around it, whether real or imagined. Thus, the quintessence of place is exclusiveness, the fact of being restricted and set apart.
Kanehele 1992: 178

A constant theme of this dissertation is that growth must not be allowed to happen in an uncontrolled fashion. Therefore it is necessary to define places where growth is desirable.
Boundaries in Polynesia are dependent on concepts of taboo, one of the few Polynesian words to find their way into the English language. Now I shall show houses as forms of exclusivity. As well as doing this, I shall look at the purpose of exclusivity, namely to develop mana in the desired direction. Hence humans can grow towards the lands of the gods.

Wherever the visitor goes in Hawai‘i today, there will be signs saying Kapu (taboo). A sign may be put on the gate of a private home, at the entrance to a heiau or placed near a field where pakololo (marijuana) is grown. Even today, the sign is taken very seriously, and would not be easily violated, for the spiritual consequences may be great. I shall now look at some examples of ‘taboo in action’ through looking at how it may be used, on a personal level, to define place.

An ancient Hawaiian household lived in a group of dwellings called kauhale (Handy and Pukui 1972: 7). There was a house for each aspect of life, such as the hale noa, ‘the sleeping house’ and the hale kahumu, ‘the house where cooking was done in bad weather’. It is interesting to note the meaning of kauhale is kau, ‘place’ and hale, ‘house’. The ‘placing’ of houses was
considered important. Kanahele wrote that there were special kahuna to decide where the houses should be situated:

Since his living space was so connected with a person’s relationship with the spiritual realm, architectural space was, for all intents and purposes, sacred space. Obviously this is why the Hawaiian architect was a priest and a seer, but, above all, a locator. He was called a Kuhikuhipu‘uone, one who points out the sand dunes, for the most important thing about a home was its placement - its sacred geography ... The making of this decision about locating a house, so central to the well-being of the Hawaiian, joined three of the most important branches of knowledge in old Hawai‘i: astronomy-astrology, religion, and architecture (Kanahele 1991: 205).

This ‘sacred space’ had reference to the gods above, as I show in this section of a house dedication prayer (Handy and Pukui 1972: 113, 114):

\[
E\ Kū,\ E\ Kāne,\ e\ Lono \\
Ku‘ua\ mai\ I\ ke\ ola, \\
I\ na\ pomaika‘i.\ \\
\] 

O Kū, O Kāne, O Lono, 
Let down the gift of life, 
And all the blessings with it.

The object was to regain connection to the gods by ‘raising’ both the house and mana. The prayer continues:

\[
A\ ea\ ka\ lani,\ ka\ honua \\
Ea\ la\ Kane\ I\ ka\ wai\ ola \\
E\ ola\ mai\ kahi\ pae\ a\ kahi\ pae, \\
E\ ola\ mai\ luna\ a\ lalo, \\
Mai\ kaupoku\ a\ ke\ kahua \\
E\ ola\ -\ a\ ola\ loa\ no. \\
\] 

Till the heavens and earth be heaped, 
Let them be raised by Kane of the living waters. 
May there be life from one boundary to the other 
From above to below 
From roof to foundation, 
May there be life - everlasting life.
It was believed houses needed to be enclosed. For example John I'i described a chief’s house as
(Kanehele 1992: 179): ‘not fenced in, but four stationary kapu sticks had been placed one at
each corner, and these served as the enclosure for the house’. These sticks, wooden, with a cloth
ball at the end, are still in evidence today (Plate 4.1). A commoner’s place was also exclusive:

There was a traditional custom of welcoming visitors to one’s home.
It involved an adult family member coming to the door, standing
there and calling a welcome ‘He- mai! He- mai!’ Even a
commoner’s home (beginning at the door) was considered off-limits
to ‘victim-seeking guards’ (Kanahele 1992: 179).

These guards were sent by chiefs on certain islands to demand victims for human sacrifice. It
should be remembered that this custom is representative of the imposed system, which reached
its apotheosis on the Big Island. The sacred nature of everyone’s house, implies that everyone
has that capability to develop mana through greater perception - even a commoner. Indeed
commoners were called maka‘ainana, ‘the eyes of the land’ (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991:
30).

For ultimately, the purpose of marking one’s space away from others was to develop mana:

The house, which provides shelter and acts as a gathering place for
the family, is important as the center in which the family develops
its mana or spiritual forces (Gutmanis 1983: 57).

The mana is represented through naming place. Pukui wrote (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991:
475):

In Kapalama near Kalihi on O‘ahu there was a stockade and house
in which young ali‘i [chiefs] were sequestered before marriage.
This was constructed entirely of lama wood, or native ebony. Lama
means ‘light’. Kapalama means the enclosure of lama.
It is worth noting that the representation of Laka, the goddess of the hula, was constructed of _lama_ wood. Roselle Bailey called the purpose of the hula dance: ‘action and reaction on the way to enlightenment’ (programme of the Prince Lot hula festival 1996). The word for ‘enlightenment’ is _malamalama_. The placing of _lama_ wood around the stockade of the young was considered necessary. They need to be ‘hedged’ in, or else they may grow in the wrong direction. Hence this place, where the young were sequestered, was named _Kapalama_, or ‘the enclosure of light’. It is in the district of _Kalihi_, which means ‘the edge’ (Pukui et al. 1974).

This aids my interpretation that the purpose of the growth of mana is to develop a new ‘place in space’, that one can reach and develop a different perspective.

In this section I have looked at the significance of taboo in terms of building up the exclusive nature of place. The concept of taboo relates to many other themes of this dissertation. For everyone who develops knowledge needs to practice taboo, or else knowledge, used without boundaries, will be misused. These boundaries may be visible, such as in the signs saying _Kapu_, or they may be invisible, for example in the secret meanings of words not being passed on.

Hence the growth of mana may occur in the desired direction.

### 4.5 From Island to Island

_Puka mai ka moku ka ‘aina._

Then appeared the island, the land.

From a Hawaiian creation chant Fornander (1996: 44)

The next step in this metaphorical journey about the creation of place is to describe some of the ways in which land is created. This section describes some of the many meanings of land to the Polynesian, and explores the intimate association of the Hawaiian race with the taro plant; a
form of the god Kāne. Then I look at some ways the island, sea and land were considered part
of a greater whole.

There are two main words for land, honua and ‘āina. Honua means ‘land’, ‘earth’, ‘world’;
‘background, as of quilt designs’, ‘fundamental’. ‘Āina, by contrast, has the meaning of land on
the earth’s surface. ‘Honua is mass and ‘āina is surface’ (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991: 44).

This creation chant illustrates the forming of the Hawaiian islands by the process of volcanism
(Fornander 1916-19: 545):

\[
\begin{align*}
Huki ka moku & \quad \text{The island is drawn up} \\
Papapa ka ‘āina & \quad \text{The land is flattened down} \\
Nei ka honua I ka ola‘i. & \quad \text{The earth rumbles and quakes.}
\end{align*}
\]

Honua, to alter Chomsky’s metaphor, is deep structure, ‘āina its surface manifestation.
Therefore honua and ‘āina should not be considered discrete categories. For in volcanic islands
the earth makes the land shake. Hence the land tends not to be seen as solid and unchanging,
but as a quantity having the ability to change. I explored some of the theoretical implications of
this in Section 1.3. I delineate the idea that humans can influence that change throughout this
thesis.

Not all of the land on Hawai‘i is fertile, consisting of much volcanic, precipitous and arid land.
‘Āina connotes ‘arable’ land specifically (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991: 45), which feeds a
wide variety of crops such as breadfruit, bananas (Plate 4.2), coconuts, yams, taro, pandanus,
bamboo and turmeric. Yet most Hawaiians agree the most important crop was taro, the
forerunner of the Hawaiian people according to every version of the ‘Hawaiian creation myth’ I
have heard. Pukui described Wakea (Wide-spread Sky) the progenitor of the taro plant, then
the human race:
Wakea/Kāne buried his first-born - in one story described as a flabby premature foetus (*keiki aluahi*) and in another as a root - at the end of his house. From it sprang the taro plant ... From this second-born *Haloa* has descended the human race (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991: 75).

Evidence of the cultural dominance of the taro, the food plant that was the Hawaiian staple of life, is implicit in the use of the terms ‘āīna, land and ‘ohana, family:

‘Ohā means ‘to sprout’ or ‘a sprout’, the ‘buds’ or off-shoots of the taro plant which furnished the staple of life for the Hawaiian are called ‘ohā. With the substantive suffix na added, ‘ohana literally means ‘off-shoots,’ or ‘that which is composed of off-shoots’. ‘Ai specifically refers to the paste named poi made from the corm. The taro differs from all other food plants in Hawai‘i by propagating itself by means of ‘oha or sprouts from the sides or base of the main corm, makua or parent. As the ‘oha sprouts from the parent taro producing the staple of life, ai, on the ‘āīna, cultivated through generations by a given family, so the family or ‘ohana is identified physically and psychically with the homeland (Handy and Pukui 1972 : 3).

These terms are interlinked because every Hawaiian was tied to a particular locality or ‘āīna, living in a dispersed community of ‘ohana, or relatives by ‘blood, marriage and adoption’ (Handy and Pukui 1972: 2). ‘Ai refers to the substance of the taro plant growing on the ‘āīna, ai is the word for ‘food’. The word for family indicates that it is an offshoot of the land. Thus the nurturing ability of the land is found in the hidden meanings. I believe this is because nurturance is considered a desired attribute of the land.

The land was divided into a series of sections called *ahupua‘a*, each ruled over by an individual chief. Each *ahupua‘a* ran between the mountains and the sea, so access to the fruits of both land and sea was enabled. Every *ahupua‘a* or boundary had a heiau of stones on it called an *ahu* or ‘mound’. Some of these can still found today, this photograph is near Ananaluawahine in the
district of Kalawao, Moloka'i (Plate 4.3). The existence of these stone altars on boundary markers shows the principle of exclusiveness and the need for growth of mana by vertically ‘growing’ the stones towards the skies. The other element of the name, pu'a, means pig and the stone altar was traditionally topped with a pig’s head. It may also act as an offering today (Plate 4.4). The pig, as I showed in the previous section, is a kinolau, or ‘body’ of Lono. Thus these stones may be believed to be identified with Lono, as well as Kāne, and I believe they are thought to assist humans in their journey back towards the gods.

Land in Hawai‘i is always an island, usually defined as ‘a piece of land completely surrounded by water’ (O.E.D.). An island in Hawai‘i however, was not viewed as a discrete category as an analysis of the word shows. Moku describes a: ‘district’, ‘island’, ‘forest’, ‘severed portion’, ‘fragment’, ‘scene in a play’. Moku also means: ‘to be cut’, ‘amputated’, ‘broken in two, as rope’. The thread linking these examples is their reference to part of a greater whole. The words used to describe islands stress unity rather than separation, and indeed this is what I have found. Sea and land were not two separate constructs in Hawaiian thought. They contour into each other, the invisible sliding into the visible without a defining horizon. For example the word waiwai means water-water. Metaphorically it means ‘wealth’, ‘prosperity’ on land, in a seamless blending of categories. On the island of Moloka‘i, according to John Ka‘imikaua (personal communication 1996), there were heiau underwater. He identified several along the south side of the island of Moloka‘i and said the moku o Hina is the largest underwater heiau. According to many archaeologists the underwater heiau ‘do not exist’. Perhaps this is because they have not been looked for. In Section 5.2 I shall explore the significance of the association between the sea and land. I show the way the sea needed to be named, demarcated and sacralized, just like the land on the island’s surface.

In this section, I have looked at a few of the meanings of the word for island, and at the way they show it is always seen as part of a greater whole. Within an island the land was divided.
Districts called *ahupua'a* were created, running between the land and the sea, between which no great distinctions were made. Fertile land was termed *āina*, which, like the word for family, stresses the importance of nurturing and growth. It encapsulates the keynote of this dissertation, that space can be 'shaped' and turned into place, through its division and growth.

Now I shall move on to some specific examples of how this may work through the study of place names of the islands. My first area is the Volcano.

### 4.6 Introducing the Volcano

For once reality surpasses imagination.

(Frierson 1991: 87).

First I shall take a general look at the context of *Kilauea* Volcano, situated on the Big Island of Hawai‘i, known in the tourist promotional literature as ‘the land of fire and ice’ (Figure 4.1).

‘The Big Island’ is larger than the other islands put together and is growing even bigger through its volcanic activities. The archipelago is known as Hawai‘i today because King Kamehameha took over the other islands in the early nineteenth century and named them after his own.

*Kilauea* volcano is one of three on the Big Island. The others are *Mauna Loa* and *Hualalai*.

*Kilauea* is the world’s most active volcano, a basalt volcano, which has a low hump-like structure. There are two main *foci* of attraction, the crater *Halema‘uma‘u* and the lava ‘flow’.

The crater *Halema‘uma‘u*, is circled by the Crater Rim road and signs mark significant attractions for the visitor (Plate 4.5). Here is the place said to be the home of the goddess *Pele*. It is now crusted over by congealed lava interspersed with small parcels of steam rising up from
the earth like witches' breath, next to which offerings may be left (Plate 4.6). The grey crust is a long way from the brilliant lava lake which nineteenth-century travel writer Isabella Bird described it as 'clots of living fire ... molten metal hath not that crimson gleam nor blood that living light' (Bird 1875 : 55). She wrote about her first sighting:

I think we all screamed, I know we all wept, but we were speechless, for a new glory and terror had been added to the earth. It is the most unutterable of wonderful things. The words of common speech are quite useless. It is unimaginable, indescribable, a sight to remember forever, a sight which at once took possession of every faculty of sense and soul, removing one altogether out of the range of ordinary life (Bird 1875: 54).

Different visitors saw the scene according to their belief system. Some saw the gaping pit filled with fire as the evidence of a cruel God. Missionary William Ellis wrote that the volcano was the manifestation of: 'the power of that dread Being who created the world and who has declared that by fire he will one day destroy it' (Ellis 1969:287). Thorarinsson, a medieval Icelandic sage, wrote that the fantastically shaped fragments of black lava hissing out of the smoke of an Icelandic volcano were 'monstrous birds or the souls of the damned' (Vitaliano 1973: 128). I personally love the lava, and find it very inspiring. Another indicator of the power of perception changing the 'land' one sees and perhaps the land one creates.

Visitors to the volcano sometimes talk of experiencing the sensation that the earth is moving. The earth is literally moving, because it is being created right there. The topography of this ever-changing area is unlike anywhere else on earth. Often, people consider, the best time to travel down to the 'flow' is sunset, because then one sees the contrast of the red lava against the inky sea and the sky more vividly (Plate 4.7). Here one can walk on the freshest land on earth; where the rocks are still sticky, like a new-born baby and onwards towards where the land is birthing. ‘The Flow’ is an area covered with dozens of little fires, at night they are red against
the black rocks, magma flowing between them. The liquid veins of the earth have a constant, iridescent glow (Plate 4.8).

4.7 Place Names of the Eruption

*A'ike mana o ka i'a; o'oe ka mea mana, ki'i nai.*
Fish have no feet, you who have feet must come and get it.
Hawaiian proverb no. 217 (Pukui 1983)

Next, I will look at the Hawaiian place names along the coast of the eruption. Many are along the Chain of Craters Road within the perimeter of the Hawai‘i Volcanoes National Park (Plate 4.9). I counted names of islets and sea arches, heiau, anything differentiated by its Hawaiian name. I counted twenty-five names in all, not counting several indices of one place name, for example Kamoamoa Campground and Kamoamoa. I chose the coast because I am describing the process of forming the land, which is associated with the coast. It is also the first part of the land one perceives. The traditional migrant to Hawai‘i always arrived by sea, and first became familiar with the shoreline where the voyaging canoe made its landfall. This area Kanahele termed *ko kaha kai* or ‘place by the sea’. *Kaha* was a special term applied to areas facing the shore but unfavourable for planting (Kanahele 1992: 54). Another meaning is ‘the stage of the foetus at which limbs begin to develop’. The growth of the human body is inextricably interwoven with the land.

I continue to develop the references I made in the last chapter on the cosmology of the body and the necessity to ‘grow’ places and explore how they work through naming. The land is compared to a human body because they are both seen as quantities which need ‘to grow’ back towards the gods. But first of all the human-body and the land-body must grow according to the blueprint of the gods that surround it. Thus, in this example, and the example of Kaua‘i I
look at later, the body of *Kū*, the physical body, does not appear until later on. The first
references here are to the net and gourd bodies of the god *Lono*, who stands for consciousness.
Thus consciousness is believed to appear before the physical body.

I go north-east from the south-west, along an approximately 30 kilometre trail between Kapā'o'o
Point and Kupapa'u Point exploring all the coastal names of the area that are featured on the
Bier (1988) map (Figure 4.2). The analysis of these names is my own interpretation. Roselle
Bailey is particularly associated with the island of Kaua'i and Hawaiians of this area did not
talk to me, probably because of my race (June Gutmanis being an honourable exception).
Nonetheless, I do not believe this makes my explanations less coherent. For I was delighted to
discover that all twenty-six of these place names are associated with a system of growth, both
the human and the land; and are best understood in relation to each other.

*Kapā'o'o* Point

| *kapa* | ‘tapa cloth’ |
|        | ‘women’s labia’ |
|        | ‘to splash as rain’ |
| *kāpā* | ‘an eel’ |
|        | ‘to press’, ‘squeeze’, ‘as coconut flakes for cream’; ‘to strain’ |
| *o’o*  | ‘matured’ |
|        | ‘ripe as fruit’ |

Here the land is compared to the female labia. We shall meet this comparison to a woman’s
private parts again on the island of Kaua'i. The meanings of maturity and ripeness imply the
body and the land are ready for fertilizing. The occurrence of the word ‘eel’, a phallic symbol
in Hawai‘i, and a popular food, emphasizes this.

---

49 For example the *Mele Puhi* or ‘eel song’ composed by Kaipo Frias, with music by Kekuhi Kanahele is
found on Kanahele’s (1996) compact disc. It begins with the introduction ‘*Mele Puhi* celebrates the skill
of Hawaiian women in eel snaring. We invite you to investigate the *kaona* of this song’. Two lines are:
women revel [in] ensnaring eels

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Waiwelawela Point

\textit{wai} ‘water’
\textit{wela} ‘eel’

‘a new field, as of sweet potatoes’, ‘a piece of land cleared for planting by burning’

The meanings here concern the preparation necessary before one plants, and refers to the eel again, implying that the body, or the land, has yet to be fertilized.

Papalehau Point

\textit{Papale} ‘to ward off’
\textit{hau} ‘a kind of tree’ \textit{[Hibiscus tiliaceus]},

\textit{Papalehau} means ‘shield [from] cool breeze’ (Pukui et al. 1974). This is the place where taboo is brought into play, keeping away undesirable elements. The result is the growth of trees, also referred to in the name \textit{Nāulu}.

Nāli‘ikakani Point

\textit{Nali} ‘to nibble, gnaw’
\textit{i‘ika} ‘contracted, drawn, as in facial features’
\textit{ni} no meaning that I know of

This place name refers to substance being contracted, as if to fit into a net, and the nibbling which will eventually release the substance. I believe this is related to the myth of \textit{Makali‘i} and the Pleiades referred to below, which discusses the land Ka Lae, the southernmost point of the Big Island, about thirty kilometres away (Plate 4.10):

A delicious morsel.

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Makali‘i was a selfish chief who came from the south and dwelt in Kona. One day he gathered all the food plants, stalk and all, and put them in a huge net. This net he hung up among the stars called *Huluhui o Makali‘i* (Constellation of the Pleiades).

After the people ate all of the food in the house, they began to be very hungry. Not only people were starving but animals too, so they held a meeting to see what could be done. A rat offered to try first, so he climbed a rainbow and went up and up and up until he could jump onto the net of Makali‘i. He gnawed a hole here and he gnawed a hole there and down fell some of the food. He gnawed so many holes that a piece fell out of the bottom, scattering the food far and wide. The piece which fell out was the one that the rat was on and down they came together to Ka Lae in Ka‘u. The imprint of the net can still be seen and not far away is the rat’s hole and the rat itself that turned to stone after it grew so very, very old. In the sea stand Iaea and Po‘opalu, Makali‘i’s fishermen, both turned to stone. All are in Ka‘u.

Some of the food that fell was found, and the people planted some and ate some. Some fell in the forest and mountains where they grew wild (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991: 574).

This myth refers to the arrival of food in Hawai‘i, which must first be ‘let out’ of the net of the gods. The association with the Pleiades is a familiar theme.

**Nāpu‘uonā‘elemākule**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hawaiian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>napu‘u</em></td>
<td>‘knot’, ‘tie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ona</em></td>
<td>‘attracted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ele</td>
<td>‘water hole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘māku</td>
<td>‘firm’, ‘hard’, ‘thick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>le</em></td>
<td>‘go about aimlessly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘do no work’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Here we see the growth of substance in the net. It is at the beginning stage - ‘ele is the word for embryo and the beginning of place as I explored in Section 4.2. Growth is happening, but not in any particular direction, ‘going about aimlessly’. Hence we may expect subsequent place names to stress the importance of direction.

‘Opihinehe

‘opili ‘limpet

Pukui et al. said it was taboo to rattle ‘opili/shells here. If one did, a ghost was heard to ask, ‘seaward or inland?’ If the answer, from another ghost, was ‘seaward’ the victim would be drowned; if ‘inland’ he would have an accident on land. Humans must not make a noise with shells, or else ghosts will be angry. I believe this is because the ‘shell’ of the body is being formed and silence is necessary to do so in the correct manner. There is still no direction, hence the death of the human may occur either on sea or on land.

Ka‘aha.

ka ‘the definite article’
‘aha ‘a cord, used for such devices as tying up gourds’
‘name of a design on tapa beaters’
‘a prayer or service whose efficacy depended on recitation under taboo without interruption’
‘needlefish’

This name refers to substance in the net being tied up with a cord. Normally the gourd used for storing food was held in a net (Plate 4.11).
The ‘needlefish’ is a reference to the body of Kū, which it is desirable to thread around the growing soul before incarnation. Kū is associated with fish throughout Polynesia. For example in Tahiti the first enemy captured in battle was offered to the war god, with an incantation:

‘Tu-ma-Ta’aroa, here is your fish’ (Ellis 1839, vol. 4: 289). In the Marquesas, war captives would be hung on trees on a giant fishhook (Handy 1927: 282). In Hawai‘i ‘ulua fish and human sacrifices were considered equivalent. If no ‘ulua could be caught, then a human victim would be dragged to the temple with an ‘ulua hook in his mouth, as though he were the fish (Malo 1951: 226).

I believe my speculation about the necessity for silence in the last place name is confirmed by the additional meaning of a prayer which must be said without interruption. Kā’aha is the stick or wand with leaves and tapa at one end. Space, having been divided by naming it, is now being multiplied. ‘Aha is another word for the number four. Ritual is necessary before conception, in the same way it is necessary to chant to the land before planting.

**Kalu’e Point**

**kā**  
‘to hit’, ‘strike’, ‘throw’  
‘vine’  
‘to send forth shoots’

**lu’e**  
‘loosen’  
‘let down as hair’  
‘unfurl’

There is a sense of substance being unleashed, as from a net. The net of Ka’aha is being let go, which the rat accomplishes by nibbling in the Makali‘i myth.
**Kakīwai Point**

- **kā**
  - 'to hit', 'strike', 'throw', 'smite'
  - 'vine'
  - 'to send forth shoots'
- **ki**
  - 'to aim'
  - 'sacred ti/ plant' (*Cordyline terminalis*)
- **wai**
  - 'water'

Every syllable of this place name is associated with sustenance, or the means of getting it. The *ti* plant is often used by shamans to refer to the power of thought. It may be remembered from Section 3.6, that word, thought and action are believed to need to be in alignment for creation to happen effectively.

**Ke‘a‘oi Islet**

- **ke‘a**
  - 'hand of food, as of bananas'
  - 'male animal reserved for breeding'
- **‘oi**
  - 'best'

The meanings of the name of this islet, now a seabird sanctuary, refer to the choosing of the best substance to 'go forth and multiply', thus continuing the theme of multiplication.

**Keauhou Point**

- **ke**
  - 'the definite article before a vowel'
- **au**
  - 'current, as of water or time'
  - 'small, sweet potatoes of poor quality that grow from the vine'
  - 'to set, as a net or fish trap'
- **hou**
  - 'new'
  - 'repeat'
  - 'push'
  - 'variety of the *Thalassoma*, a shallow-water fish'
Here we have the association between the net and sweet potatoes, both *kinolau* of Lono. A fish, a form of *Kū*, occurs too. The syllable *hou* means both ‘repeat’ and ‘new’ because creation must be imaged and repeated before it can be brought into being on earth. Then it appears ‘new’. It is a reference to the system of *lua* or creation through imaging.

*ʻApua Point*

*ʻApua*  
‘fish basket’ (Pukui et al. 1974)

The next two place names refer to the means of fertilizing. The name of this place, the site of a village swept away in the 1868 tidal wave, refers to a vessel used to carry fish. It represents the male or *Kū*, whose form is a fish and whose name also means ‘standing’ or ‘erection’.

Makemson (1941:10) associates *Kū* with the standing of vertical space.

*Kahue Point*

*ka*  
‘the definite article’

*hue*  
‘gourd’

‘water calabash’

‘any narrow-necked vessel for carrying water’

‘a way of connecting net-sections by interlocking meshes’

*Kahue* refers to a vessel for carrying water.Symbolically it stands for the female womb, whose passage is the vagina. That is why it can mean ‘any narrow-necked vessel’. Its use is to ‘carry water’, which can be the consciousness of the gods as I explore in Section 4.11. This village was swept away by the same tidal wave as *ʻApua*. 
Kealakomo

*ke* 'the definite article’ used before a vowel
*ala* ‘path’; ‘awaken’; ‘rise up’
*komo* ‘to enter’; ‘to feel as an emotion’; ‘filled’, ‘included’.

I believe name may refer to the entry of the man into the woman in sexual intercourse.

Ka‘ena Point

*ka* ‘the’
*‘ena* ‘heat’

This phrase may refer to the heat of sexual intercourse.

Nāulu Sea Arches

*nau* ‘to munch’
*lu* ‘to scatter, as of seed’
*naulu* ‘the groves’ (Pukui et al. 1974).

Here is where the Chain of Craters road, down which everyone travels to ‘the flow’ reaches the coast. This popular tourist stop refers to the shooting of sperm from the penis in a ‘scattering of seed’. The meaning of the whole name refers to a result of sowing and growth - groves of trees.

Hōlei Sea Arch

*hō* ‘give’, ‘transfer’
*lei* ‘flower garland’
*‘beloved eldest child’
*hōlei* ‘small native tree’ (*Ochrosia compta*)
‘tapa dyed with bark and roots of *hōlei* tree’
‘variety of sweet potato’
There is another sea arch here, and a spectacular view over the sharply eroded black cliffs 1,500 feet down to the red fires of Kilauea’s collapsing southern flank.

The sweet potato was a popular food stuff, and the recurring symbolism of the tapa cloth refers to the necessity to make a ‘blueprint’ or overall pattern for creation before it can manifest. It represent the body of Lono, which it is necessary to invoke before the body of the human can be twisted from the different strands of each god using the power of the word.

This place name metaphorically refers to the transferring of consciousness from the gods to the growing human foetus, ‘the beloved eldest child’, as well as the result, the forms of Lono. Here conception is just about to happen.

Kalae‘apuki Point

kā
‘to hit’, ‘strike’, ‘throw’.
‘vine’
‘to send forth shoots’

ki
‘to aim’

lae
‘point, as of land’

‘apu
‘a coconut shell cup’

ki
‘shoot, as of a plant, or limb of body’

The ‘coconut shell cup’ represents the female incubator or womb. The ‘narrow-necked vessel’ is no longer needed, a safe space to grow in is - hence the meaning of ‘cup’. The ‘shoot, as of a plant or limb of body’ is the desired result of the ‘striking’. It refers to the conception of the body in the womb. Another result is the lae, or ‘point of land’.
"Lae‘apuki

læ  ‘point, as of land’
‘apu  ‘a coconut shell cup’
ki  ‘shoot, as of a plant, or limb of body’

This name is the same as the previous one, but without the addition of the definite article. This is because the striking, or conception, has already happened, and there is no need for it to happen twice. The repetition of the other qualities is believed to help them grow.

"Moa heiau

moa  ‘chicken’

This is the temple of the chicken, who, Roselle told me was a herald of growth and associated with Kāne and the direction East. I show an example of this in Kumukahi heiau in Section 4.2.

The chicken is also associated with the Pleiades as I explore in Section 5.4.

"Kamoamoa

ka  ‘the definite article’
moa  ‘chicken’

It was evidently thought necessary to repeat the word moa here. Doubling the word makes the effect more intense, thus helping growth. This place used to be one of Hawai‘i's most beautiful black sand beaches, where the grains of sand were so new they were still unrounded.
The name of this ancient village may refer to the growth of the foetus, which is being ‘piled’ and ‘saved’, thus being ‘stored away’ for the gods.

Waha‘ula Heiau.

I believe the ‘red mouth’ here refers to the mouth of the vagina, and this place name acts as a warning not to allow undesirable qualities in there or there will be terrible consequences.

It was founded by the conquering chief Paoa on his arrival from Tahiti in the thirteenth century. He is the one who introduced the system of human sacrifice and taboo into Hawai‘i, at this very heiau. When I first visited it, the lava had spread around, but not within it. The palm trees rose like singed sticks above the red and black lava (Plate 4.12).

In 1997, the lava finally overcame the power of the heiau and today the ancient oracle tower and stone platform lie under the reflective surface of pahoehoe lava.

Next are the names of two ancient villages, Poupou and Kauka.

poupou 'a kind of fish, *Chelio inermis*
kauka 'place', 'appear'.
Here the body of Ku is growing within the womb, hence the reference to fish. These two villages were named thus to increase the likelihood of fish appearing through the power of their combined names.

**Kupapa‘u Point.**

- **kupa** ‘drudge’
- **pa‘u** ‘toil’
- **pā‘ū** ‘moist’, ‘damp’, ‘soaked’
- **kupapa‘u** ‘an inhabitant who has worked hard preparing and eating food’

This point, the last one I consider in this analysis, near the old Park Visitor Center and Museum, no longer exists. But its name, which has been preserved, refers to the work necessary to prepare the growing human in the moist womb, thus continuing the metaphor of fertility.

### 4.8 Some Final Thoughts on the Volcano

**O ka lā ko luna, o ka pāhoehoe ko lalo.**
The sun above, the smooth lava below

Hawaiian proverb no. 2417 (Pukui 1983)

I have traced the names of the section of coastline lying within the present-day boundaries of the Volcanoes National Park. I have found they should not be studied in isolation, but rather form a system that concerns generation and growth. The place names act like ropes shrouding the

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50 Another meaning may refer to the ancient association between food and stars. *Kaukahōku* refers to a homestead on the other side of the island and literally means ‘the star appears’ (Pukui et al. 1974). On this side of the island we see the result of its appearance, the appearance of food.

51 I heard these names may represent the story of the growth of the human from the point of view of the gods of the Pleiades.
soul. The places associated with different gods act like strands of the rope, stretching back towards the realms of the gods.

The names I have looked at are associated with the beginning of land. The place names of the coastline, unlike place names elsewhere, are associated with formation. I would like to briefly illustrate this point by illustrating one of the place names inland, which I postulate is associated with sustaining life, rather than creating it.

I chose *Pu‘ula* petroglyph field arbitrarily. It occupies a point about one-and-a-half miles inland between *Ka‘ena* and *Na‘ulu* and is a famous tourist attraction. The name, ‘long’, *loa*, ‘mound’, *pu‘u*, may appear to describe the topography of the huge slabs of rock figures carved into long mounds of *pāhoehoe* lava (Plate 4.13). The name *Pu‘uloa* may also be translated as ‘hill of long life’ (Cox with Stasack 1970: 23). The hill was indeed associated with the sustaining of life. Hawaiians would bring the *piko* or umbilical cord of their offspring here and bury it in a hole in the rock, covered with a stone. The *Pu‘uloa* site has so many depressions they almost obscure the lava surface. It was desirable to stop the cord from being consumed; if it was eaten by a rat then the person would have a thievish nature (Handy and Pukui 1972: 78). Thus, it is desirable for the rat to steal when it is to stop greed and selfishness, as in the myth of *Makali‘i*, but not otherwise. The Volcano area is associated with the Pleiades, such as in these lines from a hula chant (Emerson 1993: pp. 46-47):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Wahine a Makali‘i, la!} & \quad \text{Spouse of God Makali‘i} \\
E \, a, \, e & \quad \text{Awake thee, awake!}
\end{align*}
\]

The *Makali‘i* were associated with *Lono*, as was the *Makahiki* festival. Sahlins calls the Makahiki a historical metaphor for a mythic reality inscribed in the creation chant, the *Kumulipo* (Sahlins, 1985, 1995). The *Makahiki* starts with the sighting of the *Makali‘i*. Thus it
is a metaphor for the creation of the world, a transition from darkness to light. Archaeologist Patrick Kirch associated Lono with this site. He wrote:

Other motifs at Pu'uloa, especially certain designs and human figures surrounding the pāhoehoe dome, may have been made to commemorate the annual circum-island circuit of the Lono priests during the makahiki or new year festival that included the collection of tributes from each ahupua'a (Kirch 1996: 117).

Kirch’s thesis, that the designs represent part of this tribute-collecting, fits in with the multidimensionality of the designs. For collecting annual tributes is surely part of sustaining life, rather than forming it. The piko, or umbilical cord, is a sign of the continuing association between man and god. In this way it acts like the ‘aha cord represented by the chiefs, which I discuss in Sections 3.6, 4.4 and 5.5. The cord must be kept safe, or else ‘stealing’ will occur by the human. The association with Lono is continued as the gaining of consciousness he represents is important after birth, as I have shown in various rituals to Lono, as well as before.

I shall explore some more examples of this in the section on Kaua'i which follows.

4.9 Kaua'i: Losing the Body, Keeping the Soul

A'ohe pu'u ki'eiki'e ke ho'ia'o ia e pl'i.
No cliff is so tall that it cannot be scaled.

Hawaiian proverb no. 209 (Pukui 1983).

Now I shall move to the island of Kaua'i. It is the oldest and the northernmost of the main islands, emerging from the Pacific ocean some five million years ago (Hazlett and Hyndman 1996: 259). Rather like in Tahiti, the horizon is broken by sudden, extremely tall mountains. The mountains on the north coast, associated with the shark god Kua, are called the Na Pall
Sugar cane fields cover large portions of the island just inland from the coast and much of the interior is mountainous forest reserve. Its southern and western flanks are dry and sunny and fringed by swathes of white sand beaches. Hurricane Iniki destroyed much of the vegetation and infrastructure on September 11th 1991. The island is small and roughly circular, about 25 miles long and 33 miles across (Figure 4.3).

The name Kaua‘i can be translated in many different ways. According to Wichman, the old name is Kaua‘i Kuapapa (Wichman 1998: 2). Kau means to place, and a‘i is a participle of motion, a mere glottal stop away from ‘ai; ‘food’ or ‘food plant’. Kuapapa means ‘the high edge’, kua, of the ‘flat plain’, papa, perhaps referring to some of the extreme topography of this mountainous island. Broken down differently, Kaua‘i means ‘the agent of’, i, ‘the rain’, ka ua.

Rain is a form of Lono, who is associated with gaining knowledge. One Hawaiian proverb goes:

*No‘eau ka hana a ka ua; akamai ka ‘imina o ka no‘ono‘o.*

Clever are the deeds of the rain; wise in seeking knowledge.

(Pukui 1983: no. 2318)

I have previously written about how place names in the Na Pali cliffs are associated with overcoming emotion, as are the cliffs themselves. Now I would like to look at ways in which the place names are related to each other in a different sequence (Bartlett 1991: Appendix A).

First I am going to look at why certain places were named after women’s private parts. In section 3.3 on creation I explored how the body and soul were considered separate entities in Hawaiian thought. Hence the soul can travel without the body both at the point of death and the point of reincarnation and I am going to explore how this is reflected in the Hawaiian landscape. In this section I shall look at the journey of the soul after it dies; the following section explores this journey as a process of reincarnation.
The splitting apart of the soul and the body on death is measured in the markings of physical space. Every island has its *leina* or ‘leaping points’ of the soul, represented in actual ‘points’ of land. I have visited some of them, such as *Ha‘ena* in Kaua‘i and *Ka‘ena*, the westernmost point of O‘ahu (Plate 4.15). These places remain remote, rocky and windswept. Topographically, they are all outlying points of land, projecting into the ocean.

In Hawai‘i, unlike in some other traditions,\textsuperscript{52} it is not clear what happens to the soul after death. So I decided to look up the meanings of the place names at these points. I noticed they appear to have an association with a woman’s private parts. *Waipio* valley on Hawai‘i means ‘curved water’, *Hōkū nui* on Lanai means ‘great star’.\textsuperscript{53} *Moanalua* on the island of Oahu means ‘double ocean’, and a tale of this place explicitly compares a ‘water hole’ to the ocean inside a woman. *Moanalua* is where a young chief fell in love with a girl bathing in the pool there. ‘He cried out *Moana kā ho‘i ka wai o kūnā lua wa‘al, “how wide the water of that water hole”.’ She accepted his offer of love’ (Pukui et al. 1974: 152).

The comparison of the unknown to a woman’s body can be found in the topography of the landscape. There is evidence to suggest that the cliffs as a whole were compared to women’s private parts. One saying said of a woman who carelessly exposes herself is: *Ahuwale na pali kahakai o Kamilo*, ‘Exposed are the sea cliffs at Kamilo beach’ (Pukui 1983: no. 22). As far as I can make out, the ‘leaping point’ is always in a cleft in a high bluff overlooking the sea, or on a rocky point of land poking out in the ocean. That projecting cleft is called *ke‘o* which means ‘clear’, ‘to project’ and ‘proud’ or ‘haughty’. It also means ‘clitoris’, so the land may be imaged as a proudly ‘projecting’ clitoris. It is also worth noting also that fear and death are associated with women’s private parts all over Polynesia. For example, the Maui series of

\textsuperscript{52} In Mangaia the soul voyages overseas, in Fiji it is tested and purged of earthly associations (Beckwith 1976: 157)

\textsuperscript{53} It seems as though a star may be linguistically associated with femininity, because *hō* means ‘to give’ and *kū*, ‘an erection’. 

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myths describe how death came into the world when the trickster Maui was devoured by the
goddess Hina’s vagina (Luomala 1955: 94).

I noticed these ‘leaping points’ are where different sea-currents meet. Perhaps they represent
the decision the soul is believed to need to make on death, about which *au* or ‘current’ to follow.
The ocean currents embody some choices the soul can make, and I discuss this point further in
Section 5.2. The place names of the landscape even embody the way the soul can choose to grow
the word. On Kaua‘i, the soul is believed to leap from a rock above Hā‘ena. Hā‘ena is
dominated by cliffs broken by a deep valley called Limahuli ‘turning hand’ (Wichman 1998:
125). The Limahuli stream (Plate 4.16) represents the choice of the soul. The use of ‘hand’ as
an instrument of choice is interesting, and is repeated in the association with the place Mānā as
I discuss in the next section.

In Hawai‘i every soul was believed to exhibit metamorphosis on death, but not into any specific
form. Many different accounts report now the soul has a choice about which road to take. Both
Kepelino and Kamakau image the choice in terms of an arboreal pathway:

The soul when it comes to the leaping place encounters a tree called
Ulula‘iowalu which forms the roadway into the other world. Little
children are gathered about it and direct the soul. One side of the
tree looks green and fresh, the other dry and brittle, but this is an
illusion, for the dry branch is the one which the soul should grasp to
save itself from being cast down into the world of the dead. It must
climb on to the top, being careful to lay hold of a dry twig which
will grow under its hand, and then descend the main trunk to the
‘third level’ where little children will again direct it how to escape
being cast down to Pō (Kepelino 1932: 50-53).

There is a choice of two trees, one which is green and fresh, the other dry and brittle, but this is
an illusion and the soul must grasp the dry twig ‘which will grow under its hand’.
The interesting point about Kepelino’s account is that the correctly-primed soul has the ability ‘to make to grow’, which is one of the features of the power of the word. The ability to cause growth consciously is one of the characteristics of shamanism (Serge King 1990: personal communication). Instead of using the word consciousness here, with the problems of definition that is needed in this context, I call this process growth-with-direction or directed growth.

One may expect this area of the island to be associated with the growth, and teaching, of shamanism and it was famous for passing on knowledge. One school was *Ka ulu o Laka*, ‘the inspiration of Laka’, a famous hula school (Plate 4.17). The other was *Ka ulu o Paoa*, ‘the inspiration of Paoa’, the school for historians and genealogists:

*Nāhiki*, ‘many arrivals’, is the name of the bay beside the two heiau. At the end of their training, students at the hula school had to swim the lagoon, go out the channel into the ocean, and come ashore at *Nāhiki* where even on calm days, the waves surge fiercely in and out. As they did so, they passed the shark fed by the chiefess. Those students who had broken any rules were devoured by it. Those who were without fault came ashore safely (Wichman 1998: 132).

I believe the name of this bay, ‘many arrivals’ indicates that the soul of the student has many choices. But whether the student perished or survived depended on their learning. Indeed, politically the district was independent. *Hā'ena* was always ruled by a chiefess and remained politically independent of the *ali'i* [great chief] (Wichman 1998: 126). I believe this shows the importance of individual choice over the socio-political system of the *ali'i*.

I speculate that the names of these projecting points of land are related to a woman’s private parts because they can be seen as an incubation place, should the soul decide to reincarnate. *Mākole*, westwards along the coast, means the ‘eye of the vagina’, in another association with the new life represented by women’s private parts. The metaphor is continued in the next place name, *Pollhale:*
The spirits of the dead came to Polihale from all over the island. They gathered at Kāʻana, divide, on the edge of the canyon where there is a county park and a lookout today. Then the spirits followed the stream Hiki-moe, to arrive prostrated, down to the heiau. Here they rested before climbing to the top of the 300 foot cliff and leaping into the ocean to sink into Pō which lay just offshore (Wichman 1998: 163).

Polihale literally means ‘intimate house’. ‘House’ is hale and ‘bosom’, poli. The stream Hiki moe flows into it and its name means ‘the carrier of the dream’. It is a tributary of the stream Hāʻeleʻele, or the ‘breath of darkness’. It is associated with the end of the familiar. In New Zealand, for example haere, the word for ‘to go’ means ‘dark breath’. The ‘intimate house’ of the woman’s private parts may also relate to the conditions necessary to make new life.

Thus far, I have explored how the landscape and place names of this area of Kaua‘i are associated with a woman’s private parts. I have shown how place names relate to the landscape of the ‘leaping places of the soul’. These particular erectile points of land are also places where different currents briefly swirl together, thus representing in Hawaiian myth the different choices the soul can make after death. Just below the leina, leaping place of the soul, were two of Hawaii’s most famous schools. This is no coincidence, for the choices the soul makes after death are believed to be best made through the knowledge of ancient culture. The place names of the next section explore one result of that choice, reincarnation on earth, and the necessity to grow the bodies of the human, and of the land.
4.10 Growing Bodies Through Placing

Ka ‘anapa nei ka waili‘ula o Māna
The water in the mirage of Māna sparkles

Hawaiian proverb no. 1680 (Pukui 1983).

The place names of this section of Kaua‘i, at my level of analysis, illustrate the reincarnation of the human soul. Many Hawaiians believe that we are constantly surrounded by souls. For example Melville wrote that souls were:

tiny effervescent sparks, scintillating with phosphorescent brilliance, rising from the soft bluish-white glow which encircles the majestic Spirit of the Infinite who reflects all around Him a splendid crimson aura streaked with rays of gold - the brightest light in the world, yet the most glorious and soothing to behold (1969: 22).

These souls live in the sky. The words matua or makua, Rangi and Wakea, refer to the meanings of the sky as parent, ‘The Maori loved to speak of the heavenly bodies as a family, one in which the members are ever regardful of each other; they dwell in amity, and that condition was the origin of family love in the world’ (Best 1924 II: 208). One informant told me the path of the descending soul before it arrived on earth followed the path of the ecliptic:

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54 In the section on Kaua‘i, I would like to acknowledge Roselle Bailey who told me names on Kaua‘i formed part of a greater system, concerning creation and growth. The North Shore is associated with death and the dissolution of the colour red, and the south-west shore with the creation of life. When I stayed with her on for a few days Maui in 1998 we looked up some of the kaona of the land names of this south-west section in the Hawaiian dictionary. I have acknowledged every interpretation she told me. Another informant is responsible for my looking at the names of the rivers, and for some major interpretations here.
The ‘Road of the Spider’, which is also referred to in Hawaiian literature as *ala kūʻukuʻu*, suggests the path by which the Sun spirals north to the June solstice, rising higher and higher each day in the sky of the northern hemisphere, and thence south to the equinox and the December solstice attaining a lower altitude each day (Makemson 1941: 157).

This path is particularly associated with the *Na Pali* coast. Roselle, as the former custodian of the *Na Pali* hula ground, gave me some extra information on the path of the ecliptic. She told me (personal communication 1998) that *Lono* and *Lohiau* are opposed. *Lohiau* is associated with *La*, the sun and lives on the hula ground at *Kēʻē*. But Lono is the husband of Hina, the goddess of the moon, the god of the *Makahiki* festival, and the Pleiades. The sun is associated with life on earth, the moon and the Pleiades with life elsewhere. They always image each other, and are measured in the journey of the sun throughout the year.

Only some of those souls existing in the *po*, the realm of potential, will choose to incarnate on earth. Which one of those gleaming souls is infused with life, or comes into being on earth, depends on the choices it makes, and how it grows. Hence the direction of growth is important. The power of the word is believed to be able to channel this growth. Hence both the human body and the body of the land are believed to be grown.

Directionality is at work, because, just as the journey from north to west in the last section showed the decomposition of the body and passage of the soul, the journey from west to south I now look at shows the conception and the development of the body. The key to re-generation is the ability to ‘grow the body’ of the human through, and towards, the bodies of the gods. The bodies are related to the ‘pattern’ of the different gods, *Kanaloa*, *Kane*, *Lono* and *Kū*, believed to be needed to ‘ropes into’ the incarnating soul. The development of these bodies may be imaged in different ways, for example as the design of *tapa* cloth (material made from the bark
of the mulberry tree), or as the laying down of a net. The place names on the island of Kaua'i I explore are all believed by many to help the human grow. The growth of the human is imaged by the growth of the land.

In this analysis, I start at the westernmost point of Kaua'i and travel south-west along the coast to the southern tip of the island. I analyze some of the coastal names that appear in this section on the 1986 Bier map of Kaua'i, covering roughly a quarter of the coastline of the island. I have also examined the island of Kaua'i through the US Geological Survey maps, which have delineated different areas of the Hawaiian islands at different times. These are also detailed, and, although unlike the Bier maps, they do not have diacritical marks, they note some different names. These are of islets, such as Kāheka, Hanakaape, Lae o Kāhala and Punahoa which are not featured on my rendition of the Bier map (Figure 4.4). I clearly delineate in the text where they are situated. I analyze thirty-six names in total, including those four islets. Unlike Section 4.7 on the Volcano, I have not analyzed all the names occurring along the coast, but chosen some of the sequence. This is purely for reasons of space, and I hope my previous analysis is enough to indicate that they all may fit into the system of growth I describe.

Here I also only look at the coastal place names, and I shall show they are also associated with the beginning of life. The section of coast between Mānā and Makahā'ena is not the most spectacular in Kaua'i. That honour would have to go to the tumbling North Shore, some of the symbolic meanings of which I have just described. Nor is it the busiest, the main towns are situated on the east side of the island. Although there are some beach resorts such as Po'ipū, the general impression is of an area which has seen some much better days. Hawaiian may be heard in many of these small towns. Now I shall begin the journey round this part of the island of Kaua'i:
Mana
mānā ‘arid’, ‘desert’
‘native fern’

Mana point is a deserted area of wide sand dunes and an ocean stretching far away towards Tahiti (Plate 4.18). Many Hawaiians do not like this long exposed beach because they say it is full of ghosts. There may be some substance to the mythology. In Section 3.3 on creation, I showed how the houses in Mana were traditionally built with apertures facing from north to south, so that the ghosts could get out.

I start my argument here, because Mana is said to be the place at the beginning of creation. This place is not fertile. Mana means ‘arid’. But there is the possibility of growth in the name. Mana also means ‘a native fern’, which is a staple foodstuff in Polynesia (Reed and Brougham 1978: 485). Legend goes that this kauna’oa dodder was brought to Kaua‘i by Nā maka o Kaha‘i, the volcano goddess Pele’s older sister (Pukui et al. 1974). Cuscuta sandwichiana belongs to the morning glory family and is a leafless, parasitic vine, growing densely on other plants. This place could not provide much sustenance for the human. Food in Mana was said not to be cooked properly:

Ola I ka ‘ai uwahi ‘ole o ke kini o Mana
The inhabitants of Mana live on food cooked without smoking
(Pukui 1983 no. 2480).

There are many sand-dunes, and Isabella Bird wrote that ‘mirages are often seen on the dry, hot soil’ (Bird 1874: 276). Mana, the means of bringing life into being, is also present in the place name, Mana. Mana is said to be the home of Līmāloa, the god of mirages. Perhaps a mirage symbolizes an indistinct human, who has not yet woven his or her bodies with the thread of the gods.
Lima means ‘hand’ or ‘arm’ and lima loa ‘long hand’ or ‘long arm’. Lima Loa is the ‘carrier of consciousness’, loa of the ‘eye’, ma. This god has the ability to carry consciousness far, loa means ‘length’. The secondary meaning of lima is ‘to take or to pilfer’. The name lima also occurs on the lima hui stream. Consciousness has moved from the place of Limahuli, ‘the turning of the hand’ on the north coast, to the place of mirages on the west coast. Mana, the means of bringing life into being, is also present in the place name, Mānā. It is necessary to duplicate the creation of the gods by imaging it, then building it up through mana. A mirage in a place called Mānā is an appropriate symbol.

Waimea

wai 'water'
mea ‘reddish’
‘thing’

Waimea is the biggest town on this side of the island. Captain Cook landed here, on the western bank of the Waimea river in 1778 (Plate 4.19). Inland, stand the remains of an ancient shoreline (Plate 4.20).

The ‘red water’ in the place name refers to the ‘first body’ of the god Kū being created around the disincarnate soul. His colour is red. Water represents emotion in Hawai‘i, as in many other traditions, and this body may be referred to as the emotional body.

Pākalā

pākala ‘the young of the fish’
pakalā ‘the sun shines’
These ‘sprouts’ show the embryo, compared to a fish, is being spawned in good conditions or sunny weather. The fish has an association with the god Kū and human sacrifice as I have shown.

Olokele

*Olokele*

*Olokele*  ‘ʻiwi or honeycreeper bird of Kauaʻi’

‘a kind of *tapa* associated with *Nā Pali*, Kauaʻi’

Birds are signs of the presence of the god *Kāne* (Best 1925: 769). The connection is being made prior to birth. The second meaning refers to *Lono*, in his form *Rongo*, the husband of Hīna, the woman said to beat *tapa* in the moon (Luomala 1955: 29). It is necessary to make an imprint of the god *Lono*, who is imaged as being like a type of *tapa* cloth, thus providing the ‘pattern’ over which the disincarnate soul will eventually grow earthly flesh.

*Koki* point

*Koki* point  ‘topmost, the upper limit’

‘to put on a helmet’

The reference to an ‘upper limit’ implies that there is no further way for the soul to grow towards the gods. But it also represents a symbolic way of getting knowledge. The helmet is the knowledge of *Lono*. He may be represented by a figure in a high headdress, the way he is in the tourist shops of Hawaiʻi today. Here too the power of choice is important, for one always has the choice to become closer to, or further away from, the gods. When one is ‘growing’ a place, through the word and planting techniques, one has that choice too. That is why *Mana* means both ‘arid’ and ‘a native fern’. Hence the importance of perception, without which ‘conception’ is not viable.

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**Hoaka point**

*hō*  
‘transfer’

*aka*  
‘shadow of consciousness’

*hoaka*  
‘the arch over the doorway of a house’  
‘to open as the mouth’

Here the name reflects the way the bodies are about to be ‘breathed’ into being through an arch above them. The spatial metaphor of creation happening from above is continued, as reference is made to the *aka*, or ‘shadow of consciousness’ being transferred. Roselle told me this is the place where the net of the bodies is let down into the air (later the name *Ku‘unaka‘iole* point refers to the net being laid down in the sea).

**Kaumakani point**

*kau*  
‘place’

*makani*  
‘wind’

This place name shows that the soul about to be incarnated is “placed in the wind”, continuing the meaning of the ‘net’ or pattern being laid in the air.

**Pāweo point**

*pāweo*  
‘turn aside’

Roselle told me this is where the soul is being turned aside from its previous course to incarnate on earth.
Anakua point

*ana*  
measure’  
’survey’

*kua*  
‘high point’  
‘high land’  
‘variant of *akua*, god or image’

Here the body is compared to the measurement of high land. This interpretation is helped by the closely-related word *anaku*’u, a variant of *akaku*’u. *Akaku*’u means ‘settled’, ‘calmed’, ‘quieted’, ‘appeased’. Another closely related word, *akaku*, means ‘vision’, ‘reflection, as in a mirror’. *Kū ā* means ‘to turn into’, ‘be similar to’. The soul is measured and made like a god, through appeasement and reflection, as in a mirror. Roselle told me (personal communication 1998) that *anakua* means the larynx, the cone shaped part of our throat. She compared it to the sand that is revealed in cone-shaped holes when the ocean moves out and said it refers to the necessity of announcing creation to make any undesirable happenings go away. I have concluded that those undesirable things may be imaged in all sorts of ways, as in the next ‘point’ of land.

*Ku‘unaka‘iole*

*ku‘una* ‘the place where the net is laid down in the sea’

*ka ‘iole* ‘the rat’

Here the rat is directly associated with the laying down of the net of *Lono* in the sea. The symbolism of the rat in Hawai‘i is interesting. The sixth chant of the *Kumulipo*, an important chant of creation, is the stanza of the rat. Lines 559 and 560 describe how the rat is associated with thievery in Hawai‘i (Beckwith 1972: 201):

*He mahimahi ka lele a ka ‘iole ‘uku*  
The little child moves with a spring

*He lalama I ka ‘ilī‘ilī.*  
Pilfering at the rind.

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This place name also refers back to the pilfering hand at Manā, that needs to be turned away.

Kepelino (1932: 86, 87) complained how: 'nothing in the planes is safe from the rats, everything is burrowed out by them'. It also refers to the rat in the myth of Makali'i whose stealing led to the food being given to the world.

**Pūʻolo point**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pū</th>
<th>‘the conch shell’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘any wind instrument’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ʻōlo        | ‘long body of a gourd used as a hula drum’ |

The sound provides the space where creation is ‘blown’ into existence through the breath.

Hence the meaning of pū as ‘any wind instrument’. ʻŌlo also means ‘scrotum’, the source of the human sperm needed to conceive. Roselle also said that the Pūʻolo means ‘gift’ or ‘package’.

Marcel Mauss famously analyzed the concept of ‘The Gift’ in Polynesia. In short, he said that it was always necessary to return a gift because (1990: 12) ‘the thing itself possesses a soul, is of the soul’. He quoted Elsdon Best, writing about the New Zealand Maori, in saying the thing that animated the taonga or gift, was called the hau. I believe this supports Mauss’ analysis, that the gift possesses a power in itself. In this context it is being left to placate the rat, so it will not get angry and interfere in creation.
Pa‘akahi Point

pa‘a  ‘adhering’
kahí  ‘single’

Here the ‘mirage’ of Limaloa, or the single image of the gods is being fixed into place on land.

My discussion about streams in the following section talks more about the significance of single and double.

Hanapépé Bay

hana  ‘warm’
pepe  ‘small’, ‘fine meshed’
pépē  ‘crushed’; ‘humble’

Here the ‘fine meshed’ net-body is heated, getting ready for fertilization.

Wahiawā Bay

wahi  ‘place’
awa  ‘fish’

Roselle told me this name should be Wahiawa without the macron. This means ‘place’, wahi, of the awa [a type of fish]. Uncle Willie Goodwin, who grew up in the area told her that ‘they had two rocks at the entry of the bay that had depressions in them where you could put awa fish’. I suspect they represent the place for the offering, thanking the gods for the gift of life.

The metaphor of the incarnating human being compared to a fish, and the body of Kū, is continued.
Weli point

weli 'full of fear'
'a shoot as from a root'

Earthly conception is about to happen, and the 'root' of the Hawaiian family continued through the shooting of the sperm. One should be suitably cautious, hence the meaning of weli as 'full of fear'. This is the place of the god Ū, whose name can also mean 'erection'. The next names which I analyze along the coast support this interpretation.

Kōheo Point

kō 'to drag'
heo 'a knob of any kind, such as at the end of the penis'
'to depart quickly'

This alludes to sperm leaving the penis, and being 'dragged' into place. It refers to the physical conception of the returning soul, which is about to happen.

Nahunakuea Point

nahuna 'to bite'
kuea 'a star name'

This is the point of conception in the physical world. Nahuna means ‘to bite’. Kuea means Ū, ‘standing’, of ‘sovereignty’, ea. It is worth noting in the kaona a reference to the mythical starry origins of Hawaiian knowledge. The god Ū is named here, and he symbolizes the redness of the genitals engorged with blood. It is followed by the particle, ea, meaning
sovereignty'. That redness of genitals will eventually lead to the existence of sovereignty for the human being about-to-be conceived. *Nahu* also means ‘to suffer the pangs of childbirth’.

**Maka o Kaha’i Point**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maka</th>
<th>‘eye’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>‘of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaha’i</td>
<td>‘Kaha’i’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This name means ‘the eye of Kaha’i’, the mythical hero, who sailed to the hidden lands of *Kahiki* (Fornander 1996: 16). It may also be a reference to the name of the ocean goddess, *Na.* *Maka o Kaha’i,* the volcano goddess Pele’s elder sister, referred to as a *kaona* of the place *Mānā.* I would postulate she is invoked because creation is coming out of the sea, ‘the double ocean’ of woman and the god *Kanaloa.* The linguistic difference between these references is the syllable *Na,* which means ‘plural’. Out of many possibilities for incarnation, only one has been brought into being. This is another reference to the soul having many choices.

**Manoloa Point**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mano</th>
<th>‘numerous’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>loa</td>
<td>‘long’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the power of the word is believed to help the newly-conceived soul grow.

**Lāwa’i bay**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lā</th>
<th>‘sun’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa’i</td>
<td>‘break’, ‘end’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘day’
This rocky beach containing clear water is where the association with the gods is broken, wa‘i, and the day, ʻa, of humankind dawns. Now humankind must grow back towards the gods on their own.

*Ka‘iwa* Point

*ka*  
‘the’

*ʻiwa*  
‘frigate bird’

The frigate bird (*Fregata ariel*) ranges all over the Pacific ocean, nesting on remote islands. This huge sea bird is symbolic in many Pacific cultures (see Tilley 1999 for a discussion of its meanings in Vanuatu). Here it acts as the messenger of *Kāne*, bringing the desired qualities of the higher realms to the embryo. It is likely that height is connected with spiritual power, a dominant theme in the Wala culture of Vanuatu (Tilley 1999: 112). *Kāne* occupies the outside ring on the diagram of the gods surrounding the human body, so is the highest of the gods I discuss. This bird could be seen as the magnificent outgrowth of the bird of *Kāne at Olokele*. I discuss some of the significances of the flight-paths of birds around islands in Section 5.6.

*Kukui‘ula* Bay

*Kū*  
‘god’

*ʻū*  
‘stand’

*ʻu*  
‘erection’

*kui*  
to ‘string pierced objects’

*ʻula*  
‘red’

This name represents the place where the etheric bodies of *Kū* and *Kāne* are joined together around the growing embryo, like the stringing of pierced objects. It is worth noting that leis or flower garlands in Hawai‘i are made by putting a hole through the centre of a flower, then
stringing them together with a thread. Hence the place names are working together to grow the bodies of the human.

*Kā’ūlala*

\[
kā \quad \text{‘hit’, ‘strike’} \\
‘ula \quad \text{‘red’} \\
la \quad \text{‘sun’, ‘day’}
\]

Here, the objects the joined objects are struck with *mana*, thus bonding them further. Roselle told me the name also meant ‘crazy’, ‘mad’, ‘demented’. Here, like at the point of the rat, qualities to beware of are invoked through the name, then let go.

*Kalaeiki* point

\[
ka \quad \text{‘the’} \\
lae \quad \text{‘point’} \\
kiki \quad \text{‘plug a hole in a canoe or calabash’}
\]

Here the body, frequently compared to a canoe in Polynesia, is being made. *Kiki* also means a bird resembling the plover, thus continuing the tradition of birds being messengers of the hidden realms. It is also a temporary bundle used to carry food. This name may help nurture the embryo.

Then there are the islets of *Ekaha* and *Kolopa:*

*Ekaha*

\[
kaha \quad \text{‘the bird’s nest fern’, *Asplenium nidus*}
\]
Kolo'pā

*kolo'pā*  ‘to fight’,  
’scream’  
’kick’

One of these names concerns the result of growth, a type of plant, the other resistance to growth. This again illustrates the existence of free will for the humans, for the soul can decide to grow or not to grow.

Ho'ai Bay

*ho*  ‘bring’, ‘carry’  
‘ai’  ‘food’

This tiny bay contains the remains of a fishpond, an ancient Hawaiian house platform and Ho'ai heiau (Plate 4.21). This place name is to do with bringing food, necessary to feed the bodies growing around the soul.

Then there is the islet of Kaheka.

Kāheka

*kāheka*  ‘pool, especially a rock basin where the sea washes in through an opening and salt forms’; ‘salt pan’.

I believe this name refers to the growth of the embryo in its salty surroundings.

Nahumā‘alo Point

*nahu*  ‘to bite’, can refer to a mark on the body believed to be left by ghosts  
*mā’alo*  ‘pass away’
In this place, the last of the ghostly imprinting is leaving.

*Kōloa* landing

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kō} & \quad \text{‘drag’} \\
\text{loa} & \quad \text{‘long’}
\end{align*}
\]

The whole word means ‘to make a prolonged sound’, ‘roar’ and may refer to the sound at the beginning of creation.

Some extra clues are given by the names of the surrounding islands, *Hanakaape, Lae o Kahala* and *Punahoa*.

*Hanakaape*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hana} & \quad \text{‘work’} \\
\text{kāape} & \quad \text{‘headstrong, wilful, obstinate’}
\end{align*}
\]

*Hanakaape* refers to the work one must do so one does not become ‘headstrong, wilful and obstinate’. Hence this place name also contains a warning.

*Lae o Kahala*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lae} & \quad \text{‘point’} \\
\text{o} & \quad \text{‘of’} \\
\text{kāhala} & \quad \text{‘amberjack’ or ‘yellowtail fish’, } \text*{Seriola dumerili} \text{‘ripe, said of a gourd with stem beginning to wither’} \\
& \quad \text{‘net made of strong cord, used for sharks’}
\end{align*}
\]

Here the foetus is represented as a fish, which stands as *Kū*. The body of Lono, represented by a gourd, as I showed in Section 3.6 is already ripe.
**Punahoa**

*puna*  
'spring (of water)'
'section between joints or nodes, as of bamboo or sugar cane'
'to paddle with the hands, as to start a surfboard on its way to catch a wave'

*hoa*  
'companion'
'to tie', 'bind', 'secure'; 'rigging', 'lashing'

The reference to *hoa*, a 'friend', may show the way the body of the human is being grown 'between the joints' as a companion for the gods. Its other meaning continues the comparison of the human body to a canoe. The 'tieing' and 'binding' refers to the way the incarnating human body is attached to the body of the god.

**Laeokamilo Point**

*lae*  
'point'

*o*  
'of'

*ka*  
'the'

*milo*  
'twisting'

Here the bodies, which have already been strung together, are being twisted like a rope, thus giving extra mana. The moulding and stretching of the body is frequent in shamanic traditions, for instance in the myth of *Kana*:

*Kana* has the ability to stretch. He is thought of, like the gigantic *Limaloa*, as a being who can step from one island to another (seventy miles distant) or who can wade through the sea from island to island (Beckwith 1976: 477).

**Nukumoi point**

*nuku*  
'a series of hooks attached to a line'

*moi*  
'a threadfish, much esteemed for food'
The metaphor of the flowers being strung on a lei is continued, as the bodies are ‘hooked’ on a line, like a fish. *Moi* is the name of a chief associated with the anchoring of the land ‘in place’:

Moi, a *kupua* or king of Molokai, sent Maka-ulili, the ruler of the *kolea* [plover] to Vavau to bring an assortment of those birds. He returned with one *lau* (400) of *kolea ulili*, one *lau* of mischievous *kolea* and one *lau* of good *kolea*. The birds were located on the hill Haupu near Pelekunu valley. It was then noticed that the hill at times sank below the surface of the ocean, and then as mysteriously rose from beneath the waves. Moi sent a flight of the plover to learn the cause of this unusual phenomenon. They returned and reported that it was caused by the uneasy motions of a huge turtle, on which the hill was based, and they urged him to put an end to the disturbance by killing the turtle. Moi declined their advice and in revenge the *kolea ino* stole upon him while asleep, and tore his face with their talons; the hero or wizard Moi, then had all the mischievous birds, *kolea ino*, who had sought to tear his eyes out, banished to the barren hill of Maakunewa (Malo 1951: 92, 93).

The body was considered a quantity that needed to be grown through knowledge, hence the occurrence of rituals dedicated to the different gods. I showed in the *Pule Ipu* in Section 3.11, the prayer that marks the consecration of the young man to the body of Lono, some names marking qualities it would be better to lose. I discussed the significance of the place *Maakunewa* there for instance. I speculate the loss is necessary, so only the ‘desired land’ can be anchored into place. For many Polynesians believe the land needs to be anchored into being.

The next two place names continue the theme of the gods warning man.

*Poʻipū*

*Poʻi*  
‘to cover’  
‘the top or crest of the breaking wave’  
*Pū*  
‘conch shell or helmet shell’  
‘the topknot of the rope or line, as attached to sticks in an ʻōpelu net’
Here golden beaches provide Kaua‘i’s main resort area (Plate 4.22). *Po‘ipū* means ‘completely overcast’ or ‘crashing, as waves’ (Pukui et al. 1974). I believe the *kaona* show the danger of the human bodies being overwhelmed by emotion, represented by waves, as in the *hula mano*, ‘shark dance’ (Bartlett 1991:13). The other meanings, such as ‘the topknot of the rope or line ...’ provide for the means to recapture the knowledge of the gods, and continue the hooking metaphor, whereby knowledge can be brought in from different realms and recreated on earth.

*Makahū‘ena* Point

- *maka* ‘eye’
- *hū‘ena* ‘very angry’

The place of the ‘very angry eye’ also refers to the dangers of being overwhelmed by emotion. The ‘eye’ is the eye of the gods, said to be watching their human creation. The other meanings of *hu‘ena* lists the means of humanity overcoming the anger of the gods. They all refer to the necessity of having emotions move, perhaps a reference to the topography of a point of land where the surrounding winds and the waves are strong.

We have now reached the southernmost point of Kaua‘i, and the end of my detailed analysis of place names. I have shown how place is a quantity that can be considered as needing to be grown, just like the human body. This particular area shows the growth of the body both before and after conception. Birth has not yet occurred, and this happens at the easternmost point of the island, as I showed in Section 4.2 and discuss again in the next section. The principle of growth before conception fits in with the idea that the human is grown in the image of the gods, and a ‘template’ needs to be placed around the soul before conception of the physical level occurs. Now I shall look at the names of streams in the same area, continuing the principle that the *kaona* [hidden meanings] reveal a system of growth and creation that may be traced in the various names of watercourses.
4.11 Introducing the Island

He huewai ola ke kanaka na Kāne
Man is Kāne's living water gourd

Pukui 1983: no. 598

In Hawai‘i, the streams represent the knowledge of the gods. A study of their names supports the analysis that they concern the bringing down of the greater consciousness of the gods to anchor it on earth. Here there is only space to look at the relationship of certain streams to each other, and the greater system of knowledge their names represent. I was not given any information on the topic, or about any individual names, by any specific informant, but decided to look for the meanings of their names on the principles I have already set out. After I started this work, I found a book that referred to both place and river names in England (Cameron 1982).

Mānā has its own stream, also called Mānā. Some meanings of this name have been analyzed in the previous section. The point I wish to make here, is that the water has not yet been infused with earthly life. Thus it belongs to the gods and is ‘single’. A Hawaiian proverb goes (Pukui 1983: no. 2910):

Waikahi o Mānā

The single water of Mānā

It may be remembered that Mānā is where Līmaloa, the god of mirages lives. If he is able to do his work of imaging the gods successfully, one would expect to find a name meaning ‘double water’ on the east coast. This is indeed what I found (Figure 4.5).
Here, there is a stream called *Wallua*, which means 'double water'. In Section 4.9 I referred to some meanings of similar names such as 'curved water' and 'double ocean' in standing for women's private parts. Another phrase concerning the division of water is in the *Kumulipo*.

This refrain is said to stand for two streams, one for man and one for woman (Beckwith 1972: 190):

\[ O \textit{Kane ia Wai‘olili, o ka wahine ia Wai‘olola.} \]

Man for the narrow stream, woman for the broad stream.

I think another weave to this interpretation, could be that the male stream represents the knowledge of the gods and the female its earthly reflection. In the same way, *Wakea* is the male 'sky' and *Papa* the female 'earth' in many Polynesian creation myths.

The *Waiaka* stream feeds into the *Wallua*. *Wai* means 'the water', *aka* means 'of the reflection'. *Aka* also means 'shadowy body', thus supporting the analysis that knowledge needs to be grown like the body. On a sandy ridge at the mouth of the *Wallua* river stands a heiau called *Hikinaakaalā* (Plate 4.23). *Hikina* means 'east', *aka* is the word for 'shadowy body' and *Lā* 'sun' or 'day'. The name of this heiau shows the place where the human, whose bodies have been so carefully grown prior to birth, is finally born.

Humanity has successfully mirrored the work of the gods on the west side of the island and independent human life occurs at the east point. The journey does not stop there. As one moves further north, there is a stream called *Ka‘alua*, 'two ply, two stranded'. Here the two strands of knowledge, of the gods and of man, have been joined through a system of naming that provides a means of humanity reflecting and growing the knowledge of the gods, thus joining with it.

Now, I will continue the journey down the south-western coast of Kaua‘i, analyzing the names of watercourses in a similar way as I did for place names of the area in the last section (Figure 286).
4.6). Again, reasons of space preclude analyzing all of the stream names on record in that area of the island, but all the ones I have looked at do fit into this system of creation and reflection.

After the Mānā stream, the Waimea and the Makaweli rivers form a tributary near the places of those names. The Waimea river branches off into the Waiahulu, Po'omanu, Koai'e and Wai'alae streams.

**Waiahulu**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wai</th>
<th>‘water’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Waia</td>
<td>‘name of a star’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hulu</td>
<td>‘feather’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The name of this stream shows how it is associated with the bird of Kāne. It contains the name for a feather, a metonymic part of the bird, as well as a star name.

**Po'omanu**

| pō | ‘the realm of the gods’ |
| po'o | ‘head’, ‘summit’; ‘end, as of a rope’; ‘leaf’, ‘pole’. |
| mau | ‘eternity’ |

This stream name shows the eternal knowledge of the gods being linked to earth. A rope stretches from the hidden realms, represented by the word mau, to the earth, associated with po'o, the end of the rope that the gods are imaged as having let down. There is also the meaning of ‘leaf’ indicating the desired result of fertility. The kaona of ‘height’ or ‘pole’ refer to the separation of the spheres.
**Koai'e**

kō  ‘sugar cane’
   ‘dragged’, ‘towed’, ‘wind-borne’, ‘to hold a note for several beats in singing or chanting’
   ‘to fulfill’, ‘come to pass’, ‘succeed’, ‘to do’, ‘to become pregnant’, ‘fulfilled’

ai'e  ‘debt’, ‘to owe’

koai'e  ‘a native tree’ (*Acacia koaia*)

**Waialae**

wai  ‘water’

'alae  ‘mudhen’

A mudhen is associated with the knowledge of beyond, for example the Polynesian hero Maui caught mudhens and learned the secret of making fire (Pukui 1984: 310).

I would postulate that all these streams are contained in the *Waimea*, due to the meanings of that name. In the last section I analyzed its *kaona* as referring to the reddish sac containing the embryo. The knowledge contained in the stream is of the beyond, *po'omau*, and I would say it specifically concerns *Kāne*, as shown by the references to birds and feathers. The name *Koai'e* shows the knowledge of the gods being dragged across earth, and becoming fertile, like a successful pregnancy or a tree. Thus a debt is incurred for humans to repay.

Some tributaries of the *Makaweli* river, include the *Mokuone* stream, *Waiau* stream and *Olokele* river.

**Mokuone stream**

moku  ‘island’

one  ‘sand’
Both the elements of this name represent the growth of land on earth. Here, an island made of sand is being created. Figuratively, an island represents independence. For example, the N.Z. Maori proverb (Hulme 1983: 357): *Haere, mou tai ata, moku tai ahiahi*, ‘Go, the morning tide for you, the evening island for me’, asks some-one to leave. This leaving is permanent and involves creating a sovereign *moku tai* (*moku kai* in Hawaiian), or ‘island of food’.

**Waiau stream**

*wai*  
‘water’

*au*  
‘period of time’, ‘era’, ‘cycle’, ‘the passing of time’

‘to flow as a current’

‘movement, eddy’

The name of this stream shows the way the water can represent knowledge of another time, and also the way it can be transmitted to earth. I discuss some more meanings of *au* in Section 5.2.

**Olokele River**

*olokele*  
‘bog’, ‘swamp’

I refer to some other meanings of *olokele* and its association with *Lono* and *Kane* in the preceding section on place names. All these names are contained in the *Makaweli* watercourse because here, as we go south, land is beginning to be made. The name *Waiau* shows that knowledge comes from another time. Both *Olokele* and *Mokuone* show that land is being formed, and the symbolic meanings of *moku* show the human land must have the ability to stand alone. I do not know why they all flow into the stream called *Makaweli*, ‘glaring eyes’, perhaps it concerns the necessity for controlling one’s emotions (the place name *Makahū’ena* is a reference to the association of the eye with anger). The merging with the *Waimea* shows the intermingling of the consciousness of the gods and of man.
The next watercourse is the Hanapēpē River, which inland changes into the Kō‘ula and Hauhili and Kapohakukilomanu watercourses.

**Hanapēpē River**

* hana ‘work’, ‘job’
  * same as kilohana, a tapa
  * same as hahana, warm

* pēpē ‘crushed’, ‘humble’.

* Hanapēpē is usually translated as ‘crushed bay’ (Pukui et al. 1974). The meaning of the net-body I discussed in the preceding section is also relevant. The tapa also refers to the body of Lono, and the significance of warmth and heat is replicated in place names such as Ha‘ena on the north coast of the island, and their general association with the colour red. This name also refers to the necessity for humility in creation.

**Kō‘ula**

* kō ‘sugar cane’
  * ‘dragged’, ‘towed’, ‘wind-borne’, ‘to hold a note for several beats in singing or chanting’
  * ‘to fulfill’, ‘come to pass’, ‘succeed’, ‘to do’, ‘to become pregnant’, ‘fulfilled’

* ʻula ‘red’, ‘scarlet’, ‘brown’
  * sacred
  * blood

‘Ula symbolically stands for the male erection, which achieves those colourful, sacred and bloody qualities. KahaʻUla is the goddess of sex, and it may be remembered that Kaha is the first land by the sea. Hence it may the land may be imaged as being dragged into being, which some meanings of kō imply.
**Hauhili**

*hau* 'cool'

*soft, porous stone*

*hill* 'braid'

*turn aside*

*hauhili* 'mixed', 'snarled'

Here, the qualities of the gods are mixed with the stone of earth, and are woven together. *Hili* means 'turn aside' as well as 'braid', because free will is always provided through the words, as I have shown on various other occasions.

**Kapohakukilomanu**

*kāpōhaku* 'heap of stones, as thrown (*kā*) from a garden to make room for planting'

*kīlo* 'stargazer', 'seer', 'astrologer', 'kind of looking glass';

'to watch closely', 'spy', 'examine', 'observe', 'forecast'

*manu* 'bird'

These meanings show the association of planting with the gods. *Kīlo* shows the necessity to look around and watch the omens, and *manu* is a symbol for the knowledge of *Kāne*. While doing so it was necessary to clear the rocks from the land and make it ready for planting.

In my opinion, these streams flow into the *Hanapepe* because the *kaona* of the name refer to the necessity to work and be humble; humility was, and is, considered desirable, as I showed in Section 1.6. The attributes of the other streams may be gained through humility. Next comes the *Wahiawa* stream.
Wahiawa

wahi ‘place’, ‘location’, ‘position’, ‘site’, ‘setting’
‘some’, ‘a bit of’
‘to say’, ‘according to’
awa ‘port’, ‘harbour’, ‘cove’
‘channel or passage, as through a reef’
‘milkfish’, Chanos chanos

Wahi is still one of the main words used for ‘place’ in Hawai‘i, and its other meanings, like the word moku, imply that ‘place’ is considered a part of a greater whole, and its meaning of ‘to say’ implies that place is brought into being by naming it. The seemingly contradictory meanings of awa, which can represent both a port and a channel, do not mean that the Hawaiians are irrational. Rather it shows that every word provides a choice about whether to grow. For a port refers to a shelter when growth is stopped, a channel is a passage to continue growth and end up in another place.

The last stream before my artificial ending point of Makahū‘ena is the Waikomo, which divides into the ‘Ōma’o and the Waihohonu.

Waikomo

wai ‘water’
komo ‘to enter’, ‘go into’, ‘penetrate’, ‘include’
‘to entertain or feel, as an emotion’

Here the water provides the means for entry into the greater knowledge of the gods. Feeling, not just understanding with the intellect, as I discussed in Section 3.8, is important as a means of entry.
ʻOmaʻo

ʻōmaʻo ʻgreen, as plants
ʻa bundle wrapped in green leaves, as of ti, for carrying foodʼ
ʻgreenish tapaʼ
ʻstar nameʼ

Here, the colour green is associated with growth, as of plants, which can also be used for food. That colour is also associated with consciousness. I have explored this further in the journey of Hiʻiaka and Wahine ʻOmaʻo, ‘the woman in green’ (Bartlett 1991: preface). Here we have an association with the stars, the home of knowledge, as well as the necessity for wrapping something in layers, and carrying it. This is a good metaphor for the necessity to grow the body around the soul, and so grow ‘place’.

Waihohonu

waího ʻleaveʼ, ‘lay or put downʼ, ‘place beforeʼ, ‘presentʼ
honu ʻtortoiseʼ, ‘turtleʼ

The turtle or tortoise represents the land in Hawaiʻi, as it does in many Native American traditions. An example is shown in the myth of Moi in the previous section. Waího has meanings of ‘putting downʼ or ‘placingʼ. The land is being ‘laid down’. I believe these streams flow into the Waikomo because there needs to be a passage for the knowledge of the gods to infuse it, and the meaning of the stream ‘to enterʼ provides this passage.

I have finished exploring how the stream names represent ways to transmit the knowledge of the gods to earth. The names of the places and watercourses in the south-east of Kauaʻi are related to each other through the theme of growth, fitting into a greater system of fertility which stretches all over the island. The growth looked at in the last section from the image to the
reflection, the single weaving of the water to the two ply cord, can be believed to be the symbol of gods working on earth. The fertility of the landscape is a sign that the two are working in harmony, and Kaua‘i, ‘the garden island’, is the most fertile in Hawai‘i. Kaua‘i is also ‘an exceptionally well watered island’ (Bennett 1976: 18).

4.12 Materializing Kaua‘i

Maikā‘i Kaua‘i, hemolele I ka mālie.
Beautiful Kaua‘i, peaceful in the calm.

Hawaiian proverb no. 2060 (Pukui 1983).

On this island, known as the ‘garden island’, I have chosen two main areas of study. One is the northernmost region, that of the Nā Pali cliffs, where I looked at some ideas about metamorphosis on death, and the choice of the soul, and how they were imaged in place names there. The other is the area stretching from the westernmost point of Kaua‘i to the southernmost, where I studied both place names and the names of watercourses. I found this area to be associated with one of the choices of the newly-freed soul, reincarnation, and a place where both the body and the land surrounding the incarnating soul needed to materialize. I believe a subsequent study of the meanings of the places between the southernmost point of Kaua‘i, and the easternmost, would show some more of the soul’s growth after conception. Likewise research into the section of coast stretching from the easternmost point to the northernmost point would illustrate the human stages of growth in physical form, until one dies at the northernmost point.
Some of the directions now need to be considered in more detail. The direction south is associated with the god Lono. *Lono was identified with southerly coasts that favour the growth of his forms gourds and ‘uala [sweet potato]’ (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991: 218). In looking again at Figure 4.4 I was interested to see that the point of physical conception, *Nahunakuea*, is on the south coast of the island. Thus *Lono*, as well as the more obvious *Kū*, appears to have an integral association with conception and new life. It is interesting to note that land, in the Hawaiian islands, first appears in the south. Volcanoes always explode in the south of the island, as is presently happening on the Big Island, and on every island, and the north coast is the oldest land.

The *Na Pali* cliffs are situated on the north coast of Kaua‘i. The north, as I mentioned in Section 4.2, is associated with the actualization of the physical form. Thus, man, in his life on earth, metaphorically travels from the east, where he is born, to the north. If his death is imaged as occurring in the centre of the north coast - where *Ha‘ena*, the leaping point of the soul of the dead is situated, then his subsequent journey must be westwards. It is fitting that this direction is associated with death. Thus I have found out that the place names of Kaua‘i can be systematically interpreted as part of a greater system of growth, that can be measured in terms of the journey of the soul, after death and on reincarnation. Now I move on to Moloka‘i, in which a similar pattern of growth can be identified. I show how this may be believed to work through attraction and creation. It may be imaged in terms of love which Sahlins (1985: 19) called the defining principle of Hawaiian society.
4.13 Presenting Molokai

If you look at Moloka‘i with the physical eye, you won’t like it, there are no lights in the darkness. But if you feel it with the eyes and ears of the spirit, you’ll understand Moloka‘i.

Kumu hula John Ka‘imikaua.

This quote illustrates how ‘nothing much’ is believed to happen on the island of Moloka‘i.

Indeed the visitor there may find no lights in the darkness. There are no traffic lights or nightclubs on that island. Over 50% of its population of just under 7,000 people are Hawaiian (Friery 1990: 430). Moloka‘i is considered ‘the most Hawaiian island’ (promotional literature Moloka‘i Visitors Bureau 1996).

Moloka‘i is the fifth largest island in the Hawaiian chain, about thirty eight miles in length and ten miles in width. Geologically it is the product of the merging of two different islands when lava from a caldera that formed on East Moloka‘i gradually began to fill the channel separating the island to the west, forming what is now known as Ho‘olehua plain. Eventually the lava flow from Makanalua volcano formed the Kalaupapa peninsula (Summers 1971:1). It is a very wealthy island, according to the traditional measurement of being rich in fish (a prime food source). Even today, tourism is not particularly encouraged. There are only four hotels on the island, and many of the Hawaiians still live in the traditional fashion, by subsistence. There are other indications of the strength of traditional values, for example the centre for Hawaiian healing standing in the high street of Kaunakakai, the only town. When I was there in 1996, the Dudoit family in charge did not charge for their services, because they told me their power came from elsewhere, but instead requested a donation. Thus in Moloka‘i the transmission of traditional knowledge could be regarded as being preserved.

By exploring the cosmology of Moloka‘i largely through the personal narration of John Ka‘imikaua, generally recognized as guarding the ‘rights of knowledge’ of certain aspects of
Moloka'i tradition, I shall show how knowledge in Moloka'i involves the moon. The moon
goddess Hina, on Moloka'i nui a Hina, or 'Moloka'i island of Hina', is central to my analysis of
the meanings of place names on Moloka'i. Thus I will continue my interpretation of place
names within a systematic context, showing a link to fertility and growth. Now I will explore
how the moon can be used as a medium.

Hina is the goddess of the moon all over Polynesia:

There are many myths about Marama the Moon-God and Ina his
wife, also called Rona, the Moon-Goddess. Ina taught the women on
earth the art of plaiting baskets. In Hawai'i her name is Hina or Ma-
Hina, the Goddess of Fish. She makes barkcloth which she also
taught to earthlings. She is the mother of the island Moloka'i
(Knappert 1992:114).

Thus the moon goddess is thought to be the mother of the island of Moloka'i. There are several
legends regarding the birth of Moloka'i (Summers 1971:1). In all of these legends, Moloka'i
was the fifth of the Hawaiian islands to be born. The following account is taken from John
Ka'imikaua (Plate 4.24) and his hula school, Halau Hula O Kukunaokala. Here, Moloka'i was
born from the union of the earth-mother Hina and the sky-father Wakea:

First of all Papa mated with Wakea and the island of Hawaii was
born, then Maui and Kaho'olawe were born from the same source.
Then Papa went back to Kahiki. Wakea mated with Kaulu and the
island of Lanai was born, then Wakea mated with Hina and the
island of Moloka'i was born. Papa mated with Hina, and this led to
the island of O'ahu. Then Papa mated with Wakea and Kaua'i,
Kaula, Ni'ihau and Lehua were born (John Ka'imikaua personal
communication 1996).
Having noted the importance of Hina to the island of Moloka'i in general, I now look at the specific instances. First I describe the physical geography of 'my area of research' Kalaupapa, then look at how Hina may be imaged through the place names and meaning of a love temple.

4.14 Attracting Space: The 'Love Temple' of Moloka'i

_Ua pilik a manu i ke képau_  
The bird was caught by the gum ['The one desired has been snared']

Hawaiian proverb no. 2849 (Pukui 1983)

Moloka'i's only 'love heiau' is situated in Kalaupapa, a geographically and historically unique area. Kalaupapa is a peninsula in the middle of the highest sea-cliffs in the world, stretching along the north shore of Moloka'i (Figure 4.7). Here the last independent phase of volcanic activity created a flat tongue of land, isolated from 'topside' Moloka'i by fortresslike ramparts (Plate 4.25)

The name Kalaupapa means 'much level land' (Summers 1971: 194). It can also be translated as 'land of the thick leaves'. For example _ka_ means 'the' and _lau_ 'leaf'. The word _papa_ generally means earth all over Polynesia. (Best 19241: 96). _Papa_, in vernacular speech, carries a sense of flatness. This quality is considered desirable for growth, for example it is harder to grow crops on a mountain. Indeed _papa_ also means 'set close together', 'thick together, as of growing plants'; 'in unison', 'all together'. Thus Kalaupapa has a meaning of a flat land of many leaves. The verdant _pali_ [cliffs] are covered with innumerable waterfalls. Even today, access remains difficult, involving a 1,600 foot hike down the cliffs, or flight in by a light plane. A permit is also required. Kalaupapa is well-known because of the infamous 'leper settlement', set up in 1865, where those diagnosed with leprosy were forcibly exiled. Today, nobody is resident there except leprosy patients, their carers, and service-providers, all living in one small
village by the sea (Plate 4.26). The area was originally chosen because of its remote physical characteristics, which made escape virtually impossible. Those same characteristics, such as its isolation, made carrying out fieldwork in the area a delight.

Kaluapapa’s geological and social isolation means that there are many Hawaiian sites remaining. Only 5% of the land here has been surveyed, and it yielded 500 ancient sites. I was very grateful for the aid of park archaeologist Buddy Neller (Plate 4.27), who could not have helped me more. He enabled me to get the necessary permit, and hiked with me to many heiau and sacred sites, arranged for me to stay in the Volunteer’s quarters, and made available the rich resources of the official library and map-room.

I am going to now explore one heiau in the area, out of the several I visited. I chose this one, because there is information concerning its name, which is not the case for all of them. An additional bonus was information concerning its purpose, and the fact the place names of the area had never been linked to each other and the purpose of the heiau.

The heiau hana aloha, or ‘work of love’ is called Kamanuolalo. Buddy told me no-one knew why it was so named, but I believe I have been able to find out a little about why this name was chosen, through a study of the surrounding place names and the processes of love magic.
The archaeologist Stokes described its physical situation in 1909, as part of his survey of the heiau of Hawai‘i (Plate 4.28):

The site of this place is a rough and irregular stone pavement, irregular in plan, on ground declining rapidly in the north. It is 65 feet long, north to south, with a width of 40 feet. In the middle is a stone platform, 7 by 6 feet in size, bordered on the west, north and east by a small stone wall averaging 2 feet in height. The enclosed pavement is rather well laid. In the immediate neighborhood are other small enclosures and pavements, but of rough workmanship. On the eastern edge of the main stone pavement, there have been built out, roughly parallel to one another, five small walls between 7 and 10 feet long (Summers 1971: 195).

An informant told him about the unusual purpose of the temple:

This was a temple for hana aloha, which, from his description, might be translated as compelling love, not love-making in the usual sense. The information was that the priest of this place could be employed by a jilted man or woman to use supernatural powers to change the mind of the jilter (Summers 1971: 195).

I believe this informant is accurate, because the name of the heiau is consistent with what I have been able to find about love magic. One meaning of Kamanuolalo is ‘to snare the bird from below’. Ka means ‘the’, manu ‘bird’ and o lalo ‘from below’. The phrase o lalo has connotations of ‘snaring’, or bringing to earth. In this way the lover is compared to a bird, flying free in the high heavens, whom, rather like knowledge, must be ‘hooked’, ‘netted’ or brought to earth somehow.

The bird also acts as a representation of the loved one in New Zealand. For example in the atahu ceremony, in the Bay of Plenty District, the miromiro bird was dispatched to act as a messenger of love:
No matter how distant the desired woman or man, may be, we are told that the little bird would fly direct to such person, and alight on him, or her, usually on the head. Instantly such person would be seized with a desire for the individual on behalf of whom the bird was sent. In most cases the person would at once rise and commence the journey, however long (Best 1924: 467).

The miromiro bird was also met in Section 4.3, as a messenger between the realms of knowledge. A lover may also be imaged as being drawn up from the ocean, like a fish, and elsewhere in the Pacific fishing is compared to love magic. Here is an account of a fishing expedition in Marovo Lagoon, New Georgia, Solomon Islands:

The first [technique] involves charming the bait in such a way as to make the fish prefer yours and ignore that of others who are angling from their own canoes in your vicinity. This technique is called *vina roro* (creation of desire) and is basically similar to the homonymous love magic applied in sexual relations. Particularly noteworthy in this regard is that while the verb ‘to fish’ in Marovo is *chaba*, ‘to marry’ is *vari chaba* (the same verb with a reciprocal causative prefix added). This opens up a wide field of possible metaphorical (or analogic) linkages between the domains of fishing and marriage (Hviding 1996: 206).

In such cases a lover may be considered less ‘formed’, a lover of the lower realms, rather than the higher. For instance a person easy to woo is known as ‘a fish of the shallow sea’ (Hawaiian proverb no. 614: Pukui 1983). In terms of the bodies of the gods, only the thread of *Kū* may be considered to be activated, those of *Lono* and *Kāne* are dormant. By contrast, a person who holds the interest and love of a sweetheart at all times is called ‘a birdcatching gum’ (Hawaiian proverb no. 673: Pukui 1983). Here the higher bodies have been activated too.

There are several examples of rituals and prayers for love magic in Polynesia. For example, in Kiribas there are spells such as: ‘A Woman’s Spell to Procure a Particular Man’ and ‘Women’s Spell to Assure a Lover’s Constancy’ (Grimble N.D.: 106-112). Gutmanis described some spells
in Hawai‘i. She wrote (1983: 43): ‘sugar cane is often a part of the offerings at this time.

Because of the power of words, the cane used is chosen according to the meaning of its name’.

This prayer for compelling love, for instance, is performed with the aid of the *manu lele*, or
translation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Makanikeoe</th>
<th>Makanikeoe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Hono a lele</em></td>
<td>Joining flies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Lele ke aloha</em></td>
<td>The love flies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pili ia [inoa]</em></td>
<td>This pertains to [name]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘<em>Ilaila ‘e pili ai</em></td>
<td>There it will be in contact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>A noe ‘ole kona po</em></td>
<td>And sleepless are his/ her nights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Lele ‘oe a loa’a o [inoa]</em></td>
<td>You fly until you get [name]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ma kona wahi e noho ai</em></td>
<td>At his/ her place at which he/ she lives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ho’okomo ‘oe I ke aloha iloko ona</em></td>
<td>You put love into him/ her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ka hali’a, ke Kuko, ka makalahia</em></td>
<td>The fond recollection, the strong desire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Moe ‘ole ai kona po</em></td>
<td>That his/ her nights may be without sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ho‘iho‘i mal a pili a pa’a me ia‘u</em></td>
<td>Return and join firmly with me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>E pili a pa’a, mau a man</em></td>
<td>Come together, fixedly, continually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>A mau loa</em></td>
<td>And ever after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Akau I ka pua aneane.</em></td>
<td>Till the last offspring is born.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another description of a Polynesian love ritual is from Julius Rodman who also quoted Thrum:

Those priests who succeeded in bringing lovers together never depended on the *tour de force*, but rather upon long and patient effort. The client would be instructed to eat all of a joint of the sugarcane, *pilimal*, that would serve to engage the loved one’s attention. Then he must chew a joint of the sugarcane, *manulele*, at the same time offering to share it with her so as to cause his love to possess her. If these potions were not available, then herbs specially prepared in ways peculiar to each priest must be taken to a place of high winds, some to be eaten and some to be tossed about in the wind. In this way lovers were brought together and the fidelity of single persons assured (Rodman 1979: 28, 29).
The conjunction of words and action with the correct implement (here the *manu lele* sugar cane), will ensure the compliance of the desired object. But the result of the prayer is only possible if the wind flies to the desired one. That is why the prayer, in Rodman’s example, was performed in the high wind. Interestingly, in the example Gutmanis quoted, the name of *Makanikeoe*, one of the wind gods, is addressed first. He is ‘*Makanikeoe*, the god of love’ (Green 1926: 34). The name *Makanikeoe* [lit. *makanì*, ‘the wind’ and *keoe* ‘sweet potato’, a form of *Lono*, or the star constellation Lyra], is an association between *Lono* and the stars and love. I believe this is another indicator of the greater consciousness of the ‘hidden lands’, which can be represented by star names being associated with love.

The animating force of love, of life, is not only carried by the wind, it is inseparable from it. This relates to another of Mauss’ definitions concerning the word *hau*, this time including the wind: ‘the word *hau* designates, as does the Latin *spíritus*, both the wind and the *soul* - more precisely, at least in certain cases, the soul and the power in inanimate and vegetal things’ (1990: Chapter One: footnote 26). That power is believed by many Hawaiians to animate magic, and may be one reason why material objects are used in spells. The magic is linked to the gods by the homologies I have already discussed, for instance the sugar cane is considered to be the body of *Kāne* (Handy and Pukui 1972: 252).

Having linked the name of the heiau to its purpose, I will now look at the place names of the areas surrounding the heiau and explore how they also relate to the heiau’s purpose (Figure 4.8). The ‘temple of love magic’ is on a hill called *Kauamana*, situated near *Manukapu*, above *Kaiaka*. The nearby beach is called *Pikoone*. The general name for the whole area is *Hina*.

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55 The direction of the wind when the prayer for love magic is performed is also vital in New Zealand. An octogenarian of the *Awa* tribe, of the Bay of Plenty informed Best that the adept would sometimes proceed as follows: ‘He carefully notes the wind. When blowing towards the home of the desired woman, he takes a feather in his left hand, passes it under his left thigh, and then, holding it upright in his out-thrust left hand, he recites his charm, which concludes with an appeal to the winds to waft hitherwards the desired woman’ (Best 1924 I: 467).
These names relate to the themes of love and the moon which were discussed earlier.

*Kauamana* means ‘the power of us’, which is a good name for inducing love magic which binds another person to one. *Manukapu* means ‘the taboo of the bird’ and I believe it is a reference to the sacredness of the place. It also refers to the ‘flying bird’ sugar cane and the name of the temple means ‘to snare a bird from below’. *Kalaka* means ‘the food’, *kai*, ‘of the first light’, *aka*. *Pikoone* beach literally means the *piko* [umbilical cord] of the sand, *one*. The *piko* is always symbolic of the joining of different properties, as I have looked at in several sections already. I believe here it also refers to the attachment between the worlds of the gods and the world of man, which can be represented by that connecting cord.

In my opinion, these names refer to the necessity to grow the light of love through the food of knowledge. The desire for a long-term love is mentioned in the chants, which refer to a mau *loa*, ‘and ever after’, and indeed the word for the ceremony of ‘staying together’ in old Hawai‘i, which I discussed in Section 3.11 was *ho‘ao*, or ‘the making of light’. The system of *lua* or imaging is invoked again, for *kaiaka*, or ‘the food of the first light’ is grown through the ‘taboo of the bird’ in the place of *Hina* (the moon).

4.15 A Little Moon Magic

*Kau ka mahina*
‘The moon is shining’ or ‘the moon has been placed’.

Hawaiian proverb no. 1612 (Pukui 1983).

The general links between place names on Moloka‘i and the themes of desire, love and fertility and its creation through *lua* or imaging, is continued in the names contained in the *Waiaka* ritual. This ‘moon ritual’ used to be held on the island of Moloka‘i and its purpose was to help people obtain what they desire. The following is Kumu Ka‘imikaua’s account:
On a bay by Kaumakakai called Pu'ulua the women built temples of the moon. The heiau were called *waiaka*, and were circular with pegged poles in ground and cross-beams at the top. Large sheets of *kapa* were draped over it to act as curtains. In the middle there stood a large gourd called an *'umeke*. It was stained with *pa‘u* inside [black shells of the *kukui* nut mixed with oil].

When night came and the moon was rising females entered and sealed themselves in. Each female brought a small gourd of water, and each one said who she is, where she comes from and her purpose, then each female poured the water into a central gourd. As the moon rose and neared the top of the sky the reflection appeared in the bowl of water. Hina dwelt in that *waiaka* for a few minutes. That is the time when you know what name to call your child and so on. The time of the highest mana was when the moon reached the centre. The women consulted the *waiaka* for war, and before the battle they would call on the manifestation of Hina and ask her for what they wanted, when she was reflected in the gourd of water. They would also get a plain view of what was happening to their men. They would fight alongside their men if they were losing. One kind of fighting was called *luakaukaio‘au* or pole fighting. For females it was called *kahala‘au*. One stroke the females used to do was called: *Hina ula ute* (personal communication, *hula piko* festival, Moloka‘i, 1996).

The names in the *Waiaka* ritual indicate this system of growth through reflection:

**Waiaka**

*a‘*aka*‘image’

*wai*‘water’

*Waiaka* means ‘water image’, appropriate because the moon is reflected in the gourd of water.

**‘Umeke**

*‘umeke*‘to draw’, ‘pull’, ‘attract’

*‘ume*‘month’

*‘ume*‘name of sexual game, because players were drawn to one another’
The name of the gourd connotes attraction, appropriate for a ritual in which one wishes to attract an image of what one wants. It may seem strange this word should also mean ‘month’. I do not believe it is a coincidence and discuss the subject further in Section 5.3.

**Pu'ulua**

- *pu'u* 'protuberance'
  - *hill*
- *lua* 'double'

This place name means ‘the protuberance of the double’ and refers to what happens when the image is being grown. The same word is used to describe a hill on land, which may be described as a protuberance on the image. The image is the earth, mirroring the creations of the gods.

**Luakaukalo‘au**

- *lua* 'image'
  - ‘ancient Hawaiian form of wrestling’
- *kau* 'to place'
- *kalo* 'taro plant'
- *‘au* 'swim', 'travel by sea'
  - ‘jut out into sea as land point’, ‘project’
  - ‘handle’, ‘staff’, ‘stem’
  - ‘group’

In ancient Hawaiian wrestling there were strokes performed by the male and the female. **Luakaukalo‘au** describes the male ‘stroke’. One interpretation could be the man’s stroke [of the penis] is making an image. This seems a fairly good metaphor for conception, the penis fertilizing the egg and making an embryo ‘swimming’ in the womb, part of the metaphorical Hawaiian family as I discussed in Section 4.5.
Interestingly, in Hawaiian literature there are many references to the desirability of a man using the right ‘stroke’ with a woman. One proverb goes (Pukui 1983: 1240):

_I nanea no ka holo o ka wa’a I ke akamai o ke kū hoe._
A woman enjoys the canoe ride when the paddler is skilled.

The opposite stroke in wrestling in this ritual, performed by the female is called:

_Kahala‘au_

_kāhala_  
‘ripe’  
’a net made of strong cord used for sharks’

_‘au_  
‘swim’, ‘travel by sea’  
‘jut out into sea as land point’, ‘project’  
‘handle’, ‘staff’, ‘stem’  
‘group’

We have the repetition of the syllable ‘_au_, with it’s meanings of carrying on the family. _Kahala_ means both ‘ripe’, as for fertilization and ‘net of strong cord’. I would postulate this is because the husband of Hina, the god Lono, is associated with a net. Then there is the female stroke, _Hina ula ule_, which means ‘Hina [who causes] the penis, _ule_, to flame, _ula_. The penis is becoming erect, before it disgorge its sacred charge necessary to carry on the generation of Hawai‘i.

Thus the Hawaiian names describing parts of the ritual all support the objective of the ritual, which is desirable creation. Hence the image is grown, not arbitrarily but in a chosen direction.

Now I shall further explore the associations between the moon, Hina and fertility.
4.16 The Moon-Goddess and Fertility

Ngā whetū hari kai mai.
The stars that bring food here
New Zealand Maori proverb 73-12 (Riley 1990)

If my interpretation of the moon ritual and fertility is correct one would expect to find many other sources of reference between Hina, the goddess of the moon, and fertility. One of the forms of Hina is the ideal, mature woman of Polynesian tradition. ‘People identify her with that Hina who lives on the moon ... and hovers over women in childbirth’ (Luomala 1955: 114).

The legend of Hina 'ai ka malama, ‘Hina feeding on the moon’ (Wyban 1992: 126) told of how the moon and the stars escaped from Hina’s calabash or gourd and flew into the sky. The chant Ka Wa’a Ipu K a O Hina, ‘The Canoe of Hina’ (John Ka‘imikaua personal communication 1996) shows another way of Hina putting the stars into the sky. She pierced the sandy bottom of the shoreline with her magic staff called maka‘ula, and attracted many fish. Her sister became jealous and stole the maka‘ula, broke it in half and threw it into the sky. ‘it turned into the group of stars known as Kau ka maka‘ula o Hina, or ‘the belt of Orion’.

The stars are related to fish in many proverbs. For example, the Milky Way is spoken of as Ika a Maui, ‘the fish of Maui’ (Riley 1990: proverb 73-2). The stars are also associated with other kinds of food as this myth about her husband Lono, or Rongo shows:

Another name met with in Maori myth is that of Rongo-tau or Rongo-a-tau, or Rongo-nui-a tau. This being is said to abide in the heavens with Tane and Rehua (the sun and the star Antares). Apparently these are variant forms of the name of Rongo-marae-rosa, for Rongo-tau is shown to be connected with the sweet potato and with Pani, who is spoken of as the mother of that prized tuber. In Vol. I. of White’s Ancient History of the Maori, page 163, appears a sentence stating that Kahukura, the rainbow, and Rongo-nui-a-tau were seen standing in the heavens. Again, Rongo-maui, the husband of Pani, is apparently the same being as Rongotau. He
is said to have been a brother of Whanui (the star Vega), from whom he obtained the kumara tuber. The heliacal rising of that star was awaited by the Maori as a sign of the crop-lifting season’ (Best 1924: 133).

This myth indicates that kaona of the elements of the name of Makanikeoe, the god of love, which refer to the sweet potato and the star Vega are no coincidence. One way of interpretation may be that the stars brought food to earth with the emotion of love. Hence humans must infuse knowledge with feeling, creation by love, to grow food (and themselves) back up towards the gods. The names of the sisters of the god of love are also associated with food. Leaf-of-the-vine ‘made the wild plants grow’ and Leaf-of-the-red-blossom had ‘authority over fish of every sort’ (Green 1926: 34). Love may be believed to help food grow.

The moon-goddess has let the stars free in the sky, and her husband Lono has brought ‘the food of the stars’ to earth. This food metaphorically stands for knowledge, and may be represented in earthly food, each one of which stands for a god, as I discussed in Section 4.3. I have explored how the human may be conceived of as growing their body back to the realms of the gods in the image of the gods. I postulated that food may be brought to earth through the emotion of love, and now I am going to look at an example of place being fed through love.

According to Billy Kalipi Jr., the custodian of fishponds, there is a sacred pond called Kalua a’a, the piko [umbilical cord] of Moloka‘i where the birth of Hina took place (personal communication 1996). Hina was attached to this place through her piko [umbilical cord]. In looking at the meanings of the words, Kalua is lua, with the definite article, ka, added. Kalua means ‘double’, ‘two-stranded’. It also means ‘pit’. A’a means ‘rootlet’, ‘tendon’, ‘muscle’, ‘nerve’, ‘offspring’ and ‘to send greetings or love’. This small example illustrates how space is

56 In Sections 4.7 and 4.10 I explored some other meanings of ka. They are not contradictory and refer to the means by which creation is believed to happen.
fed through the root of the plant, by the emotion of love, and the image is produced in the pit on earth, a reflection of the *lua* or ‘star pit’. Hence the meaning of ‘double’, and the word also means ‘two-stranded’ because the creation of the gods is interwoven with the creation of the earth. The ‘feeding’ through ritual and knowledge is believed to lead to new life, both plant and human, a life measured by the moon-goddess herself, as I illustrate in Section 5.3. Appearance happens through reflection, growth comes into being through light imaging itself. The *kaona* of the names contained in the chant refer to the belief that the land of Moloka‘i is continually grown, through the medium of the moon, in the image of elsewhere.

4.17 Some Concluding Thoughts on Moloka‘i

*Ohi ka manu o ke ao*
The bird of the day reaps its reward

Hawaiian proverb no. 2366 (Pukui 1983)

I have explored several diverse elements on Moloka‘i, such as the goddess of the island, a temple of love, a moon ritual, and a chant concerning the feeding of Hawai‘i. I have shown how others have associated the island of Moloka‘i with the moon. But, putting these diverse elements together, I am the only one to discuss it in terms of a system of creation and attraction and demonstrate how the growth of place names fits in. For I have illustrated how the Hawaiian names used are all connected to a greater cosmology, they concern a system of creation and reflection through the imaging of the moon. It is a different way of understanding the imaging of *lua* or ‘doubling’, and they are not disconnected, as I show in my last example of Kalua a‘a.

The moon is believed to help bring desired objects, such as the lover, into being. Spatially those objects are all removed from the supplicant. By ‘hooking’ them and bringing them down to earth, the moon brings them into the orbit of the humans. That is the role of the *heiau loulu* or
'hooking temples' I looked at in Section 4.3. The hooking is also done by the attraction set up by the imagery of words, which have many homologies and are believed to attract this system of creation and reflection. This attraction, as I explored in the love magic ritual, is also brought about through material objects, and the force embodied in the name is important.

I use the word attraction here to mean the 'bringing into being' of certain outcomes, out of many possible potentials. It is the same force which is believed to bring into being the conception of the hidden meanings of the word, or cause a plant to grow in the desired way through directed words or chants. The gods and goddesses symbolize a fully formed idea (Serge King: personal communication 1990). Thus, by directing one's understanding of hidden meanings, for example, towards them, the human being has a vehicle to represent the result of increased perception - conception.

4.18 Lacing Space into Place

*O ka pā 'ai a ka ʻi'a, Kuhi ka lima, leʻa ka haʻiawi.*

With a pearl fishhook that the fish grasps, one can point with the hand and give with pleasure.

Hawaiian proverb no. 2432 (Pukui 1983).

The growth inherent in the materiality of the word, exemplified by this system of naming places is a cornerstone of this work. Correct perception of the place names leads to conception. That conception may be mirrored in the way the names refer to the conception and growth of the body.

This chapter has looked at the ways the place names of Hawai‘i can be interpreted not only on an individual basis, but as part of a greater system of cosmology, in which every place name in a given sequence is significant. Growing place may be imagined like the growth of a plant. First
a place is ‘seeded’, then develops rootlets stretching horizontally under the earth. The groups of place names along the surface of Hawai‘i I have looked at all reflect this sequence. Then the plant begins to rise through the enlarging, capillaries, ducts, arteries and canals in the roots, and the plant begins to show above the surface. This is because each name is believed to be able to ‘shoot’ and grow, according to the direction of the word which animates it. It is ao, or visible, after the darkness of the pō, thus a microcosmic example of the greater creation of the gods. All the examples of ‘sequencing’ I chose refer to the necessity to ‘grow place’ according to the word.

On the Big Island and Kaua‘i I looked at how it is considered necessary to image and conceive place, and how it is compared to imaging and conceiving the human. On Kaua‘i I also explored place names in terms of the choice the soul has to make after death. On Moloka‘i I looked at how the growth of place can be imaged in terms of the moon. None of these examples are exclusive, indeed each one can be interpreted in many different ways. This is an indicator of the multi-dimensional nature of Hawaiian knowledge. One informant told me that all dimensions within the universe exist simultaneously, resonating at different qualities of vibration. Everyone is limited by their perception as to how much of this existence they can perceive and comprehend. The higher one’s consciousness the more one can see into other dimensions. Hence the role of teaching, and learning, ancient knowledge. Each example is also an indicator of a system of attraction and creation, in which the word is believed to attract certain elements, and hence grow according to perception. The growth of ‘place’ occurs through the perception of the kaona of each name, and the growth of the land becomes a visible indicator of that system.

The growth - or otherwise- of the land is believed to represent the perception of the particular kaona within the word. They are all part of a system of growth, and resistance to growth. This is because man is always believed to be exhibit free will in his decision as to whether he grows.
back to the land of the gods or not. I have already described that in terms of the different meanings of place names. But I just like I described in Section 3.11, the perception of the **kaona** also contains the means to overcome obstacles and ‘reach a new place’.

For example, *Pali*, ‘cliff’, metaphorically mean an obstacle. I showed in Section 4.9 how the cliffs at the Na Pali coast may be considered to be a form of the shark-god *Kua*. The following myth illustrates how one can overcome the ‘block’ through a new perspective. A fisherman lived off the bounteous land and sea, but forgot his devotion to his gods. A shark criticized him:

> The sea is the home of the gods; our dwelling place is among the branching coral groves: we sport there under the dark waves, and when storms vex the ocean, we calm the troubled deep. The land is the abode of man... our temples are there. But man is wicked: our altars are deserted and desolate. No garlands of *maile*, no wreaths of *hala*, crown our images. No offerings of fish delight the senses of the priest. No solemn sacrifices celebrate our glory and power. Gone, gone is the reverence due to our might! Accursed is the race of *Wakea*! No more shall they cumber the land of Hawai‘i, the land itself shall no longer remain; the dark blue ocean shall roll forever over all (by Henry Lyman in Thrum 1923: 228-235).

Then, because the fisherman prayed so hard, and was so full of repentance, the shark told him how him and his wife could be saved by climbing the highest mountain. When the dark flood went down, the fisherman and his wife climbed off the cliff and repopulated the island. They never forgot to offer sacrifices to the gods. They overcame the ‘obstacle’ of the mountain by climbing it, and there are many different ways to do so. The mountain path has many different view points or ‘know ledges’ as described in this account:

> All people climb the same mountain. The mountain, however, has many different pathways - each with a different view. A person knows and understands only what he sees from his own pathway, and as he moves, his view will change (Lee And Willis 1990: 17).
The path the fisherman chose - to remember the gods - led to increased perception. I shall show another example of this through the creation of land in the ocean in Section 5.2. Here he is imaged as missing out certain directions - for instance to carry on forgetting the gods and being overwhelmed by the flood like everyone else on the island - and choosing a certain path which led to him creating an island of standing on his foundation of understanding. He chose to grow with direction, and was rewarded by his life being saved and a new view of the world.

In the previous example, that 'new view' was imaged as an increase in vertical height.

In accordance with the system of multi-dimensionality I am describing, I am now going to describe another way of 'seeing' each island as part of something greater. This is in accordance with some indigenous perceptions of moku the word for 'island' being part of a greater whole, as I described in Section 4.5.

One Hawaiian told me the different Hawaiian islands act like a 'system of chakras' I found a diagram of this in a book about Hawai'i (Figure 4.9). The word chakra comes from the Sanskrit word meaning 'wheel' and can be associated with the physical body and the 'bodies' or aura around it. For example Dr. Brenda Davies wrote that the word chakra 'refers to the many vortices of energy which penetrate not only the aura but the physical body also' (Davies 1998: 46). Someone else described these centres of energy as power vortexes (Pila 1995: 67). Places may be taken as instances which slice into a hologram of energy surrounding the islands, and are 'grounded' in material form. Each area of the human body is believed to correspond to a certain Hawaiian island, as well as a blueprint in the heavens. For instance the Big Island is the root chakra, and so on up to Kaua'i being the crown chakra. Moloka'i is associated with the central heart chakra.
Here is a sense in which a place is imaged as a giant holotrope, the meeting point of energies constantly being exchanged between the earth and the skies, humans and gods, matter and spirit. Without this reciprocal exchange it is thought growth would not be able to happen. One of the ways this exchange happens is through place names. I believe this makes sense of Roselle’s Bailey answer to my question about why places had names at all. She said:

The principle is for every action there is an equal and opposite reaction. Knowledge is an understanding of the elements and how they act and react upon each other. Naming places is an understanding of the power of words and how they act and react upon each element of landscape (personal communication 1998).

Thus the names of the places must be spoken with the appropriate direction. Then the life of the place can be grown with visible results, such as food, which are useful for the human. Even today, the motto for the State of Hawai‘i is (Pukui 1983: no. 2829):

_Ua man ke ea o ka ‘aina I ka pono._
The life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness.
5.1 Envisioning Place

*Kū I ka moku
Stands on the island

Pukui 1983 Hawaiian proverb 1876.

In the last chapter I described ways of creating place through space, and explored ways in which ‘growing place’ through naming was associated with growing the body. In this chapter, the themes are slightly different, but the focus is the same. I explore again the ways space and time may be manipulated to make new land, but concentrate on what is known as ‘legendary land’, land that does not exist in shared reality, but is a product of individual perception. That land may be imaged by the ‘hidden islands’, which have paradaisal characteristics.

This journey names ‘two horizons’, one of which may be ‘pushed out’ to reveal space not normally seen. In Hawai‘i there is a belief more than one kind of horizon exists; there may be:

at least two kinds of horizons, one visible and the other invisible. The former is the line at which the ‘dome of the sky’ meets the edge of the sea, and the latter ‘pushes out,’ pane‘e, its only boundary being where it adjoins the solid walls of the sky (Kanahele 1992: 176, 177).

One can ‘push out’ one’s horizon through remembering ancient knowledge, and so create a second horizon. Now I am going to describe those horizons, then show the flexibility of the ‘land’ one sees, which may ‘push out’ the horizon further.

The ‘first horizon’ marks what one is easily able to see. David Malo wrote: ‘The circle or zone of the earth’s surface, whether sea or land, which the eye traverses in looking to the horizon is
called *kahiki-moe* (Malo 1951: 10). I believe the name of this horizon marks what is beyond it: *Kahiki*, the legendary land of the Polynesians, was used to refer to any land beyond the skies which came down to the seas around the Hawaiian group (Westervelt 1963: 37). *Kahiki-moe* means ‘dream of *kahiki*’ and the word *moe* also occurs in the direction south, *‘ele moe*, as discussed in Section 4.2. The south is the direction of the ‘first creation’ of the gods where the hidden islands of *Kahiki* lie. Seeing these islands is believed to depend on the ability to ‘push out’ one’s horizon.

The word that describes the second horizon, *pane*e, means ‘to move’ and ‘along’. Thus the means of changing one’s horizon is contained within multiple meanings of the word. It also means ‘delay’, the contrast between ‘move along’ and ‘delay’ indicating the choice as to whether one progresses on that journey or not. It is another illustration of the free will brought into being by the word. The role of the first horizon is to differentiate between the seen and the unseen. That differentiation is a metaphor for the world of the *pō* or ‘darkness’, and the world of *ao* or ‘daylight’. One Hawaiian explained *pō* as a vast sea where forms live in the lower stages of life. Land is born out of this sea, as are the higher forms of life and man, who make up the world of light, *ao* (Beckwith 1976: 163). The desire may be to expand the world of light that the humans see, and the naming of space provides a vehicle to accomplish that aim.

My belief is that the Hawaiians have made the effort to name things which do not actually exist on earth, because they deem it desirable that they should. That is the role of ritual, which creates through imaging. The lands of the gods are considered a desired state, and they are approached through the knowledge of the gods. I have already explored some of the meanings of the four major gods concerning the growing of place and person. This journey continues the metaphor. For the journey through the ‘bodies’ of the gods *Kū, Lono, Kanaloa* and *Kāne* is also associated with the results of growth. These include greater wisdom, increased perception and immortality.
I use several examples to illustrate this, such as the names of the demarcations of the ocean, the naming of the dimensions of time, and the naming of certain periods in Hawaiian history associated with celestial apparitions. I also look at two systems of navigation, those associated with the stars and with birds. In addition, I look at where one is navigating to, which may be islands that do not exist in shared reality, and I explore certain characteristics of them. Each of these examples is shown to relate back to the stars, particularly to a system Europeans know as the Pleiades. My belief is that naming provides a way to return to that original homeland in thought, which may be represented by the Pleiades. That is why it is important to change one's horizon of perception, for humans are believed to hold the immortal seeds of the gods within them.

Now I shall explore a specific example of that ‘changing horizon’, through the symbolism of the ocean. The ocean represents the ‘greater bodies’ of the gods, particularly Kanaloa, the god of the ocean. Distant islands in the ocean metaphorically represent the lost lands of the gods, which can only be remembered when one’s perception has increased.
5.2 Some Land Rising Out of the Sea

E nui ke aho, e ku‘u keiki, a moe I ke kai, no ke kai la ho‘i ka ‘aina
Take a deep breath, my son, and lay yourself in the sea, for then the land shall belong to the sea.

Hawaiian proverb no. 363 (Pukui 1983)

I have already shown how land may be considered as a quantity which must be created.

Possibly this is because some Polynesians were great navigators, who crossed the ocean to ‘find’ or ‘found’ new land. Now I shall explore how land may be conceived of as needing to be built in the midst of the ocean. The means of doing that is remembering ancient knowledge, which is believed to have qualities that transcend space and time.

In Hawaiian symbolic thought, time and memory may be represented by waters, celestial or otherwise. Time itself may be visualized as an ocean: ‘The Hawaiian word for time, manawa, may convey not the ticking, fleeting intervals measured out by a clock, but the lingering, gentle ebb of water across a tranquil bay’ (Kanahele 1992: 166). But the ocean, even though on one level it is unified, should not be seen as a unitary dimension. It has many depths and some Hawaiians use it as a metaphor for thinking of time as a quantity, also with many depths. Everyone is believed to be able to move across the ocean of time according to their level of understanding. Hence they will only see a horizon which is determined by this. Perception leads to conception.

I now will investigate the belief many Hawaiians hold, namely that they can ‘transcend time’, by travelling across the sea to the hidden islands and I explore the way this belief is manifested in their system of names. It is no coincidence that the word used for a ‘period of time’, au, is the same word as ‘a current in the sea’. Looking at them more deeply gives some more clues about Hawaiian meanings of time. Au also means ‘movement’, ‘drift’, ‘float’, ‘walk’, ‘hurry’; ‘succession or train, as of thought’; ‘small sweet potatoes of poor quality that grow from the
vine'; ‘to set, as a net or a fish trap’ and ‘a native shrub of the coffee family’. These meanings represent both movement and the results of movement, in the form of shrubs. They include the forms of Lono, such as the net and the sweet potato. There are more meanings if one looks at the word ‘au. ‘Au means ‘to swim or travel by sea’; ‘to jut out into the sea, as a land point’, ‘stalk’ and ‘the bone of lower arm or leg’. Another related word, a‘u, is ‘a kind of fish’.

Through these words used to describe time and the sea, we see the association between the growth of the human to Lono and Kane through the fish-body of Ku, the building of land and the growth of plants. Many of the themes of this dissertation, such as there being no intrinsic difference between the space of the gods, space in the ocean, and space on land are reinvoked, for all three types of space can be ‘shaped’ or ‘formed’ by naming.

In the following example I shall explore how one’s horizon may be ‘grown’ or changed by navigating the different depths of the ocean. Here, the vocabulary of the words used to describe the different depths of the sea is from David Malo (1951: 25-27), the interpretations, which describe the ‘growth’ from the body of Ku, close to the land, through the body of Lono to the body of the ocean-god Kanaloa to the body of Kane, in the deep water, are my own. The names may also be understood as associated with different levels of human memory, with Kane representing the most distant, ancestral memories. The one who is seeking knowledge must go further and further away from the more shallow and familiar levels of the ocean. This relates to the Polynesians as a sea-faring people. The further one goes into the ocean the more likely one is to discover new land. Until finally, the familiar land disappears and the Hawaiian has access to the ancient knowledge of hidden islands of the gods.

I begin with the part of the sea closest to land. Where the sea meets the land there is sand. The ‘silky sand’ run over by the breaking waves is called ‘ae kai. Kai means ocean and ‘ae means

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57 I interpret most of the words used, leaving out some words for reasons of space, not sense, and missing out one phrase, kai kohala, Malo uses three times to describe different depths, which editor Eloise Christian (1991 edition: 27) said is ‘clearly a mistake’.

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‘to say yes’. The verb ho‘oe means ‘to cause something to happen’. The voyager causes something to happen by saying “yes” to it, thus illustrating the power of the word. Venturing into the ocean, the place where the waves break is called po‘ina kai. Po‘ina kai means ‘the cresting of the sea’, and polna kai means ‘to forget’. Here, in the billows, the neophyte must beware of forgetting the gods. One must be careful of the danger of the ‘body splitting’, the ‘Aumakua being in one part of the ocean, and the Kū in another, for that way it will not be possible to stand upright in the currents of time.

As one moves further out beyond the waves, there is a much quieter stretch of water where it is possible to stand. This water is known by various names such as kai hele kū, ‘sea walk upright’.

The fish-body of Kū is now learning to stand upright like the stone of Kāne, and move with direction or ‘walk’. There is also the place of kai papau, which means ‘to walk with uncertainty’, or to ‘walk holding onto something’. Another word for this ‘standing water’ heightens the notions of dependency: kai ohana means to ‘be dependent’ and to ‘slide’, ‘slip’. Here one is just beginning to walk alone.

Next we have the area which marks the change between the body of Kū and the body of Lono. There is the belt of water called kua-au, which marks the real passage to the deep water. Kua means ‘ridge’ or ‘mountain’ and is often used to describe the high points of land next to the ocean. Au means ‘current’. This is the division point, where the one who is learning to know can choose to leave familiar surroundings completely. Here the familiar land of mortals lies towards the land, the hidden land of gods lies towards the ocean. It is the realm of Lono.

Which way will the voyager travel? For there is always believed to be free choice, to grow or not to grow.

This is the point at which the imaging of space becomes vertical as well as horizontal. One has reached the kua-au through travelling to the ‘high place of land’, the kua, from the ‘au, ‘the
point of land sticking out into the sea'. This word is contained in ‘aumakua, the spirits who inhabit the higher realms, a sign one is reaching the dimensions that lead to the gods. Au means ‘time'; ma means ‘see'; kua means ‘high point’. The difference is ma, which means ‘perception’. The ability to see from a higher place means the one-with-knowledge is beyond the current of time. Through the different view-point or eye-land, an I-land may be created, that can solidify into an island-of-knowing, a foundation upon which one stands.

If the traveller chooses to cross the current of time to reach the place where the islands are hidden, immersion into deeper water is necessary. The deep water is known as kai-uli, ‘the dark-blue sea', and is the home of ʻuli, the goddess of sorcery, who is associated with taboo. It is also kai-lu-heʻe, ‘the sea where the octopus is caught with a lure' and kai-heʻe-nahu, ‘the sea where the octopus bites'. This is the domain of the god Kanaloa, one of whose forms is the octopus or squid (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991: 23). He or she needs to go into deeper water still in order to recapture the knowledge of the gods.

When the flowing sea of moana, or ‘wide ocean’ is reached, the naming of the places of the ocean, according to Malo, comes to an end. Moana is also known as ‘a consultation place for chiefs'. This need not necessarily refer to a chief by bloodline, for a chief may be one with mana and the meaning of moana as ‘wide' or ‘expansive' shows many openings. Both the place names, and their position relative to each other, give clues as to how one can develop mana, and serve as a measurement of it. He or she can see from the high vantage point, of the realms of the ‘aumakua. Firstly the choice was made, now the reward is reached. The creature is no longer symbolized by the fish-body of ʻKu, the growth of which was referred to in Sections 4.7 and 4.10, but by a bird, a creature comfortable in the higher realms.

The bird is a creature who has the ability to walk on water. The following proverb is associated with being outstanding in wisdom (Pukui 1983: 877):

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He noio a'e 'ale no ke kai loa.
(Small tern) that treads over the billows of the distant sea.

Now, the traveller has reached the bounds of Kahiki-moe. Here, in the place of the ‘dream of Kahiki’ lie the hidden islands, associated with the ability to forgive. For example this prayer said when a fish associated with an ‘aumakua is wrongly caught (Gutmanis 1983:18):

E Kane ko kala
E Kane ko kala
E ho'i, e ho'i
I Kane huna moku

O Kane of forgiveness
Return, return
To Kane of the hidden island.

This may also be an illustration of the way forgetfulness of this domain is a feature of the shallower seas, hence the necessity to return to the hidden islands. They lie in the realm of the ‘aumakua, a domain of Kane:

The ‘aumakua world is a wide level world containing many dwelling places ... Many were the dwelling places but the world was one ... In the ‘aumakua world were a rolling heaven, a multiple heaven, a multitudinous heaven, a floating cloudland, a lower cloudland, the immovable standing walls of Kane, the horizon line enclosing the flat surface of the earth, the depths of the ocean, the beauty of the sun, the brightness of the moon, the glories of the stars, and other places too numerous to mention which were called the ‘aumakua world ... Many were the gates by which to enter the ‘aumakua world ... And it was said that those who were taken to the floating cloudland and to the multiple heaven and to the other heavens had wings and had rainbows at their feet. These were not wandering spirits ... these were the beloved of the heavens ... Those of heaven are seen on the wings of the wind and their bounds are above the regions of earth and those of the ocean are gathered in the deep purplish blue sea of Kane, and so are all those of the whole earth belonging to the ‘aumakua world; all are united in harmony (Ke Au Okoa, October 13, 1970).
In this section, I have shown how the ocean may be imaged as a flexible quantity, which can be changed. This is done by naming it, which can be believed to give one the ability to voyage over the ‘see’ or ‘sea’ according to perception of the meanings within the names. Hence one’s horizon is changed to a higher place, which in turn stretches one’s ability to see. I have looked at how the journey through the ocean mirrors the journey through the bodies of the gods. The traveller who is able to safely venture to the deep parts of the ocean has created the bodies of the gods around his or her soul and reached the domain of the hidden islands.

Spatially, the focus has shifted from the horizontality of the shifting horizon to the vertical building-up of ‘place’ through naming it. A study of the names for parts of the ocean shows they are believed to have the ability to ‘shape’ undifferentiated space. In the next section, which focuses on ‘time’, rather than ‘space’, I shall also show how the naming of graduations of time invokes that same ability.

5.3 Measuring the Moon

In a ritual, the world as lived and the world as imagined, fused under the agency of a single set of symbolic forms, turn out to be the same world. 
Geertz 1973: 112

Now I shall show how ‘earthly time’ in Hawai‘i is believed to be dependent on the gods and how this belief is reflected in the names for different aspects of time. Months are named after stars, and days of the month after different gods. Some believe ‘time’ like ‘place’ must be seeded, and that this occurs on the inner as well as the outer level. As mentioned in Section 4.16 the moon is believed to help fertility. The role of the ‘moon’ or ‘month’ is to act as intermediary to help replicate on earth life that is believed to exist elsewhere.
The language of measuring time shows the importance of 'seeding', for just like in the
*Kumulipo*, a creation chant, the visible begins with the invisible, 'the time before'. Manifest
creation begins with a period of hidden incubation. For example the emergence of a child in the
outside world is only possible when it has formed inside the womb. The year was divided into
two, the 'inside months' and the 'outside months', and the 'outside months' are a result of the
growth of the 'inner months'. The year begins with the 'inside months' or *ho‘ollo*:

*Ho‘ollo*, the word *ilo* means to germinate, to sprout and *ho‘o ilo* to
cause germination, sprouting which is exactly what the winter rains
did (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991: 441).

The year was believed to start a month before the rising of the Pleiades, reflecting the belief that
a period of 'generation' is necessary before visibility. The months inevitably replicate
themselves as they go through their natural progression. The names of the months reflect a link
to the stars and the system of 'replication'. It is the same kind of doubling seen in the stream
names of Kaua‘i, and may refer to the power of the word *lua*.

Many names of 'moons' or 'months' in Polynesia were named after stars. For example Best
reported the names of the months given to him by *Tutaka* of the Nga Tuhoe tribe:

The name of the first month, *Pipiri*, is a star name, the name of a
winter star, or rather of two stars apparently close together, that
mark the first month. *Mahuru* is the name for spring, and the
personified form of spring. *Poutu-te-rangi* is another star name,
that of *Altair*, a star that marks the tenth month. *Ruhi* is a star in
the constellation of the Scorpion, a female star whose personified
form represents the languid, enervating effect of hot weather. The
Moriori of the Chatham Islands listed *Wairehu* as the eighth month,
and *Waerehu* is the Maori name of a star that marks the seventh
month, while *Welehu* is a Hawaiian month name (Best 1924 II: 185-187).
I believe months were named after stars, because they are a reflection of the system of rua or 'doubling'. The need to create by matching is why every month has its mate. The months are male stars in the sixth generation after the male ao, 'day' and female, pō, 'night'. Every star month has one or more 'star wives'. Only the male names such as Makali'i, Kāʻelō and Kaulua, tend to be public knowledge, and I have no access to the female names at this time. Each star-month was born a generation after the one before. The journey is a progression, and each month seeds the one that comes after it. The theme of generation is vital.

The generation of the star-months may be compared to sex on earth. For example, I looked up the esoteric word for month, which is 'Umeke. 'Ume also means 'a sexual game for commoners, the counterpart of kilo, the chiefs' game' (Malo 1951: 214). It was called 'ume, 'to draw', because players were drawn to one another to mate. The force of the directed mana given off by each person was believed to create its counterpart or mate. Malo wrote another name for the sport was pili, 'touched by the wand'. This also means 'to stick' and the game was believed to be powerful:

owing to these practices, the affections of the woman were often transferred to the man, her partner, and the affections of the man to the woman who was his partner, so that the man would not return to his former wife, nor the woman to her former husband. That was the way 'ume was played (Malo 1951: 214).

The final meaning of 'ume, is an 'overlaid or braided thatching used on corners and ridges of a house'. It is worth knowing that the game must always be played within an enclosure or pa. Pa means to 'fix in place'. So is space laced into place. It is another instance of the system of creation through attraction.

The result of careful work on the inner months is the arrival of the 'outside months' and the season of summer called Kau. It is no coincidence that this word means 'to place'. Summer is
the world of visibility, the world of the human. ‘An alternative name is makali‘i, maybe the 
original name is makali‘i kau’ (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991: 441). We see here the 
recurrence of makali‘i, the name of ‘the Pleiades’. Some say, the group of stars known as the 
makali‘i ‘placed’, kau, the sun in the sky. The Pleiades could have been the origin of the sun. 
Interestingly, other tales say they were the origin of human life.

Returning to the role of the moon, also in the sections on Moloka‘i, reinforces the concept of 
‘seeding’. The Hawaiians measured time by the cycle of the moon:

The calendar was divided into twelve lunar periods, with 30-day 
months divided into three 10-day weeks. At the end of the twelfth 
month, WeJehu, they inserted 5 intercalated days, in order to make 
the total of 365 days (Kanahele 1992: 162, 163).

In Hawai‘i, the ‘day’ was believed to begin with the previous nightfall. This is similar to Celtic 
custom, whereby a new day is measured from sunset to sunset (Matthews 1989: 92). It refers 
back to the necessity for generation before visibility I talked about earlier in this section.

Each night of the moon was named. There are different accounts for the names of the nights of 
the month such as Malo (1951: 31-36) and Handy, Handy and Pukui (1991: 37-41), as well as the 
various oral traditions on the islands. Nonetheless they all agree that every night was 
demarcated by its name and under the taboo of a different god, and each one carefully 
delineated for the planting abilities.

David Malo (1951: 51) described the way ritual in Hawai‘i was traditionally related to the night 
of the moon. For example, Kāne and Kanaloa are said to visit on the night of the full moon or 
Akua (Beckwith 1976: 71 quoted Thomas Thrum). I have earlier (Bartlett 1991: 22) talked 
about the association between the fourteenth night of the moon known as Akua, and the gods,
also known as Akua. The hidden meanings of the progression of the names show the growth of
the different gods, but limitations of space mean I cannot discuss them here.

Likewise, different plants were best planted on specific nights. Astronomical schools on the
South Island of New Zealand also taught knowledge of when crops should be planted according
to the nights of the moon:

From their observations of the stars, planets, and Moon they
directed the days on which the crops should be planted and
harvested, the times and localities at which various kinds of birds
and fish should be taken and all details connected with travel,
visiting, and giving feasts. Thus while the Whare kura taught the
history of the race and its literature and provided the intellectual
food of the community, the astronomical school directed all phases
of its economic and industrial activity and insured preservation of
the means of existence and adequate provision against famine
(Makemson 1941: 274, 275).

It seems likely the demarcating of the month in this way concerns the building up of mana by
humans. Victor Turner wrote (Turner 1986: 363): ‘it is by imagining - by playing and
performing - that new actualities are brought into existence. Which is to say there is no fiction,
only unrealized actuality’. The Hawaiians may build up the light of the moon on earth through
imaging, or making duplicates, of what they believe already exists elsewhere. They grow their
own mana by this process. The moon acts as a vehicle for inner growth, and I believe this is
why the place names of the ‘hidden islands’, the viewing of which is representative of growth
one has achieved, refer to the moon. I discuss this point later in this chapter.

The naming of undifferentiated space is believed to cause it to be divided and form
appropriately. For example, the month was divided into three periods, each called ‘ano which
means ‘type’, ‘image’ or ‘colour’. The words ‘image’ and ‘type’ make sense in terms of the role
of the months being to replicate what already exists elsewhere, and they describe potentiated
form. Both 'colour' and 'type' show visible differentiation of the 'type' or 'image'. The
doubled form of 'ano is 'ano 'ano. This means 'the seed'. It not only refers to the seed in the
earth, but also to the necessity to inspire its growth. It may be considered necessary for humans
to grow too. For example, the *Pale Ipu* or 'gourd prayer' to *Lono*, chanted to a boy at four or
five, compares the human body to a gourd and includes the line 'let it be set so as to be well
shaped - may this be an excellent container' (Handy and Pukui 1972: 98). External conditions
may be thought to be a manifestation of the inner seeding. Some information from New
Zealand refers to the song of *Popokorua*, 'the Ant', which runs:

Hasten, O Friend! Do not delay. The labours of the Ant have
commenced, urged on to form holes to serve as shelter from the
rains of heaven, from cold that pierces nightly. To gather seeds as
sustenance for the inner man, even that life may be retained (Best
1924 l: 217).

The retaining of life by the inner man is congruent to immortality. Nonetheless not everyone
has the ability to nurture those inner seeds, for they metaphorically represent the ability to
regain the consciousness of the gods. Perhaps that is why *Popokorua* 'is very busy and cannot
sing loudly; many, many folk never hear his song at all'. The myth occurs in the context of
*Kikihi* the cicada. This creature only asks the question 'What truly is my delight? and lives
accordingly. It idles and basks in the sun on a tree branch clapping its wings. It is *Kikihi* who
perishes in the cold of the visit of *Hine-takarua*, the Winter Maid [winter] and *Popokorua* who
lives on his well-stocked home (ibid.: 217, 219). Interestingly, Polynesians have often been
conceptualized as being more like the pleasure-seeking cicada, and less like the ant, but it is
interesting they may not think of themselves that way. The myth illustrates an understanding
that the questions one asks lead to the life one lives.

In this section, through looking at the importance of both the moon and the stars in terms of a
system of measuring time and demarcating space, I have shown the importance of seeding. For
example, the moon reflects the light of the sun, a greater, and higher, heavenly body. By building up the light of the moon through ritual (Plate 5.1) people could in turn, reflect the greater light of the sun, associated with mana. The moon and people on the earth reflect and ‘seed’ each other, thus the ‘seeding of space’ in the sky in the form of moon ritual is believed to help the growth of both the human and the land:

Ko nga kākano I roto I a au hei uta wai mō āku mokopuna.
The seeds within me shall become vessels to contain water for my descendants.
Maori proverb 40-8 (Riley 1990)

In New Zealand, the moon may be carved on a digging stick, the upper part of which is known as whakataumiro, ‘because on it Maui alighted when he assumed the form of the miromiro bird’ (Best 1924 II: 361). The miromiro bird is the one released at the ceremony of invoking knowledge to the new-born, as discussed in Section 4.3. It is also the one who brought death to the world, when Maui chased it into Hina’s vagina. The word also contains the means to overcome death. Milomilo in Hawaiian means to ‘twist, as sennit strands’; ‘to spin, as a tale’. Thus it may relate to the growth of the body of the word into the realms of immortality.

I have also explored how this seeding may be on an inner and outer level. The year is believed to begin with the ‘inside months’ as a period of germination is necessary before growth in the ‘outside world’, ao, is achieved. Ao also refers to one’s consciousness, and one word for ‘month’ or ‘moon’ in Hawaiian is malama. Malama means ‘eye’ ma, of ‘knowledge’, lama. The eye may refer to perception, and higher perception happens through inner growth, hence the importance of ‘inner seeding’ shown in the ritual to Lono and in the myth of the ant and the cicada, wherein the ant is able to transcend the seasons of mortality. Seeding leads, on the outer level to generation and on the inner level to regeneration.
The concept of ‘star time’ explained above can represent ways of gaining this regeneration. For it shows how time may be considered part of the system of knowledge whereby things are drawn into being on earth by imaging their appearance in the sky. One who can travel through the seas or the skies of time has reunited with the old knowledge and is believed to be able to shape time and space. If this hypothesis is correct, one would expect a phrase for the ‘making of a month’ and indeed there is ho‘o ‘umeke or ‘to make a month’. Its more mundane meaning is ‘to assume the shape of a bow’, ‘to assume the shape of fruit’. One informant told me that the esoteric Hawaiian word for month is ‘Umeke. That word also refers to the great gourd the world is made of. The world may be conceived of as the great gourd of the god Lono representing ‘the universe, its seeds the stars, and the solid-looking clouds, the floor of the sky’:

The comparison of the world and the sky to the body and cover of a calabash is a piece right out of Polynesian cosmogony. The seeds of the gourd, when scattered through the sky, become stars, and the pulpy mass inside the clouds the cover belikened to the solid dome of heaven’ (Malo 1951: 125, Note 15 by Emerson).

When the word ‘Umeke is taken apart I find ‘ume means ‘draw’, ‘pull’, ‘attract’, ‘entice’. Ke is ‘a particle connecting certain forms’. This illustrates the importance of generation through attraction, which I have explored in other sections of this thesis.

The metaphor of ‘shaping’ time through consciousness in found in the phrase ho‘o ‘umeke.

Like the space of the ocean in the last section, the space of time must also be altered through demarcating appropriately through naming. Figuratively, the phrase ho‘o ‘umeke means ‘to have enough to eat’. Perhaps this is an oblique reference to the myth of Makali‘i or the Pleiades, given in Section 4.7, Makali‘i tried to keep food in a net and humanity went hungry. By ‘shaping’ the months through appropriate language, and growing into the season, Makali‘i Kau, named after his place, Hawaiians try to assure that will not happen again. In the next section I shall look at some further meanings of the Pleiades.
5.4 The Pleiades Become Visible

*Ka i'a 'imi I ka moana, na ka manu e ha'i mai.*
The fish sought for in the ocean, whose presence is revealed by birds.

(Pukui 1983: 1344)

In Section 4.8 I showed that the *Makahiki* festival in Hawai‘i is dependent on the rising of the Pleiades. It is associated with the knowledge of the growth of the word, represented by the god *Lono.* Throughout Polynesia, the annual rising of the Pleiades was greeted with joy:

In New Zealand: ‘parties of women faced the famous star group and greeted it with song and dance’. Turner said in Samoa ‘when the constellation Pleiades was seen there was unusual joy all over the month, and expressed by singing, dancing, and blowing shell trumpets’. The Rev W.W. Gill wrote of the Cook Islands. ‘The arrival of the new year was indicated by the appearance of *Matariki,* or Pleiades, on the eastern horizon just after sunset - i.e. about the middle of December. Hence the idolatrous worship paid to this beautiful cluster of stars in many of the South Sea Islands. The Pleiades were worshipped at Danger Island, and at the Penrhyns down to the introduction of Christianity in 1857. In many islands extravagant joy is still manifested at the rising of this constellation out of the ocean’ (Best 1955: 54).

In Hawai‘i, as elsewhere, the Pleiades are associated with ancient times. The pagan Arabs, according to Hafiz, fixed the seat of immortality here, as did the Berbers of northern Africa and the Dyaks of Borneo and Lucretius in the century before Christ (Allen 1963: 400, 401). The Abipones of Brazil regard them with pride as their ancestors. In western culture, Milton’s description of Creation includes the Pleiades: ‘the gray Dawn and the Pleiades before him danc’d, Shedding sweet influence’ (Allen 1963: 389).

These times may stretch back to human origin. One lullaby goes: ‘Hither came you from the realm of *Rigel,* from the Assembly of the Pleiades, from Jupiter and from *Poutu-te-rangit,* these,
O child! are the stars that provide food at Aotea' (Best 1924 II: 208). Many Hawaiians believe that an ancient continent called Lemuria was initially seeded by a race of god-like beings from the Pleiades.58 Lemuria was a land where people lived in harmony, in rhythm with nature and the gods. Then, after some sort of great cataclysm, only a few islands above the ocean were left, which now form parts of Polynesia. The mountaintops are remains of the great temples.59

Many other peoples talk about such legends:

Two continents, one called Lemuria or Mu, and one called Atlantis, were believed to have covered much of the ocean in the present-day world. The traditions of many natives peoples refer to those lands where people were said to have lived in relative peace and harmony. The Hopi spoke of their original home as Muia, an island in the Pacific. When Cortes landed in Mexico the Aztec king Montezuma informed him that the natives' ancestors had come from a distant place called Aztlan, which means 'surrounded by waters', where there was a high mountain and a garden inhabited by the gods (Heinberg 1990: 78).

In Hawai'i that was also the case:

Hawai'i originally referred to the enormous continent that existed in prehistoric times in the Pacific Ocean, and not to the beautiful strand of emerald isles which are now known as the Hawaiian islands. It was on this lost continent that the now extinct Mu once lived. The present islands are former mountain peaks of that submerged continent ... Tradition has handed down the knowledge that a few of the Mu survived the cataclysm which pulverized their ancient civilization. Those few preserved the traditions of their forefathers and handed them down to the next generation (Melville 1969: 9).

58 Dr. Serge King also received and published this information (1983: 10-14). Elsewhere (1990: 23) he said that the source of his knowledge were kahunas called Wana Kahili and Ohialaka Kahili.

59 On Anahola, on Kaua'i, the highest island in Hawai'i there is a temple called Konane heiau, on which is said to be one of the most sacred temples of Lemuria. Every working heiau has its kahuna, in this case Ed Ka'iwai, who agreed to participate in the conference panel I organized at the American Association of Geographers in March 1999. Out of all the many heiau I have visited in Polynesia, that one, which is hard to get access to, is the most special. Ed has geometric designs tattooed on his body, mirror-images of the mountain he lives on, still unofficially called 'crystal mountain' by many. But I was unable to gather information about their significance.
Hawai‘i was sometimes called ‘The Land of Rua,’ Ta aina o Ruā. Now we come to a new definition of ruā, ‘growth and development from fire’ (Melville 1969: 10). Apparently the Mu called their motherland Ta Rua o Rani, the ‘pit’ of heaven. It may be seen that the word ruā is believed to have ancient origins, at the end of the chapter I shall explore another ancient example.

The ‘lost continent’ may be equated with the hidden islands, which are normally only seen by particular people, and may be inhabited by a race similar to humans, yet dissimilar. There are many legends all over Polynesia of a lost people, smaller than people today, who live in the middle of the earth and only come out at night. In New Zealand they are known as the patupaiherehe or turehu. The Menehune, sometimes identified with the Mū, are said to be ancestors of the Hawaiians (Beckwith 1976: 157) and are the subject of many Hawaiian myths. Some people, such as Jim of Moloka‘i, told me they have seen them. They are also known as the Manahuna, or ‘power of huna’. Huna is the word used to describe the hidden knowledge of Hawai‘i; ka-huna, or the one who ‘strikes’ kā, is the one who brings it out. In one legend (Beckwith 1940: 79) the Mū are identified with Kane huna moku, the ‘hidden land’ in the clouds created by Kane and Kanaloa. There is a correlation between the lost continent of Lemuria, said to be seeded from the Pleiades, and also the Hawaiian word for silence, Mū. I discussed the importance of silence in Section 3.7 and silence emphasizes the importance of not talking about sacred knowledge inappropriately.

In Section 5.2, I showed that the perception of the hidden islands is associated with the ability to ‘push out’ one’s horizon. The Pleiades may represent a similar ability. For example, in the Hawaiian myth of Makali‘i, ‘the Pleiades’, his brother was swallowed by a shark. Unable to see what had happened, Makali‘i chewed Kukui nuts and spat the chewed oily meat on the water, so he could see. Then he was able to escape (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991: 229). Kukui nuts
stand for enlightenment in Hawai‘i, and their ingestion literally enables someone to see what they could not see before. A person who can ‘see well’ is a *kaula*, or light carrier. This gifted see-er or seer may have *he ‘ike pāpālua*, dual knowledge - or what Hawaiians called ‘second sight’ (Kanahele 1992: 412). I believe this refers to the ability to see the two horizons as described in Section 5.1. The second horizon stretches to the sea of *Kāne* and the home of ancient knowledge.

Birds, as I showed in Sections 4.11 and 5.2, are associated with the realm of *Kāne*. For they are creatures who are at home in the higher realms, able to see correspondingly far. One man, Teeta, of the Pacific put it thus: ‘birds are very useful up to twice the sight range of an island from a canoe ... the sight range of a person is about ten miles and that of the birds twenty’ (Lewis 1994: 205). Ancestral knowledge ‘from the Pleiades’ is commonly represented by flying birds in Hawai‘i, as in many other traditions. A material example is the use of kites in the Cook Islands of Polynesia, which had bunches of yellow leaves attached to them, corresponding to the stars in the Pleiades and Orion’s Belt (Best 1924 II: 120, 121). I believe this re-creation of star knowledge represents knowledge coming from the higher realms.

In Hawai‘i, as in several other cultures, the Pleiades are associated with a hen and her chicks. Chickens are associated with the hidden realms. According to Pukui’s grandmother, when ‘Kane of the hidden island’ passes by: ‘one can hear cocks crowing, pigs grunting, see flickering of lights and waving of sugar cane and persons moving about the island’ (Beckwith 1976: 68).

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60 D’Arcy Thompson wrote that the Pleiad, in the sign Taurus, is in many languages associated with bird names, and was inclined to take the bird on the bull’s back in coins of Eretria, Dicaea, and Thurii for the Pleiades. He described the period between three and four months after the rising of the Pleiad in Autumn as symbolized as the nesting of the Halcyon, in the myth of the Halcyon Days: ‘When birds of calm sit brooding on the charmed wave’ (Allen 1963: 404).

61 The association of the Pleiades with a hen and her chickens is found in many traditions. Miles Coverdale, the translator of the first complete English Bible in 1535, had as a marginal note to the passage in the Book of Job: ‘these vii starres, the clock henne with her with her chickens’. The German farm labourers call them *Gluck Henne*, the Russian, *Nasedha*, the Sitting Hens; the Danes, *After Hoehne*, the Eve Hen (Allen 1963: 399).
The Pleiades are also associated with food and its appearance. For example, the Babylonians knew them as the Many Little Ones, a diminutive form of Tharwan, Abundance, which Al Biruni assumed to be either from their appearance, or from the plenty produced in the pastures and crops by the attendant rains (Allen 1963: 398). In New Zealand a Maori saying is: ka puta a Matariki, kua maoka te hinu. This meant ‘when the Pleiades appear then bird preserving commences’ (Best 1924 II: 489) and refers to the cooking and fowling of certain birds.

The following account of the Whare kura or ‘houses of learning’ in New Zealand shows the way gaining knowledge was associated with the qualities of the stars. On the South Island, each major village possessed an astronomical school ‘situated outside the pa, or fort, where chiefs and priests and men of standing in the community assembled to discuss and pass on the knowledge’. Before settling down to learn, the names of the ‘time-giving and food-bestowing’ stars were invoked:

Early each morning, before daylight, the members of the school consulted the time-giving and food-bestowing stars in their seasons, Puanga (Rigel), Takurua (Sirius), Matariki (Pleiades), Aotahi (Canopus), Rehua (Antares) Kaiwaka and the Wero stars’ (Makemson 1941: 275).

The star names were so called because the names themselves are believed to have fertile qualities. The word Takurua, is used for the star Sirius in New Zealand and Hawaii‘i

Taku means ‘slow,’ the ‘back’ of anything, ‘rim’ and ‘command’. Rua is a ‘pit’, ‘two’ or ‘double’. Hence Takurua has been translated ‘double command,’ ‘double rim,’ and ‘rim of the pit,’ by different authorities’ (Makemson 1941: 192).

I believe this is another example of the star names creating an image by using the pit or rua, and all these meanings relate to that. ‘slow’ means the speed at which it is done, the ‘back’ is invoked because that is where creation starts, creation also begins at the ‘rim’ and begins due to
the ‘command’ of the word. Therefore, in a sense, there is no contradiction in any of those translations. I could repeat this analysis for any ‘star name’.

Therefore, when food appeared, it was believed the stars needed to be thanked. Best wrote of the sweet potato: ‘when the young shoots of the tubers appeared above ground it was a custom, in some parts, for an expert to proceed to the field at dawn and make an offering of some article of food to the Pleiades, at the same time reciting a charm or invocation’ (1924 II: 387). The sweet potato is particularly associated with Lono, the god who represents the passage to higher perception.

Lono was associated with the Makahiki, the season of feasting and plenty. The Makahiki refers to ‘the season or time or manner of coming or arrival (Ma ka hiki na) of Lono (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991: 331). The Makahiki occurs when the Makali‘i or Pleiades are on show in the winter months. The Pleiades are called Nakoko-a-Makali‘i or ‘the nets of Makali‘i’ and are associated with food (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991: 30). The Makali‘i are particularly associated with the sweet potato through this myth from the island of Maui:

At Keoneolo on the southern flank of Haleakala, which is a sweet-potato planting area on Maui, there is the story of a man who mistakenly prayed to Makali‘i, a demigod whose name who had heard associated with bountiful provender, asking him to give him fish. Makali‘i (a name for the constellation Pleiades) finally appeared to him and told him that he could not give him fish. ‘But’ said Makali‘i, ‘plant sweet potatoes’ and he advised the planting be done in the months of Ikuwa, Welehu and Makali‘i, late October into January, the months of south winds and rains. If he did so Makali‘i promised him a crop of big potatoes. The man did as he was told and had a big crop (Handy and Pukui 1991: 45).

Hence, the Makali‘i are a time of fertility and one Hawaiian proverb says (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991: 363):
In the last two sections I have explored ways of turning space into place on earth through exploring names to demarcate areas western culture thinks of as undifferentiated ‘space’, namely the ocean and time. In this section, there is no need to do that, for the stars are one of the apex points of space and time, some people say the point from which differentiation on earth begins. The Pleiades are associated with fertility, and their arrival may be connected to the emotion of joy. It is interesting to note that the Pleiades are not now associated with selfishness, as they are in the story of Makali‘i I looked at in Section 4.7. In the myth of Kumuhonua (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991: 522) a god-like being called Lono brought the knowledge of planting food to Hawai‘i. Kumuhonua means the ‘root’ or ‘foundation’, kumu, of ‘earth’, honua. Now, the Pleiades, which could be said to have rooted earth, through the intercession of Lono can be associated with the enjoyment of food.

Having linked the stars to fertility and time, in the next section I link them to an external system of authority as represented by the chiefs. Through a study of the kaona in their names I show how they can also represent a system of growth.
5.5 The Starry Chiefs - or Chiefly Star(e)s

Heʻehu wāwae no kalani.
A trace of the heavenly one’s footsteps.
Hawaiian proverb no. 557 (Pukui 1983)

Now I shall look at the way the chiefly system fits into the system of identification between space on earth and space in the sky. The comparison of chiefs with heavenly signs is well known in Polynesia:

Many were famous for performing this operation [of circumcision], and their stories are full of thunder and quakes, lightning, mists and rains, and of countless signs by the gods in the heavens above and on the earth below. At the time when these wondrous things were seen, the crowds knew that a royal chief, a hoʻaliʻi, had come forth. The signs appeared on two occasions - on the day of his birth, and when he was circumcised’ (Kamakau 1991 b: 154).

For example, Sahlins wrote that a chief is thought to be ‘the heavenly one’, ka lani, whose brilliance is worthy of comparison with the sun:

The specific quality of aristocratic beauty is a brilliance and luminosity that Hawaiians do not fail to connect, in myth, rite, and chant, with the sun. Such beauty is properly called divine, for like the gods themselves, it causes things to be seen (Sahlins 1985: 18).

The association is usually seen as an attempt to propagate the power of the chiefs, in keeping with their association to external power which I explored in Section 3.2.

Through looking at the names used to describe the chiefs and their association with the stars and comets, I attempt to show how they are part of a greater system of knowledge; the system of appearance and reflection I have talked about. Lights breaking through the darkness may be
thought of as reflections on mana on earth - a mirror of mana already in the sky. Chiefs and comets were materially alike in that they were both believed to be woven together of many strands of light. I illustrated an example in Section 3.11. The association of chiefs with comets meant both that comets were believed to signal the birth of a chief, but also that the birth of a chief was believed to signal the appearance of a comet.

I shall explore this association through the work of cultural astronomer W.B. Masse, who said that stories of epic voyages: ‘actually represented appearances of spectacular comets in the celestial waters of the night sky, as opposed to the earthly waters of the Pacific Ocean’. His general thesis is that:

- novae, supernovae, variable stars, comets, great meteor showers, aurorae, solar and lunar eclipses, and impacting Solar System debris played a critical role in the artistic, intellectual and political development of early civilizations (Masse 1995: 463).

He collected a list of temporary celestial events such as comets, supernovae, meteor showers and solar eclipses for the 2000 years after 200 BC, and came up with 1124, visible over most of the earth (1995: 464, 465). Comparison of the ‘master celestial event record with the full sequence of genealogically-fixed Hawaiian oral traditions provides staggering results’ (1995: 466). For example, the major symbol of Hawaiian chiefly power, the ‘aha, ‘sparkling breath’, was assigned to specific chiefs at the time of their birth and/or at the time of circumcision at around 7-8 years of age. The names of these ‘aha have been preserved (Kamakau 1991b: 155-159) and it is clear that the literal translations of these names signify historically recorded celestial events.
The following table shows how the ‘islands in the sky’, the lights breaking through the solid heavens, represent a great birth, whether the birth is in the form of parturition or spiritual initiation, as in circumcision. I reproduce Masse’s example of ‘selected Aha Celestial Birthing and Circumcision Signs’ (1995: 467). I find his thesis to be extremely plausible. However I would like to postulate there is another way of interpreting the ‘critical role’ the stars have played in terms of the system of attraction and creation I describe. That is why I have added my own translations, which are within square brackets. In this section, I specifically analyze the name of the last period, which ‘cuts the cord’ between gods and man. This cord acts as the connecting link between the ‘seed of the gods’ and the ‘seed of man’, and I have shown its materialization in the piko or umbilical cord. It was believed necessary to cut the cord, so man can perform his own journey growing back to the gods.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chief and named 'aha</th>
<th>'Aha translation</th>
<th>Celestial event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Palena-ani-a-habolani</td>
<td>Reign ca. AD 1099-1120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maka-‘i-pule-‘ia</td>
<td>‘week-long eye of the Milky Way’ incantation of the eye of the fish (Milky Way)]</td>
<td>Long-tailed comet, 1053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kokoni</td>
<td>‘pulsate the ‘aha from Wakea Supernova to Lono’</td>
<td>1054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liloa-a-kiha</td>
<td>Reign ca. A.D.1451-1471</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wai-kau-a</td>
<td>‘the sparkling suspended stream’ also called ‘aha hele houua, ‘rope which went around the island’</td>
<td>long-tailed comet 1402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Aha-u-la</td>
<td>‘sunlike ‘aha, the ‘aha suspended for the kapu outside’</td>
<td>Long duration nova 1408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umi-a-liloa</td>
<td>Reign ca. AD 1472-1497</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ono-moko-li’i</td>
<td>‘six little lizards’</td>
<td>Fragmenting comet 1430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onewone-i-houua</td>
<td>‘prayer for heiau dedication’ [grit for the foundation]</td>
<td>Bright blue nova 1430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka-pa-ki’i-a-Hema</td>
<td>‘southern shining image’</td>
<td>Nova 1431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka-alhi-lele</td>
<td>‘the flying cord’</td>
<td>Comet 1431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lono-a-keskea-lani</td>
<td>Reign ca. AD 1635-1660</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka-i-papa</td>
<td>‘kapu supreme stationary (object)’ the ‘aha [cord] from Wakea to Lono</td>
<td>Supernova 1604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pi-pili</td>
<td>‘to fuel the sputtering (sail)’ [courting sticky matter]</td>
<td>End of supernova 1604 (in 1605)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moemoek-ka-ua-wana</td>
<td>‘rays of light like ho’oua sleds’ [lurking in the rain of the spike of light]</td>
<td>Halley’s comet 1607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho’ohoku-houua</td>
<td>‘suddenly star-like’ [making the foundation like a star]</td>
<td>Nova 1609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka-ma-ku’u-wa-kine</td>
<td>‘the period of the splendid diminishing eye’ [the period of the releasing the cord of the splendid eye]</td>
<td>End of nova 1609</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Space precludes an analysis of all these names, but in general they show that comets standing for the foundation of the earth through the stars. In New Zealand meteors are stars that have fallen from their place when order is disturbed (Best 1924 I: 110). The names of the last period show the earth, whose foundation has been made like a star, losing its link to the stars.

The first chief then shows the time of the chief Lono-a-keakea-lani, or ‘Lono of the bright, clear heavens’. The alternative translations I have made appear to show the system of mirroring or rua. For example, pi-pili, is ‘courting sticky matter’. ‘Doubling’ is believed to happen through the stickiness or aka which attracts, and the ‘aha, or ‘sparkle’ is becoming the aka or ‘image’.

Moemoe-ka-ua-lani, I translated as ‘furking in the rain of the spike of light’, because this is where the image becomes infused with the rain of emotion, necessary before it can descend to earth. Meanwhile it is being held in the sharp light. Ho‘ohoku honua, ‘suddenly star-like’ is a very powerful image. I translated it as ‘making the foundation like a star’ showing how the earth, or honua, is being made like a star, again part of the system of mirroring. The end of the period is particularly important, for this is the period of releasing the cord of the splendid eye. The earth is no longer attached to the sky, and it is then the job of the humans on earth to grow towards the sky, for instance through planting. This is illustrated by the tree planting ritual over the umbilical cord I discussed in Section 3.11.

In Section 3.6 I showed the body of the word can be believed to be like a rope. The chief was associated with a cord of sennit, which is also called ‘aha:

This was a long braided rope or cord, he kaula lino hili a lo‘ihi [made from strands of twisted fibers of coconut husks]. It was stretched between the pūloʻuluʻu posts outside the entrance to the enclosure of a chief’s dwelling. That was the ‘outside cord,’ ‘aha iwaho. The ‘inside cord,’ ‘aha iloko, was stretched between the pahu pūloʻuluʻu at the entrance to the chief’s house (Kamakau 1991: 153).
But the power of the cord should not be understood as only belonging to the chief. It could be recreated by anyone who had enough mana. For example, the ‘aha cord is also the cord of the shaman. The reference to its name meaning ‘sparkling breath’ is a good example of the power of the prayer, I explored in Section 3.10, which is also described by the word ‘aha. The shaman creates by sending out this word-body through his breath, ha, and continuing to think about it and measure it in space, ‘a, thus ensuring it is connected using the ‘sticky cord’ of ‘memory’. This cord, which draws the visible and the not-yet visible together, is the means used for creation on earth. Thus the shaman must access the inner cord of remembrance to manifest the ‘outer cord’ of materiality. This is why there are two cords at the chiefly dwelling, the inner and outer. This interpretation can be illustrated by analyzing their names.

The inside cord, ‘aha iloko, is the cord of the ‘dragging’, kō, of the ‘germinating sprout’, ilo. It is stretched between the pūlo‘ulo‘u posts, the tapa-covered balls on sticks in front of the chief’s residence I discussed in Section 4.4. Pūlo means ‘to pass by, or to be alone or lonely’. At present I do not know what ulo‘u or ulo mean, but lou, which is contained within the word, means ‘hook’ or a ‘very long fruit-plucking pole, with short sticks lashed obliquely near the end for plucking, as for breadfruit’. I explored the function of hēlua loua, or temples for plucking knowledge in Section 4.3. Both these meanings are related to the chief having the means necessary for gaining knowledge. He or she is able to ‘hook’ knowledge from the skies. The inside posts, pahu pūlo‘ulo‘u, have added the word pahu, whose many meanings include ‘drum’, ‘stake’ and ‘to pierce with a sharp instrument’. The thought of that knowledge is believed to pierce the region of the outside cord, ‘aha iwaho, or the ‘giving’, ho, of the ‘iwa, ‘frigate bird’; which we met in Sections 3.11 and 4.10.

The names of the chiefs and the ‘aha exhibit the identification of some chiefs with signs of visible activity in the heavens. They also reveal how some Hawaiians believe creation to manifest. For example the ‘hooking’ of knowledge happens from the sky, its passage
represented by the ‘inside posts’ of the Ku. These pierce the region of the outer cord, or the
world of ao, through the application of the god Lono and the cutting of the piko or umbilical
cord. This association may be seen also in the building of Hawaiian houses, which always
included prayers to cut the umbilical cord (Gutmanis 1983: 88, 89). The concept of mirroring,
heaven and earth, outside and inside, is invoked again. The word used to describe this process
of creation is lua, which means ‘copy’. The role of lua is imaging, because it is believed that is
how knowledge gets transferred from the ‘inside’ to the ‘outside’, or from the mind to the
outside world.

So, many believe the knowledge of the stars is brought to earth by meteors, chiefs, or those who
have mana, to be used for humanity’s own purposes, and this is reflected in the Hawaiian names
used to describe the chiefs and the cutting of the cord. Next I would like to write about another
way Polynesians ‘link back’ to the stars. That way is navigation.

5.6 Star Paths Across The Waters

‘If you sail for Kahiki you will discover new constellations and strange stars over the deep
ocean’.

S Percy Smith (Best 1955: 35)

Navigation is the moving with direction through unknown space. The result is often to find/
found a new place. Thus it resembles the other examples of directed growth through movement
that lead to the making of place from space I have looked at.

The Polynesians were extraordinary navigators who travelled the greatest distances in the
known world. Best quoted Joseph Banks writing about Tahitians after Captain Cook’s first
voyage:
In their longer voyages they steer in the day by the sun, and in the night by the stars. Of these they know a very large number by name, and the cleverest among them will tell in what part of the heavens they are to be seen in any month when they are above the horizon. They know also the time of their annual appearance and disappearance to a great nicety, far greater than would be easily believed by a European astronomer (Best 1955: 37).

As Banks indicated, the knowledge of navigation has long been considered part of a sacred system combining astrology and astronomy:

All charted observations were part of a kilokilo or unity of knowledge that governed the complete cycle of the life of a navigator people on sea and on land. The islands of Polynesia can be linked in a conceptualization called he'e or ‘octopus’, whose head is at Raiatea, and whose tentacles branches include Hawai‘i and the other Polynesia islands. The octopus is a kinolau, one of the many bodies, of Kanaloa, the god of the oceans. It is a result of ‘Building the Sky with the Path of the Spider’, a vast, interrelated web of the waves of Kane and the waters of Lono. This celestial web both unites the sacred places and snares the sacred time between all of the twelve Hawaiian islands. The spider connected the navigation stars in a web of navigation, lanalana (Roselle Bailey 1994).

Here is the recurrence of the he'e or 'octopus' and the gods Kanaloa, Kane and Lono. I described a way the Hawaiian islands may be understood as a greater symbolic system of unity in terms of the chakras in Section 4.18; as well as another reference to the ‘path of the spider’ in Section 4.9. The kilokilo of knowledge relates to kilo, the word for ‘seer’. Perhaps this is because the ability ‘to see’ in Hawai‘i may be believed to precede the ability ‘to do’. Seeing the stars, and knowing their use, enables incredible feats to be performed.

For example the Hokule’a canoe was sailed from Hawai‘i to Tahiti in the 1970’s, guided by traditional methods of navigation. Sailors included Ben Finney, head of Anthropology at the
University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. A Micronesian directed the sailing of that canoe, but now some Hawaiians have been taught the necessary skills. There is even a special course in Polynesian voyaging at the University of Hawai‘i, set up by Nainoa Thompson and taught by men such as Carlos Andrade, who writes about the place-names of Hawai‘i and sailed with the *Hokulea*. In this system of navigation, as with many other things, many Polynesians say it is time for the old knowledge to come out.

The *rua* system of navigation is part of that old knowledge. Edward Dodd mentioned that it is the latest discovery by researchers in a field ‘exploding with new discoveries’ (Dodd 1990: 40). This is typical of some scholars just discovering what many Polynesians have known about for a long time. *Rua* is the old form of the word *lua*, or ‘pit’. The word *Rua* describes the pits out of which stars rise successively in the east and into which they sink successively in the west. The two starpit beacons on the horizon are readily apparent when the weather is clear. They are the *ara reva*, ‘alternative pathways of the sky’, to use a Tahitian name (Dodd 1990: 78, 79).

Cultural astronomer Maud Makemson said *rua* are: ‘a possible inference to the belief that the celestial bodies, except the polar stars, all rose from the netherworld through pits or caves along the horizon’ (Dodd 1990: 70). The *rua* of part of the wider system of ‘mating’ or regeneration, involving the months which I described earlier, as well as the process of creating place through imaging.

Every island has its guiding star. *Taurua Nui*, the most spectacular star in the Polynesian firmament, has a declination of 17 degrees, 45 minutes, almost the exact latitude of Tahiti. *Vena* (*Procyon*) has almost exactly the same declination as the latitude of *Nuku Hiva* in the Marquesas (Dodd 1990: 82). The guiding star helps one know where one is. New Zealand navigator David Lewis said that the direction or bearing of one’s objective is the direction (azimuth or bearing) of its guiding star, at rise if the course be an easterly one, at set if it be
Westerly. Stars rise four minutes earlier each night, but the points on the horizon where they rise and set remain the same throughout the year, varying only with latitude (Lewis 1984: 82).

Navigators must memorize the trajectory of each star, as it ‘gets up’ and ‘goes to bed’ on each island, each star is also associated with a zenith over a particular island. A leaflet in the Raiatea tourist office said (my translation of the original French):

> After years of apprenticeship, the navigators had memorized the trajectory of each star, where it rises and where it sets, and identified the zenith star of each island. Therefore, all the boats gather in front of Taʻurua haupapa, also called ‘Aa or Sirius, its zenith star is the largest and most brilliant in the skies, to return to Raʻiatea.

In looking at Polynesian navigation, it is important to consider two distinct processes. These are reciprocal trips between known islands and one-way voyaging, in other words venturing forth to find unknown islands, without returning to the ‘home base’. The latter is the only one that has been recognized as possible (Dodd 1990: 67). I think this is because many people have thought the Polynesians were not clever enough to know this - such as Andrew Sharp’s theories of ‘accidental discovery’ (1957). But with the ability to use the stars, reciprocal trips are possible.

The star-threads that have been imaged as connected to chiefs in the last section now provide the guidance for returning to one’s original island. This can be considered as a home-centre reference system:

> As early peoples ventured forth in search of food, they maintained a constant anxiety about their home and would often look back to see where they were in relation to their point of departure. Each time they went out more territory would become familiar to them; and
they would proceed further ... never once losing the thread (Lewis 1994: 169 quoted Australian navigator Harold Gatty).  

In navigating by the stars, voyagers must remember only one chain of setting stars to find their way home. This is possible because, although he may have to try several chains before he finds new island, his homeward bound chain will always be the same. Chains of stars are:

vertical columns or starry patterns, always in motion, that point downward to the ‘pits’ or ‘holes’ on the horizon from which they arise or into which they set, these horizon points are called rua (Dodd 1990: 69).

We have the word rua again. The pits provide the markers so the navigators can find their way home by the stars. The distance between the markers is constant, and the pits give:

navigators fixed bearings on the finite earth at horizontal distances of about ten miles. This is the familiar ‘height of eye,’ the rim of the sea as seen by a man standing upright in a canoe. He could not align himself, ahead and behind, to two stars up in the sky because, being at infinite distances apart, they could give him only vague bearings, all right for temporary steering, but unreliable for precise, long-range navigation. Whereas two rua twenty miles apart on the surface of the sea would give him a very workable and constant line of direction (Dodd 1990: 70).

One with knowledge of the stars ‘was a very important person to a Neolithic sea roving folk; the lore of tatai arorangi, or highly prized’ (Best 1924 II: 206). ‘The knowledge of home’ - believed by some to be more than visible islands - is why the learning of the star chants or navigation chants, was and still is, important. One Hawaiian told me that navigation repeats the

This is different from the ‘self-centre’ system, in which modern man: 'considers himself (wherever he is) at the centre. He divides the horizon into north, south, east and west .... He involves himself in an intricate network of calculations and, even with the aid of a compass, often loses his way. At each point when he stops to refer to the points of a compass, he may sever his connection with the previous place at which he did the same thing. All too easily, in this way, can he lose the thread which tied him to his original place of departure' (Lewis 1994: 169).
Polynesians ‘original’ journey from their starry home in the Pleiades to earth. Interestingly, the word Pleiades, and the singular Plias, has been derived from the word ‘to sail’ in Greek, for the helical rising marked the opening of navigation (Allen 1963: 395). My informant said that is why, on a cosmic level, the Polynesians still navigate by the names and placement of the stars. For they can be imagined as needing to return to them.

Some humans perform the Makahiki ritual each year, in which they recreate Lono’s arrival and departure. I participated in five days of ritual celebration on the island of Kaho‘olawe (1996). At its closing, a canoe laden with offerings is carried around the island to be help send Lono back to Kahiki (Plate 5.2). It was also the case in New Zealand, where the god Lono or Rongo, in the form of a sweet potato, was set adrift to the legendary lands:

Many of the ceremonies were very impressive, among which was one that used to be performed on the island of Mokoia, in Lake Rotorua ... On the day before the planting, when the seed kumara [sweet potato] were to be consecrated, the tohunga [kahuna] brought a small quantity in a basket made of dry raupo [flax] shaped like a canoe, and presented it to the matua atua [ancestral god] of whom a little stone image stood in a wooden shrine on the island. Then, after the waiata [song] had been chanted, the vessel was set adrift on the lake, and was supposed to find its way to Hawaiki, whence the image was said to have been brought, and which was still the abode of the god [Rongo] (Best 1924 II: 99).

The god canoes are a metaphor for the journey of greater human perception, a journey which can be conceptualized as going ‘home’. Indeed I believe the need for reciprocal seeding between the dominions of the gods and the domains of man is why the ‘creation’ of place through chanting must always be accompanied by an offering (Plate 5.3).

In this section, I have looked at one of the ways Polynesians were navigate by, the stars. The rua or star-pits provided such powerful bearings that many were able to find their way back to
their 'home island’, across the most greatest ocean in the world. I have looked at ways in which that fits in with some mythological traditions.

There are other ways of indicating land, such as birds, currents, waves, and clouds, which are most useful when one is close to land. I shall now look at the significance of one of these, birds. In so doing I shall show how they are also believed to act as way-finders to the realms of the Pleiades and Kāne.

5.7 Signposts of the Gods

A bird with eyes under the wing

(Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991: 188)

Birds, like stars, can guide the navigator to islands. The appearance of birds, and their names, as I shall show, are intertwined within a wider system of navigation. It can be imaged in terms of reaching new land by following the path between Kū and Kāne.

Birds were known as being superb navigators. A Tuamotuan chant called ‘Pathway of Birds’ refers to 'the migrating bird’ revealing 'the road of the winds coursed by the Sea Kings to unknown lands’ (Lewis 1994: 215). Polynesian canoes may be carved with bird names on the front and back. This may be the case in other parts of the Pacific too.63 ‘Birds are the navigator’s very best friends,’ said Teeta of Micronesia (Lewis 1994: 205). Nainoa Thompson, a traditional canoe voyager, has gone many thousands of miles across the Pacific using a method

63 On Wala Island, Vanuatu, canoes always have a figurehead of the frigate bird. This was considered tremendously important, and was always decorated by designs of branches and roots (Tilley 1999: 110, 111). Tilley associated this with protection, perhaps it may also be associated with growth.
of navigation which he himself developed. When sailing the canoe *Hōkule‘a*, he visualized it as a bird, *manu*, flying with outstretched wings. The unique compass he developed, is a:

thirty-two-point compass with equal sectors of 11.25 degrees each.

Nainoa calls each sector a 'house' in the sense that each one is the home where particular stars rise or set. The midhouses of each quadrant, he calls *manu* or 'bird' (Finney 1994: 80, 81).

Birds may be associated with proximity to islands. *Teeta* also said 'stars gave one the course to travel, but landfall was determined by the very important land signs, especially clouds, waves and birds' (Lewis 1994: 202). Each bird has a particular flight-path around an island. Terns and noddies generally fish within 20 miles of an island, and booby birds 30 (Lewis 1994: 198). Close to Tahiti, for example, one may get the *Tararapa*, then the *Oio'oa*, or 'tern', and the *Itata'e* about 20-25 miles away, then the *Otaha* about 30 miles away, and the *Tavae'e* and *Ua'ao* about 40 miles away.

My hypothesis is that the names of the birds are not random, but are signposts to the Great Light of *Kāne*. Figure 3.1 represents the human body surrounded by gods, with *Kāne* in the most distant orbit. The circles may also be considered as marking inner growth. I shall use the Tahitian example to analyze the names, mainly because I don't have a Hawaiian one. However I would say that the Tahitian names fit in very well with my thesis, and may be indicative of its relevance throughout Polynesia. I hypothesize birds are signs of the activities of the gods, and their flight paths, which consist of different orbits, can show the qualities of the gods being ‘brought to earth’. The order of orbit is reflected in the task they have to do, represented by their names. Thus the flight path of each bird is associated with ways to expand inner growth.

I shall begin with the birds of the most distant orbits, the *Ua'ao* and the *Tavae'e*, which I postulate represent the intersection of the bodies of *Kāne* and *Lono*. The word *ua'ao* means 'rainy light', *ua* is 'rain' and *ao*, 'light'. *Lono* is associated with rain, and *Kāne* with light. So
ua‘no supports my hypothesis that the birds represent the bodies of the gods. The bird Tava‘e or Kawa‘e in Hawaiian is also ‘a star name’. Kēwā means ‘the distance between two points’, the ‘length of time’. The knowledge of the gods may be associated with the means to collapse space and time, as I explored in the beginning sections of this chapter. Moving closer towards the island, the name ‘Okaha means ‘dregs, crumbs, sediment’, and also ‘net’. ‘Ōkā means ‘overcome by emotion’, and figuratively ‘to be destroyed’. Ha is ‘breath’. The means of conveying power, the breath, is the way for building power (dregs, crumbs) through the net, but one must watch out for being overcome by emotion. It is similar to the place Ku‘unaka‘iole in Kaua‘i I explored in Section 4.10; where the net-body of Lono is being laid down in the sea. Here we have the intersection of Lono (referred to in the building of the net-body) and Kū, associated with strong emotion.

Closer still, on the penultimate inner circuit I consider, we have the realm of unadulterated Kū. The name oio‘oa does not have a whole meaning I know about, so I shall look at the syllables. Oio is the name given for ‘a section of a canoe rim’, ‘oio is ‘to show off’, and ol‘o a ‘procession of ghosts’. ‘O‘io is the ‘bonefish’, and ‘soft jelly-like coconut flesh’, ‘a kind of braid or plaiting’, ‘a stone used for polishing’ and as an ‘octopus lure’. ‘O‘i‘o is ‘a flesh hook’. ‘O‘ua means ‘the gill of a fish’, ‘mouth of an eel’, ‘timbers in the side of ship’; ‘house rafter’; ‘sides of a rock wall’. At least one of the meanings for each syllable relates to a fish. As a whole, they relate to the building of the human body of Kū, which I have shown in other sections is compared to a fish, and the hooking of flesh by braiding thought-forms like rope to act as a hook. This is the way some Hawaiians believe matter is materialized.

The bird ‘Ikaka‘e shares the same flight path. I am unable to find any data for the name as a whole, but ika means ‘strong’. Ka‘e means ‘brink’, ‘margin’, ‘the projecting brow of a hill’. These meanings refer to the necessity to build strong land, and continue the theme of the creation of the body of the land being similar to the creation of the human body.
The bird closest to the land is called *tararapa*, *kalalapa* in Hawaiian. *Kala* means ‘to clear’ and ‘to forgive’. *Lapa* is ‘ridge’, ‘slope’, ‘side of a ravine’, as well as ‘the orifice of a womb’ and a ‘type of sweet potato’. The sweet potato is a form of the god *Lono*, the orifice is the female womb. I referred to some of the symbolic significances of ridges in Section 4.9 on the *Na Pali* cliffs in Kaua‘i, where souls are believed to launch themselves after death, and then potentially return to incubate before birth. This circuit represents the achievement of inner growth represented by *Lono*. One may reach it through forgiveness, as in the example of the *aumakua* and *Kāne*, in Section 5.2.

In Section 5.2 I showed the god *Kāne* imaged as far away from the shore, in this one I showed him on the closest ‘inner circuit’. That is because the farther one travels on an outer journey, the more one is believed to reach one’s soul or ‘essential self’. The outer growth is imaged by inner growth, and *vice versa*. The birds represent ways of travelling towards the ancient knowledge of *Kāne*. Thus I postulate that they function as wayfarers to the knowledge of the hidden islands. I shall now look at some of their significations of the hidden islands in more detail, and their association with the attainment of knowledge.

5.8 Some Islands Surrounding One

*I kani no ka pahu I ka ʻolohaka o loko,* or
It is the space inside that gives the drum its sound.

Hawaiian proverb no. 1189 (Pukui 1983).

There are believed to be many hidden islands, such as *Kāne huna moku* which floats in the realm of *Kahiki*. *Kāne huna moku* is a reference to *Kāne* of the hidden island. It is the place where the gods *Kāne* and *Kanaloa* exist: ‘in an earthly paradise situated in a floating cloudland
or other sacred and remote spot where they drink *awa* and are fed from a garden patch of never ending growth’ (Beckwith 1976: 67).

The islands are reached through navigation. In the last section I explained how navigation chants may be to hidden islands, as well as ones that exist in general perception. Rather like birds, the islands each have their own ‘orbit’ or ‘flight-path’ and it is said one can only see them if one’s perception is aligned. In other words, one must have learned to ‘push out’ one’s second horizon, and the islands one sees depends on the distance one has pushed it out. In Celtic tradition, otherworldly islands are also dependent on the existence of a second horizon. They can be seen ‘in the form of a dark silhouette on a second horizon above the sea’ (Pennick 1996: 109).

Perhaps not surprisingly, contemporary Hawaiian descriptions of the islands are sparse. Only one informant spoke to me about his grandmother, who would see the islands lying blue and beautiful on the horizon.

> Today they are called the ‘lost islands’ or ‘islands hidden by the gods’. At sunrise or sunset, they may still be seen on the distant horizon, sometimes touched with a reddish light. They may lie under the sea or upon its surface, approach close to land or be raised and float in the air according to the will of the gods (Rice 1923: 31).

The islands each have certain factors in common. For example, they are not normally seen, but occasionally visible at sunrise or sunset, in those times of liminal light, illuminating the realms of night, of the gods.

I believe the significance of associating real and legendary land [*Kahiki*] in this way, is because it is believed that legendary land, like visible land, has the ability to be created through naming.
Thus there are no absolute divisions between real and legendary land. This is not unusual; for example, Yi-Fu Tuan wrote that mythic space need not exist in the three-dimensional world to be important. He quoted Gladwin in giving an example of the navigational knowledge of the Puluwatans of the Pacific who still teach routes to ‘remote and legendary places’ and made no distinction between them and perceptible space (Tuan 1977: 87). Likewise:

The Otherworld in Celtic myth is an inscape or overlay upon the land. It has its specified gateways or crossing-places but it is not conceived of as being ‘up or out there’. Rather it is contiguous with every part of life (Matthews 1990: 6).

All that ‘separates’ the otherworlds from the world is awareness. Some people believe Kahiki refers to Tahiti, but I think it has other references too. For example:

when applied to the origin or source of an introduced plant or to a traditional figure’, did not necessarily mean the island named Tahiti. Hiki means ‘to get to or reach’ a place, ‘come’, ‘arrive’ or ‘to fetch or carry (Handy, Handy and Pukui 1991: 331).

Masse wrote: ‘When literally translated ka-hiki means ‘the appearance’ (1995: 434). In other words, Kahiki refers to the appearance of substance in the world. The myth of Kumuhonua, which I briefly referred to in Section 5.4, shows Lono bringing plants to this world from another one, so pushing out the boundaries of this one and changing it forever. Hence Kahiki is credited with carrying new knowledge to earth. Interestingly, the Makahiki can mean ‘the perception’, ma, of ‘the appearance’, ka hiki. This is another reference to the power of perception to change one’s view.

Voyaging tales, for instance ‘The History of Mo‘ikeha’, describe Kahiki as a:
marvellous place from whence come cultural gifts and innovations. La’a, for example, is credited with bringing a special ritual drum, the hula dance, and a new type of image worship and another descendant of Mo’ikeha is supposed to have later brought the breadfruit to Hawai‘i (Finney 1994: 313).

*Kahiki* may also refer to the land of origin. For instance Melville’s explanation heightens the meaning of the word *Kahiki / Tahiti* to the distant land or ‘space’ from whence all things came:

*Tahiti* meant (a) one’s remote mother country where one lived in the past but not where one resides at present, the starting place of a journey from where one departed in order to travel elsewhere; (b) the stratum of heaven where man’s divine origin was established, the celestial spheres, (c) to belong to a family because of birthright, be in perfect harmony with a unified group dedicated to a specific purpose; (d) to surmount obstacles, transcend difficulties, (e) achieve success in attaining one’s goal, traverse time, conquer distance and space (Melville 1969: 8).

That *Kahiki / Tahiti* is believed to be achievable, as well as conceivable, is shown by the meaning of ‘success in attaining one’s goal’. The meanings of traversing time, and conquering distance and space relate back to previous sections of this chapter, as does the quality of harmony. There is no contradiction in these meanings of Kahiki as meaning both ‘appearance’ and ‘origin’, because perception is the connecting link. For when one can see far enough, then it is believed one can see the realms of Kane, and can in turn materialize that new-old knowledge on earth. I am now going to explore some dimensions of perception further.

At least one early nineteenth century Hawaiian scholar used the term *Kahiki* in direct reference to different levels of the celestial heavens. Indeed it is likely to refer to space ‘around where one already is’, rather than space *somewhere else*. This is possible because of the way the universe
The heavens, varying in number from 3 to 12, according to the locality were imagined as formed by widely spaced concentric hemispheres of solid material which rested upon the plane of the earth. In a vertical direction upward the celestial realms would accordingly lie one upon the other, but in a horizontal direction they formed circular zones in the earth’s surface. Thus a group of islands, te pito, was conceived at the centre of a series of concentric spaces of great but indefinite extent, separated from one another by walls of various sky domes which rested above the earth (Makemson 1941: 10).

The hidden islands are believed to rest within these domes, different islands in each dimension. Hence, Kahiki can be used to describe all space which cannot be generally seen, but which can be learned to be seen, through perception and practice.

For then one’s horizon is extended, and the invisible becomes visible and the unseen becomes seen. Then the shimmering islands, which many Pacific people tell of glimpsing on the horizon, may be seen in more than flashes. Here the concept of multi-dimensional space needs to be invoked. Accessing the hidden islands is supposed to be a journey of remembrance. For successful navigation, whether it is through the ocean, or through the minds and bodies of the gods, requires the ability to recreate the creation of the gods. Only by correct application of knowledge can one find the way to the desired lands.

The appearance of the hidden Hawaiian islands may be predicated on having reached a certain stage of growth in one’s soul journey towards Kāne. For the hidden islands are all under the realm of Kāne (Beckwith 1976: 67). Kāne-moe-awakea, or Kāne-sleeping-in-the-great-light; is different from the other gods. He is their ultimate archetype, their ultimate expression. For all the world begins with a vast number of hidden islands, hidden within the undifferentiated Pō.
It was Kane who decreed light and space for the world. He originally persuaded Wakea and Papa to separate so there was space for light to enter the world and created alone: ‘in the Kepelino version of the myth of creation Kane declared some further worlds, existing alone’ (Luomala 1955: 9). Hence all forms of the world can be conceived of as being held within him. For example there are often said to be forty gods in Hawai‘i. ‘For those who know the esoteric, the forty are male gods or aspects or forms of Kane’ (Gutmanis 1983: 7).

But just as Kane is not normally visible, nor are the hidden islands. They must be accessed and the other gods provide a good metaphor. One needs Ku to build the foundation for the land, Lono for the consciousness to journey there, Kanaloa for the surrounding ocean. In a sense, the appearance of the hidden islands means that the ritual which feeds inner growth has been successful. For instance, the ‘body of light’ has been grown as I explored in Section 3.11 and the physicality and emotion of Ku and awareness of Lono has been moved through. I have also shown how this growth, internal and external, is imaged in Section 5.2 on crossing the ocean and Section 5.7 on the flight paths of birds, which metaphorically represent internal space. I have postulated that the external and the internal image each other. Many Hawaiians would say the internal ‘comes first’, thus showing the importance of perception. I alluded to a new way of understanding the Makahiki festival, in terms of greater perception, represented by the journey of the ‘boat of offerings’ to Kahiki.

I have said that the distinction between real and legendary space is not such a useful one in this instance, because all space is named. More useful is the distinction between the two horizons, the one that is visible to everyone, and another which one must ‘push out’ on one’s own. The appearance of the legendary islands is a sign that one has been successful with one’s inner growth. I have explored how the hidden islands were associated with the great god of Kane, and seeing those islands is a sign that one’s journey through the bodies of the gods has been achieved. Now I shall look at more associations of those islands with making place out of space.
‘The first thing I’ve got to do,’ said Alice to herself, as she wandered about in the wood, ‘is to grow to my right size again; and the second thing is to find my way into that lovely garden. I think that will be the best plan’.

From Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland (Lewis Carroll 1946: 39).

In this section I shall explore the association of the hidden islands, with some of the higher realms, such as the moon and the demesnes of immortality. In this context, time and space are no longer important concepts, for these immortal realms are the realms where knowledge was believed to abide, and the ultimate home of space, time and direction. Thus ultimately time and space are subordinate to knowledge.

The hidden islands represent a desired realm. The one who has the ability to voyage there through knowledge must also have the ability to integrate that knowledge. Many Hawaiians believe this is done through shooting out the ‘branches’, or ‘limbs’, mana, of mana, or power, which they then hook onto the named space. Then it is possible to attach the bodies of the gods represented by the different dimensions one has accessed to one’s soul. To grow them through one’s body like the word, is the purpose of growing place from space. To succeed, one must learn to live harmoniously, as befits the realm of Kane. For instance if one feels negative emotion and weeps at an illusion of mortality the gods have prepared, then one will have to leave.

For example, in the Rice version of the legend of Makuakaumana, he is a pious worshipper of Kane and Kanaloa who cultivates his garden patch daily. In reward for his good service, they bring him to the hidden land of Kanehunamoku, where he may live with Kane and Kanaloa. But when the gods prepare an illusion in which he sees his son forced into the sea by his wife and a shark devouring him, Makua cannot restrain his tears. So he is cast back on the beach of
his homeland (Rice 1923: pp. 116-132). I believe the moral is that one must keep one's equilibrium when one has reached the deep waters of Kane and Kanaloa.

The forming of the moon is associated with the forming of the hidden islands surrounding one's own perceived island. For example the moon-goddess Hina is said to be 'the one who makes possible the equilibrium of Kane-huna-moku [Kane of the hidden island] in the night of Mohalu, the twelfth night of the moon as it begins to be round' (Beckwith 1976: 71 quoted Thomas Thrum). Perhaps the mana of the moon is why ritual is believed to be especially powerful on the full moon. The Waiaka ritual, performed on the full moon, for example, is believed to help people get what they desire. I described it in Section 4.15. At the same time, ritual is believed to help the moon grow and then the worlds of greater light can be mirrored on earth, and in the place names on earth (Plate 5.4).

The hidden islands also represent a way of reaching the desired dominions. For they are divided into different realms, each named. Paradise in the Persian wor(l)d, contained an enclosed garden, indeed the English word ‘paradise’ comes from the Farsi word paradeiza which means ‘a walled garden’ (Mark Bassin: personal communication 1999). Kane huna moku also contains this ‘inside garden’. ‘The inner realm of Kane-huna-moku is called uluhai malama and is where fragrant flowers grow’:

Kane huna moku is the son of Kane and Kanaloa. He lives on the beautiful floating cloud of Kane and Kanaloa, with his companion Kaonohiula. Their favourite sport is bowling. They live there together with dwarves, his wife and children. They do not live on the inner layer which is uluhalomalama. The overseers of the garden are Uhawao and Uhaloa and they lead the migration of the people of Kane huna moku toward vegetable growth (Beckwith 1976: 71, 72).

I believe the dwarves here may refer to the Mu, later Beckwith called them the ‘banana-eating people of Kualhelani, one of the divisions of the floating island of Kane-huna-moku’ (Beckwith 1976, 361).
This fascinating quote shows explicitly that both the ability to reach, and the ability to live on, the hidden islands is associated with internal growth. This interpretation does not prohibit Beckwith's more sociological one of external growth. She saw the growth of the islands as mirroring the birth of the child descended from high chiefs and his care before reaching maturity (Beckwith 1976: 77). In the system of growth I identify, external growth is a mirror of internal growth.

I believe legendary space was named because it is deemed necessary to grow too, and the power of the word provides a means of doing this. For example, *Ulu hai malama* means 'growing in offering to the moon'. Even though *Kāne* lives on his own island, he has not completed his migration, but must still move towards the inner rings of the gardens of the moon. Perhaps this shows that even he can be considered as needing to grow some knowledge.

The human must also move towards the inner rings, which can be represented by the flights of birds, as well as the fragrant gardens of the moon. They are believed to reflect the external movement towards the bodies of the higher gods. I have already explored it through the comparison of the body to light, systems of navigation and the depths of the ocean. We meet the system of *rua* or reflection again, and I believe the moon is invoked because her power is believed to help the building up of ritual. Thus seeding, on both the inner and outer levels, may be successful, legendary space can link with actual space, and the two horizons, inner and outer, can be brought together.

I illustrated the association of the moon with fertility in Section 4.15, particularly focusing on some cosmological aspects. Here I want to show that the moon is believed to have the secret of eternal life. *Hina Uri*, or Hina of the dark blue colour, is the moon at the time when she will soon be reborn, she possesses the secret of new life' (Knappert 1992: 115). Belief in this immortal water is not restricted to Hawai‘i. For example, mention of this *wai ola* is found in 362
many of the Pacific Island groups, such as New Zealand, the Tongas, Samoa, Tahiti and the Hawaiian islands (Westervelt 1963: 43). In New Zealand, the *Waiora a Tane*, ‘the living water of Tane’ are magical waters which restore the dead to life:

our local version is that when *Hina-keha*, ‘Pale Hina’ becomes *Hina-uri*, ‘Dark Hina’, that is to say, when the moon sickens, wanes and comes nigh to death, she goes afar off across the ocean to seek the waters of life, or fountain of youth, the *Wai-ora a Tane*. In a far region she bathes her wasted form in the healing waters of *Tane*, and so returns to this world as *Hina-keha*, once more young and beautiful (Best 1924 I: 138).

The islands named after the moon are believed to also contain this elixir. Perhaps that is because both the hidden islands, and the moon, may be believed to be reflections of the eternal stars.

The water on earth may be another example. I have shown in Section 4.11 that the stream names on Kaua'i represent the consciousness of the gods and ‘man is Kâne’s living water gourd’. Here lies the source of that clear fluid. For example *Kâne huna moku*, contains *Ka wai ola a Kâne*, literally ‘the living water of Kâne’, a spring:

beautifully transparent and clear. Its banks are splendid. It had three outlets: one for *Kû*, one for *Kâne*, and one for *Lono*, and through these outlets the fish entered the pond. If the fish of this pond were thrown on the ground or on the fire, they did not die, and if a man had been killed and was afterwards sprinkled over with this water, he did soon come to life again (Beckwith 1976: 74).

Even though the water as a whole belongs to *Kâne*, the outlets are literally named after the bodies of the different gods. Perhaps this is why the appearance of fresh water on the Hawaiian islands was always associated with a god: ‘*Kâne* and *Kanaloa* were the water-finders, opening springs and pools over all the islands, each pool known now as *Ka-Wai-ke-Aku*: the water
provided by a God' (Westervelt 1963: 37). For the perceived land is a mirror of land elsewhere, ‘brought to life’ by the consciousness of the gods.

Humans must journey back to that fair land, and this is believed to be done in many stages, through many lives and many bodies. I discussed in Section 4.9 how the souls of the dead are believed by many Polynesians to travel in the path of the setting sun towards the hidden dimensions, whence the purified spirit chooses its abode. On the island of Kaua‘i I showed what happened when the soul decided to reincarnate, here I look at another option, the return to the place of origin. The process of ‘path-clearing’ described in Section 3.11 leads to an opening to the greater gods. That growth must be infused with the emotion of love, winding around the strands growing in the image of the gods like a garland of flowers. Then the flowering soul is able to grow so much it does not need to re-turn to earth, but goes back to the source, where it is able to live in consonance with the love existing there. ‘After a certain length of sojourn in that exalted abode the soul, we are told, loses all memory of this world. It has returned to the realm of Io the Parent from whom all things sprang’ (Best 1924 I: 321, 322).

In New Zealand this place is imaged as a realm known as Irihia. In this high place, at the summit of a mountain there, stands a house where the ‘high knowledge’ is stored. It is the ultimate abode of Rua, the god of knowledge:

Hereat stands a strange edifice known as Hawaki-nui, as Hawaki-rangi, as Hawaki-whakaeroero, and as Poutere-rangi; four names it hath. The guardians of this house are the three poutiriao, named Te Kuwatawata, Hurumanu, and Taururangi. Rua of the many names also pertains to this place, and in it lie the two sacred whatu or stones obtained by Tane from Io the Parentless (Best 1924 I: 320).
Here is home of the knowledge of ‘the pit’ or doubling, the knowledge of imaging, shamanism and creating new worlds. This high house is imaged as being at the intersection of different paths of knowledge.  

In this house of Hawaiki-nui was the meeting place of the sacred four-way path, the ara matua, the path of the four winds, the path by which souls of the dead come from the four corners of the earth to assemble in the sacred house at the meeting place of spirits. These four paths lead from the south, the west, the north and the east. There are four entrances to Hawaiki-nui, one each on the south, west, north and east sides, and by these entrances pass the paths of the four winds into the sacred house (Best 1924 I: 321).

This ultimate Whare wananga, or ‘house of knowledge’ is the place where all the paths and directions meet. It represents the ‘coming together’ of the directions which were originally separated out on earth. The term kauwhanga is sometimes applied to the crossed four paths that meet in Hawaiki-nui. (Best 1924 I: 322). Kauwhanga in Maori means ‘birds in general; a very ancient term’ (Williams 1992). It appears that here the presence of birds means that ancient knowledge is about to be revealed. Kau means ‘place’ in Hawaiian, and in Maori it means ‘swim’, ‘charm’, the ‘handle of a tool’, ‘a variety of kumara’ [sweet potato], ‘stalk’, ‘rise of heavenly bodies’ and ‘ancestor’. Whanga means ‘space’ (Williams 1992). With the help of all these things described above, all of which have been talked about in this dissertation, space has finally been placed. It is the point where the directions, which have been so painstakingly separated out through the marking of space and place on earth and in the heavens, converge.

In this section many themes are brought together. I have given examples of the hidden islands being desirable realms. I have shown how regions of the hidden islands were named after the

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64 Much of this dissertation has been about how high knowledge is associated with stars. In garden design, the ‘meeting of straight walks in a forest’ is known as an étoile or ‘star’ (Symes 1993: 46).
moon, it was believed the moon could help in this growth. Growth, even here, is desirable because it is needed to shape more 'space' into 'place'. When this is achieved, through the word and ritual, one reaches the peak of eternal life, where space, time and the directions finally unite:

in the dim of that strange house where the carvings flicker and dance and the singing of worlds winds through all words (Hulme 1992: 22).

Perception of the 'worlds' within the words, and continuously making the choice to 'grow', rather than 'not grow', has led to this elevated summit. Now, having reached this high point, one no longer needs to lace space into place; for through making place, one has become it. One Polynesian writer said: “We all think that Paradise is a place, when all the time, it's a state of mind” (Hereniko 1994).

5.10 Reflections of Islands

_O k'ia 'u'uku e nui ana_
This smallness will be big later

Hawaiian proverb no. 2458 (Pukui 1983)

In this chapter I have looked at some more characteristics of the relationship between space and place. I have particularly focused on the way 'space' is believed to be able to be transformed into 'place'. Unlike the last chapter I have not focused on particular areas of the perceived land of Hawai'i, which can be visited by anyone, and are only dependent on certain factors of the material world, such as time, money and transport. Rather I began this chapter by looking at the concept of two horizons and how one can change one's sight through pushing out one's
second horizon. Then, I looked at special areas that some Hawaiians say can only be reached by
those with particular perception:

though *wahi pana* [sacred places] are normally associated with
geographical areas, this is not always so. For instance *Pali-uli*, a
divine place of much spiritual presence, cannot be found with a map
or jungle guide. *Pali-uli* is discoverable only if one’s mind and soul
are ready to receive this *wahi pana*. (Edward Kanahele in Van

I have discussed why the absolute distinction between real and legendary space is not a useful
one in the Polynesian context. For space is believed to be able to be hooked into place through
the power of the word. This is possible because in general space and time are imaged as flexible
quantities, with a material force of their own. They may be shaped and altered to suit human
purposes. ‘Legendary’ space is named because it is eventually believed to be able to materialize
into a shared and shaped reality. First though, it is necessary for the one following the path of
the gods to push out one’s horizon. The ability to do this is associated with examples such as the
dimensions of the ocean and the flight paths of birds. They link with the legendary land of
*Kahiki*, ruled over by *Kāne*, and represented by the hidden islands.

The theme of growth is a constant one here too, for reaching the hidden islands is believed to be
dependent on inner growth. Paradise has an inner garden, because it represents this growth.
For growth in the outer world is believed to a reflection of growth in the inner worlds of the
human. Other cultures may share a similar conception. For example, in some Celtic traditions,
the water surrounding paradise may be represented by a lake, which is a crystal castle where all
is reflected inwards. The mythical isle of Avalon is associated with Glastonbury, whose Celtic
name, *Ynyswitrin*, means ‘isle of Glass’, alluding to the crystalline otherworld. The *Tir nan
Og*, the ‘Country of Youth’, may be visited through reflective crystal waters of certain lakes,
‘undertaking a journey from the outer world to the inner’ (Pennick 1996: 110).
Various practices and rituals may aid this growth, which can be represented by the moon. Then one is believed to be able to reach the realms of immortality. That is why the correct answer to the question in Section 4.9 as to which branch the soul should grasp on death, is the barren one, which then leafs, not the one that is already green. For only then can it be demonstrated that the soul has the power to ‘make grow’, and that power is on earth (Plate 5.5), and in other worlds.

The purified soul is believed to be able to make the choice to go to those distant realms, and this choice is an alternative to the system of demarcating space and creating land I have described. As ever, the building of the land is related to the building of the bodies around the human soul in the image of the major gods, providing a way to get back to the original homelands. This is done by the naming and planting of space, in order that growth can be achieved. That growth needs to be mirrored by the inner growth of humans in their journey back towards the gods. For accessing the hidden lands requires a corresponding degree of inner harmony. Then creation will be achieved in the image of the gods.

Throughout this process the kaona have been shown to contain the knowledge of the gods, which may be transmitted through the form of the word. It indicates the importance of perception. Part of the recognition of some Hawaiians of this process is the importance of free will for the human which is also embodied by the kaona. When choices are consistently made that concern growth, rather than the resistance to growth, then the result may be imagined as pushing out one’s inner horizon. External growth is believed to the result of this inner growth, and is represented by the growth of the land, the body or the plant. All of this growth can be, and is, symbolized by the terms used to describe the gods. Greater perception is imaged as the ability to access the lands of light, which are represented by the bright islands of the high gods.
6.1 Some Summaries of Islands

*Paʻi ana na pahu a hula leʻa; o kaʻu hula no kʻia.*
Let the better-enjoyed hula chanters beat their own drums; this the hula chant that I know

(Pukui 1983: Hawaiian proverb no. 2571)

In this concluding chapter I will look back on the key points of this dissertation and draw together some common themes and reflections on place names and how they fit into the greater system of knowledge in Hawaiʻi. I will also look at how studies such as this fit into the system of knowledge.

In the first chapter I introduced my topic, and the Hawaiian islands, and explored my methodology, which I said largely 'grew out of' my personal experience. This is relevant for the later treatise on knowledge in this dissertation. Then, in Chapter Two, I explored some different ways academics have understood the concept of landscape. In all of them, landscape was seen as part of a greater whole, but the whole itself varied according to the perspective adopted. In this way, understanding of landscape is not so different from the Hawaiian conception of islands, which as I explore later, were always seen as part of a greater mass, and were also acknowledged to change according to viewpoint. In Chapter Three I explored some aspects of Hawaiian cosmology, focusing on its dynamic aspect, and the way creation was believed to happen from the realms of the gods. Then I looked at the way it may be believed to change with direction, and is influenced by humans through the process of mana. I showed some examples of the ways this direction occurs, and the growth of the human body. I also looked at the role of ancient knowledge, and why it was not always passed on, and at the kahuna, or those who 'hold the knowledge'.
In the next chapter I explore how those cosmological aspects are worked out in terms of place. I talk about the role of the directions, which are believed to seed and reflect each other in a system known as *lua*. This is a microcosm of the way the gods and the earth are believed to seed each other through the medium of the moon which I move on to in the section on Moloka'i, and in the section on the hidden islands in the following chapter. I also explore the vertical nature of knowledge, and its significance in terms of ‘hooking’ or bringing down the knowledge of the gods, through ‘hooking temples’ and the power of the word. Then I look at the role of exclusivity in growing mana, and the way even boundaries within islands can be made to grow through the word.

Then I move on to choosing four sections of three different islands, and exploring their place names in terms of a sequence of growth. This sequence may be conceived of both literally, in terms of names on a map which follow on from each other in those terms, and metaphorically, as the bodies of the gods weaving themselves around the human soul, and so materializing body and place. I show that place, like the human body, may be conceived of as needing to be grown. One of the means of growing place is through water, and I show that the watercourses on the island of Kaua'i represent the consciousness of the gods. The results can be measured in terms of the fertility, or otherwise, of the land.

In the final substantive chapter, Chapter Five, I draw the themes together. I discuss this seeding of place in the wider context of imaging through *lua*. There I give examples of *lua* being star-pits, in which stars rise and set, and their use in navigation, as well as looking at navigation in terms of birds. They both represent the knowledge of the gods, and its ability to be reflected and used by humans. My examples of humanity’s perceived ability to shape time and the ocean through the medium of the gods, concern the results of this seeding, which may be both on an inner and outer level. The idea of ‘two horizons’, one being that of the generally visible, and the other one which must be grown on an individual basis, is played out in the conception of the
‘invisible lands’, the hidden islands, which may only be seen when one’s mind and spirit are ready. The ability to push out one’s horizon, and not to be diverted by illusions, leads to one creating one’s own land, which is the land of the gods.

Throughout the thesis I employ some Polynesian metaphors such as gourds, taro and po, a state of unknowing and unrecognition. It is quite hard for me to name these metaphors, for they are largely unconscious. The word is believed to have the power to flower, from which the land changes. Ritual seeds and ritual also feeds: for darkness flows into light, plants grow, words grow bodies, bodies grow with words and these grow like plants by shooting out sprouts growing in different directions like so many thoughts. So the land is grown. An important metaphor is ao, ‘light’ or ‘knowledge’, which infuses all of these shoots, and can be activated or not, according to perception. Hence the ‘quality of light’ in the world one sees changes.

In a sense, space is being sculpted into place, the way Te Kore, the void, gains lines and curves through thought and the word. I think of it as not just space, but some sort of a viscous substance, which must be formed with direction. The metaphor of seeding frequently recurs. The idea of space being seeded is unusual, an English speaker would, for example, only talk about ‘place’ being seeded. For by association, an area important enough to be seeded, must be ‘place’, not space. Hence I have tended to use the Polynesian understanding of space as a substance which needs to be shaped into place. Growth on land, known in the broad category of ‘plants’ are representations of knowledge achieved. For example Maori epistemology may be conceptualized as a spiral, koru, analogous to the unfolding frond of a tree fern, ponga (Figure 6.1). The metaphor of ‘hooking’ space to turn it into place, is in the grand tradition of Maui fishing up some Polynesian islands. I show the importance of perception through examples. A bright world, normally hidden, slopes into sight when one’s perception changes like a shining island, hitherto only dreamt of. It is a world where words flower and are twisted into leis which
affect the world, a sky where clouds have names, chiefs and comets blaze together, and the land
is hooked like a fish. It is a land laced with love, for the underlying metaphor is *aloha*.

6.2 Harvesting Some Knowledges

*E'ai I ka mea i loa'a*

What you have, eat

(Pukui 1983: no. 251)

Geographer Jon Goss wrote about the meanings Hawaiians may find in their materialized land
through the power of the word:

The indigenous people of Hawai‘i created a profoundly
mythologized landscape, and well know that it is through their
language that their culture will live (*Aia I ka ‘ōlelo no ke ola a me
*ka make* - There is life and death in language) and only as long as
meaning eternally inheres in the material world (*He ola I ka pōhaku*
- There is life in the stone) (Goss 1999: 174).

In this dissertation I have explored some of the ‘truths’ of this statement and argued why
language should give meaning to the material world. I have made five major contributions to
the understanding of place in Hawai‘i.

The first insight is that creation may be imaged in terms of the gods above, believed to have
seeded earth from the origin-al realms, and I have shown some examples of that such as the
stream names of Kaua‘i, whose names illustrate a ‘carrying’ of the consciousness of the gods to
earth. The umbilical cord when humans are first born is a useful metaphor for future
development, because it represents the link between man and the gods. Some Hawaiians
believe that man has been ‘created’ by the star-gods, who cut the cord to allow him to journey
on his own. Man having been seeded, must be ceded, in order to grow back to the gods.
The second insight is that this seeding pre-cedes manifestation. Growth must be directed and the outgrowth is that the material force of the word is imaged as able to grow a body like a cord, and can be used to ‘seed space’ by naming it and help it grow into place. Through naming, undifferentiated ‘space’, becomes significant ‘place’, allowing the landscape to act as a form of cultural memory. The purpose is to give man a chance to eventually regain the lands of the gods, which can be imagined as places where its inhabitants are always happy, which is also the potential of man, a seed of the gods. The third insight is that growth must be accompanied by love for it to occur in the desired direction. As Roberts wrote (1996: 67) indigenous knowledge is ‘value laden’. The recognition that ‘growth’ may occur in the wrong directions is why Hawaiian knowledge is considered a ‘feeling’ quality as well as an intellectual one, and should not be generally transmitted. Perhaps it explains the reason why ‘love is the infrastructure’ of Hawaiian society (Sahlins 1985: 19).

The fourth insight is that the *kaona*, or ‘hidden meanings’ of the names can be interpreted in many different ways due to the polysemic nature of the Hawaiian language. This contrasts to Basso’s (1984) study of the Apache for example. The ways of interpretation may be believed to influence the direction of growth. This is because humans are said to have to learn to grow back towards the gods on their own. Those results can be said to broadly fit into two categories, namely to produce growth, as imaged in terms of movement, greenery, light and so on and to resist growth. That is because man is believed to have free will, to grow back towards the lands of love of the gods above, or not, as he chooses. Perception is believed to lead to materialization in different domains on earth. For example, place names also refer to the conception and growth of the body. Habitus is worked on by consciousness, and bridged by perception using the power of the word. The dimension of seeing produces individual identity, which becomes

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65 Some previous analyses (Bartlett unpublished) have analyzed the sequences of names at *Kilauea* and the *Na Pali* in terms of emotion, which imagine them as needing to be ‘moved through’ before one reaches love.
embodied as the ‘way the world is’. The human is an active agent in this production, because
the word is an outgrowth of individual perception. Like the body, place is believed to be able to
be built up through the power of the word, and ritual. The body becomes the arena of
Merleau-Ponty’s ‘can do’, rather than the Descartesian ‘is’. Place likewise has many possible
‘landings’, out of many possible under-standings. The blueprint as to how to grow back towards
the gods is in the *kaona* of the words. Their conception can be exemplified by the growth of the
body, plants and the land.

The upshot is that place names are related to each other sequentially, according to their
location. I have explored how this works according to the major directions, and the concepts of
horizontal and vertical growth and the multi-dimensional understanding of knowledge.

Situating places and their names within this broader system explains why interpreting place
names on an individual basis misses some of these dimensions of understanding. Hence place
names are part of a system of Hawaiian cosmology far more sophisticated and inter-related than
many other academics have suspected. To demonstrate this, I have taken widely varying
elements of Polynesian culture such as mythology, place names, genealogy, hidden meanings of
words, ideas about the body, the gods, architecture and rituals which have previously been
imaged as separated. I have shown how they can be understood as component parts of a greater
system of attraction and creation, which is believed to grow and change due to the power of the
words that describe its elements. I have also shown the purpose of understanding them that
way, to ‘grow back’ to the lands of the gods. ‘Seeding and feeding’ leads to ‘bringing the bright
land into being’.

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Trying to portray these ideas in the clearly delineated format of a dissertation has been far harder than I ever believed possible, as the ‘nature’ of these knowledges is different. Many Hawaiians are aware of the possibilities I have outlined, and do their best to live that knowledge, but representing angles of their lives would have made it a different study, which would have perhaps opened me to the charge that it didn’t make ‘sense’ theoretically. In this study I have privileged theory, rather than action, and it has been more exclusive than I would have liked. This is partly due to the enormous complexity of Polynesian culture and the need to constantly explain and redefine terms which are unfamiliar.

I would like to make a final comment that is not a conclusion. I have frequently alluded to these individual islands being part of a greater system. No-one has ever done this before, having considered place names separately from systems of ‘growing the land’, that are believed to be agricultural and ritualistic in nature. Choosing place names in three islands of Hawai‘i to study, and finding links within each sequence that can be part of a greater one is insufficient to demonstrate a wider system ‘in place’ in Hawai‘i and Polynesia. I believe my conclusions are valid all over Polynesia, as the same language, gods and place names occur throughout the islands. Indeed, I have not found a Polynesian place name, that analyzed in accordance with the names around it, does not fit into this system. My frequent references to New Zealand hint at it, but proof would be well beyond the scope of this dissertation. My personal ‘view-point’ is that the complexity contained in Polynesian place names and their allusions has huge intellectual implications for western ethnocentrism.
6.3 Ceding the Islands We Made

*I kupu ke a a‘ai ke kumu
I lau a puka ka mu'o.*
That the root may grow from the source
that the shoot may put forth and leaf.

Hawaiian proverb

This thesis is about growth. The result of growth is sovereignty. *Kū I ka moku*, ‘stands on an island’. *Ea*, the word for sovereignty also means ‘independence’, ‘breath’ and ‘to rise’. Roselle told me, *ea* also stands for sovereignty over self. One can stand on one's own island of perception and not be swayed by the surrounding currents and will recognize the world of ephemera for what it is. Many Polynesians believe, rather like Plato, that the world of phenomena are only the mirror the worlds contained in the surrounding spheres. That world, the *ao* or visible world, is ‘seen’ according to perception and becomes one's ‘*ao*, a new shoot, leaf or bud. Hence one’s growth depends on one’s ‘seeing’.

There was traditionally no word for ‘truth’ in Hawaiian. There was a word for ‘true’, but that recognized that what one sees is one perceives. Roselle Bailey told me: “There's no such thing as truth, there’s only true for you”. The word for ‘true’ *oia* or *oia'i'o* contains only vowels. I believe this is because vowels are the agents of change. What is ‘true’ is what is ‘seen’ and in a dynamic universe this is always changing. We must learn, as the poet Rupert Brooke put it (Hassall 1982: 414) to ‘see, no longer blinded by our eyes’.

Until one develops that ability, there are always many possible interpretations. I believe the ones I have chosen are valid in the dimension I choose to interpret them, because they are consistent with, and supported by, a number of sources. They all exhibit multi-dimensionality, as, like the other words in the Hawaiian language, they all hold a great deal of *kaona*, or ‘hidden
meanings’. Thus, by my ‘naming’ certain interpretations, my intention is certainly not to
preclude any others. Many others are possible, and I believe they all fit into the greater system
I have identified, concerning man regaining the lands of the gods through growth.

My conclusions are fixed on paper now, but they will doubtless continue to grow. Nonetheless,
ievitably, other people will understand them in terms of what I have written down. It is not
just an attempt to deflect the inevitable criticism, that may partly be because of my race, that I
say this dissertation, like Hawaiian knowledge, is multi-dimensional, and can be understood by
all according to viewpoint. There are precedents in Hawaiian thought. Knowledge should not
be confined to a single belief ‘when men say they believe only this or that they put blinkers on
themselves’ (Lee and Willis 1990: preface). Otherwise it will be merely a husk, and the second
horizon, the inner horizon, will not be able to burst forth from the shell of limiting beliefs. Then
the world one sees will be constrained. For one of the things which transforms the second
horizon into light is the acknowledgement of other beliefs, other paths, being valid. For in a
sense, it is the place one reaches that is important, not how one got there.

It bears repeating that my viewpoint is necessarily partial. For that reason I apologize now for
the faults and limitations of my points of view in this dissertation. For they are only the ‘points
of view’, of land or ‘landing’ I have created, a reflection of my present state of knowledge,
which is always growing and changing. Land, having been seeded, must always be conceded.
And now, as the Hawaiians would say, it is time for pipi holo ka‘ao, the shell to fly away, this
dissertation to flee, out into the world of light, to be read and understood by all according to
their perspective.
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