Hawaiian culture is based on the family and the land, which are foci for a wide range of literature. Names are applied to islands, regions, and particular places along with their salient features, such as winds, rains, and land formations. In sayings, chants, and songs, Hawaiians praise their own land and taunt others. Origin myths, legends, historical narratives, and stories transmit the accumulated knowledge about a place. Education emphasises learning these detailed traditions about one’s own land as well as others. This treasury of knowledge is used in turn to create new works, to formulate new perspectives and to solve new problems (Charlot 1983:55-78).

Such problems were critical in the early period of contact. Captain James Cook arrived in 1778 to find a society already in ferment. The highest chiefs had grown enormously powerful and were involved in constant rivalry and increasingly frequent war. Cook was received by Kalani‘ōpu‘u, chief of the leeward side of the big island of Hawai‘i, who was often battling his near and distant neighbours, especially Kahekili of Maui. After Kalani‘ōpu‘u’s death, his own successors would war among themselves.

The chief Keʻāulumoku, ‘The Lava that Makes the Land Grow’, was born in 1715 or 1716 on the Hāmākua coast of the windward side of the island of Maui. He died in 1784 in Kohala, on the leeward side of the big island of Hawai‘i. His life thus spanned the last decades of the precontact period and extended into decisive events of the early contact period. Moreover, his atypical career took him through the lands of opposing chiefs, enabling him to form an unusually broad view of the historical situation.

Hawaiians usually lived in one place, which was both their one hānau ‘birth sands’, and their kula iwi ‘plain of bones’. One of Keʻāulumoku’s surviving works is a traditional place chant, in which he expresses his affection for his home by singing of its winds and rains, of its leaves and flowers heavy with dew, and of his memories of living there with his family. The description of the landscape emphasises its fertilizing wetness, a result, in Hawaiian thinking, of the mating of the earth and sky. The fertility of the land extends to the chanter’s forebears and to his immediate family:
I kahi a māua e hele ai  
Me ku‘u wahine i ka ua hala o Kūloli  
A ‘o ia loli ke ‘ala iho ma ka lau  
Lauhala — e a ke o‘io‘ina ‘oe i Ko‘olahale  
‘Ike aku i ka mahina hikialoalo  
Oni kū a ki‘i i ke kaha o Malama  
Mālamalama ke one kea ke hele ‘ia’

‘In the place where the two of us wandered together  
With my wife in the rain falling on the pandanus trees of Kūloli ...’.

The chanter uses typical Hawaiian poetic devices. A place name is mentioned that has personal significance: the chanter wandered with his wife there. But the name also has a meaning that the chanter’s audience would feel: kūloli means ‘having no wife, children or relatives’. The irony reinforces the chanter’s expression of actually being with his wife. The chanter makes typically Polynesian wordplay with the place name in the next line:

‘But this loli is ...’

Loli can be read in two ways in this line: a turning or a change. Hawaiians loved ambiguity and used it often in their chants. Another word in the line can be pronounced either ala or ‘ala: ‘path’ or ‘fragrance’. The line can thus be understood in two ways that require two different English translations:

‘But this turning is the road that takes us down among the leaves’
or:

‘But this change is the fragrance here among the leaves.’

The chant continues, starting in Hawaiian fashion with the last syllable of the preceding line:

‘Leaves of pandanus indeed—and when you rest at Ko‘olahale  
Look at the moon at its zenith  
Rising like a statue over the land of Malama  
So the white sand shines as one walks over it’.

The chanter and his wife continue their climb into the uplands

Ā lipo a ‘ele‘ele i ka waokoa  
‘Into the deep darkness of the koa forest’.

Into the darkness spread by the kukui leaves even when the sun is turning their upper sides to yellow. They spread that darkness
I ka ua 'ia e ka ua 'Ualena
‘Even when rained upon by the Yellow-Red Rain’.

What drove Keʻāulumoku to leave his home was the politics of the time. He was sought after by chiefs as an advisor and supporter. There were several reasons for this. He was early recognised as one of the most important composers of chants in a society in which it was exceptional not to be a poet. Keʻāulumoku is in fact astonishingly original, pushing genres and poetic devices beyond their traditional limits. His metaphors are extreme, even wild; the music of his chants, tempestuous, emotional, irresistibly moving. His innovations opened up a new period in Hawaiian literature. In a later generation, a chanter like Niʻau would continue his work.³

Moreover, chant in Hawaiian culture was perhaps the most important genre for the expression of thought—religious, political and philosophical. As a great composer, Keʻāulumoku was considered a great thinker. Even more important, Keʻāulumoku was recognised as a kāula ‘prophet’. The word is used in different senses in Hawaiian literature, but generally of someone who can see so acutely into the forces at work in the present that he can predict their outcome. A kāula predicts the future without giving all the steps in his thinking, which makes his statements appear inspired. But those future events are the natural results of the situation in which the prophecy is made. A kāula was clearly an important support for a chief to have in his retinue, especially since kāula enjoyed considerable prestige. Even within that category, however, Keʻāulumoku was exceptional in that he could travel safely from court to court, like the Greek poets Pindar and Simonides (who even served as a peacemaker). His fame made him welcome everywhere.⁴

One reason for Keʻāulumoku’s high standing was that he articulated concerns that transcended particular interests. He looked beyond the battles to the tragedy of war. In E Nīnau Mai Ana Kā ‘Oe, composed on Hawai‘i during the struggles between that island and Maui, he mourns his friend, a Kaua‘i chief, who has been judged a spy, a kiu, on Maui and executed as a sacrifice. Keʻāulumoku develops a picture of the destructive Kiu wind of Maui raging in the uplands, a wind that had been used in a famous prophetic chant of defeat in an ancient war. Through wordplay, the first lines of the chant can be read both as the wind raging and tearing and as the spy being torn.⁵

26. He kiu ke hoʻohae la i ka nāulu
27. Ke paio la ma uka o Kehaʻele
28. Aliʻa e hele a lono i ka leo
29. He hele ko 'onâ, he moe ko 'one'i
30. Moe ke kâ'ele a ka ua o ka makani
31. Ua makani Kohala, ua 'ino Nápili
32. Pā pono iho la ka makani i Kuhua—ō
33. 'O Kuhua 'āina makani ke noho
34. E kani holowī mai ana ka lâ'au
35. E wī e hoe ana me he kanaka la
36. Me he kanaka la ka leo o ka lâ'au o ia nahele
37. Mai Mo'olau no a Kawaihāe
38. Ku‘u hoa o ka 'āina leo lâ'au
39. Me he kanaka la nō ke hea ke uwalo mai.⁶

26a. 'A Kiu wind is raging in the wind and rain
26b. A spy torn by the strong wind and rain
27. Battling together there in the uplands of The Dark Mountain.
28. Wait! come and listen to the din.
29. That one there can still go. This one here is laid low.
30. The rain the wind brought has laid its darkness over all.
31. Kohala on Hawai‘i is windy, but Nāpili on Maui is in a bad storm.
32. The wind is beating right down on Kuhua.
33. Kuhua is a windy land, as those who live there know.
34. The trees creak and squeak to me as their branches rub against each other,
35. Squealing and whistling like a human sighing.
36. The wood of that forest sounds like a human voice
37. From Mo'olau all the way to Kawaihāe on Hawai‘i.
38. O my friend of the land where the trees speak
39. Like human beings, really, calling, crying out to me for help'.

Keʻāulumoku generally sided with the Hawai‘i chiefs and is reported early to have recognised in one—the young warrior Kamehameha—the leader of the future.⁷ Strong leadership was clearly needed to impose some order on the warring chiefs.

Such leadership became even more necessary after Cook’s arrival. Could the Hawaiians continue their regional rivalries and wars or should they unite as a solidary people to confront these radically different foreigners? The problem was, however, more than one of policy, and a more detailed description of the historical and cultural situation is required to understand it and the solutions offered by Keʻāulumoku.

Far-sighted Hawaiian thinkers realised that Cook’s arrival created a new situation in Hawai‘i, with great dangers but perhaps also with great opportunities. Hawaiians would have to understand the foreigners, but in doing so, they would have to understand themselves in a new way. They would have to look at themselves, their culture
and their way of life, and assess their future. This is an extremely difficult task, both intellectually and emotionally. Many peoples have had their mental worlds destroyed by such contact, and to destroy a people’s world is to destroy its morale and eventually the people itself as a cultural entity. In fact throughout the contact and early post-contact period, anxious expressions are found of the Hawaiian situation. For instance, the later prophet Kapitle stated: “Those who are high will be brought low, and those who are low will be raised up”. This sense of a world turned upside down must have haunted the Hawaiian thinkers of the period. In fact, Ke‘āulumoku had anticipated Kapitle’s prophecy by decades.

Kamehameha, the young warrior chief, seems to have grasped on Cook’s arrival the significance of the foreigners. He spent a great deal of time with them and explored their ship. He was one of the few Hawaiians to sail out in the Western ship and spend a night on board. His subsequent initiatives appear to follow a plan that matured over the years: to establish himself as a strong leader, to unite the Hawaiians, to restructure Hawaiian society and culture to face the new situation, and to use—but not be dominated by—the foreigners.

Kamehameha gradually gathered to himself like-minded chiefs worried about the weakness of his chief rival, Kiwala‘ō, the highborn son of Kalani‘ōpu‘u. Kamehameha and his allies began a movement that had a definite ideological line, a rhetoric, a propaganda. Kamehameha was portrayed as proper in lineage and action to fill the highest station, while his opponents were taunted and derided as inferiors and rebels. Kamehameha was pious and a great warrior. His reign would bring peace and prosperity. Hawaiians were urged to join him now.

This was the proclaimed ideology throughout Kamehameha’s struggles—first to defeat and kill Kiwala‘ō, then to unite the island of Hawai‘i, and finally the whole archipelago. On achieving this goal, Kamehameha kept his promises, instituting far-reaching changes. He centralised the government and the religion, imposed order on his kingdom, and bequeathed it prosperous, peaceful and confident to his successors. Throughout this campaign, he used foreigners cannily, keeping them under his strict control. After his death, this image of Kamehameha became the Kamehameha tradition, which is a key to understanding nineteenth-century Hawaiian politics (Charlot 1985:5-8).

The Kamehameha rhetoric obviously had a powerful appeal for the Hawaiians of the time, articulating their fears and needs and offering them a solution. The earliest surviving example of this successful propaganda is the major chant by Ke‘āulumoku: Haui Ka Lani (“Fallen is the Chief”). The chanter-prophet was, in all
likelihood, one of the prime formulators of Kamehameha’s platform. The 809-line chant—as published in Fornander—was composed during Kamehameha’s struggle with the great Keōua, chief of the Ka‘ū district of the island of Hawai‘i, and prophesied Kamehameha’s victory and uniting of that island. The struggle between Kamehameha and Keōua began after the defeat of Kiwala‘ō, probably in the summer of 1782. The chant appears to have been composed early in the struggle; I would guess in late 1782. Ke‘āulumoku died in 1784, and Keōua was finally killed in 1791. The chant is, therefore, considered a true prophecy in Hawaiian tradition. The chant in fact presents itself as such (line 6):

Ke ha‘i mai nei ka pō i ka he‘e
‘The night is announcing the defeat to me’.

The night is the time of godly visions and inspirations.

Ke‘āulumoku sees that Keōua will be defeated and destroyed along with the land he rules. He formulates his prophecy within the traditional framework of the identification of a chief with his land, but pushes that idea to an extreme. The chief is seen as the very soul of the land. When he is defeated, the land itself dies and its ghost wanders, an idea that has no precedent, as far as I can see, in Hawaiian literature (lines 32 ff.):

‘Ka‘ū has been killed by them
Its ghost is staggering this way
The separated spirit of the land’.

The catastrophe is not merely local. A chief is the linchpin, the connecting point of gods, community and environment. When the chief dies, the catastrophe is cosmic. Haui ka lani means both ‘The chief falls’ and ‘The sky falls’. Because the chief’s genealogy begins with the gods in the lani, the ‘firmament’, he himself can be called lani ‘sky’. The chief’s defeat and flight is huli moku ‘island overturning’. The consequences of Keōua’s defeat will, therefore, be far-reaching (lines 13 ff.):

‘O ke kini ho‘i i kahi ki‘eki‘e
Aia ho‘i i kahi ha‘aha‘a
‘The many indeed now in high, exalted places
Are there now in low and humble’.
But first there will be fighting. The enemies of Kamehameha will become sacrifices to his war god, Kūkāʻilimoku ‘Kū the Island Snatcher’. The “rebels” districts of Kaʻū and Puna will fall to fighting each other like chickens in a barn yard:

ʻAi koke no i nā ‘iʻo, ʻo hanamoā  
Ke kiko koke, ke kiko aku, ke kiko mai  
Nani wale lākou e hoʻohohoka mai nei

‘They eat quick the meat bits, acting chicken-like  
Peck quick, peck here, peck there  
Aren’t they beautiful as they thwart each other!’

Those chiefs will die along with their counselors, chanters and prophets.

Their place will be taken by Kamehameha, the high-born, natural leader, the upright chief, the pious warrior, whose battles are like temple sacrifices. Let him be raised up, let him assume the power. His reign will bring peace and prosperity as in the days of the great chiefs of old. The life of his reign will be like a great feast for all the islands, a feast to which all are invited. The people will spread and increase in his peaceful reign (lines 635 f.):

Akāka ‘ikea ka pono o ka ‘āina  
Hoʻokau ka pono o ke aliʻi

‘Clearly seen is the rightness of the land  
The rightness of the chief has been laid down’.

Keʻalualumoku invites his listeners (line 495):

Hele mai e noho i ka pono  
‘Come and dwell in the rightness’.

May the chief live and may he lead!

_ Hawaii Ka Lani_ was preserved carefully, as seen in the agreement of the transmitted versions, and has always been considered one of the masterpieces of Hawaiian poetry. But it was also very influential politically. According to King Kalākaua (1972:366), the chant was used by one of Kamehameha’s counselors to urge him forward on his quest.

Keʻalualumoku, however, went further in his own thinking. In the last months of his life, he retired to Kauhola Point in Kohala to compose his last chant (_Kalakaua 1972:365_), which differs
significantly from *Hau‘i Ka Lani*. He called to himself the chiefs of Kamehameha’s court, chanted his last words to them, and died soon after. His chant, ‘Au‘a ‘Ia ‘Hold Back,’ was his testament to the next generations and is very much in the minds of many Hawaiians today.10

A comparison of ‘Au‘a ‘Ia with *Hau‘i Ka Lani* reveals Ke‘au‘ulumoku’s new concerns. In *Hau‘i Ka Lani* he had offered a political and personal solution to the problems facing Hawaiians: they should unite behind Kamehameha. That chant was formulated entirely within a Hawaiian context, and foreigners were not even mentioned. But the foreigners were the inescapable problem; their arrival with their technologically advanced culture was the new, unassimilated element on the scene. Their intentions were not entirely clear, but it was obvious that they would accept anything they were given, take anything they could, and kill if resisted.

The challenge of the foreigners could not be met in purely traditional ways. Hawaiian culture itself was inevitably called into question. For instance, the foreigners seemed to be able to break Hawaiian tabus with impunity. Everything in Hawaiian culture began to look unstable. What in fact could Hawaiians rely on? Did anything solid remain? Change was inevitable, but what should Hawaiians hold on to? On what ground could Hawaiians stand to face the problems of the future? Ke‘au‘ulumoku had to think his way through his own culture to find the bedrock, to find that which was so important that it had to be retained no matter what else was surrendered or changed. Such fundamental questioning is extremely difficult in any culture as it is for any individual.

Ke‘au‘ulumoku formulated his solution in a traditional genre, a mele ‘au‘a or ‘chant refusing a request’ (Kamakau 1961:240). Hawaiians, like all Polynesians, are extremely hospitable, praising generosity and condemning stinginess. Politeness dictates giving even before being asked. An expressed request imposes a serious obligation, and the consequences of denial can be grave. Yet there are times, extreme and painful, when one must say no. The solemnity of the decision demands that the refusal be composed as a chant, a mele ‘au‘a.

I discuss only the twelve opening lines of the chant as I reconstruct them.

1. *E ‘au‘a ‘ia e kama e kona moku*

Ke‘au‘ulumoku begins in typically Hawaiian fashion with words that can be understood in more than one sense. The line is usually
translated as if it read *i kona moku*, according to which the land would be the object, and *'ia* would mark an imperative: ‘O child, hold on to your land’. But read as printed, the line can also mean ‘O child, you are held by your land’ or ‘O child, may you be held by your land’. *'ia* would mark a passive or hortative with ‘your land’ as the agent. *Moku* can mean ‘island’, ‘land’ or ‘land section’. The point of the double meaning is that Hawaiians should hold on to the land that holds them. The use of the third person possessive where the second person would be expected is archaic and solemn. *Kama* ‘child’ recalls *kama'āina* ‘child of the land’, the term for someone who really belongs to a place. In his poem *Ouiui a Wa'akaia-loa ke kane*, Ke'āulumoku used a similar repetition of *kama* to refer to Kamehameha. The address seems more general here—the chanter is calling on the new generation—but the use of the word does provide some connection to the chanter’s earlier support of Kamehameha.

2. *Kona moku e kama e 'au'a 'ia*
   ‘Your land, O child, withhold it’.

This unambiguous line focuses the listener’s attention on the main point of the chant.

3. ‘*O ke kama kama i ka hulinu'u*
   ‘Child, child, child of/in the ...’

*Hulinu'u* refers to the highest rank or grade of chiefs, so the chanter is calling on the highest leaders of Hawai‘i. There is in addition a significant play on words. *Huli* means “To turn, reverse”, and *nu'u* ‘level, heights’. This theme of overturning is echoed in the next line and will be used further in the chant. In *Hau'i Ka Lani*, lines 3, 5, *huli moku* clearly refers to overturning or overthrowing.

4. ‘*O ke kama kama i ka huliau*
   ‘Child, child, child of/in the ...’

*Huliau* has three senses: the turning of a current and the changing of the times (Pukui and Elbert 1986: “Turning point, time to change”), and also “To think of the past, recall the past”. In the crisis, Hawaiians must search the past to understand the present, as they have been trained to do in their educational system. (*Ka Huliau* was adopted from this chant as the title of a contemporary newsletter of Hawaiian resistance.)
5. Hulihia ke au, ka papahonua o ka moku
   ‘The time/current has been turned, the earth-foundation/
   bedrock of the island/land’

The chanter borrows a typical line from a Hulihia ‘Overturned’ chant, a
genre developed for the volcano goddess Pele. Such chants revel
in the disorder of eruptions, the overturning of the cosmic order so
carefully studied and described by the priests of the official cults. The
Pele literature offered the best traditional model for understanding the
radically unsettled times the chanter was experiencing. The appeal of
the powerful but marginal Pele religion would continue and spread
through the early contact period, and she remains the most living
Hawaiian god today.

6. Hulihia pāpio ‘e ia i lalo ke alo
   ‘It is already turned over flat, face down’

‘Face down’ is a sign of death.

7a. E Uli e ‘a’ai ‘ia
    ‘O Uli, eat and increase’

The goddess of sorcery is called upon to eat or destroy and spread her
influence. The chanter seems to be speaking sarcastically: since
everything is laid low, come and eat. When mainstream religions
shake, fringe movements rise. In Tahiti, prophecy would gain
strength; in Hawai‘i, sorcery.

7b. Hulihia i Manu‘ake—le
8. Hulihia i ka ‘u‘unu kāʻōko‘a a Kū
9a. Ka maka o Kū
    ‘Overturned in Manu‘akele
    Overturned in the free-standing rough stone altar of Kū
    The eye of Kū’

The theme of overthrowing continues and is localised for
verisimilitude in the temple of Manu‘a (now destroyed; once located
at the site of Queen’s Hospital in Honolulu) and at an altar dedicated
to the god Kū.

9b. ka ‘aha o Maki‘Ilohelohe
10. Ka ‘aha nāna i hīki‘i o Hulahula
11. Ua kalakala ‘ia, ua wekewekea
'the sennet cord of the Makiʻilohelohe ceremony
The sennet cord that bound the Hulahula ceremony
It is unravelled, it is opened up'.

The Makiʻilohelohe and the Hulahula were parts of the ritual sequence of the major temple rededication or renewal ceremony, which helped maintain the order of the cosmos, the fertility of the land and the security of the kingdom in times of crisis. A sennet cord was used prominently in these and other ceremonies to hīkiʻi ‘bind’ them together and perhaps to concentrate and keep their power or mana. That cord has now been unravelled, and as a result, the ceremonies are no longer effective. The Hawaiian historian Samuel M. Kamakau emphasises the role of such cords as signs of chiefs and states that Kamakiʻilohelohe and Hulahula were the names of such cords by which the land, ka moku, was fixed, paʻa.\textsuperscript{13}

12. \textit{Ua hemoʻku la ka piko o ka ʻāina}
‘The navel of the earth has been loosened’

The chanter now expands his view in a line that has several levels of meaning. Most obviously, the line again expresses the breakdown of the cosmic order. Moreover, in Hawaiian thinking, the navel cord connects the child first to his mother and, through her, to the previous generations. After the birth, the cord is deposited in a specially designated place so that it will continue to connect the child to his land. This line of the chant expresses, therefore, a sense of personal disconnection from the land and the past. The contraction possible in performance—hemoʻku for hemo aku (as in Keaoulemoku n.d.)—could be a play on the expression moku ka piko ‘the navel cord is severed’, used to sever all relations with someone, especially a relative.

My reconstruction and translation of the first lines of the text follow:

1. E ʻauʻa ʻia e kama e kona moku
2. Kona moku e kama e ʻauʻa ʻia
3. ʻO ke kama kama kama i ka huliniʻu
4. ʻO ke kama kama kama i ka huliau
5. Hulihia ke au, ka papahonua o ka moku
6. Hulihia pāpio ʻe ia i lalo ke alo
7. E Uli e ʻaʻai ʻia, Hulihia i Manuʻake—le
8. Hulihia i ka ʻUʻumukāʻōkoʻa a Kū
9. Ka maka o Kū, ka ʻaha o Makiʻilohelohe
10. Ka ʻaha nāna i hikii o Hulahula
11. Ua kalakala ʻia, ua wekewekea
12. Ua hemoʻku la ka piko o ka ʻāina.
1. 'O child, hold on to your land
   O child, be held by your land
2. Your land, O child, withhold it.
3. Child, child, child of the highest, turning heights
4. Child, child, child of the changing, searching times
5. The current has been turned, the bedrock of the land
6. It is already turned over flat, face down
7. O Uli, eat and increase. Overturned in Manu‘akele
8. Overturned in the free-standing rough stone altar of Kū
9. The eye of Kū. The senet cord of the Maki‘iliohelohe
10. The senet cord that bound the Hulahula
11. It is unravelled, it is opened up.
12. The navel cord of the earth has been loosened’.

Ke‘āulumoku is listing the sacred objects that should be holding Hawai‘i together, but finding them unstable or overturned. Later in the chant, he states that the Hawaiians themselves are shaken and weak in this desperate time. He bewails their state and tries to awaken them to the importance of the crisis they are facing.

In that crisis, the only solution is to hold on to the one thing that is essential to the preservation of Hawai‘i, the Hawaiians, and their way of life: the land. In turn, they will be held by the land. He urges them to call on the gods, hope in the chiefs, and love each other; but the unum necessarium, the one thing necessary, is to cling to the land from which they were born and to which they, like their ancestors, will entrust their bones.

This point seems prophetic to Hawaiians today and is chanted and danced as such. The early post-contact chiefs, like the Queen Regent Ka‘ahumanu, long refused to alienate Hawaiian lands, all of which belonged to the crown and were used by others as tenants. In 1848, King Kamehameha III yielded to foreign pressures and instituted the Great Māhele, which distributed most of the lands of Hawai‘i for personal ownership, ultimately without restricting ownership to Hawaiians. Soon much of the land passed into the hands of foreigners. Seeing the growing distress of the people, chiefs established trusts based on their personal land holdings, but these were often looted and misused by those appointed to administer them. During the revolution of 1893, in which largely American business interests overthrew Queen Lili‘uokalani, Hawaiians identified the land issue as crucial not only to politics and economics, but to their very culture. Ellen Wright Prendergast’s protest song Kaulana Nā Pua defines the issue (Charlot 1985:27f.):

'A 'ole mākou a'e minamina
I ka pu‘u kālā a ke aupuni.
Ua lawa mākou i ka pōhaku,
I ka 'ai kamaha'o o ka 'āina.

‘We do not value
The hill of dollars of the government.
We are satisfied with the rock,
The wondrous food of the land’.

Hawai‘i was annexed to the United States in 1898, and in 1920, the clearly deteriorating situation of the Hawaiians prompted the United States Congress to establish the Hawaiian Homes Commission for the purpose of returning to the land persons of at least one-half Hawaiian blood. This program also has been sadly, at times criminally, mismanaged, and as a result, many Hawaiians are today “strangers in their own land”. Faced with this deepening crisis, a resurgent Hawaiian population has been demanding land and sovereignty, and seeking to reinvigorate its traditional culture.

For Hawaiians today, their land and their culture remain inseparable. When I saw the great ‘Iolani Luahine towards the end of her life chant and dance ‘Au’a ‘Ia, she pronounced the last words in such a way that I seemed to hear:

Nānā i ka moku
A lohe i ka nalu

‘Look at the land
And listen to the wave’.

Looking and listening are the fundamental skills of classical Hawaiian education. Land and sea form one of the universal pairs of categories into which the many details of knowledge can be placed. The dancer was urging Hawaiians to return to their own way of perceiving their universe, to being Hawaiian in their own Hawai‘i.

NOTES

1. A first version of this article appeared in the excellent French of Jean-François Baré: Charlot 1992. Both versions are based on a lecture.

For family background and biographical information on Ke‘āulumoku and others mentioned in this article, see Kamakau 1961 with the index, Sterling 1974. Also Kamakau 1961:167, an interesting parallel with Ka‘ōpulu‘ulu. Also Kalakaua 1972:351-67; Formander 1969:156, 210. Occasional mentions of Ke‘āulumolu can be found, e.g., Kepelino 1932:35. Further references will be given for particular points.

The interpretation of the chanter’s name is my own, since I have found no explanatory text. The name as I reconstruct it could also mean ‘the burning that makes the land grow’ (Edith McKinzie). I was told by Larry Kimura that a glottal
stop was inserted by older informants before the first a, but he did not hear the a as long, as I have indicated by the macron. Ke‘aulumoku would mean “the stud who makes the land grow”. Keaulumoku, suggested by Edith McKinzie as a possibility, would mean “the current that makes the land grow”. Keaulumoku would mean “the current that shakes the land”. Keaulumoku [sic] n.d., a variant unattested elsewhere, would mean ‘the cloud that makes the land grow’.

I wish to thank all those whom I have consulted on this article. I present all texts in modern, regularised form and do not discuss fully any of the texts mentioned. All translations in single quotation marks are mine; alternatives can usually be found in the works cited. Glosses in double quotation marks are from Pukui and Elbert 1986.

For a list of works attributed to Ke‘aulumoku, see Charlot 1985:56. Lili‘uokalani n.d.:2 attributes two further place chants to him. Kamakau March 23 [sic: 16], 1867, emphasises the variety of his production:

_ia manawa no i make ai kekahi kanaka kaulana ma Hilo, no na mele wanana, mele kaua, mele mili‘i a me ke mele hoaloalo‘oha a me na ano mele a pau -- O Keaulumoku ka inoa, nana hoi ke mele wanana o Hauikalani._

‘At this time died in Hilo a person famous for prophetic chants, war chants, praise chants, love chants, and all the different chant genres. His name was Ke‘aulumoku, the composer in fact of the prophetic chant Hau Ka Lani.

Kamakau June 24, 1869, mentions also a mele kupa‘a ‘ancestor or genealogical chant’ as represented in the poet’s work.

2. Kamakau 1961:112-15. The form of Ko‘olahale is uncertain. I have replaced One with Oni in the sixth line.


4. Lili‘uokalani n.d.:1, “Keaulumoku was a historian and bard in his days. He was a high chief, a high priest”; 3, “a prophet and a bard”.

5. For the chant, see Na Mele Aimoku 1886:279f. I have regularised the text. Kailiehu June 12, 1865, provides a description of the wind. See Judd 1930: number: 248. For its use in the prophecy, see Kamakau 1961:57.

6. Na Mele Aimoku 1886:279f.: 280. Testa 1895:73, similarly complains of spies, using the image of birds (line 12):

_Nā kiʻi kiʻe ma ka hākala_

‘The spies peering over the gables’.

For this traditional image, see Pukui 1983: numbers 239, 240.

7. Kamakau 1961:89f. Compare ‘I‘i March 6, 1869. Haleole June 1, 1865, reports a variant tradition that Ke‘aulumoku was attached early to the young Kamehameha as a guardian or advisor.


Kekūhaupio, later Kamehameha’s martial arts master, is reported to have composed a positive prophecy about Kamehameha before his birth; Kamakau March 23 [sic:16], 1867; “He Moolelo Kaao no Kekuhaupio, Ke Koa Kaulana o ke Au o Kamehameha Ka Nui” April 7, 1921.
10. The textual problems of the chant are considerable. I have found the following publications. Kekalohi November 8, 1862, states that it was composed for Namakahea, a chief of the time of Kamehameha I. He does not mention the name of the composer. Two versions are published in Na Mele Aimoku 1886:3-7, 304f. The first is attributed to Ke‘ałulumoku and subscribed Ululani, which seems to indicate that it is her version. The second, unattributed, is given the title, He Inoa no ka Moi Kalakaua, but it was conventional to inherit such chants. McKinzie 1983:21, reprints a version of the first lines, attributed to Ke‘ałulumoku, which appeared in "Mookuauii Alii" June 8, 1896, and which provides only the first lines (I have checked this against the original; he mo in the last line reads hemo in the original). The Lili‘uokalani n.d., translation seems to be based on this text. The first line follows the text; "observe" seems to be based on ana instead of the aua of other texts. The translation of "observe" in the line on Uli does not, however, fit the auia of the text in question. Keaulumoku n.d., from the Lili‘uokalani collection, has Aua, not ana, and auia in the line on Uli. "He Buke Inoa no ka Mō‘i Kalākaua" March 14, 1882:52-5 or 59, is a differing version. The chant seems to have been a long one which could be shortened and adapted for other people and occasions, as seen in a number of hula versions.

Lili‘uokalani, in a note to the above translation, states that the chant was composed for her grandfather, ‘Aikanaka, who is referred to in the Ululani version, mentioned above, Na Mele Aimoku 1886:5, 7; this tradition could fit the proposed date of composition. ‘Au‘a ‘Ia fits the description of the chant attributed to Ke‘ałulumoku by Kalakaua 1972:365. Kanepuu 1865 calls someone “Keaulumoku 2” who published a kanikau ‘dirge’ for the Hawaiian people, which seems to be a reference to ‘Au‘a ‘Ia; similarly, Kamakau February 2, 1867, warns that without a resurgence of the Hawaiian population, the prophecies of Haui Ka Lani will come true. A chant similar to and perhaps based on ‘Au‘a ‘Ia is used in Haae December 12, 1860.

The most important translation is that by Lili‘uokalani n.d., mentioned above, which seems to have influenced others used in hēlau hula ‘hula academies’. McKinzie 1983:21, does not translate the text. Interpretations from the 1920s of both Haui Ka Lani and ‘Au‘a ‘Ia can be found in the Kelsey and Kekahuna manuscript collections of the Hawai‘i State Archives. On the above problems, compare Kaeppler 1993: index entries for Ke‘ałulumoku and ‘Au‘a ‘Ia.


12. Emerson 1915:228: Hulihia ke au, ka papahouma o kona moku; compare 219. Similarly, the description in Haui Ka Lani of Kamehameha’s sexual power—He ke‘a makaiolelepa, he pua‘a ‘eku ikaita ‘A wild-eyed, fence-jumping stud, a powerfully rooting pig’ (Forandmer 1919-20:380, line 192)—uses the vocabulary of the Kamapua‘a ‘Pig-Boy’ literature; see also Pukui 1983: numbers 1922, 2418.

13. Kamakau November 4, 1869. The translation in Kamakau 1991:159, makes some changes in the original text. For instance, Kamakau’s text gives the name of another cord as Kamaokuokamaakilo; this is changed to “Ka-maka-o-kū-kama-‘okilo-i‘a”, which connects it to line 9a of ‘Au‘a ‘Ia. Also, Hulahula could refer to lashings, but does seem to be included among the ‘aha. The word maka can be used in the sense of favourite, e.g., Kamakau 1991:15. Significantly, Lili‘uokalani in her translation does not understand the names as those of cords, and Kamakau may be developing his passage from ‘Au‘a ‘Ia itself. For more on cords, see Kamakau June 15, 1865; January 5, 1867; 1991:42f., 118, 155-9; Kanepuu May 9, 1860; Rose 1992:7.
The theme is reinforced in line 13 with a further image: the stones have been removed that should be holding down mats as they are being plaited or dried. Judd 1930: proverb number 254, riddle number 223. Pukui 1983: numbers 2675, 1540 ("Ka pōhaku kihi pa'a. 'A reliable, dependable person').

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