

# 4

## Talking Back to Law and Empire

### *Hula in Hawaiian-Language Literature in 1861*

Noenoe K. Silva

This chapter is about the first publication of the *mo'olelo* of the goddesses of hula. A *mo'olelo* is a story, history, literature, or any kind of narrative. Because I am about to share details of a *mo'olelo* that few people in the world have the ability to read, I must begin by stating my relationship to this *mo'olelo* and to the knowledge of the native people of Hawai'i. Before proceeding, I will explain why so few people in the world have access to this literature and what that has to do with law and empire in the Pacific.

I am the granddaughter of Kathleen Kauhili'ili'i Jay Decker, who was born in Kalāpana, Puna, Moku o Keawe (Island of Hawai'i). She was the daughter of Mary Kauila, who was the daughter of Lāhapa Lehuloa, who was the daughter of Kauhi. All of them (and their *kūpuna*) were born in the Kalāpana area, near Pele's home, Halema'uma'u, Kīlauea. Hula in literature is mainly connected with the *mo'olelo* of Pele. My grandmother was of the first generation purposely raised to be ignorant of the language and literature of their mothers and grandmothers. She was raised to speak Chinese and English, but despite her parents' efforts, she understood spoken Hawaiian and knew hundreds of songs in the Hawaiian language. Her daughter, my mother, also

knew many songs, but much less Hawaiian. I grew up knowing even less. As an adult, I returned home to Hawai‘i nei and began to learn my great-grandmothers’ language at the university. As I became fluent, my teachers impressed upon me that this language I had fallen in love with was nearly extinct.<sup>1</sup> Those of us who have managed by our various means to learn it are privileged in our community because most *Kānaka ‘Ōiwi* still face serious barriers to learning the language and to higher education. We therefore bear a “merciless weight of responsibility” when we decide to reveal, interpret, and analyze the writing of our *kūpuna* (Benton 1987). To do so puts “scholars and authors into the role of brokering knowledge,” as Amy Ku‘uleialoha Stillman (2002:131) has put it.

Furthermore, the texts of hula have come down to us in two ways. One is through the oral tradition, passed down from *kumu hula* (hula master) to kumu hula over the generations. As we will see, hula was often disparaged and at times virtually banned, so the knowledge had to be passed along in secret. Because of mass death from epidemics, land dispossession, and other reasons, some of the knowledge did not survive. I am not a dancer and have not earned the right to the body of knowledge that did survive in *hālau hula* (hula schools). In an unevenly parallel stream, some of this knowledge was recorded in writing, in manuscripts, and, starting with the mo‘olelo I will share, in literature published in Hawaiian-language newspapers. That written knowledge has been difficult to access for many kumu hula, especially for those not fluent in written Hawaiian. To complicate matters further, institutions whose archives contain such manuscripts have sometimes blocked access to the written *mele* (songs and chants) associated with hula (Stillman 2002:141, 2001:193–194). In the twentieth century, when most kumu were unable to access the Hawaiian-language literature, some used the two books written by Orientalist Nathaniel B. Emerson as primary sources. However, Dr. Emerson (1965), despite the title of his work, *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii*, obtained much of that knowledge from the written literature in Hawaiian newspapers. It is obvious, for example, that Emerson (1978) took much of his book *Pele and Hiiaka* from the text we will examine. He did not credit the author, even though the mo‘olelo was published under the author’s name, M. J. Kapihenui (see Charlot 1998).<sup>2</sup>

My relationship to the mo‘olelo is therefore multilayered. In a cul-

ture that greatly values genealogy, I am a descendant of the people who live(d) close to the *akua wahine* (deities) that the mo‘olelo is about. I am also the recipient of the gifts of prescient ancestors who wrote the mo‘olelo, foreseeing that today’s generations would want and need it. I honor the depth of knowledge that kumu hula have earned and acknowledge that I do not speak as an authority on hula but as a student of language and literature. Finally, I respect the responsibility to make known what I discover while I do research in Hawaiian-language texts, because I am one of the few able to do so. The mo‘olelo concerning hula may be some of the most important to Kānaka ‘Ōiwi today because interest in traditional hula practice has blossomed in recent years, along with the movement to revitalize the language, cultural practices such as long-distance voyaging in traditional *wa‘a*, traditional medicine, and certain religious practices. Mo‘olelo of every kind are important to the revitalization of our traditional culture, which is, in turn, important to the collective recovery of our community from the harms caused by the colonial past and neocolonial present.

It is important to understand, as well, that the text of the mo‘olelo and the text of the mele within the mo‘olelo are of primary importance to hula. Stillman (2002:133) has noted that “the poetic text is absolutely central to performance as recited song and enacted dance. The dance combines hand and arm gestures that depict selected aspects of the poetic text....” In fact, there is no such thing as hula without accompanying text.

In this chapter, I seek and develop (incomplete) answers to the following questions: Why was the very first written version of the *Moolelo o Hiakaikapoliopole*, the mo‘olelo of the hula goddesses, published in 1861? What circumstances motivated and allowed for its publication? Why did anyone feel that there was a need to translate the oral tradition into literature? What was the relationship between the attempt to ban hula legally in 1859 and the publication of this mo‘olelo in 1861? Finally, was the hula the Calvinist missionaries sought to ban the same as the hula as Kānaka ‘Ōiwi thought of it? That is, I suggest that the missionaries had a particular idea of what hula was, based on what they saw and what they assumed went on in dance halls and theaters in Honolulu and Lāhainā, and this idea differed radically from hula in the minds and practices of the *Kanaka Maoli*.

## LANGUAGE LOSS, THE LAW, AND IMPERIALISM

First, why do Kānaka ʻŌiwi no longer speak their heritage language? Also, what does that have to do with law and imperialism in Hawaiʻi? Paul Nahoā Lucas (2000:3) notes that “beginning in 1846, the Hawaiian legislature declared that all laws enacted were to be published in both Hawaiian and English.” He quotes Chief Justice Albert F. Judd as remarking, “Of necessity the English language must be largely employed to record transactions of the government...because the very ideas and principles adopted by the government come from countries where the English language is in use” (Lucas 2000:3). Although legal documents were written and court conducted in both languages, there was a struggle for linguistic and cultural hegemony throughout this time. By 1859, the legislature had enacted a law dictating that where Hawaiian and English versions of laws differed, the English version would be binding (Lucas 2000:4).

Government officials, especially former missionary Richard Armstrong, were at the forefront of the movement to shift the language of the land to English. “During Armstrong’s administration, the first government-sponsored school in English was established in 1851, and by 1854, government-run English schools were effectively competing with the Hawaiian-medium schools” (Lucas 2000:5). In 1896, following the military intervention and coup d’état that established a colonial oligarchy in Hawaiʻi, that government legally ended both public and private Hawaiian-medium schools (Hawaiʻi 1896:189). (Although Hawaiʻi was not a political colony until 1898, the processes of colonialism began much earlier. See Merry 2000 and Silva 1999.) When the United States took over the government in 1900, it reinforced the sole use of English in schools. The shift to English was part of a gradual process of colonialism that used law, in addition to churches and schools, to change the culture of the Kanaka Maoli and establish American hegemony in Hawaiʻi (see Merry 2000). The English-only law was cruelly enforced in schools. Lucas (2000:9) reports that “Hawaiian was strictly forbidden anywhere within schoolyards or buildings; physical punishment could be harsh. Teachers...were threatened with dismissal for singing Hawaiian...and, at times, teachers were even sent to Hawaiian-speaking homes to reprimand parents for speaking Hawaiian to their children.” No wonder that several generations grew up deprived of the moʻolelo

their kūpuna had so carefully and conscientiously written down.

Here is the other part of this story. By the mid-nineteenth century, most of the population was literate in Hawaiian. The mission had established several newspapers, starting in 1834. Missionaries had controlled all the Hawaiian-language newspapers, including the one sponsored by the government, *Ka Hae Hawaii*. Kānaka worked at all these papers in every capacity, from typesetter to assistant editor. They quickly realized that their knowledge, which was disappearing with the many people dying in the severe population collapse of the time, could be preserved for future generations—in print. They began to write it all down. J. H. Kānepu‘u, for example, urged editors not to shorten mo‘olelo or mele:

*Ua ike au, ua hakina ka moolelo o Hi‘iakaikapoliopele, ua hakina kona mau mele e pili ana i na “huli,” a pehea la anei e loa‘a ai na koena i na hanauna hope o kakou, ke makemake lakou e nana, aole no e loa‘a, e hele ana kakou i ka nalowale, e hele ana o Kau ka makuahine o M. G. [sic] Kāpihenui i ka nalowale. E makemake ana ka hanauna Hawaii o na la A.D. 1870, a me A.D. 1880, a me A.D. 1890, a me A.D. 1990. (Kānepu‘u 1861)*

I see that the mo‘olelo of Hi‘iakaikapoliopele has been broken off [that is, shortened]. Its “Hulihia” mele have been broken off, so how will the remainder get to the generations coming after us? They are going to want to look [at them], and they will not have [them]. We will be gone; Kau, the mother of [author] Kāpihenui will be gone. Generations of Hawaiians will want [this literature] in 1870, 1880, 1890, and 1990.<sup>3</sup>

In addition, in the mid-1850s, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) ended financial support for missionaries to Hawai‘i. Those desiring to remain in Hawai‘i had to devise their own livelihood. Some were supported as ministers by the members of their churches, many took government jobs as judges, land surveyors, schoolteachers, and the like, and many others established themselves in businesses, particularly as owners of sugar plantations. The ministers of the Calvinist Congregational Church also established

the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA), which took over some of the activities previously administered by the ABCFM.

For forty years, these Calvinist missionaries had been converting and “civilizing” the Kanaka Maoli. They quickly expanded from preaching at church to establishing schools, taking active part in creating constitutional government, and influencing how the *Mō‘ī* and other *ali‘i* (rulers, chiefs) thought about business, politics, and law (Merry 2000; Osorio 2002). As important, they waged a discursive battle in the name of “civilization.” That battle represented traditional mo‘olelo as part of what was *na‘aupō*, or uncivilized and ignorant, and needed to be stopped.

In 1857, the HEA began a campaign to use the law to eradicate hula. The ministers conducted the campaign in newspaper editorial pages and also drafted a bill, succeeding in getting it heard in the Kingdom’s legislature in 1859 (Silva 2000). Note that this same legislature made the English versions of laws the binding ones. I have demonstrated elsewhere (Silva 2000) that the motivation for the attempted legal ban was linked to the desire of the missionaries cum planters for laborers. By this time, most of the *ali‘i nui* had converted to Christianity (see Collier, Chapter 2, this volume), with varying levels of sincerity and conformity to the rules of morality dictated by the new religion. They both assisted and resisted the attempted legal banning of hula. The result of the attempt was a law prohibiting the public performance of hula unless the performers purchased a license at a cost of \$10 per performance. Licenses were given only for Honolulu. This resulted in a virtual ban everywhere else in the islands and for everyone except successful businesses.

Just two years later, a group of Kanaka men formed an association named the *Ahahui Hoopuka Nupepa Kuikawa* (The Special Newspaper Publishing Association) to publish their own newspaper, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* (*The Star of the Pacific*). They were frustrated that all the newspapers in their language were controlled by the Calvinist missionaries. In a discursive insurrection, they demanded a place in print where they could tell their own stories, preserve the oral traditions, and talk back to the increasingly oppressive actions of the HEA. Not surprisingly, the HEA attempted to shut down their newspaper (Silva 1999).

During this period, long mo‘olelo, which included mele and *pule* (prayer), first flourished as published literature. (According to John

Charlot [in a personal communication in 2001], professor of Polynesian religion, the form existed in unpublished manuscripts before this time.) It is difficult to say with absolute certainty when the first mo'olelo of this type were published. The same processes that worked to eradicate the Hawaiian language and culture at that time have had long-lasting consequences for contemporary scholars: The newspapers in which our literature appeared have not been comprehensively indexed, and American scholars such as Martha Beckwith include only translated works in their bibliographies (see Beckwith 1940). With that caveat, I will venture to say that the translation of mo'olelo from the oral traditions into literature, including mele and/or pule, first occurred at this time.<sup>4</sup> The first example was published in *Ka Hae Hawaii* (the government newspaper) after the death of Richard Armstrong in 1860. *He Wahi Moolelo (A Story)* by S. K. Kuapu'u, a narrative of the story of Pāka'a, is the first that I know of, running as a serial from April to June 1861 (Charlot 2001). This was followed by *He Moolelo No Kamapuaa (A Story of Kamapua'a)* by G. W. Kahiolo, which ran from June to September 1861, also in *Ka Hae Hawaii* (Charlot 1987:4), and which Charlot (1987:93) says was bowdlerized, no doubt as a result of missionary pressures. When *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* began, it ran *Moolelo no Kawelo (Story of Kawelo)* by S. K. Kawailiula on its front page, beginning with the first issue on September 26, 1861. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* thereafter ran several types of mo'olelo.

The missionary camp was incensed that these Kānaka Maoli were celebrating their traditional ways of life, thinking, and poetics in the mo'olelo and in mele. The missionary John S. Emerson especially attacked the publication of mo'olelo, fearing that it reinforced the traditional beliefs. He wrote an editorial in the HEA newspaper protesting the publication of mo'olelo:

*He mea pono anei e pāiia maloko o na Nupepa, a me na palapala e heluhelua e na keiki, o na kaao a me na moolelo lapuwale no Pele, a me Kamapuaa ... O ka mea nana i papa mai, "Aole ou akua e ae imua o ko'u alo," ua papa mai oia i na hana a pau e hoala ai i ka makau i na akua kahiko o Hawaii nei. (J. S. E. 1861)*

Is it right that there should be published in the Newspaper or any documents read by children, the legends and the

worthless stories about Pele and Kamapuaa?... The one who commanded, “You shall have no other god before me,” has forbidden every action that might awaken fear of the old gods of Hawai‘i nei.

In contrast, readers expressed their appreciation for the *mo‘olelo*, as in this opinion piece:

*O ka moolelo, oia ka mea i hoakaka mai i na mea i hanaia e kanaka e like me kakou, o ka poe i ola i na manawa okoa, a me na wahi okoa.... O ka moolelo ua like ia me he aniani la e hoike mai ana i ka hana a ke kanaka i hana‘i mamuli o kekahi kumu.... Ua hoike mai ka moolelo i ka hope oia mau hana, ina he maikai, a ino paha, i loaia mai i ke kanaka...e hana ana ia mau mea. (Kaukaliu 1861)*

Mo‘olelo is what explains the actions taken by people like ourselves, people who lived in other times and/or other places.... Mo‘olelo is like a mirror showing the action a person takes for a certain reason.... The mo‘olelo shows the results of these actions, if they were good or bad, [and their effects] upon the person doing those things.

Kaukaliu argues that people can learn *pono* (righteous) behavior through reading the mo‘olelo. This is in opposition to the missionary discourse that pono can be learned only in the education provided by the mission. Because of this love for the mo‘olelo and mele and the assertion that they had value, the missionaries tried to shut down *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* (Silva 1999).

In the face of this direct missionary opposition, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* published the first written version of *He Moolelo no Hiakaikapoliopole* (*A Narrative of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*) in serial form from December 1861 until July 1862. Hi‘iakaikapoliopole is the youngest sister of Pele, the volcano. Both are major deities of the hula. To the missionaries, Pele is also the most dangerous akua (deity) of the Hawaiian pantheon because she is female and she lives: She is an akua the people can see—the volcano is alive and continues to erupt. The mo‘olelo represents hula as an aspect of the Pele religion.

## A BRIEF EXPLANATION OF HULA

Before I present the descriptions of hula in the story, a general explanation of a more contemporary, indigenous view of hula might be helpful here. Mary Kawena Pukui (1895–1986) was a kumu hula, a native speaker of Hawaiian, and an extraordinarily talented and educated person in Hawaiian culture. She authored or co-authored most of the standard reference works on the Hawaiian language. For many years, she worked at the Bishop Museum, collaborating on projects with anthropologists and translating from the Hawaiian-language manuscript archives and newspapers. Pukui (1980:74) also wrote a series of articles about hula, from which the following descriptions are taken:

Every country in the world has its folk dances, and we have ours in Hawaii. These are not of one type only but a large number generally called the hula. Some were peculiar to one island; some originated in one locality and spread to others; and some belong to the whole group, but had many versions. I should say there were not less than 36 different kinds of hula in Hawaii.

In the days when every island had its own ruling chief or chiefs, hula dancing was much practiced by chiefs and commoners, by the aged as well as by children.

Pukui (1980:76) describes hula training as imbued with prayer and ceremony, as religious ritual:

Keahi [Pukui's hula teacher] remembers seeing her sisters come out of the halau [hula school] early every morning to the pool called Poolimu where they had their huiwai or ceremonial bathing before returning into the halau.... These pupils returned from Poolimu pool to the halau with prayer chants every step of the way.... A kuahu or altar to Laka was built in their halau or school, and there Keahi learned not only the mele and dances but the rites, ceremonies and prayers of the hula.

Pukui (1980:93) adds,

All these old hula...were decent dances in ancient times. The mixture of indecency in modern times is not the fault of the dancers but of the disreputable persons who have money to spare and bring in this element for their own enjoyment. It is the dollar that has brought low the hula of Hawaii nei.

In this statement, Pukui points out the differences in perception of the hula—that foreigners perceive it as a dance by women for men and contrive to make it more so and to profit from it. She mourns that the solemn, religious, yet entertaining traditional hula is so misunderstood. This perception of the hula was undoubtedly widely shared among the Kanaka Maoli of the 1860s. Missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century shared the foreigners' perception that hula was danced by women for money as entertainment for men.

#### HULA IN THE MO'OLELO

The story of Pele's migration to Hawai'i was also well known to the Kanaka Maoli of the nineteenth century, that is, the readers of the Hawaiian-language newspapers. Several versions of the story seem to coexist peacefully in the shared consciousness of the people. In all versions, some kind of dispute over a man occurs between Pele and one of her sisters. As a result, Pele leaves Kahiki (perhaps Tahiti, perhaps another foreign land) and sails with many of her brothers and sisters to the Hawaiian archipelago. She arrives in the northwest islands of Nihoa and Ni'ihau and travels eastward to each of the islands, looking for a home. Along the way, certain family members decide to stay at various places. Pele, some of her brothers, and her younger sisters settle at Kilauea, the live volcano, in the crater named Halema'uma'u. Pele lives in the volcano but also is the volcano, whose "primary function [is] creating new land" (Kanahale and Wise n.d.:37). The Hawaiian word for both *volcano* and *lava* is *pele*.

Kapihenui's version of the mo'olelo begins when the family is already well settled in Hawai'i. Pele has eight sisters, all of whose names begin with *Hi'iaka* and who live together in Halema'uma'u. The youngest and favorite is Hi'iakaikapoliopole (Hi'iaka in the embrace of Pele). The brothers seem to live supernaturally in the cliffs, in the

ocean, or in the heavens; they have godly powers. Pele is simultaneously a woman who engages in romances with handsome young men and a fearsome, unreasonable volcano that regularly erupts and consumes the landscape in fire. Her sisters appear more human, with no discernible supernatural powers—except for Hi‘iakaikapoliopole. According to kumu hula and Kanaka Maoli scholar Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahale, Hi‘iakaikapoliopole is the most popular of all the Hi‘iaka forms and is recognized as a deity of great importance whose functions are equal to those of Pele. Her functions are those of a *kāhula* (prophet or seer) and a medical practitioner who heals land as well as people. She has the ability to function as an *‘anā‘anā* (one who is able to take life and restore or save life). Hi‘iakaikapoliopole also allows the growth of new vegetation on new lava flows and is the female counterpart of Kāne, the akua of the rising sun (Kanahale and Wise n.d.:15–16).

Therefore, Hi‘iakaikapoliopole is also a powerful female force, and in a way that is complementary to Pele: After Pele erupts, destroying the landscape to create new land, Hi‘iakaikapoliopole creates plant life there. Other relatives also exist simultaneously as people and as features of the landscape, such as Pele’s father, who is said to be the mountain peak Kānehoalani on the island of O‘ahu. An unmistakable feeling emerges through the text that people, the gods, and the landscape are all members of the same family.

Innumerable hula songs and dances are dedicated to Pele and to Hi‘iakaikapoliopole. Pele manifests not only in fires and molten lava but also in thunder, storms, and the flashing of lightning. *Lapa* is the word for “lightning flashing,” and its variant, *‘ōlapa*, is the word for “hula dancer.” In many dances, the sounds of the instruments and the movements of the dancers evoke the sounds and movements of the eruptions and their attendant storms.

The frame of Kapihenui’s story of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole is this: Pele meets a handsome young ali‘i, Lohi‘au, on the island of Kaua‘i while she is in a spirit state. Desiring to consummate their relationship in the flesh, she sends Hi‘iakaikapoliopole on a journey to fetch him, promising that after Pele has enjoyed his company for five nights, her sisters would be free to enjoy him also. Hula is featured prominently several times in the story, beginning with the very first scene (Kapihenui, 26 December 1861).

Pele says to her sisters that they should take a trip from their upland home down to the seashore to fish. (This is the eastern shore of the easternmost island in the archipelago.) When they arrive at Pu‘upāhoehoe (Hill of pāhoehoe lava), a young woman, Hōpoe, and her male friend, Hā‘ena, dance for Pele and the sisters at the shoreline. Pele likes this hula very much and asks her sisters to perform a hula in return, but they refuse, except for Hi‘iakaikapoliopole. Hi‘iakaikapoliopole composes a chant and dance of praise for Hōpoe on the spot. She is clearly enchanted with Hōpoe, even appearing to fall in love with her:

<i>Ke haa la Puna i ka makani,</i>	Puna is dancing in the wind,
<i>Haa ka uluhala i Keaau,</i>	The pandanus grove at Kea‘au is dancing,
<i>Haa Haena me Hopoe,</i>	Hā‘ena dances with Hōpoe,
<i>Haa ka wahine ami i kai o</i>	The woman dances an ‘ami [a step] at
<i>Nanahuki la,</i>	the sea of Nānāhuki
<i>Hula lea wa—le,</i>	Such an entertaining hula,
<i>I kai o Nanahuki—e,</i>	At the sea of Nānāhuki
<i>O Puna kai ‘kua i ka hala,</i>	Puna the godly sea with pandanus trees,
<i>Pae ka leo o ke ka—i,</i>	The voice of the sea strikes the ear,
<i>Ke lu—la i na pua lehua,</i>	Scattering the lehua flowers,
<i>Nana i kai o Hopo—e,</i>	Look at the sea of Hōpoe,
<i>Aloha wale no hoi o Hopo—e,</i>	So beloved is Hōpoe,
<i>Ka wahine ami i kai,</i>	The woman who does an ‘ami in the sea,
<i>O Nanahuki—la,</i>	Of Nānāhuki,
<i>Hula lea wale,</i>	Such an entertaining hula,
<i>I kai o Nanahuki—e,</i>	At the sea of Nānāhuki.

In this song, Hi‘iakaikapoliopole is so entranced by Hōpoe’s dancing that the landscape itself seems to be dancing with her: The district of Puna is dancing, and the pandanus trees of Kea‘au are dancing. *Hā‘ena* is the name of both the dancer and the place where they were dancing. The repeated place name *Nānāhuki* is composed of two words, *nānā* (to watch) and *huki* (to pull), giving the hearer or reader the feeling that as

Hi‘iakaikapoliopole watched the hula of Hōpoe, she was pulled toward her in a romantic attraction. Kanahele (Kanahele and Wise n.d.:67) notes another meaning: “The ha‘a or dance which she exhibits is a creative exposition in praise of the environment around her and a celebration of the regenerative power of the coupling of land and flora.” This is Hi‘iakaikapoliopole’s godly power to regenerate the land. As always, Hi‘iakaikapoliopole and Hōpoe appear at once as women and as the landscape. As the scene ends, Hi‘iakaikapoliopole leaves Pele and her sisters and goes off with Hōpoe to dance and surf.<sup>5</sup>

The hula that Hōpoe and Hā‘ena do is not described in words or movement but is nevertheless understood to be a welcoming for Pele and her sisters. This fits in with Polynesian protocol. Hōpoe, the *kama‘āina* (resident), performs her hula as a welcome; then the godly guests respond. The protocol establishes friendly relations between Pele and company and the permanent residents of the area. They have received permission and are now welcome to fish and camp there. Note that the hula is performed by a woman and a man for a company of women. Hi‘iakaikapoliopole’s song completes the protocol but also serves to begin the romantic friendship with Hōpoe.

Hula plays a big role in the next section of the story as well. As the other Hi‘iaka sisters go off to fish, Pele remains behind with one sister, Hi‘iakaikapua‘ena‘ena. Pele tells her sister that she is going off to sleep and that no matter how long she is asleep, she is not to be awakened. If she must be awakened, only her brother, Keowahimakaakaua, or Hi‘iakaikapoliopole are allowed to awaken her. In her sleep, her spirit (*‘uhane*) hears the sound of hula drums. Her spirit follows the sound of the drums across the island, then across the channel to Maui, continuing westward to Moloka‘i and O‘ahu, and finally to the westernmost of the large islands, Kaua‘i. There she sees the young handsome ali‘i Lohi‘au playing the hula drum, with his hula teacher, Mapu, his *aikāne* (friend and/or homosexual lover), Kahuakaiapaoa, on either side of him and others, playing another kind of drum or bamboo pipe (*kaeke*), surrounding them. It is a kind of hula festival. An audience is present, listening and watching the hula for entertainment. Pele transforms herself into a beautiful young woman adorned with the forest greenery of Puna. After chanting back and forth, she and Lohi‘au retreat to his house, where they stay for several days without emerging for food.

The *pahu* (hula drum) in the first part of this sequence is an enticement to Pele; she is excited by the sound and cannot help but follow it to its source. After Lohi‘au is in the house for a couple days, the hula festival is still going on, and his friends begin to wonder about him because hula is his favorite activity.

*Ia manawa, haohao na makaainana, a me ke aikane a ia nei, a me ke kumu hula a laua nei. A me na mea a pau, i ka hemo o kana mea nui o ka hula, akahi wale no a hemo, nolaila, manao wale iho no na mea a pau ua make o Lohiau.* (Kapihenui, 26 December 1861)

At that time, the common people wondered, and so did his friend and their kumu hula. And so did everyone, because of his staying away from his most important activity, the hula[;] this was the first time he ever stayed away, so everyone thought that Lohi‘au had died.

Lohi‘au was performing hula because it was important to him, and he was also sharing it to entertain the common people of his area. Although the text does not tell us what particular hula were being performed, it is significant that Lohi‘au, his aikāne, and his kumu were playing the *pahu*, the shark-skin drum. According to Adrienne Kaeppler (1993:6), “in pre-Christian Hawai‘i, there were two main contexts or activities...performed in conjunction with shark-skin-covered drums: (1) worship of the gods in sacred situations, and (2) honor of the gods as an element of formal entertainments.” The described scene is consistent with the second type of performance. Perhaps Pele’s spirit was called to the scene because hula was being performed in her honor.

When Pele arrives, however, the performance takes on another dimension: It inflames Pele’s passion for the handsome ali‘i. The scene becomes one in which a woman’s sexual desires are aroused by the sights and sounds of a man performing hula. This is not a singular occurrence in Hawaiian literature; other examples may be found in the story of Kawelo (Ho‘oulumāhie 1909) and the story of Limaloa, of whom it was written, “He was always an unlucky fellow with women...If he had learned to do the hula he might have been successful” (Pukui n.d.:18). It is important to note, however, that Lohi‘au is not performing hula for that express purpose. Pele is represented here as a woman

exercising unfettered agency in her sexual life: She is attracted to Lohi'au and freely pursues him.

After a few days, Pele must return to her body on the island of Hawai'i. She tells Lohi'au that she will send a woman to bring him to her and that he must not sleep with anyone else in the meantime. Again, she is exercising not only agency but also power: She sets the terms of their relationship. When she awakens in Hawai'i, she asks each of her sisters, in turn, to go fetch Lohi'au, but none will go. She summons Hi'iakaikapoliopele, who is still with Hōpoe at the shore. Hi'iakaikapoliopele agrees to go, providing that Pele does not destroy Hōpoe while she is gone. She takes along a human young woman, Wahine'ōma'o. They walk across the island of Hawai'i, battling *mo'ō* (spirits that take various forms, usually described as large lizards or dragonlike), as well as dangerous sharks and the like. Early in the journey, Hi'iakaikapoliopele realizes that Pele has broken her promise not to destroy Hōpoe; Hōpoe and her grove of lehua flowers are consumed in Pele's fires. Hi'iakaikapoliopele, however, continues on her errand for Pele, with grief and a growing desire for revenge. The two young women sail to Maui, which is where the next incidence of hula occurs.<sup>6</sup>

Hi'iakaikapoliopele and Wahine'ōma'o are standing on a cliff at Honolulu, looking down at the water and at Manamanaiakaluea, a young girl described as *mumuku* (maimed or having amputated limbs). She is being tossed in the waves. When the waves carry her out to sea, she gathers seaweed and shellfish; when they carry her back in, she lands on the flat rocks and performs hula. She sees Hi'iaka and Wahine'ōma'o and performs in an entertaining way for them. In chant and hula, she tries to guess where they are from and finally succeeds. She then returns to her home and prepares a meal for them. When the meal is ready, Hi'iakaikapoliopele reveals to Wahine'ōma'o that Manamanaiakaluea is actually dead and that her spirit (*uhane*) has been entertaining them. Wahine'ōma'o wants Hi'iakaikapoliopele to restore the girl to life, and although Hi'iakaikapoliopele seems reluctant to intervene, "*no ka nui o na hana maikai ana i na malihini no laila hu ke aloha o na malihini a lapaau ia ai oia a ola ia la, o ke ola aela no ia o Manamanaiakaluea*" ("because of the all the good deeds that [Manamanaiakaluea] did for the visitors, the affection of the visitors

for her grew, and she was treated with medicine [by Hi‘iakaikapoliopole], and Manamanaikalua was restored to life”) (Kapihenui, 6 February 1862). The following day, however, the girl died again.

As a girl, Manamanaikalua performs hula to make friends with Hi‘iakaikapoliopole and Wahine‘ōma‘o. At the same time, she is a spirit communicating with her deity. The hula is so entertaining and the girl shows her love and respect in such a way that Hi‘iakaikapoliopole is induced, against her first instinct, to bring the girl back to life. For the first time in the story, we see Hi‘iakaikapoliopole’s ability to use medicine. That power to heal and to bring the dead back to life is a recurring theme in the mo‘olelo.

Hi‘iakaikapoliopole and Wahine‘ōma‘o travel from Maui to Moloka‘i, through O‘ahu, and finally to Kaua‘i. They have several important encounters and adventures but no instances of hula until their arrival at Lohi‘au’s land. Lohi‘au has died; he committed suicide when Pele did not return. His spirit is hovering in the cliffs above his home. Hi‘iakaikapoliopole does not go directly to him, however. She first observes a man named Malaehaakoa. He is described as ‘o‘opa (lame); each morning his wife, Wailuanuiahoano, carries him to the shore to fish and returns midday to carry him back to their house. Malaehaakoa is chanting while he fishes, and Hi‘iakaikapoliopole answers one of his chants:

*Alaila lohe ae la o Malaehaakoa i keia leo, nana ae la o  
Malaehaakoa i luna, aohe ike o ia nei i ka mea nona keia leo, o  
ka malu nae kai uhi iho maluna oia nei, alaila, i ae keia, nou  
ka hoi keia la malu nui la e ka wahine ai laau o Puna....*  
(Kapihenui, 20 February 1862)

Then, Malaehaakoa heard this voice; Malaehaakoa looked up but did not see the person to whom the voice belonged. A feeling of peace (blessing) covered over him, and then he said, “This great peace belongs to you, the forest-consuming woman of Puna [Pele]....

It is unusual for ordinary people to recognize Hi‘iakaikapoliopole; when they do, she bestows blessings on them. Malaehaakoa sings one more chant in return as he throws out his fishhook once more. Then

he stands up and walks briskly back to his home—Hi‘iakaikapoliopole has healed his lameness. Again, because she is recognized and respected, she exercises her healing powers. At his home, Malaehaakoa tells his wife that they must prepare a meal for the goddess, and they do so. When the meal is ready, Hi‘iakaikapoliopole and Wahine‘ōma‘o appear. Wahine‘ōma‘o eats the meal, and while she is eating, the couple dances a very long hula, which the author says is a “hula Pele,” a Pele type of hula, or hula in honor of Pele. After the first three verses, Kapihenui tells us that Hi‘iakaikapoliopole likes the hula very much and whispers to Wahine‘ōma‘o to eat very slowly so that the couple will continue to perform. The author does not describe the movements of the dance nor the instruments. What is important are the words. The hula is 234 lines long. It tells of Pele’s migration from Kahiki, her travels on all the major islands, and her settling on Hawai‘i. It speaks of the akua Kāne and the akua wahine Haumea and Hi‘iakaikapoliopole, among others. Verses are punctuated with the line “*Elieli kau mai*” (“May a profound reverence alight”) (Pukui and Elbert 1986:41). “*O ka pau ana ia o ka ai ana a Wahineomao, hoonuu o Wahineomao i kana wahi mea ai, pau, o ka hoonoa ana no hoi ia o ka pule a Malaehaakoa ma, oia hoi keia mele maluna.*” (Kapihenui, 6 March 1862) (“Then Wahine‘ōma‘o was finished eating; Wahine‘ōma‘o had eaten heartily of her food, and when it was finished, the prayer of Malaehaakoa and his wife was freed [sent up to the deity], the prayer being the above song.”)

Here hula is performed as a prayer to Pele and Hi‘iakaikapoliopole. The reader feels the affectionate relationship between the couple, particularly the man, Malaehaakoa, and the goddess. Furthermore, it is not merely friendly protocol, as we have seen previously, but also a religious ritual in which Pele is worshipped as an *akua nui* (a major deity). In this, we can see the Pele and Hi‘iaka mo‘olelo functioning as counternarrative to the discourses claiming that the major gods of Hawai‘i are male (for example, Valeri 1985:8). The counternarrative is one that celebrates female power. It is understood that in Hawaiian mele, two ways of enumerating the islands are common: The first is from Hawai‘i Island to Ni‘ihau, and the other from Ni‘ihau to Hawai‘i Island. The first way is associated with the story of Papa and Wākea and reinforces the hierarchy that includes female subordination to the male. Briefly and incompletely, the story is this: The couple Papa and

Wākea give birth to Hawai‘i Island and then to Maui and Kaho‘olawe. Papa returns to Kahiki, and while she is gone, Wākea takes up with another woman, Hina, who gives birth to Moloka‘i. In retaliation, Papa sleeps with another man, Lua, and bears O‘ahu. The couple then reunites, and finally Papa has the islands of Kaua‘i and Ni‘ihau. The islands are born in order, from east to west.

In that same origin story, Wākea, the sky father, conspires with the male *kahuna* to institute the *‘ai kapu*, in which men are separated from women while eating and also during certain nights of the month. Wākea does this because he wants to sleep with their daughter, Ho‘ohōkūkalani, and does not want Papa to know about it. Ho‘ohōkūkalani gives birth to the taro, Hāloa, and then to the first man, also named Hāloa. Jeanette Marie Mageo (2001:26) has analyzed these kinds of stories: “When you hear origin stories, you know there is an attempt to establish a hierarchy....Origins establish a social order and are well-springs of authority.” This tale—beloved as it is because it conveys the metaphorical familial relationship of Kānaka ‘Ōiwi to the older sibling, the taro, and to the earth and sky—nevertheless can be read as the one that legitimates female subordination to male authority in the Hawaiian religious system. The Pele stories and mele, on the other hand—by literally coming from the other direction, enumerating the islands by reiterating her migration from west to east, from Ni‘ihau to Hawai‘i—disrupt this narrative and assert an unruly female power.<sup>7</sup>

After receiving this tribute from Malaehaakoia and Wailuanuiahoano, Hi‘iakaikapoliopole goes to find Lohi‘au and brings him back to life. The three begin their journey back to Pele on Hawai‘i Island. When they arrive at Honolulu, they hear that a night’s entertainment, the *kilu* game, is planned for that evening by the ali‘i wahine, Pele‘ula. In *kilu*, players chant and hula and then slide a stone or coconut cup to try to hit a post. To win, a player must accurately hit the post ten times. Two teams alternate turns, each side first performing a chant and/or hula and then sliding the *kilu*. Lohi‘au is well known as a talented player of this game. For this and other reasons, Hi‘iakaikapoliopole decides that the company should stop and take part in this entertainment.

Hi‘iakaikapoliopole uses her magical powers to cause Lohi‘au to lose. When he loses, “*o ka hula ka uku o ka eo ana*” (Kapihenui 17 April

1862) (“hula was the penalty for losing”). After he performs a little, “*ke mahalo nei na mea a pau o loko o ua hale kilu nei, no ka lea o Lohiau i ka hula. O Hiikaikapoliopele kekahi e mahalo nei i ka lea o ua kane nei a laua i ka hula*” (Kapihenui, 17 April 1862) (“everyone in the *kilu* house appreciated how entertaining Lohi‘au was at hula. Hi‘iaka also appreciated how pleasing their man was at hula.”).

While Pele‘ula is aroused with desire for Lohi‘au, Lohi‘au is thinking of Hi‘iakaikapoliopele. True to his name (*Lohi‘au* meaning “to be slow”), he still has not fully recognized that Hi‘iakaikapoliopele is a goddess, nor does he realize the danger he is in, that he is about to die at Pele’s hands. He naively wants to give up the journey to Pele and return to Kaua‘i with Hi‘iakaikapoliopele. Hi‘iakaikapoliopele desires him also but wants to wait until they arrive at Kilauea so that she can avenge the killing of Hōpoe by defiantly making love to Lohi‘au in front of Pele. This sequence of hula kilu is the only one in the mo‘olelo with overt sexual content. The emphasis in the game is on *le‘ale‘a*, which, in addition to “entertainment” and “amusement,” also means “sexual pleasure” (Pukui and Elbert 1986:198). Unlike the foreigners’ idea of hula, the *women*, Pele‘ula and Hi‘iakaikapoliopele, are filled with desire when witnessing the handsome man performing the dance. The text suggests that the players of the game would usually end such an evening with sexual activity. It was up to the winner to decide whether he or she wanted to sleep with the opponent. This evening was different because Hi‘iakaikapoliopele wanted to keep Lohi‘au away from all other women because of Pele’s kapu (taboo) on him and her own plan for revenge. This is the last instance of hula in the mo‘olelo.

## CONCLUSION

In entering the world of the mo‘olelo, we find that hula is a part of daily life as protocol and as entertainment that creates bonds of affection between visitors and hosts, among community members, and between individuals and their gods. Hula can be performed as prayer or as part of a night’s games of seduction. Study of this mo‘olelo makes it clear that the indigenous tradition of hula was an important part of life in traditional times. To the nineteenth-century Kanaka reader and to the generations before, hula was profoundly spiritual but also entertaining and, at times, sexy.

What hula never appears to be is a trade; never is it performed in exchange for goods. Never in the mo'olelo do women perform this dance for the titillation of men. It is a very different world from the European/American dance hall in which sailors paid to see women dancing. This other world is possibly even more dangerous to the "civilizing" project. In the world of Pele and Hi'iakaikapoliopole, women have power: They act on their desires, they travel, they kill, and they heal. Viewing hula in this context enables us to see that missionaries such as Emerson felt compelled to ban hula not only because it celebrates a rival religion and created obstacles for the colonial capitalist economy but also because a major missionary goal was to discipline female sexuality and restrict female power in order to establish patriarchy. It was equally important to him to attempt to ban the mo'olelo as well, which possibly had as much power as hula and much more lasting power after it appeared in print.

The emergence of the mo'olelo in print was clearly in response to both legal and cultural imperialism being put into place by puritanical, and capitalist, missionaries. It was a refusal on the part of Kānaka 'Ōiwi to despise their ancient culture and was, instead, a way to celebrate the artistry of the oral traditions and of the hula itself. It was a way to keep the traditions alive during times when the public performance of hula and chant was not permitted. The mo'olelo talked back to the oppressive colonial powers in indirect yet powerful ways. As important, the mo'olelo was being read by thousands of people across the entire archipelago, binding them together as a *lāhui*. It also, however indirectly, reminded women that their female ancestors were powerful and that there were alternatives to being subordinated to men.

From this time until its demise in 1948, mo'olelo of various genres were published continually in the Hawaiian-language press. Both hula and mo'olelo play important roles in the shared consciousness of Kanaka Maoli today as we attempt to recover from the devastation of colonialism. The emergence of the mo'olelo now is part of the new movement to revitalize the language and the culture. Continuing research into the mo'olelo and mele informs contemporary hula practice (Stillman 2002).

This and other mo'olelo are also important politically because they celebrate (and explain) our ancestors' close and affectionate relation-

ship to the *‘āina* (land). More of our *‘āina* is being occupied by the US military than ever before, and even more is being taken over and destroyed by “development.” The *mo‘olelo* inspire us to seek indigenous ways of governing ourselves as we work to protect ourselves and the *‘āina* from the contemporary neocolonial processes. The greater understanding of the thought of *ka po‘e kahiko* (the ancient ones) from hula traditions and *mo‘olelo* can be a powerful force in our decolonization.

### Acknowledgments

I am grateful to Houston Wood, Jorge Fernandes, and Lia Keawe for reading several versions of this chapter, to Sally Engle Merry and the other advanced seminar participants for sharing their insights and assistance, and to Anne Keala Kelly, *ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui*, and Gabrielle Welford for helpful conversations about it. *Mahalo nui* also to John Charlot and to Joan Hori, curator of the Hawaiian collection of Hamilton Library at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.

### Notes

1. These influential teachers were ‘Ekela Kanī‘aupi‘o-Crozier, Sam L. No‘eau Warner, and Tuti Kanahele.

2. I have added diacriticals to names where such spelling is now standard, e.g., *Hi‘iakaikapoliopele*, or where the meaning is readily apparent, e.g., *Kānepu‘u*. Otherwise I have left the spelling of all names as they appear in the original text.

3. All translations are my own.

4. I have checked the available indexes, including the Bishop Museum’s Hawaiian Language Newspaper Index, the Hawaiian Language Newspaper Index Project of the Native Hawaiian Culture and Arts Program (NHCAP), and John Charlot’s extensive bibliography, and I have spot-checked the early papers.

5. See Kanahele and Wise (n.d.) for a complete explanation of the importance of the land in this and other songs for Pele and *Hi‘iakaikapoliopele*.

6. Some of this account is taken from another version, Bush and Paaluhi (1893), because an installment of the 1862 version (January 30) is missing from the microfilm. Except for the very beginning, the two versions are nearly identical.

7. I am indebted to No‘eau Warner for his insight into the significance of the different ways the islands are enumerated.