

LILIKALĀ KAME'ELEIHIWA

Hawai'i-nui-akea Cousins: Ancestral Gods and Bodies of Knowledge are Treasures for the Descendants

Introduction

In 1988, I was invited to attend the opening of the Māori Studies marae, or traditional carved meeting house, in Auckland University, as a representative of the Hawaiian Studies Program at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. It was my very first visit to Aotearoa, and my mission was to bring the mana, or spiritual power, of my Hawaiian ancestors to join with Māori ancestors at that marae, by participating in all of the days of preparation and ceremonies, from the dawn blessing to the hours of gift giving, speeches, and on my part chanting, to the great feast that followed and the subsequent days of meeting Māori academics and colleagues. Sir Hugh Kawharu was head of the Department of Māori Studies, with Drs Patu Hohepa, Margaret Mutu, and Ranginui Walker as professors there. How lucky was I to meet such illustrious Māori academics! It was an experience of Māori life by immersion.

I was privileged to stay with Pakaariki Harrison, the master carver of the marae, and his lovely wife Hinemoa, a master weaver who made all of the tukutuku for the new building; thus I learned first hand about what the carvings meant and why certain colors were chosen to represent pō and ao, or night and day, as well as the land and the ocean. I learned that the Māori cosmogonic genealogy and gods were incredibly similar to those of my Hawaiian ancestors. The prayers of the dawn blessing echoed the ones we do at home

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and I found that our languages were incredibly similar. Moreover, I kept seeing Māori who looked remarkably like Hawaiian family and friends that I had just left in Hawai'i, some 4,385 miles away. I was stunned by the similarities.

I was stunned because for the very first time I realised that we Hawaiians were not alone on the earth, either as a separate people or in our philosophical understandings of the world. Unlike the American settlers in our homeland, our Māori cousins had identical expectations regarding civilised behaviour – generosity in all things, especially in the sharing of food, as well as the sanctity of tapu – no one touched my long hair or tapped me on the head, as Americans frequently used to do when I was younger, since Māori know those behaviors are tapu.

Then in 1995, I was invited by Hawaiian master navigator Nainoa Thompson, head of the Polynesian Voyaging Society, to witness the gathering of Polynesian double-hulled voyaging canoes at the temple of Taputapuātea in Ra'iatea, and also to sail between islands on the Hawaiian voyaging canoe *Hōkūle'a*.¹ When I came aboard on Ra'iatea, I immediately became enamoured of sailing on voyaging canoes, and since that time have been privileged to serve as crew, protocol officer, and eventually as member of the board of the Polynesian Voyaging Society. The direction of my life and my academic career was changed forever by that first Ra'iatea-Tahiti sail, and I became both bonded and fascinated with all of the Native peoples who attended that historic gathering at Taputapuātea.

Thus began a delightful twenty year journey upon which the ancestors have lead me to learn in many parts of Polynesia – to Ra'iatea, to Tahiti and Farehe, to Mo'ore'a, to Rapa Nui (Easter Island), to Nihoa and Moku Manamana, and to Hiva'oa, Nukuhiwa and Ua Pou. While I am delighted to still be on that journey, learning volumes from scholarly cousins that I meet, it seems appropriate at this moment to present some of what I have discovered about our collective ancestors.² I offer the following chant to call the Ancestors to inspire the words that I shall present to you the reader:

'Ae, e na 'Aumakua o ka po
Oh Ancestors of the night
 E na 'Aumakua o ke ao
Oh Ancestors of the day
 'O Uli ku'u kupuna wahine
Oh Uli³ my grandmother
 'O Haumea ku'u kumu mana
Oh Haumea⁴ my spiritual source
 'O Pele ko'u akua la e
Oh Pele⁵ my goddess
 'O Kū, Kuho'one'enu'u Akua kama'aina
Oh Ku,⁶ Kuho'one'enu'u,⁷ God of politics
 'O Lono, Lonomakua ho'a i ke ahi
Oh Lono,⁸ God of agriculture, Lonomakua⁹ who lights the fire
 'O Kane, Kaneikewaiola a me Kanaloa
Oh Kane,¹⁰ Kaneikewaiola¹¹ and Kanaloa,¹² Gods of fresh and ocean waters
 E maliu ku'u uwalo e
Hear my prayer
 E ho'ihō'i mai ia makou ka 'aina
Return to us the land
 E ho'ihō'i mai ia makou ke aupuni
Return to us the government
 E ho'ihō'i mai ia makou ke ea
Return to us the sovereignty
 E ho'ihō'i mai ia makou ka mana o ka lahui
Return to us the power of the Hawaiian nation
 E malama a e ho'oulu
Preserve and inspire
 I kou 'oukou mau pulapula
Your descendants until we are so old
 A kolopupu
That we must crawl instead of walk
 A haumaka 'iole
And our eyes droop like a rat
 A ka'i koko
And we must be carried in a net
 A pala lauhala e
And our skin is like dried pandanus¹³
 E pale i na mea ino a pau e
Guard us from all evil
 Amama, ua noa
The prayer has ended, it is free

Ua lele wale no e.
It has already flown to the heavens.

In Hawai'i and in Polynesia, our records and oral traditions in the cosmogonic genealogy Kumulipo go back 900 generations, and we can recite to you the names of each generation of those ancestors for that length of time.¹⁴ According to the Kumuuli,¹⁵ another one of the longer Hawaiian cosmogonic genealogies, we Hawaiians, or Kanaka Ma'oli in our language, have lived in Hawai'i, as descendant of the earth mother Papa (aka Papahānaumoku) and sky father Wākea, for 100 generations. Thus we refer to the events that occur in the Hawaiian Archipelago as Papa-Wākea time. If one counts 20 years per generation, Papa-Wākea Time is about 2,000 years; it is 2,500 years before the present, if one counts 25 years per generation.

According to the Kumulipo, Polynesians, or Ta'ata Ma'ohi in Tahitian, have lived in Polynesia for another 800 generations before Papa-Wākea time (Beckwith 1972: 209-231). In the traditions of our ancestors, all of the islands located inside the Polynesian Triangle were known collectively as Hawai'i-nui-akea (Great Hawai'i of Atea), and so the area shall be referred to in this manner hereafter. As Ta'aroa was the father of Wākea, the events that occurred during the 800 generations referred to above are called Ta'aroa Time, or about 16,000 – 20,000 BP.

Hence we can see that traditional knowledge is fairly ancient in at least one part of the Pacific, as 900 generations are counted when adding Papa-Wākea Time and Ta'aroa Time together. This length of time covers about 18,000 – 22,500 years BP, during which time our Ma'ohi ancestors have been travelling back and forth across the Pacific Ocean, investigating every one of the thousands of islands in this vast ocean, as well as connecting the continents of Asia and the Americas with their double-hulled voyaging canoes.

The evidence is rather startling. We see the cousins of the Ma'ohi language, which was centred in Tahiti, and before there, in Ra'iatea (located a day's sail northwest of Tahiti), reaching as far north as Hawai'i (2,500 miles away), as far east as the coast of Mexico in Sinaloa province (some 4,530 miles

away), and as far west as Indonesia (6,988 miles distant) and some suggest even further west to Madagascar (9,673 miles away).¹⁶ Sinaloa (Hinaloa) is the Hawai'i-nui-akea name for the goddess of the Moon. The Arafura (Arahura) Sea of Indonesia is a Hawai'i-nui-akea word for 'A well travelled path'. Moreover, the sweet potato that originates in South America¹⁷ has for hundreds of years been found in Hawai'i-nui-akea, and most recently, it has been discovered that the DNA of the Polynesian moa (chicken) has been found in South America (Powel, 2008); these scientific findings are further proof of the great range of the ancestors' long distance voyaging.

The ancient religion of Ra'iatea, an island known in ancient times as Hawai'i, or as its cognate Havaiki, was a religion of Navigation and Seafaring. The great god who begins the earth is Ta'aroa, god of the ocean, ocean voyaging and the setting of the sun, with many body forms; most famous is that of the Fe'e, or the octopus with its sacred eight legs and the eight directions of the sailing compass (Buck 1959: 72-74). In Hawai'i, another body form of this great God of the oceans is that of Kohola (Henry 1928: 389), the whale, largest and most powerful creature that traverses the oceans of the world.

Ta'aroa is his name in Tahiti and Ra'iatea. In Rapa Nui and Aotearoa, Ta'aroa is called Tangaroa, and in Hawai'i that name is pronounced as Kanaloa. In Hiva'oa, he is called Tana'oa.¹⁸ As we examine varying versions of the same story from the corners of the Hawai'i-nui-akea triangle, comparing them with the central homeland, we discover the kaona, or layers of deeper meaning, symbolically embedded in our ancient chants, our songs, and in the teachings of the ancestral Gods.

In the Ra'iatea version of creation, Ta'aroa was floating in an egg in the darkness of the universe. He grew and the egg cracked. He took one portion of his shell and used it to make the earth. He took another portion of the shell and made the sky. Then he called forth the 40,000 gods, and their body forms became all living and inanimate things. But most important of this creation of 'first borns' was his son Atea (Wide Expanse),¹⁹ also known as Wākea, and often referred to as the sky father (matuarangi/makualani).

Atea is the constellation Orion in the sky. In Hawai'i, we refer to the earthly and celestial equator as Ka-Piko-o-Wākea (The Navel of Atea) (Puku'i & Elbert 1986: 132), which correlates to the first star in the belt of Orion that rises at exactly 0 degrees East, and its passage through the heavens bifurcates the southern and northern hemispheres. In the Hawaiian version of the story, in the 14th Wa (Time Period) of the Kumulipo Cosmogonic Genealogy, Wākea's younger brother, Makali'i/ Matariki (Little Eyes), or the constellation Pleiades, leads the 100 navigational stars through the sky, and sets them on their course (Beckwith, 1972: 233-236). Wākea as the elder brother is a symbol of the body of knowledge needed for celestial non-instrument navigation.

Thus it is that today our Hawaiian navigators can use their knowledge of the stars to travel across 2500 miles of open ocean between Hawai'i and Tahiti and Ra'iatea, without any western instruments to guide them, simply using the teachings of the ancestors. Today the name Ra'iatea, or Laniakea in Hawaiian, means in both islands, the Sky of Atea, that ancient Sky father, who is in turn the constellation Orion. Because Atea straddles the equator, with his feet planted in the southern hemisphere, and his arms reaching upward in the northern hemisphere, he isn't really needed as a guiding star until one sails between hemispheres.

Wherever Atea travels he mates with the local earth mother and populates the land. The earth is always female, and while she has differing names in different islands – Papahanumoku (Papa who births islands) in Hawai'i,²⁰ Papatūānuku (Papa who stands on the land) in Aotearoa (Best 1982: 70), or Atanua (Shadow of the land) in Hiva'oa (Handy 1986: 342-343)²¹ – she is always the earth mother, and the union of sky and earth produce the people of the land everywhere in Hawai'i-nui-akea.

After producing the land, the first set of gods always includes Tāne/ Kāne, who has many body forms that give life – the sun, fresh water, lightning and thunder (Kame'eleihiwa 1996: 45) – and who is most famous as Tāne-ho'a-rangi, Tane who sets fire to the heavens (Henry 1928: 351). In Hawai'i, Kane-ho'a-lani is the sun, and this we pray to him every morning:

E Kaneho'alani e, E Kaneho'alani e
Oh Kane who sets fire to the heavens
 Aloha kaula!
*Greetings to you!*²²
 Kau ka hoku ho'okahi i ke ala loa
*The one star travels upon the long road [of day]*²³
 Aloha kama kuku kapa a ka wahine
*Beloved is the child who beats the bark cloth of the woman*²⁴
 He wahine lohia'u i ka makani
*A woman slowed down by the wind*²⁵
 He makani lohi'au ha'upu mai o loko e
*A wind slowed by the memories from within.*²⁶

One cannot navigate without knowledge of the movements of the sun; where it rises on the horizon in a different spot as it travels from south to north and returning south across the equinox. It is the sun that makes weather; one cannot sail over open ocean without knowing how to predict weather. As we pray to Kaneho'alani at the rising of the sun, so too do we observe that it rises from a different part of the horizon every day.

In Hawai'i-nui-akea, Tane-ho'a-rangi is the son of Atea who fights to usurp his father's position as a supreme deity, and we see that split reflected in the political schism between Ra'iatea and Tahiti. Ta'aroa and Atea, the great supreme Gods, dwell in Ra'iatea, at the temple of Taputapuatea. When Tahiti spurns their leadership and exalts Tāne as their great God, the priests of Ra'iatea deride the people of Tahiti, calling them mere common manahune, skilled stone workers who built temples, but who had no Gods (Henry 1928: 435-436). The people of Tahiti turn the argument around, saying that the sun rises in Tahiti, which is east of Ra'iatea, and that it sets over Ra'iatea in the west; therefore Tahiti has more mana. Moreover, when one sails from Ra'iatea to Tahiti, one sails up (against the wind), and when sailing back to Ra'iatea, one sails down (from the wind); therefore Tahiti is above Ra'iatea (Henry 1928: 435-436).

If one looks at a map of Tahiti, one sees an island shaped like a figure eight, with the largest crater in Tahiti Nui, that is

accessed via Papeno'o valley, being dedicated to the God Tāne, and is referred to as Vava'u, the home of Tāne.²⁷ Conversely, the smallest crater of Tahiti, that is accessed via Tautira valley, is dedicated to Ta'aroa, proving to the Tahitians that Tāne is the greater God because he has more land dedicated to his worship.

In Hawai'i, the great divide between Tāne and Atea is repeated and reestablished with the Kumuhonua lineage, who were from Tahiti and who exalted Kāne (Kamakau 1991: 331-35, 51), first settling on Kaua'i and O'ahu, where their menehune built many temples and fishponds, and supposedly all in one night. From the time of Kumuhonua onwards, Kāne has always been exalted in the Hawaiian Islands over Kanaloa (Ta'aroa), just as they are in Tahiti (Kamakau 1991: 331-35, 51).

While many archaeologists have insisted that the first Hawaiians came from the Marquesas, I can find no evidence of such origin in Hawaiian chant or traditions.²⁸ Our elders said that we came from Tahiti, and contrary to Kamakau's supposition that Kahiki/Tahiti was a name that referred to any foreign land, I think it just meant Tahiti. There is no other land called Tahiti in Hawai'i-nui-akea, and that is where all of our chants say that we came from.

Because of the difficulty of sailing so far northwest from the Marquesas in order to make landfall in Hawai'i, it is highly unlikely that one would do so without first knowing that Hawai'i was there.²⁹ If one studies expansion of the ancestors through the Pacific from west to east, and considering the propensity to sail into the wind with double-hulled voyaging canoes, it is more than likely that adventuring voyaging canoes would choose a sail plan of due east, or due northeast, depending on the shift in the winds, in order to find new land. It is more probable that if Marquesans were sailing off to find new destinations that they would land in Peru before sailing backwards for 2400 miles to Hawai'i. Why then are there a few similarities in language and fishhooks between Hawai'i and the Marquesas? No doubt Hawaiians sailed to the Marquesas from Hawai'i!³⁰

Hawaiian connections with Tahitinui are further enhanced when we compare our Gods with the family of Gods of Tahiti.

Tāne of Vava'u, Farehe, at the headlands of Papeno'o, is the father of Pere and the Hi'iata sisters, and according to Tahitian traditions, Pere herself was born there. Since I am a descendant of Pele of Hawai'i, I had to visit her Tahitian birth place, and meet the extended family there. Interestingly enough, while Pele is famous the world over as the Hawaiian Goddess of the volcano, in Tahiti she is the Goddess of flowing water, much like the lava flows.³¹ The Hi'iaka sisters are Goddesses of medicinal plants both in Tahiti and in Hawai'i.

Tāne/Kāne's sister, Haumea, is also his wahine, or wife, and together they are parents of the Pele clan, who according to Hawaiian traditions, sailed to Hawai'i on their voyaging canoe Honua-i-akea, or 'Earth of Wākea,' from Borabora, which in traditional times was also called Vava'u (Buck 1959: 89), north to Ka'ula, Ni'hau and Kaua'i, which they explored before moving onwards to O'ahu. The father of the clan decided to stay at Kualoa, on O'ahu, and the highest peak in that range of cliffs is called Kaneho'alani after his residence there. As all of these aforementioned islands were too shallow to allow Pele to create a fire pit for her volcano home, she continued on to Hawai'i island.³²

In Hawai'i, our earth mother, Papahanaumoku, Papa-who-births-islands, is a daughter of Haumea, goddess of childbirth, politics and war. This great goddess is reborn in every generation of her female descendants (Kame'eleihiwa 2005: 127) and it would seem that her name inspired the Hau-atea alliance centred in Ra'iatea. The Hau-atea alliance was a religious-political alliance between all of the cousins in Hawai'i-nui-akea, including Hawai'i, Rapa Nui (Easter Island), and Aotearoa/New Zealand, and all of the islands within the triangle bounded by those three points.³³ In the 13th wā, or time period, of the Kumulipo, we learn that Haumea slept with Kanaloa (Ta'aroa) and that their descendants – the Maui clan – went to live in every corner of Hawai'i-nui-akea (Kame'eleihiwa 2005: 127).

Later it is this very same Haumea who brings her new kāne or husband, Atea, (son of Ta'aroa!) to O'ahu and they live at Kilohana, at the headlands of Kalihi valley.³⁴ Wākea, as he is known in Hawai'i, has an argument with the ruling chief of the island, Kumuhonua, who worships the God Kāne. The

argument is over Wākea eating some sacred bananas, another body form of Kanaloa, and it seems that Wākea will be put to death for breaking the kapu of Kumuhonua (Beckwith 1970: 278-279).

At the last moment, Haumea is granted her desire to give her husband a last kiss, and as soon as they embrace they vanish into a nearby Breadfruit Tree (a body form of Haumea). Thus they escape to live with Kaneho'alani, the brother and former husband of Haumea, upon his peak at Kualoa. Although Kumuhonua marches with his army to battle with Haumea, she defeats them all from on high by pelting Kumuhonua's warriors with kukui nuts, a body form of her brother Lono, who thereafter is worshipped at Kualoa, the most sacred land of O'ahu (Fornander 1916: 285-286).

Thus Haumea's lineage, Paliku, which is the name of the Lono priests (Malo 1959: 159), overthrew Kumuhonua as the ruling lineage, and in this manner, Wākea was introduced as a rival to Kāne, by Kāne's own sister! (Malo 1959: 280-281) Perhaps this 'usurpation' was merely a ho'oponopono, or a reestablishment of the correct path, which is a responsibility of wahine.³⁵ If one follows the Ra'iatean cosmogonic genealogy, since Wākea was the father of Kāne, he should be treated with greater respect. After Haumea's defeat of Kumuhonua, Haumea decreed that Wākea should be the new ruler of the land, and all major Gods acknowledged their relationship under Wākea by changing their names to Kāne-nui-ākea, Kunui-ākea, Lono-nui-ākea.

Thus it is that Hawaiian traditions from the Kumulipo teach us how we, the descendants of Kanaloa and Haumea, are united by genealogy and how all of the cousins were also united in a similar body of knowledge, speaking very similar languages. It was because of the Hau-atea Alliance that we find nearly identical gods, prayers and rituals everywhere in Hawai'i-nui-ākea. Everywhere in these islands the Tini Atua, or the 40,000 gods, teach, protect, and feed us; we who are their descendants. It is the female element that unites the cousins in genealogy, because the goddess is reborn in every one of her female descendants.

One of Haumea's daughters is Hina (Sina),³⁶ goddess of the moon. It is Hina who teaches us about the movement of the

moon throughout the skies;³⁷ this knowledge is crucial to navigation as well. Hina names each night of the moon and tells us where each moon rises on the horizon. She teaches us the ebb and the flow of the tides, and the prediction of weather throughout the year. She tells us when and what to plant and when and what to fish for. She tells us when to begin new projects, and when to rest instead.³⁸ She regulates the ebb and flow of women's blood and our fertility cycles; she regulates the ebb and flow of fresh water and the fertility of the earth.

In fact, each of the 40,000 gods are symbolic of bodies of knowledge that we should study. Each of their stories is full of kaona, or layers of teaching. Note that the Māori cognate of the Hawaiian word 'kaona' is the word 'taonga', meaning ancestral treasure. As we learn from the following chant, it is the knowledge of the Gods that is our ancestral treasure.

Eia a'e ka lā hiki
*Here comes the rising sun*³⁹
 Ka pale o Kāne
The protector of Kāne
 Ka pale o mākou
The protector of us all
 E ola ai iā Ka'ōnohiakalā
*We live through Ka'ōnohiakalā*⁴⁰
 E ola nā ali'i me nā kāhuna
Living are the chiefs and the priests
 Ola ke kaula me ke kilo
Living are the prophets and the seers
 E ola iā 'oe e Makali'i
We live through you oh Makali'i (Pleiades)
 I ola iā nehe i luna
Living because of vibrations above
 Nehe i lalo
And the vibrations below
 Ola i ka ua hūnā, i ka ua loku
Living because of the hidden rain, the drenching rain
 E ola iā 'uina, iā pa'apa'ina
Living because of the thunder bolts, bursting forth
 'O ke ola loa o mākou e noho nei
The long life that we are living
 'O ke ola o ke Akua no mākou 'ia

Is the life of the Gods [And] it is for us
O ka 'ike o ke Akua no mākou 'ia
The knowledge of the Gods is also for us
E ola i nā ali'i me nā maka'āinana
They live through the chiefs and the commoners
E ola iā mākou
They live through us
I nā kāhuna kilokilo ouli
The priests who are seers of omens
O ka manawa
Throughout all of the seasons
Amama. Amama.
It is ended. [The prayer] is ended
Ua noa. Ua noa.
The kapu is free. The kapu is free.

Where are these ancestral bodies of knowledge found? They are found in the heavens; each of the stars is an ancestor and a god, and a body of knowledge. They are found in the earth; each animate and inanimate thing of the earth is an ancestral God, and a body of knowledge. They are found in the oceans; every living creature of the sea, the reefs and its fecundity, and all of the seaweeds are ancestors with lessons to teach us.

These bodies of knowledge were taught through schools of knowledge that are often enumerated as levels of the heavens. In Aotearoa, one such school of knowledge is called Mauna Loa.⁴¹ In Hawai'i, Mauna Loa is the name of the largest mountain in the Hawaiian archipelago, rising from the seabed for 16,400 feet and located on the island of Hawai'i (Pukui et.al. 1966: 148). The companion of Mauna Loa on that same island is Mauna Kea. Mauna Kea (Mountain of Wākea), is a mountain hotly contested because Hawaiians consider it sacred to Wākea, or Atea, the sky father, and foreigners have desecrated this sacred space by building a dozen astronomical observatories on its peak, bringing much man-made pollution to the summit.⁴²

In a similar manner, Mauna Loa is a mountain dedicated to the god Kanaloa, who as we have seen in the Ra'iatean Mythology is the father of Atea. The key to the name is found in the Hawaiian moon calendar where several nights of the

moon are named Kaloa-kukahi, Kaloa-kulua, and Kaloa-pau (Tsuha 2007: 61-82), and these are nights when medicinal plants are gathered. In the Aotearoa version of the moon calendar, those same nights are called Tangaroa-a-mua, Tangaroa-a-roto, and Tangaroa-whakapau,⁴³ teaching us that Kaloa is a shortened form of Kanaloa. Just as Mauna Kea is shortened from Mauna Wākea, so too is Mauna Loa shortened from Mauna Kanaloa. These are names of schools of knowledge taught by Wākea and Kanaloa respectively.

Interestingly enough, the names Mauna Loa, or Maunga Roa, and Mauna Kea, or Mauna Tea, are found in several of the islands of Hawai'i-nui-akea. There is a Mauna Roa and a Maunga Tea in Rapa Nui,⁴⁴ as well as in Rarotonga, an island located in the Cook Islands, and about 7 days sail west of Ra'iatea. In Aotearoa, there is a Maunga Rangiatea, which is the name that Māori use for sky father, and indicates a use of that honorific name in the original Havaiki when they left that island, now called Ra'iatea about 30 generations ago on their journey to settle Aotearoa. The names of these mountains commemorate the school of knowledge associated with the gods for whom they are named.

Because all knowledge is transmitted through the gods, knowledge and learning are sacred and must be done in sacred places. Therefore, Schools of Traditional Knowledge were taught at the temples in the presence of the gods. South of the equator these temples are known generically as marae, meaning a clear space (Me'ae in the Marquesas, and Mo'ai in Rapa Nui).⁴⁵ In Hawai'i, our temples are called Heiau, or Haiiau, a space where hai, or offerings, are made and where divine knowledge is hei, or ensnared.

The most famous temple in Hawai'i-nui-akea is Taputapu-atea (Sanctity or Sacred Space of Atea), located at the centre of our ancestral Hau-atea alliance and religion of navigation, at Havaiki, or now Ra'iatea, in a village called Opoa through the pass of 'Avarua (double pass) (Finney 2003: 63). It was at Taputapu-atea that the divine knowledges of navigation, of medicinal plants and healing, and of resource management were taught. The temple name of Taputapu-atea, along with its gods, its priests, its prayers, its rituals of worship, and even its temple design, is found in many islands of Hawai'i-nui-akea,

indicating once again the widespread alliance of worship and traditional knowledge shared among the cousins.

Besides in 'Avarua on Ra'iatea, Taputapu-atea temples are also found in Papeto'ai on the island of Mo'ore'a, in Tautira, in eastern Tahiti, in 'Avarua, the capital of Rarotonga, and in Te Whitianga on the eastern coast of Aotearoa.⁴⁶ In the Hawaiian archipelago, Taputapu-atea, or Kapukapu-akea as it is known in Hawaiian, was found in Wailua (Ancestral Spirit), Kaua'i, in Waialua, O'ahu and in Wailua, Moloka'i. In some of these places today, such as in Rarotonga and Mo'ore'a, Christian churches have been built on the ancient remains of Taputapuatea to incorporate the new god Jehovah into the pantheon of ancestral gods and the mana, or spiritual power of that place. Similarly in Hawai'i, dozens of Christian churches were built on the remains of luakini, or human sacrifice temples, and the name luakini was adopted by Hawaiian Christians as the name of their new churches (Andrews 1974: 351).

The design of the temple is very interesting as it is a simple rectangle, built exactly in either an east-west axis or in a north-south axis, with the orientation of the outer walls being very precise. In our recent years of study of chants for the Hawaiian sun god Kane-ho'a-lani, led by Dr Pualani Kanaha⁴⁷, we also observed the movements of sun during the solstices and the equinoxes at various temples. It seems, as others have suggested, that the temple walls were built to align on one side with the winter solstice, and on the opposite side with the summer solstice, with the prayer tower marking the rising of the sun during equinoxes.⁴⁸ This would correlate perhaps with the worship of Lono, god of fertility, during the rainy season winter solstice, and the worship of the war god Kū, during the summer solstice when weather is fine for sailing between islands.

Moreover in Hawai'i, we learn from the 1908 Poepoe version of the story of Pele and Hi'iaka how this temple alignment might have been further used.⁴⁹ Pele is the volcano goddess, and her younger sister Hi'iaka is a goddess of hula dance as well as medicinal herbs. Both are daughters of Haumea and the sun god Kane-ho'a-lani. Pele's mortal lover, Lohi'au, who lives on the northern island of Kaua'i, has died

because Pele had to return abruptly to Hawai'i Island, and out of longing for her he stopped eating and died! His death unknown to her, Pele sends her sister Hi'iaka to fetch Lohi'au to their volcano home on Hawai'i Island. In order to bring Lohi'au back to life Hi'iaka builds a house designed like a temple, on an east-west axis.

The doorway of this house faces east to bring in the rays of the rising sun of their father Kane-ho'a-lani, and his healing power. Hi'iaka lays out different sorts of lei, or flower garlands, in lines on the floor of the house representing these understandings of the movement of the sun. The northern line represents the Ke Ala'ula a Kane, or the Tropic of Cancer, and the southern line is Ke Ala Ma'awe'ula a Kanaloa, or the Tropic of Capricorn. The eastern and western lines mark the journey the sun makes in rising and setting each day from winter to summer solstice. She also uses lei to mark out the celestial equator, Te-Pito-o-Atea.

Then she uses another sort of lei, made from the plant body form of her sister Pele's sacred tree, the red blossomed 'Ohi'a Lehua, to bring the mana (spiritual power) of the four corners of those intersecting lines to the centre, which represents the navel of the sky father Wākea, father of Kane-ho'a-lani. Finally, she brings the corpse of Lohia'u, laying him face up and aligning his navel with the navel of Wākea, with his head facing east, then performing the prayers that bring him back to life. Surely this story suggests to us that the temples were designed to be used in a similar manner.

The priests of Taputapu-atea were equally interesting; religious teaching, like political knowledge, was handed down through the generations in certain families (Kamakau 1964: 4-10). It was their duty to preserve and teach the worship of various ancestral gods and the knowledge they represented. Thus the stories of the Māui family, who were the priests of Ta'aroa (Henry 1928: 408), and famous in mythology for their great navigational adventures of fishing for land, discovering the secret of fire making, and slowing (counting) the progress of the sun through the sky, are found in every island group in Hawai'i-nui-akea, with an entire island named for them in the Hawaiian archipelago.

The memory of their relationship with Ta'aroa is imbedded in the names of chiefly twins Hanala'a-nui and Hanala'a-iki from Ulu genealogy (Fornander 1969 Vol 1: 191). Hanala'a-nui (Great Sacred Work) is the ancestor of Hawai'i island chiefs, where Ta'aroa (Kanaloa in Hawaiian) is most predominantly worshipped. While Hanala'a-iki (Small Sacred Work), is the ancestor of Maui island chiefs, showing that those Ariki Nui, or divine chiefs, who descend from Kanaloa himself, are more important than those who serve as the priests of Kanaloa.

The Hau-atea alliance which formalised the prayers and rituals used to worship the sky father Atea, divided the world between the regions of Te-Ao-Uri on the east and Te-Ao-Tea on the west (Henry 1928: 128). Te-Ao-Uri (The Dark Rain Cloud) was the region from which trade winds blow bringing life giving rain to the islands. Te-Ao-Tea (The White Cloud) referred to the area of good weather but little rain.

The priests of Taputapu-atea were called Paoa-uri and Paoa-tea⁵⁰, and they tended to the religious teaching in the islands in their general regions, navigating their way among them to bring new knowledge developed in the homeland. It is not surprising therefore that the family name Paoa is found in the far reaches of Hawai'i-nui-akea – in Ra'iatea and Tahiti in the center, in Rapa Nui in the Southeast, in Aotearoa in the Southwest, and in Hawai'i in the north. The most famous of our Hawaiian navigators, Nainoa Thompson, is a Paoa descendant, giving support to the assertion by Dr Pua Kanahale that all ancestral knowledge rests in our DNA, and is only waiting for us to remember it.

According to the great Tahitian academic Teuira Henry, our ancestor's large double-hulled canoes would bring the cousins from all corners of Hawai'i-nui-akea to Taputapu-atea temple at Ra'iatea on a regular basis where we could learn of new gods, and share in their knowledge. One such new god was Rongo (Lono), a foreign god and a god of fertility, whose body forms included the sweet potato and the bottle gourd, both plants originating in South America.

The sweet potato is a food that matures in 3-4 months and will grow in adverse conditions, including in sand instead of soil, and in very little water, making it a miraculous plant that can feed many more people; hence the fertility aspect of

Rongo. In Hawai'i, the Bottle Gourd (Ipuwai-o-Lono) was hung in the corner of the Hale Mua (Men's Eating House) and offerings to Rongo were placed inside before every meal (Gutmanis 1983: 6). Sweet potato and the bottle gourd are plants found everywhere in Hawai'i-nui-akea for hundreds of years and were carried there by double-hulled voyaging canoes. Other interesting 'coincidences' can be found in a seminal work, *The Art of Easter Island*, by Heyerdahl, who shows us identical carvings in Rapa Nui and Isla Puna, Peru (Heyerdahl 1975: Plate 310). In Polynesian languages, Puna means a fresh water spring. Isla Puna, or Puna island, recalls the many Puna place names found in Hawai'i, Tahiti, Rapa Nui, and Aotearoa.

Although Teuira Henry tells us that long distance voyaging to Ra'iatea ended several hundred years ago because of a political disagreement, in 1995 the voyaging canoes of Hawai'i in the north, and Aotearoa and Rarotonga in the south converged on Ra'iatea to worship at Taputapu-atea temple, and all of them made the sail using only traditional knowledge (Finney 2003: 40-41).

Even more remarkable is the fact that *Hōkūle'a*, our first double-hulled voyaging canoe of traditional design built in over one hundred years, has sailed over 90,000 miles around the Pacific Ocean with only the knowledge of the ancestors to guide her. The captain of *Hōkūle'a*, Nainoa Thompson, now wants to sail her around the world, and he tells us from studying the weather, he should only sail close to the equator, and within the boundaries of the Tropic of Cancer in the north and the Tropic of Capricorn on the south – the traditional boundaries of our ancient religion.

Na na 'aumakua kahiko e ho'oulu a e malama ia makou i na pulapula, i ka 'ike akua e ho'okupu i ka hana pono o na hoahanau o Hawai'i-nui-akea; May the ancient ancestors inspire and preserve us, their descendants, with the divine knowledge that empowers the good work of the Hawai'i-nui-akea cousins.

Eia Hawai'inuiakea
Here is Hawai'inuiakea
Hawai'i nui, Hawai'i iki

Great Hawai'i, small Hawai'i
Hawai'i loa, Hawai'i poko
Long Hawai'i, short Hawai'i
Hawai'i i luna, Hawai'i i lalo
Hawai'i above, Hawai'i below
I loko o ka moana nui o Kanaloa
In the great ocean of Kanaloa
Uwe ka lani, naue ka honua
The heavens weep, the earth trembles
Ne'e ka honua, 'ola'i ka honua
The earth moves and quakes
Ho'ola ka honua!
The earth is renewed!
Ku o ka wairua o te tupuna
The spirits of the ancestors call out
Kupa'a te tangata māori
For the Native people to stand firm
Tihe Māori ola!
*Let the Native breath live!*⁵¹

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Notes

- ¹ For a description of the ceremonies please see Finney, Ben. 1999. 'The Sin at Avarua.' *Journal of the Contemporary Pacific*; Vol.11:1-33.
- ² Thanks to Professors Tania Ka'ai and John Moorfield for the invitation to submit this article to their forthcoming book.
- ³ Uli is an ancient mo'owahine, or lizard Goddess, from Tahiti, prayed to for 'ana'ana, prayers to bring someone back to life or to cause their death. See Kame'eiehiwa, Lilikalā. 1999. *Na Wahine Kapu: Divine Hawaiian Women*. Honolulu: 'Ai Pohaku Press. pp. 39-40
- ⁴ Haumea is a Goddess of childbirth, war and politics, who often takes a mo'owahine form. *Ibid.*: 27-28.
- ⁵ Pele is a daughter of Haumea, and a Goddess of volcanic fire, who lives in Kilauea, Hawai'i. *Ibid.*: 39.
- ⁶ Kū is a God of war and political power. See Kamakau, Samuel Manaiakalani. 1964. *Ka Po'e Kahiko (The People of Old)*. Translated by Mary Kawena Pukui, edited by Dorothy Barrere. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press. p. 58.
- ⁷ Kuho'one'enu'u is the O'ahu Goddess of war, and is the only female Kū God manifestation. She is a body form of Haumea. *Ibid.*: 36.
- ⁸ Lono is a God of peace, fertility and agriculture. See Kame'eiehiwa, Lilikalā. 1996. *He Mo'olelo Ka'ao o Kamapua'a: A Legendary Traditional of Kamapua'a, the Hawaiian Pig-God*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press. p. 4.
- ⁹ Lonomakua is the uncle of Pele, and is the fire starter for the volcano. *Ibid.*: 70.
- ¹⁰ Kāne is a God of the sun, the stars and heavenly bodies. *Ibid.*: 45.
- ¹¹ Kaneikawaiola, literally, 'Kāne of the life giving waters' is the only female manifestation of the God Kāne, and in other parts of Hawai'i-nui-akea refers to the stars known as the Milky Way. See Kame'eiehiwa 1999: 34.
- ¹² Kanaloa is a God of ocean, and ocean voyaging. See Kame'eiehiwa 1996: 45.
- ¹³ Although I composed this chant, the previous six lines are a formula found in many traditional chants, and are quite commonly used.
- ¹⁴ Please see wa 11-16 of the Kalakaua text of in Beckwith, Martha. 1972. *The Kumulipo, A Hawaiian Creation Chant*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i. pp. 205-240.
- ¹⁵ Kamakau, S.M. 1868. 'No Ka Noho Alii Ana O Liholiho Maluna O Ke Aupuni A Ua Kapaia O Kamehameha Ii. Ka Nupepa Ku'oko'a.' February 22, 1868. p. 1.
- ¹⁶ See Himmelmann, Nicholas. 2004. *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar*. Routledge Press.
- ¹⁷ See Yen, Douglas E. 1974a. *The Sweet Potato in Oceania: An Essay in Ethnobotany*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 236. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press. See also Kirch, Patrick. 2000. *On the Road of the Winds; An Archaeological History of the Pacific Islands before European Contact*. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 241-243.
- ¹⁸ It is easier to follow the sound shifts if one begins with the Māori version of the word – Tangaroa. The Tahitians and Ra'iateans drop the 'ng' sound in

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- their dialect and replace it with a glottal stop; hence Ta'aroa. Hawaiians on the other hand take the word Tangaroa, and change the 'T' to 'K', the 'ng' to 'n', and the 'r' to 'l'; hence Kanaloa. Marquesans also change the 'ng' to 'n', and drop the 'r/l' sound, replacing it with a glottal stop; hence Tana'oa.
- 19 Atea was first born as a female, then after Atea gave birth to Tāne, she had a series of babies who died early, so Ta'aroa ordered Atea to give all her female attributes to Fa'ahotu, and Fa'ahotu to give all of her male attributes to Atea. Thereafter, Atea was firmly a male, seducing as many Goddesses as he could find. See Henry 1928: 355-356, 372-374.
- 20 Kaiaikawaha. 1835. 'Mooolelo no na kanaka kahiko mai ka po mai, a me ka pae moku i hanau mau ai.' Lahainaluna Student Compositions. In Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives #HI>H107, folder 2. Brought to my attention by Keku'ewa Kikiloi, doctoral candidate in Anthropology, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
- 21 Hiva'oa is one of the islands in the Marquesas.
- 22 From the collection of Pua Kanahēle, my translation.
- 23 Note that the ancestors knew that the sun was a star.
- 24 Referring to the Hawaiian Maui who slowed the sun atop Haleakala so that his mother's bark cloth would have time to dry.
- 25 The mother of Maui is Hina who also is the woman beating kapa in the moon; perhaps the kaona of this line is that the moon is obscured by weather which is caused by the sun, as the sun makes the wind blow.
- 26 Referring to the idea that our thoughts and our chants can control the weather.
- 27 In December, 2007, I was part of a Hawaiian group led by Kumu Hula Elaine Kia, who took us to stay with Haururu, a Tahitian Cultural group that practises the old customs of honouring Tahitian Gods. This was my second visit to the valley of Farehe, Vava'u, aka Maroto. The last time was in July 2000, where I met many learned Tahitians. The one who taught me the most was Heipua Bordes, whom I shall quote further in this article. See also Henry 1928: 73-74.
- 28 My good friend Ben Finney, who is himself an anthropologist of some renown, assures me that the latest evidence from French archaeologists agree with me, that Hawaiians did not come from the Marquesas, and soon will publish to that effect.
- 29 In 1995, when Hawaiian master navigator Nainoa Thompson led seven double-hulled voyaging canoes from Nukuhiva to Hawai'i, he could do so because he already knew where Hawai'i was. Otherwise, I doubt that he would have chosen that path. For a full account see Finney, Ben. 2003. *Sailing in the Wake of the Ancestors, Reviving Polynesian Voyaging*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.
- 30 I have travelled to the Marquesas twice for their Festival of the Arts held every four years in a different hosting island, to Hiva'oa in December 2003, and to Nukuhiva and Ua Pou in December 2007. Although I am fluent in Hawaiian, and although Marquesans speak almost entirely in Marquesan, I could barely understand a word they said. It is much easier for me to understand Tahitian or Māori, and we Hawaiians have many more cognates in God names and place names with Tahitian and Māori, than with the Marquesan. They are a lovely people however.
- 31 Personal interview with Heipua Bordes and other learned elders of Haururu in July 2000 in Vava'u.
- 32 See in both Hawaiian and English the Ho'ulumahie version of the story in Nogelmeier, Puakea (ed). 2007. *The Epic Tale of Hi'ikaikapoliopole*. Honolulu: Awaiaulu Press.

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- ³³ See Tia'ihauatea in Henry 1928: 122-124.
- ³⁴ Kilohana is actually that portion of the mountain directly above of the Wilson Tunnel on Likelike Highway.
- ³⁵ In Hawai'i, the female Gods were called upon every year to sanction the male prayers to the four major male Gods. See Malo 1959: 162-163. Also, when the 'Aikapu or Sacred Eating religion was proposed by Wākea, the new kapu could not be established until Papahanaumoku had agreed. See Malo 1959: 28. Also note the role of women in the breaking of the 'Aikapu, nearly 100 generations later. See Kamakau, Samuel Manaiakalani. 1961. *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i*. Honolulu: The Kamehameha Schools. pp. 221-223, and my arguments in Kame'eiehiwa, Lilikalā. 1993. *Native Land and Foreign Desires, or Pehea la e Pono ai?* Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press. pp. 67-78.
- ³⁶ In Samoa, most 'h's are transformed into 's.' Hina is also Hine in Māori dialect recalling the root word, wahine or woman.
- ³⁷ Information from a personal interview with Heipua Bordes in Vava'u, Farehe in July 2000 whom I thank profoundly for pointing out to me the knowledge base associated with the Goddess Hina.
- ³⁸ Tsuha, Kalei. 2007. "Kaulana Mahina, He 'Onaehana 'Alemanaka Hawai'i." Unpublished MA thesis. Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language, Hawai'inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. pp. 61-82. See also Keauokalani, Zephyrin "Kepelino." 1932. *Kepelino's Traditions of Hawai'i*. (M.W. Beckwith, ed). Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press. pp. 98-113.
- ³⁹ See the prayer with my translation, called 'Pule Ia Keali'ipo'okapuhūnāikeaouli, Ke Akua 'Oia'i'o A Ka Lahui Kilokilo, Kuhikahi Pu'uone, Kaka'olelo Me Na Kahuna Ho'oulu Lahui E Malama Ai' in Namakaokeahi, Benjamin J. 2004. *The History of Kanalu, Mo'oku'auhau 'Elua*. [Translated and edited by Malcolm Chun.] Honolulu: First People's Productions. pp. 20.
- ⁴⁰ Ka'onohiokala is literally translated as 'the eyeball of the sun' and is another name for the God of the sun.
- ⁴¹ Personal interview with Master Carver and Tohunga Whakairo Paki Harrison at his home in Coromandel, Aotearoa in February 2007. Many thanks to Mike Barns who drove me through the steep and winding roads to that remote location.
- ⁴² See film entitled 'Mauna Kea - Sacred Mountain Under Seige' at <<http://www.mauna-a-Wākea.info/>>.
- ⁴³ See 'Nga meka me nga mati mo Matariki: Makahiki Facts and Figures' on the Korero Maori web page. <http://www.korero.maori.nz/news/matariki/factsandfigures/lunarcalendar.html>>
- ⁴⁴ See the map of Rapa Nui in Charlin-Ojeda, Carlos. 1947. *Geo-etimologia de la Isla de Pascua* (Geo-Etymology of Easter Island).
- ⁴⁵ In Rapa Nui, Mo'ai actual refers to the statues found in the sacred sites.
- ⁴⁶ Personal conversation with Dr. Aroha Yates-Smith in Honolulu in November 2007.
- ⁴⁷ The group known as Ha'ae wale o ka hanauna lolo, was called together by Dr. Pualani Kanahale, and studied together on the solstices and equinoxes for a number of years. Dr. Kanahale ended our class in September 2007. The class was by invitation only and I was greatly privileged to be called to attend.

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- ⁴⁸ See the writings of Francis Warther and Rubellite Johnson who have both spoken extensively about Hawaiian temple alignments having astronomical significance.
- ⁴⁹ Nogelmeier, Puakea (Editor and translator). 2007. *The EpicTale of Hi'iakaikapoliopele*. Honolulu: Awaiaulu Press. pp. 188-192. Translated from the Hawaiian original by Ho'oumahiehe (Joseph Poepoe) entitled 'Ka Mo'olelo o Hi'iakaikapoliopele' published as a serial in 1905-1906 in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Na'i Aupuni*.
- ⁵⁰ The name Paoakea still exists in the families of Lono descendants in Hawai'i.
- ⁵¹ Chant composed a few years ago by Kumu Hula John Lake, and given to us in honor of the new Hawai'inuiakea School of Hawaiian Knowledge.