

THE NATURAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF HONAUNAU, KONA, HAWAII

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VOLUME II

THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF HONAUNAU

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Honolulu

1957

SCANNED  
8/3/00

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## INVESTIGATION OF ANCIENT HONAUNAU

by

Kenneth P. Emory

The Polynesians who came to the Hawaiian Islands more than a thousand years ago were quick to appraise the sunny, sheltered Kona coast of Hawaii, rising gently to fertile, cloud-covered slopes, as an environment suited to their needs. It was ideal for the taro, breadfruit, bananas, sweet potatoes, and sugar cane they brought with them. Its clear, calm waters offered excellent reef and off-shore fishing. This coast became the most densely populated area in the islands and the coveted land of the chiefs.

The small but deeply indented Honaunau Bay, with a sandy cove where canoes could be easily beached, was a favorite residence for the king. The constant presence of high chiefs, descended from the gods, hallowed the ground.

In time, one of the ruling chiefs declared the wide tongue of black lava which formed the west border of Honaunau Bay a sanctuary, under the protection of the great gods; and he decreed that it would be under his own deified spirit when he departed this life. Here the people of his sons, or their sons, should they war against each other for the kingship and its supreme powers, could flee and find a safe haven when they were threatened. This protection was also extended to those who were the objects of blood revenge and who broke the onerous tapus which bore the death penalty, providing they gained the portals of the sanctuary before the executioners caught up with them.

To reinforce the sacred protection a massive stone wall was built around the neck of the land. This great wall has stood as the most impressive monument of ancient Hawaii. Adjacent to it is the platform on which once stood the temple house where the deified bones of King Keawe and other high chiefs were arranged in woven caskets. This house with its host of wooden images was seen and depicted by early European visitors. Haole and Hawaiian scholars have written about Honaunau and the dramatic

events which took place there before Hawaii was reunited under Kamehameha, and about the struggle which followed the overthrow of the ancient tapus.

That this remarkable center of Hawaiian life and the great beauty of its aboriginal setting should not be lost and forgotten has been the concern of many islanders. Far-seeing individuals have realized that the happiest solution would be for the United States Government to create a National Park for the preservation and restoration, as far as practicable, of the scene as it was when the kings of Hawaii dwelt here. Thanks to their efforts, this National Park will become an accomplished fact, through an act of Congress approved by the President on July 26, 1955. It will be a monument to the achievements of the Hawaiians and their ancestors.

Bishop Museum, in response to an invitation from the United States National Park Service, has prepared the report herewith submitted, on the area selected for the park. Its preparation has furnished an opportunity to pull together such archaeological and historical material on Honaunau as has been accumulated by the Museum over the years, and to examine the



ruins more at length.

The backbone of the current report is the research of J.F.G. Stokes, who in 1919 was detailed by Bishop Museum to investigate the ruins at Honaunau. His notes, maps, and photographs were at our disposal.

Mr. Stokes, though long in retirement, came forth voluntarily to discuss his material. He has allowed the major part of his original manuscript to be incorporated into this report.

Stokes found that, by 1919, reliable local information concerning Honaunau before the overthrow of the ancient tapu system a century earlier, in 1819, was scant, and added not very much to what had been written by the earlier European visitors and the Hawaiian scholars who lived close to those times.

Henry P. Kekahuna and Theodore Kelsey, in 1952, after perusing the material in Bishop Museum and interviewing oldtimers at Honaunau, compiled a descriptive map of the place of refuge (see bibliography), in which some further interpretations of the ruins were attempted. They also, in a series of articles in the Hilo Tribune Herald (March 24-29, 1954), described

features of Honaunau and the adjacent shores. In 1956, Kekahuna compiled an interpretative map of the ruins at Kiilae. His maps and writings stirred up considerable interest and are in no small measure responsible for furthering the movement which has resulted in the creation of a National Park in this region.

At my invitation, Kekahuna and Kelsey joined us for several days while we were mapping the area and made available their maps, which shortened our work of spotting and following out ruins. For this generous help we are most grateful.

In the fall of 1956 and during the spring and early summer of 1957, I recruited from Bishop Museum and the University of Hawaii and from among residents of the island of Hawaii, groups to assist with our explorations and the surveying and mapping of the area proposed for the National Park. Now, this land which was once the scene of open fields of waving pili grass, shady clumps of pandanus and kou trees, and groves of coconut trees along its shores, has been invaded and covered over with vicious thorny vegetation which claws at the skin and clothing. We owe much to the

dogged persistence, of the field parties who carried out the work despite the difficult terrain: to William J. Bonk and his Hilo Branch University of Hawaii students; to William Haley Cox, Jack Ward, Robert Bowen, from the University of Hawaii in Honolulu and, especially, to Yoshihiko H. Sinoto, of the University of Hawaii and the Bishop Museum, our chief surveyor, who, like Bonk, is my field assistant in archaeology. From Bishop Museum came Dorothy and Ivan Rainwater and Mary Cameron Sanford; from the island of Hawaii Ruth and Frank Tabrah, Fred Seymore and some of his friends, and George C. Ruhle, naturalist with the Hawaii National Park Service and our contact with the Park Service. Miss Amy Greenwell of Captain Cook met all parties, attended their many needs, and joined us in the field day after day. The Commandant of the Fourteenth Naval District, headquarters at Pearl Harbor, detailed a Hawaiian Sea Frontier plane to fly over the area and obtain a set of air photographs, which were most useful, especially in mapping the coast line.

As an archaeological investigation of the whole park area, aside from the actual sanctuary, the work to date can be considered only a

reconnaissance survey. Once park headquarters are established and the land cleared, it will be possible to carry out intensive investigations here and on adjacent coasts, which will add considerably to our knowledge of the ancient situation. Even at the place of refuge itself, excavation under the great wall and the platforms should yield charcoal for carbon dating, a most important step toward unraveling the past.

At Bishop Museum, Marion Kelly assembled and sorted the Mōnaunau material and investigated all available data on the theory of asylum in Hawaii and other places. Dorothy Barrere, with the help of Mary Kawena Fukui, went through all the material in the Hawaiian language relating to the sanctuary at Mōnaunau and searched genealogies to determine the relationships of the deified chiefs whose bones were deposited in the temple house attached to the sacred enclosure. Barrere also studied the written accounts of the early foreign visitors. From her researches comes the section of this report which treats of the history and function of the sanctuary. Sinoto did the final drafting of the maps, and Patience Bacon typed the final manuscript.

## HONAUNAU VILLAGE AND VICINITY UNDER HAWAIIAN CULTURE

by

Kenneth P. Emory

### In General

When Captain Cook's ships were anchored below the cliffs at Kealakekua Bay in 1778-1779, had the officers ventured to the next bay south, Honaunau Bay, only four miles away, they would have happened upon a feature of ancient Hawaiian life which would surely have excited their wonder, as the remnants of it do for visitors today, and they would have left a record of it which would have been invaluable. This is the great stone-walled enclosure which had been established as a sanctuary for those fleeing from an "avenging spear," and a place of safe refuge for the women, children, and old people, in time of war. It is a massive wall rising to the height of ten feet and running for over a thousand feet to block access to a flat peninsula which borders the south side of Honaunau Bay.

The enclosure has been familiarly known as the "City of Refuge" since

Rev. William Ellis so termed it in his "Tour of Hawaii" describing his journey in 1823. To the Hawaiians it has always been known as the "Puuhonua" at Honaunau. A puuhonua is a sacred refuge established by a ruling chief. It operated in conjunction with a heiau, or temple, whose deities extended their protecting influence and whose priests watched over it. At Honaunau this heiau was a neatly thatched house with a high roof, surrounded by an array of grimacing images standing on a pavement at the north end of the great wall of the enclosure. This heiau was called Hale o Keawe or Ka-iki-'Alealea, that is, the House of Keawe or The Little 'Alealea. 'Alealea is the name of a larger, and earlier heiau, whose high stone platform dominates the interior of the puuhonua. Keawe is the name of a Hawaiian chief who ruled over the whole island, and whose deified bones rested in the house which bore his name.

For the visitors of Ellis' time until the images were removed and the house itself destroyed in 1829, the Hale o Keawe was more intriguing than the great walled enclosure, as it was only here that one could survey the last relics of the ancient religion and witness the last observances

of the tabus which had supported the kings of Hawaii in barbaric splendor and awesome power during the centuries just prior.

In approaching the Hale o Keawe, visitors passed through an attractive village at the head of the bay, which was a residence of chiefs. Before reaching the heiau and the puuhonua it was necessary to skirt a deeply indented, sandy cove where only the canoes of the king were allowed to land. It was by the side of this cove that Archibald Menzies, botanist with Captain Vancouver spent the night of February 28, 1793, upon his return from a long excursion into the uplands. He was, so far as we know, the first foreigner to reach Honaunau and leave some record of it. His account (1920, pp. 86-87), which follows, of approaching the village and of his stay, although tantalizingly incomplete, gives us a vivid glimpse of Honaunau as it presented itself before Western culture had made appreciable inroads.

"After taking some refreshment on the morning of the 28th, we set out on our return home by the same path we had ascended till we came nearly out of the wood, and then we struck off by a path that went a little more to the southward of our former route, through plantations in the highest state of cultivation. Every field bore the marks of indefatigable labour,

perseverance and industry, which were now amply repaying by productive crops. But as we came down towards the sea side, we walked over the most barren, rocky country that can possibly be conceived, composed of nothing but rugged cavernous lava, full of chinks and fissures that made it both dangerous and difficult to travel over.

We arrived in the afternoon at a village by the seaside called Honaunau, about two leagues to the southward of Kealakekua Bay. As we approached it, the natives came out in great crowds to meet us. The young women expressing their joy in singing and dancing, from every little eminence, to entertain us, while the men received us with a clamorous welcome and an officiousness to serve us that would have been troublesome and teasing had they not been kept in good order by John Smith and the natives who accompanied us, who exercised their authority by clearing an avenue before us wherever we went. They took us to a large house which was tabooed for the king, with a number of smaller houses contiguous to it for sleeping in and for his attendants when he comes to the village. We were told that he has a set of houses kept for him in the same way in every village he is likely to stop at round the island, which when he once occupies or eats in, cannot afterwards be used by any other.

Here clean mats were spread for us to stretch ourselves out after the fatigue of our long journey in the heat of the day, while a number of the natives placed themselves round us to lomi and pinch our limbs, an operation which we found on these occasions very lulling and pleasing when gently performed. Cocoa nuts, plantains and every kind of refreshment which the country afforded were got ready and supplied to us in abundance, and in justice to the friendly and hospitable disposition of the natives, we must observe that during this excursion our wants were anticipated and provided for with the utmost alertness the moment they were known. They took care of everything we had, and behaved towards us with a scrupulous honesty that we could not help admiring. Every man of our followers had his post of trust allotted to him when we set out on our journey, and in no instance did any of them betray the confidence reposed in them, but performed their duty with fidelity and care.

In the evening a double canoe arrived from Kealakekua with several empty casks in her which the chief of the village had undertaken to fill with good water for the Discovery, and at dawn of next morning we heard a crier go through the village summoning all the natives to set out for the mountains to fetch water to fulfill his contract, and in a large marae close to us we now and then heard the hollow sounding drums of the priests who were up in the dead hour of the night performing their religious rites.

The next foreign visitor to leave a record of Honaunau was William Ellis. He came to the village on July 23, 1823, thirty years after Menzies, and four years after the over-throw of the tabu system and the



general destruction of the heiaus.

Hale o Keawe had survived because it was also a royal mausoleum. To Menzies it was just another heiau, in Ellis' time it was the only one still standing. Menzies was a botanist whereas Ellis, besides being a missionary, was an ethnographer bent on learning all he could about Hawaiian culture, and he could converse in the Hawaiian language. This explains why the significance of the heiau and puuhonua completely escaped Menzies. Most fortunately for us Ellis immediately sensed the central importance of Honaunau and realized the remarkableness of the puuhonua institution. Despite suffering violent pains, the after effects of drinking brackish water, he made a heroic effort to learn and record all he could during the two nights and the day he spent there. Undoubtedly Ellis' investigation resulted in drawing to the spot the officers of the Blonde, two years later, and the addition of many more important details, for these men were not only allowed entry into Hale o Keawe, but permitted to take anything they wanted except the bones of the chiefs. Without the records of Ellis and the officers of the Blonde, and the preservation of a number of

images taken from the Hale o Keawe, the paucity of information concerning this center of Hawaiian life would be deplorable.

Ellis learned that Honaunau was regarded as a place of considerable importance "having been the frequent residence of the kings of Hawaii for several generations." (1917, p. 124.) He counted 147 houses in the village, which was so crowded that he and his companions, Thurston and Goodrich, could find no better accommodation than a canoe-building shed, where they were pestered by recently introduced vermin and were exposed to the intrusion of pigs and dogs. They were not the guest of the king, as was Menzies, or they would have been given the best accommodation possible. But Ellis says that "notwithstanding we were uncomfortable during our short stay at Honaunau, and the people less kind than we usually found them, it appears to us a most eligible place for a missionary station." (1917, pp. 129-130.) What Ellis adds to the above reveals the cultural position of Honaunau village in 1823 (1917, p. 124):

The coast, for twenty miles to the northward, includes not less perhaps than forty villages, either on the shore or a short distance inland, and contains probably a population of 20,000 souls, among whom a missionary might labour with facility.

Though there is at present no chief of distinction residing here, as at Kairua, or Kearake'kua, yet the very circumstance of establishing a station here might lead one to remove hither; and the conduct of the people, we have no doubt, would alter materially as they became better acquainted with the missionaries, and their object in settling permanently among them. It is near Kearake'kua bay, the frequent resort of shipping, where supplies might be left; and the natives also told us, that fresh water in considerable quantities might be procured at a short distance. We had not an opportunity to examine the place where they said it was found; but should this prove a fact, Honaunau would possess an accommodation seldom met with on this side of the island.

During Ellis' visit, Thurston and Goodrich examined the inland part of the district. "After proceeding about two miles," says Ellis (1917, p. 122), "They passed through considerable groves of bread-fruit trees, saw many cocoa-nuts, and a number of prickly pear growing very large and loaded with fruit. They also found many people residing at the distance of from two to four miles from the beach, in the midst of their plantations, who seemed to enjoy an abundance of provisions seldom possessed by those on the sea shore."

The state to which Honaunau was falling as a result of the abandonment of it as a residence of kings and the abolition of the old religion is revealed by James Macrae's journal, recounting his visit to Hale o Keawe two years later. ( 1922 , pp. 71-79):

July 16, [1825]. Went to see the morai [Hale o Keawe], on the other side of the island. On our way met the old priest in his canoe coming on

board. He alone is entrusted to enter the morai, and we accordingly took him back with us. We found the morai was on the east point of a small bay surrounded by huts standing under a thinly scattered grove of coconut trees, but with no signs of cultivation about. As we were about to enter the morai the old priest, who had on a straw hat and a cotton shirt, took both of them off, and only left his maro on. On entering we only found an empty filthy hut with quantities of human bones in heaps under mats at each end of the hut, many of the bones not yet dry and disgusting to the sight. In the middle were several effigies of the deceased chiefs, tied to a bundle of tapa cloth containing the bones of each person the effigies represented. Most of the effigies were made of wood, but the one representing the late Tamahamaah\* was substituted by a mask of European manufacture and was more finely dressed than the others. The party with Lord Byron that had visited here the day before, had taken away any memorials of the morai that could be taken, so we asked the old priest to be allowed to take some of the ancient weather beaten carved figures outside.

On board we found the old priest awaiting us for some presents in return for the old images he had allowed us to take from outside the morai. We gave him several articles of clothing with which he was more pleased than if we had given him money.

The seat of power of the chiefs who possessed and ruled the land had shifted from Honaunau to Kailua in North Kona, Hawaii, and to Honolulu, on Oahu, as ships, traders, and missionaries converged upon these ports. The resultant changes were to rob Honaunau of the exalted position it had enjoyed from the time of the establishment of its Hale o Keawe down to the death of Kalaniopuu, in 1782. Kalaniopuu's body lay at Honaunau while the events were shaping which would raise his nephew

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\*This must be an error of understanding, as Kamehameha was not buried here.

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Kamehameha to the kingship of all Hawaii, in place of his son Kiwala-'o. Ka-'o-lei-o-ku, a son of Kamehameha's youth, was the last chief to have his bones deposited in the Hale o Keawe. That was in 1818. The following year, Kamehameha's son and heir, Liholiho, abolished the tabus of the gods, and Hale o Keawe became impotent as an institution which could maintain the puuhonua.

A hundred years later, in 1919, a few descendants of Honaunau people who still clung to its shores, could remember their grandparents saying that until the overthrow of the tabus, commoners had to pass along the shore in the morning, and around the back of the village in the afternoon, lest their shadows fall upon the sacred ground of the chiefs, a profanity punishable by death.

Adjoining Honaunau on the south is Keokea, which, to judge from its ancient residential sites along the shore, including that of King Keawe, its two heiaus, its fine holua slide, and its burial cliffs, must have played a supporting part to the life of Honaunau. In Kiilae, the next land south of Keokea, chiefly residences sprung up around a celebrated

well called Wai-ku'i-o-Kekela. Here lived Kekela, granddaughter of

Kamehameha's younger brother, Keliimaikai, and mother of Queen Emma.

Extending from the shore inland a quarter of a mile at Kiilae, is the

lava-tube refuge caves which were so useful in giving protection to

those who had ready access to them and who were familiar with their

intracacies.

#### The Hale o Keawe (House of Keawe)

John Ii, who often saw the Hale o Keawe when it was still functioning in the old culture, wrote of it as "standing majestically on the south side of Akahipapa flat...by the entrance of a wooden inclosure, with door facing upland, towards the farming lands of South Kona." He added that the house was well built, that its post and rafters were of kauila wood, and that it was thatched with the crossed stems of dry ti leaves. Ellis who saw it in 1823, four years after the overthrow of the ancient religion, describes the house as a "compact building, twenty-four feet by sixteen, constructed with the most durable timber and thatched with ti leaves,

standing on a bed of lava that runs for a considerable distance into the sea. It is surrounded by a strong fence of paling, leaving an area in front, and at each end about twenty-four feet wide. The pavement is of smooth fragments of lava, laid down with considerable skill. (1917, p. 124). He has left us a sketch of the house and the surrounding fence and images, shown in plate 1. Bloxam, on the voyage of the Blonde, in 1825, called the house "a large native thatched hut, thirty by fifteen feet, with a very high roof and one low door" (1925, p. 74). He says it was "placed in a square paved with large stones and surrounded with thick wooden stakes and palings," and that it had "a small wooden door about two feet high arched over at the top, the only light the interior received was from this." He too has given us a sketch of the house, plate 3. James MacCrae, botanist with the same expedition as Bloxam, describes the fence as composed of "sticks to the height of 6 feet, kept together by two rows of bars." Byron calls (1826, p. 199) the fence "a palisade formed of the trunks of palm-trees." Robert Dampier, the artist of the voyage of the Blonde, gives a picture of Hale o Keawe, see plate 2, which it would seem

he made from memory, or from a very hurried sketch, so un-Hawaiian are the

(ms.)  
images he shows standing about the house. Lyman, after his visit

December 2, 1846, recorded of the puuhonua and the platform of Hale o

Keawe: "The walls are yet quite entire and the stone foundation of the

House of Keawe with most of the wooden palisade which encompassed it on

the west and north sides. The whole platform on which the house stood we

found to be 50 feet by 50 - the house, 24 feet wide, occupying the west

side." Lyman's description makes it clear that the wooden palisade

continued around the north and west sides of the house. Whether or not

from the east side the palisade continued around the south end, is not

clear. In Ellis' sketch it seems to go to the north end of the great

puuhonua wall. But Ellis says the house was "surrounded by a strong fence

of pallings", Andrew Bloxam also says it was "surrounded with thick wooden

stakes and palings." His uncle, Reverend R. Bloxam has it "encircled by

a strong wooden palisade." Dampier's sketch of 1825 shows a definite

curve around the south side. All in all, therefore, it seems safe to

conclude that the wooden fence went completely around Hale o Keawe. This



would leave possible access to the enclosure of the puuhonua on both the north and south side of the fenced-in area.

Concerning the disposition of images on the fence enclosing Hale o Keawe and both outside and inside the fence, this is what Ellis has to comment (1917, p. 124), and his remarks should be considered together with his sketch, plate 1.

Several rudely carved male and female images of wood were placed on the outside of the enclosure; some on low pedestals under the shade of an adjacent tree, others on high posts on the jutting rocks that hung over the edge of the water.

A number stood on the fence at unequal distances all around; but the principal assemblage of these frightful representatives of their former deities was at the south-east end of the enclosed space, where, forming a semicircle, twelve of them stood in grim array, as if perpetual guardians of "the mighty dead" reposing in the house adjoining.

A pile of stones was neatly laid up in the form of a crescent, about three feet wide, and two feet higher than the pavement, and in this pile the images were fixed. They stood on small pedestals, three or four feet high, though some were placed on pillars, eight or ten feet in height, and curiously carved.

The principal idol stood in the centre, the others on either hand; the most powerful being placed nearest to him; he was not so large as some of the others, but distinguished by the variety and superior carvings of his body, and especially of his head.

Once they had evidently been clothed, but now they appeared in the most indigent nakedness. A few tattered shreds round the neck of one that stood on the left hand side of the door, rotted by the rain and bleached by the sun, were all that remained of numerous and gaudy garments, with which their votaries had formerly arrayed them.

A large pile of broken calabashes and cocoa-nut shells lay in the centre, and a considerable heap of dried and partly rotten wreathes of flowers, branches of shrubs and bushes, and fragments of tapa, (the accumulated offerings of former days,) formed an unsightly mound immediately before each of the images."

Two years later, at the time visitors from H.M.S. Blonde entered the

premises, it would seem from Bloxam's account that the images within the enclosure had been removed, and possibly those on the fence. Bloxam simply says that (1925, p. 74) "Outside this fence are ranged without order or regularity about twenty wooden idols rudely carved and of various uncouth forms, most of which are now fast rotting and decaying." However, his uncle Rev. R. Bloxam, speaking of the courtyard, says (1924, p. 79), "Here in all directions were rude-looking carved images of all shapes and dimensions whose hideous forms and countenances exhibited a most grotesque spectacle....Immediately before the morai [i.e. the house] without the fence stood an immense horrid looking deity." The official account (Byron, 1826, p. 199) contains these comments, "The court within the palisade is filled with rude images of all shapes and dimensions whose grotesque forms and horrible countenances present a most extraordinary spectacle. Most of these idols are placed in the same attitude; one, however, was distinguished by a greater degree of carving: it had a child in its arms. There were also a number of poles with carved heads in various parts of the court, and, immediately in front of the morai, and outside the palisades, there was a

kind of sentinel deity of a very grotesque shape." The engraving made from Dampier's sketch, plate 2, is not much help in establishing the position and shape of the images and differs radically from Ellis sketch in respect to them. Notable in both of them however, is what looks like the trunk of a coconut tree, standing outside the house on the seaward side. In the Dampier illustration it is clearly on the flat Akahipapa, where no coconut tree could grow, and so must have been fixed in position if there. Andrew Bloxam mentions (1925, p. 74) one very important detail omitted by all the others, namely, the presence "in the interior of the palisade on one side ....a kind of stage, about fourteen feet high, of strong poles on which the offerings had been placed. At the bottom lay a considerable number of decayed coconuts."

In entering the Hale o Keawe, we are most fortunate in having Bloxam's sketch of the interior arrangements, plate 3, his written description, and that of several others on the same expedition, and the glimpse which Ellis had when he pushed aside one of the boards across the door-way. We can go back to the time when the house was functioning for

John Li's statement (ms.), "The compact bundle of bones (pukua'i iwi) that were deified (ho'oakua ia) were in rows there in the house, beginning with Keawe's, near the right side of the door [viewed from the inside] and continuing to a place opposite the door. At the right corner of the house were the unwrapped bones of those who had died in war, heaped up like wood. In that pile of bones were those of Nahiolea, father of Kekuanaoa." Ellis saw (1917, p. 126) "many large images, some of wood very much carved, others of red feathers with distended mouths, large rows of shark's teeth and pearl-shell eyes." He adds, "We also saw several bundles, apparently of human bones, cleaned, carefully tied up with cinet made of coconut fibres, and placed in different parts of the house, together with some rich shawls and other valuable articles, probably worn by those to whom the bones belonged...."

Andrew Bloxam's description is as follows: (1925, p. 75).

"Before us were placed two large and curious carved wooden idols, four or five feet high, between which was the altar where the fires were made for consuming the flesh of the victims. On our left were ranged ten or twelve large bundles of tapa each surmounted by a feather or wooden idol, and one with a Chinese mask, these contained the bones of a long succession of kings and chiefs whose names were mentioned there. The floor was strewn with litter, dirt, pieces of tapa, and offerings of every description. In one corner were placed a quantity of human leg and arm bones covered over with tapa. In two other corners were wooden stages, on which were placed

quantities of bowls, calabashes, etc., containing shells, fishhooks, and a variety of other articles; leaning against the wall were several spears, fifteen or sixteen feet in length, a small model of a canoe, two native drums and an English drum in good preservation. This, one of the chiefs took with him. In the sides of the building were stuck several small idols with calabash generally attached to them, one of these we opened and found the skeleton of a small fish, it was there probably the offering of a fisherman."

To this description of Andrew Bloxam we must add the details on his plan, plate 3. Rev. Rowland Bloxam's account (1924 , p. 79-80) is valuable in that it enables us to trace to their present resting place a number of images removed at the time of this visit.

"On one side were arranged several feathered deities protruding their misshapen heads through numberless folds of decayed tapa. Under these folds were deposited the bones of the mighty kings and potent warriors who had formerly hailed these idols as their penates.... after the party had viewed this holy place for some time, our rapacious inclinations began to manifest themselves and after his lordship had taken what he thought proper, the rest began to take an ample\*\*\*\* sanctuary regardless of the punishment attending such shameless sacrilege. Two immense though beautifully carved gods that stood on each side of the stone altar were immediately plucked up and sent down to the boats. I succeeded in appropriating to myself two wooden gods, a feathered deity that covered the bones of Keawe, grandfather of Terreaboo (Kaleiopuu), a beautiful spear and a few other articles within my reach. All the other visitants were equally piously inclined. Having thus gratified our curiosity we returned to the ship laden with the spoils of this heathen temple."

Byron's account of the voyage of the Blonde gives details which are confirmatory and add several items of importance (1826, p. 199):

"On entering the morai we saw on one hand a line of deities made of wicker-work, clothed in fine tapa, now nearly destroyed by time, and adorned with feather helmets and masks, made more hideous by rows of shark's teeth, and tufts of human hair; each differing a little from the other, but all preserving a strong family likeness. Under these the bones of the ancient kings of the islands are said to be deposited; and near them the favorite weapons of deceased chiefs and heroes, their ornaments, and whatever else might have been pleasing to them when alive."

The "two beautifully carved gods that stood on each side of the stone altar" in Hale o Keawe, and which, says Reverend R. R. Bloxam (1924, p. 80) were "plucked up and sent down to the boats" by men of the Blonde expedition, may be seen today, one in the Bishop Museum which came to it in 1924 through the Bloxam family, and the other in the private collection of A.W.F. Fuller who lives in London. See plates 1, 5. The Bloxam image, not counting the pedistal, is 4 feet 5 inches high, the Fuller image is slightly shorter. For a detailed comparison of these two, which Buck thought were made by the same craftsman, see his description in Arts and Crafts of Hawaii (1957, p. 494). M.H. Bloxam, younger brother of Reverend Bloxam, in a speech given on his eightieth birthday, in 1885, speaks of one of the two images as having been in his possession since 1826. This is surely the one he figured in The Mirror in 1826 (p. 210), which is the one now in the Bishop Museum. So we can conclude that this was collected by either Reverend Bloxam or his nephew Andrew Bloxam. However, upon the death of Rev. Bloxam's younger brother, it evidently went out of the hands of the Bloxam family temporarily, as a note added

to the diary of Andrew Bloxam by his son, A. R. Bloxam, says "in possession of Sir H. Berney about 1896 and of A. R. Bloxam in 1914."

The "feather deity that covered the bones of Keawe" which Rev. R. R. Bloxam said he "appropriated" seems to be illustrated by M. H. Bloxam in an engraving in The Mirror of October 7, 1826, (p. 38). See plate 6.

Explaining the engraving M. H. Bloxam, simply says that this image is "one of the feather idols taken out of the morai...which was entered by Lord Byron and his officers." It is more than likely that this image is the one taken by his brother, as he would have had ready access to it.

The article continues with this description, "The idol is composed of wicker work covered with red, black, and yellow feathers...the neck is surrounded by a string of European beads, probably left by Captain Cook."

As with the wooden image, if this had been in M. H. Bloxam's hands also, it could have gone out of the hands of the family upon his death. A feather image recently acquired by the American Museum of Natural History, see plate 7, has such a remarkable resemblance to the one figured by M. H. Bloxam, that I believe we can conclude it is the same, except that

now the image has suffered the loss of its pearl-shell eyes, most if not all of its feathers, and the bead necklace.

Rev. Bloxam seems to have plucked also one of the small idols his nephew Andrew Bloxam mentioned as stuck in the sides of the building, for in Rev. Bloxam's collection illustrated in The Mirror by his brother M. H. Bloxam (1826, p. 217), see plate 8, is a small stick image with a bird-like head surmounted by a cock-comb. This image was acquired by Andrew Bloxam's son, A. R. Bloxam, and in 1949 was returned to Hawaii by Andrew Bloxam's grandson for housing in the Bishop Museum. See plate 9.

A. R. Bloxam evidently desired to obtain the curious helmeted head also figured in Rev. Bloxam's collection, as no. 6, for he had added in ink this note to the bottom of the illustration, "I do not know at all what became of nos. 1, 5, and 6, they may possibly be in the Rugby School Museum to which Mr. Mathew H. Bloxam gave a very large collection of antiques and curios." M. H. Bloxam had evidently acquired the collection upon the death of his brother. In the text for the illustration, the head is described as "covered with stripes of red, blue, and yellow cloth. The eyes are made



of mother-of-pearl and in the mouth are two rows of teeth." We can safely assume this image brought back from the Blonde expedition came from Hale o Keawe also.

Midshipman John Knowles of the Blonde brought to England three images, one naturalistic in form, with human hair pegged into the head, 16 inches high, shown in plate 10, and two stick images, 23.5 inches and 13.5 inches high, shown in plate 11. H. G. Beaseley acquired them in the 1930's for his Cranmore Museum. After his death his collection was distributed among several museums in England. The naturalistic image is now in the British museum, the whereabouts of the other two we do not know as yet.

Undoubtedly some others of all the images taken from the Hale o Keawe survive in public and private collections. Research should result in discovering some of them. An image seven feet, two inches high, counting in its elongated headdress, was picked up in England from a gardenhouse where it had stood for many years, at Old Garden Cliff, near Gravesend, England, and sold in 1920 to the Peabody Museum at Salem, Massachusetts. See plate 12. It is possibly one that stood outside of Hale o Keawe.

From Ellis' remark that the bones in the bundles were carefully tied up with coconut-fibre braid and Byron saying these bundles contained "deities made of wicker-work" under which were the bones of the chiefs, it is very likely that the bones of these deified chiefs in the bundles were encased in woven, sennit caskets moulded over the skull and having pearl-shell eyes, as in the two from the Hale o Liloa, Waipio Valley, Hawaii, shown in plate 13. This was a method of treating the bones of a deified chief known as ku i ke ka'ai (placed in a sennit container). Neither Ellis nor the officers of the Blonde saw the tapa bundles unwrapped, but mention is made of the wrappings being in poor repair, so parts of the woven sennit casing may have been exposed. On the genealogies and belonging to two generations earlier than the Keawe thought to be the founder of Hale o Keawe, there is a Keawe-ku-i-ke-ka'ai, i.e. Keawe-bound-in-sennit, whom Kamakau gives as the original founder in one of his versions (March 10, 1870).

During the life of a high chief consecrated sennit-braid, 'aha, called 'aha kapu, were made for ritualistic purposes. These were given

names and at the death of chief these 'aha were incorporated in his ka'ai, which was then placed in a house called a hale poki. Such a house was Hale o Keawe, this being one of its functions (Kamakau, Au Okoa, Nov. 4, 1869; Malo, 1951, p. 106).

#### The Puuhonua

Ellis' description of how the puuhonua functioned, derived from those who had seen it in the days when it was being used, can be regarded as reliable, as far as it goes. It is our basic document to which we have been able to add little, and so should be quoted in full (1917, pp. 126-128):

"Adjoining the Hare o Keawe to the southward, we found a Pahu tabu (sacred enclosure) of considerable extent, and were informed by our guide that it was one of the puhonuas of Hawaii, of which we had so often heard the chiefs and others speak. There are only two on the island; the one which we were then examining, and another at Waipio, on the north-east part of the island, in the district of Kohala.

These Puhonuas were the Hawaiian cities of refuge, and afforded an inviolable sanctuary to the guilty fugitive, who, when flying from the avenging spear, was so favoured as to enter their precincts.

This had several wide entrances, some on the side next the sea, the others facing the mountains. Hither the manslayer, the man who had broken a tabu, or failed in the observance of its rigid requirements, the thief, and even the murderer, fled from his incensed pursuers, and was secure.

To whomsoever he belonged, and from whatever part he came, he was equally certain of admittance, though liable to be pursued even to the gates of the enclosure.

Happily for him, those gates were perpetually open; and as soon as the fugitive had entered, he repaired to the presence of the idol, and made a short ejaculatory address, expressive of his obligations to him in reaching the place with security.

Whenever war was proclaimed, and during the period of actual hostilities, a white flag was unfurled on the top of a tall spear, at each end of the enclosure, and, until the conclusion of peace, waved the symbol of hope to those who, vanquished in fight, might flee thither for protection. It was fixed a short distance from the walls on the outside, and to the spot on which this banner was unfurled, the victorious warrior might chase his routed foes; but here, he must himself fall back; beyond it he must not advance one step, on pain of forfeiting his life.

The priests, and their adherents, would immediately put to death any one who should have the temerity to follow or molest those who were once within the pale of the pahu tabu; and, as they expressed it, under the shade or protection of the spirit of Keave, the tutelary deity of the place.

In one part of the enclosure, houses were formerly erected for the priests, and others for the refugees, who, after a certain period, or at the cessation of war, were dismissed by the priests, and returned unmolested to their dwellings and families; no one venturing to injure those, who, when they fled to the gods, had been by them protected.

We could not learn the length of time it was necessary for them to remain in the puhonua; but it did not appear to be more than two or three days. After that, they either attached themselves to the service of the priests, or returned to their homes.

The puhonua at Honaunau is capacious, capable of containing a vast multitude of people. In time of war, the females, children, and old people of the neighbouring districts, were generally left within it, while the men went to battle. Here they awaited in safety the issue of the conflict, and were secure against surprise and destruction, in the event of a defeat."

HONAUNAU IN TRANSITION TO THE PRESENT

by

Kenneth P. Emory

After the destruction of Hale o Keawe in 1829, accounts of the ruins at Honaunau were left by various visitors who usually dwelt on the past functions of the sanctuary, mainly basing their remarks on Ellis' account. Their descriptions of the features of the ruins have been taken into consideration in the archaeological section of this report.

The earliest of these visitors was Chester S. Lyman, a missionary stationed at Hilo. He visited Honaunau in 1846 (Typescript in Hawaiian Mission Childrens' Society library under date of December 2, 1846) and left a sketch plan of the ruins (see figure 2 ) and the first recorded note on the tradition of the Kaahumanu Stone. Next came the Rev. Henry T. Cheever, in 1849 (1851, pp. 18-24), who repeats Ellis at length, including his tale of Kalanimoku having fled to the puuhonua after the battle of Mokuohai. Then came Samuel S. Hill in the 1850's (1856, pp. 178-185), whose description of the ruins is so at variance with those

of other observers as to be discounted. However, his remark that the village contained only 40 houses and not more than 100 residents, is indicative of the tremendous decline in population in a quarter of a century.

In 1886 we find Mark Twain at Honaunau (Clemens, 1938, p. 185). His remarks are too superficial to add anything of value to our knowledge of Honaunau, although he is the first one to mention the long stone we know as the Keoua Stone. In 1874 came Bodamm-Whetham (1876, pp. 76-77) whose remarks again based on Ellis, add nothing new. In 1889, W. T. Brigham took a photograph of the village, one of the outside of the great wall of the puuhonua, and one of 'Alealea heiau platform and the inside of the puuhonua, which have proved most useful in evaluating the extent of the restoration of 1902. Also in 1889, D. H. Hitchcock made a rough sketch map of the ruins and listed some of the features, see figure 3. There must have been many Hawaiians who as visitors or residents knew much concerning the area and changes which had taken place in it, but it was not until the restoration attempted in 1902 that an effort was made to

draw on this source and no scholarly effort until 1919, when J. F. G.

Stokes spent April to July at Honaunau village.

History of land ownership. The land section, ahupuaa, of Honaunau, containing some 7120 acres, and running from the sea some ten miles up on the slopes of Mauna Loa, was granted in the Great Mahele, or land division, of 1848, to Miriam Kekauonohi, a granddaughter of Kamehameha I. Her first husband was Keliiahomui, son of King Kaumualii of Kauai, and her second husband was Levi Haalelea, a descendent of the chiefs of Kona, who inherited her property. In 1866 the administrator of the estate of the then deceased Haalelea sold this land at auction of W. C. Jones, agent for Charles Kanaina, the father of Lunalilo. The sum of \$5000.00 bid was not paid, however, and by court order, Charles R. Bishop received the land for this sum, on April 1, 1867. Mr. Bishop seems to have bought the land as a present to his wife, Bernice Pauahi, a most fitting gift, in the light of her direct descent from the chiefs who had maintained the puuhonua. On March 25, 1891, six years after Pauahi's death, Mr. Bishop deeded the land to the Trustees of the Bishop Estate, who in turn leased that portion

occupied by the puuhonua to S. M. Damon, one of their number. Mr. Damon undertook the expense of the restoration of the Great Wall, the Hale o Keawe platform, and the heiau platform of 'Alealea. The work was done under the supervision of W. A. Wall, surveyor, and was based on historic facts and upon traditional knowledge gleaned from local informants.

Since 1921 the County of Hawaii has had under lease from the Bishop Estate the puuhonua proper and the adjoining picnic area, which form a County park. This lease is due to expire in 1961 and negotiations are under way for the U. S. National Park Service to acquire this and adjacent lands.

Adjacent land section, ahupuaa, of Keokea, came to the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate in this wise; it was granted to Kekuanao'a by Kamehameha III in the Great Mahele of 1848 and awarded July 20, 1854. It passed to his daughter Ruth Keelikolani upon his death in 1868. When she died in 1883 by her will Keokea passed to her cousin Bernice Pauahi Bishop.

Tidal wave destruction. Tidal waves have played an important part in the history of Honaunau, as the low lava flats at the head of the bay and bounding its south side, are most vulnerable to an unusual rise in sea level.



The first great heiau platform within the puuhonua area was certainly destroyed by a great tidal wave far back in the beginning of its history. This or a later one, if the great wall had been built later, destroyed at least sixty feet of the west end of the south wall prior to Ellis' visit in 1823. In the time of Stokes' visit, in 1919, he heard the old Hawaiians refer to the Kai mimiki o Naihe, tidal wave of Naihe, as sweeping in from the northwest, crashing on the land, filling the royal fish ponds with stones and sand, flattening out the foundation of Hale o Keawe, breaking down the northern end of the great wall, pouring through Mr. Wright's goat pen within the enclosure, filling in with sand the spring where Keawe's bones were washed and the adjacent Makaloa pool, destroying vegetation and ripping out the soil. This wave is held responsible for wrecking a hundred feet of the west end of the great south wall, of contributing to the chaotic state of the old heiau platform, and of knocking away the whole northwest corner of 'Alealea platform.

Naihe was the chief of South Kona and guardian of the puuhonua until his death in 1831, and it would seem that the connection of his name with

the tidal wave would imply it occurred in his life time. However, from Chester Lyman's plan of the puuhonua in 1846, it is obvious that no such wave had occurred up to that time. It seems possible that Naihe's name was coupled with the tidal waves through the surfing chant glorifying him and beginning "Ku ka nalu, ka nalu nui o Naihe". The wave arises, the great wave of Naihe.

Researches by Stokes have revealed that the island of Hawaii was subjected to two great tidal waves between 1846 and 1900, and some minor ones which could not have caused the major destruction. Of these two great tidal disturbances, one of April 2, 1868 and the other of May 10, 1877, the 1868 wave was not recorded as doing serious damage except on the southeast coast, but the 1877 wave resulted in general damage throughout the islands, in a rise of 15 feet of sea at Kealahou Bay to the north of Honaunau, whereas in 1868 the rise had been 8 feet. Probably both these waves contributed to the damage reported for the "tidal wave of Naihe." The tidal wave of 1946 resulted in breaking down a corner of the Hale o Keawe platform and of the walls around the park approach.

A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE HISTORY AND FUNCTION  
OF THE PUUHONUA AND THE HALE O KEAWE AT HONAUNAU

by

Dorothy Barrere

A reconstruction of the early history of the puuhonua area at Honaunau must of necessity be based mainly on traditional knowledge, which is very fragmentary, and much of it seemingly contradictory. What fragments there are have been placed within a framework of the history of the island itself, its chiefs, their inheritances, and their wars. Once this framework was set up, many of the seemingly contradictory bits of information became evidence of the changes in the area, and found a place. With the observances of early explorers and visitors, tradition becomes history, although their interpretations of some details may not have been correct. Based on fragments of tradition, genealogical tracing, and archaeological evidence, it appears that the area had three main phases of construction. First was built an open platform heiau, the ruins of which are now called the "old heiau platform"; second the heiau of 'Alealea, and

third the heiau Hale o Keawe, with the Great Wall being built during either the first or second phase of construction. On the basis of the genealogies it was more probably during the second.

There is not even fragmentary tradition of the establishment of the original puuhonua. However, concepts of refuge were part of Polynesian culture and we may be sure that the chiefs of Hawaii had only adapted a custom known to their progenitors. We turn to the genealogies to find a chief early in the history of Hawaii who would have been in a position to establish or maintain the sanctity of a puuhonua by virtue of his uncontested right to rule his kingdom, in this case, Kona. We find such a chief in 'Ehu-kai-malino, contemporary with Liloa. A genealogical count of 25 years to a generation would place Liloa and 'Ehu about 1475 A.D.

Traditions of Liloa are fairly full and we find him the acknowledged

(November 3, 1870)  
supreme chief of the island of Hawaii. Kamakau (A) says, "The other

chiefs all around Hawaii remained under his rule and placed their sons

under Liloa. It was customary in the olden days for some chiefs to serve

others...one of his chiefs [was] named Laea-nui-kau-manamana, the son of

'Ehu-kai-malino, ruling chief of Kona, Hawaii." During Liloa's reign there was peace, and 'Ehu's puuhonua, if there was such, would probably have been used in its simplest form, that of a sanctuary for one who had broken a kapu and could flee there to place himself under its protection. The ruins of the old heiau platform may date from this time as the site of the original puuhonua heiau.

It appears that a ruling chief of a kingdom could and did declare certain lands or heiau as places of refuge. As long as he held undisputed power, these puuhonua were in force. However, if subjugated, the conqueror might abolish the existing puuhonua and designate others, or he might reaffirm the sanctity of the already established puuhonua. Thus we find places on Hawaii and the other islands with traditions of having been puuhonua but with no record of when they were established or when discontinued. If 'Ehu had a puuhonua at Honaunau, it may have been abolished after 'Umi, the son of Liloa, brought all Hawaii under his sway, but it is equally possible that 'Umi would have maintained this area as the puuhonua for the Kona district. There is no mention of the puuhonua at Honaunau in

traditional history until the time of Keawe-ku-i-ke-ka'ai, four generations after 'Umi. By this time the line of inheritance of the Kona chiefs was firmly established in the descendants of 'Umi through his son Keawe-nui-a-'Umi, who controlled Kona, Kohala and Ka-'u. 'Umi's descendants through another son, Kumalae-nui-a-'Umi, controlled Hilo, Hamakua and Puna. The Keawe-ku-i-ke-ka'ai mentioned above was a son of Keakealani-kane, ruler of Kona, Kohala and Ka-'u three generations after 'Umi. This Keawe is credited by one tradition as being the builder of the puuhonua and the Hale o Keawe. All other traditions state that the Hale o Keawe was built for Keawe-i-kekahi-alii-o-ka-moku, two generations after Keawe-ku-i-ke-ka'ai. Kamakau (March 10, 1870; February 2, 1871) himself gives both traditions <sup>A</sup> (p. 11). Again, genealogy will support the archaeological evidence, the latter being that the Great Wall of the puuhonua originally extended to the edge of the water and that a portion of it was removed for the building of the Hale o Keawe. Thus we may accept both traditions, saying that Keawe-ku-i-ke-ka'ai reconstructed the old puuhonua by building 'Alealea heiau platform and possibly the Great Wall, and that the Hale o Keawe was built for Keawe-i-kekahi-alii-o-ka-moku, circa 1650 A.D.

The Hale o Keawe was undoubtedly erected either by or for Keawe-i-kekahi-alii-o-ka-moku, as a depository for his and certain other chiefs' bones. Its function was more than that of a depository for bones, however, as it is specifically called a heiau and the appurtenances of a heiau such as images and altars are mentioned in the traditions. Its chief function as a heiau was that, through deification of the chiefs whose bones were deposited there, the sanctity and inviolability of the puuhonua were placed under their supernatural protection as well as the physical protection of the enclosure and the priests. The Hale o Keawe, also called Ka-iki-'Alealea, the little 'Alealea, was a heiau from Keawe's time and the use of 'Alealea as the heiau for the puuhonua was probably discontinued upon its establishment. Supporting this statement are, the transference of the name 'Alealea, and the modern day traditions collected by Stokes in 1919 as 'Alealea being a place for the chiefs to use and enjoy rather than being a heiau, or sacred place for ceremonial worship.

If the above evidence is accepted, we find the puuhonua at Honaunau having been in existence and perhaps in continuous use for some three hundred

years. The functioning of the puuhonua as a place of refuge ended upon the overthrow of the kapu system in 1819, but the Hale o Keawe was revered and maintained as the depository of the bones of the chiefs interred there until 1829, when Kaahumanu ordered its destruction.

Apart from traditional history we find legendary material on the puuhonua which throws some light on its function. In the legend of Kamiki (Ke Au Hou, Sept. 13, 20, 1911) is a narrative of the acts of a priest upon the entrance of a refugee. The detail in which this is told implies a traditional knowledge of ancient rites and functions, and the prayer purportedly offered by the priest so in keeping with other recorded prayers that it may have been an actual prayer used by the priests at the heiau of the puuhonua in Kona in calling upon the gods.

In the story, Kamiki and his brother Kamaka'iole approach the puuhonua area at a time when an 'aha kapu, a ceremonial rite for the gods, has been announced and the sacred drums are being sounded. All those within hearing are required to prostrate, yet Kamiki and his brother continue walking. They are reprimanded by the watchmen for remaining upright. Kamiki replies



that while he is fully aware of the kapu requiring prostration when the sacred drums of the gods are sounded, having seen the guards standing, he thought the drums were merely being sounded for the entertainment of the chief Honaunau-ihi-kapu-maka-o-ka-lani. His excuse is not accepted and the guards attack the brothers with clubs, but the two overcome them. The chief, hearing of this, sends his executive officer Uia to take the boys prisoners and conduct them to the place where they are to be tried. As Uia and his company surround them, Kamiki and Kamaka'iole escape, running swiftly into the heiau and prostrating themselves before a kahuna. Uia demands that the boys be turned over to him to be taken before the chief, but the kahuna refuses, saying, "This is a puuhonua and is kapu for those who seek refuge and the sparing of life here." Uia repeats his demand, adding that he will step in with his warriors and destroy them all, whereupon the kahuna retorts: "Are you crazy? Don't you know this is a puuhonua? Do you want the wrath of the gods to descend because of the shedding of blood within the sacred walls?" Uia, acknowledging that he may not enter, again asks that the boys be sent outside, and the kahuna replies, "That cannot be done. They have entered the place of protection

and cannot be sent out to be killed. The chief knows this, and it is well understood by those under you. Why then do you want to trespass against the kapu of the gods?" Frustrated, Uia and his men retire. The kahuna, acknowledging that Kamiki and his brother are now under the protection of the puuhonua, calls out the names of certain gods in prayer. These names are significant as indicative of the 'aumakua, or ancestral, gods of the chiefs of Kona, who were per se the gods of the puuhonua. The prayer given is as follows:

Kane-hekili - Kane of the thunder  
Kane-wawahi-lani - Kane the sky breaker  
Kane-i-ka-pualena - Kane of the dawn  
Kane-i-ka-malamalama - Kane of the brightness  
Kane-i-koli-hana-a-ka-la - Kane of the cutting through of the sun  
Kane-i-ka-molehulehu - Kane of the dusk  
Kane-i-ka-wana'ao - Kane of the early morning  
Kane-i-ka-pule - Kane of prayers  
Kane-i-ka-makaukau - Kane of preparedness  
Kane-kii - Kane who fetches  
Kane-haka - Kane who gazes  
Kane-i-ka-makahi-o-lele - Kane of the eyes darting everywhere  
Kane-lele - Kane of the leap  
Kane-koa - Kane of the brave

Kane-kaka'a - Kane of the roll  
 Kane-i-kokala - Kane in the kokala fish  
 Kane-i-ko-kea - Kane of the white sugar cane  
 Kane-i-kaulana-'ula - Kane the famous red one  
 Kane-huli-honua - Kane overturner of the earth  
 Kane-huna-moku - Kane of the hidden island  
 Kane-ki'ei - Kane the peerer  
 Kane-halo - Kane who peers over and downwards  
 Kane-'ohi'ohi - Kane of the talkative  
 Kane-milo-hai - Kane of the milo offering  
 Kane-ne'ene'e - Kane who hitches along  
 Kane-i-ahu-aa - Kane of plentiful air  
 Kane-i-ka-pohaka'a - Kane of the rolling stone  
 Kane-holo-pali - Kane of the cliff runner or slider  
 Kane-ulupo - Kane who inspires while it is night  
 Kane-i-ka-'onohi-o-ka-la - Kane in the eyeball of the sun  
 Kane-i-ka-pua'ena'ena - Kane the red hot  
 Kane-i-ka-molimoli-aloa - Kane who inspires a feeling of nostalgic  
 Kane-nui-akea - Kane the all encompassing; longing,  
 Ka 'ike nui, ka 'ike mana - Of great knowledge, knowledge of mana,  
 Ka mana nui, ka mana palena 'ole - Great mana, mana without limit.  
 O Kanaloa, O Ku  
 O Lono-honua-mea - Lono of the sacred earth;  
 O Pele-ka-wahine-'ai-la'au - Pele the tree consuming woman  
 O Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele - Hi'iaka in the bosom of Pele

O Meheanu - goddess who strikes a chill  
 O Wahine-luanu'u - Woman of the highest platform  
 Ka-wahine-i-ka'e-o-kapuahi - The woman beside the fireplace  
 O Ka-ula-ke-ahi - goddess of the flames;  
 O Luahine-kaikapu - Old woman creeping with age  
 O Ka-hina-a-ola - The leaning-toward-life  
 O Ka-la-mai-nu'u - The sunlight from the high place;  
 O Ka-maunu-i-hala-ka-ipo - The bait that catches the sweetheart.

[From Pele through Kaulakeahi are fire goddesses; the next three are mo'o goddesses.]

The islands darken,  
 The sky, the earth, darken,  
 The land, the sea, darken;  
 Sacred is the sky,  
 Sacred is the foundation of the earth,  
 It is hot; there is an extension of life.  
 Sacred! Prostrate! Prostrate to the kapu!  
 The kapu flies away,  
 It is concluded; it is freed.

[Translation by Pukui]

The incident in the story of Kamiki supposedly takes place in the time of the chief whose name, shortened to Honaunau, has been that of the land from time immemorial. As related, it well fits traditional information as to the puuhonua being a place of refuge from ancient times, the extreme

invulnerability of its kapus, the presence of watchmen or guards to enforce its sanctity, and the presence there of priests to perform religious rites and ceremonies.

The use of the puuhonua enclosure as a refuge for the vanquished in time of war is known, and a recorded instance in history is quoted from Ellis (1917, p. 109):

"As soon as the death of Kauikeaouli [i.e. Kiwala-'o] was known, a panic spread through his men, and they quickly fled in every direction. Many jumped into the sea, and swam to some canoes lying off the place, and the rest fled to the mountains or the adjoining puuhonua [sic] (place of refuge) at Honaunau, about four miles distant. Among these was Karaimoku [Kalanimoku], then a youth, now principal chief in the Sandwich Islands."

Of most of the features within the puuhonua walls, no true history is recorded. The so-called "women's heiau," erroneously called Akahipapa through an early misinterpretation of translation, may not have been a heiau at all, but only a place of seclusion for the chiefly women during their periods of haumia (uncleanliness). The ko'a, or fishing shrine, was a common feature of the seashore and would not have merited even traditional memory of its builder. The presence of a stone slab pitted with holes for

the game of konane bears out the supposition that 'Alealea had been discontinued as the ceremonial heiau for the area, for such stones were common at or near chiefly residences. 'Alealea, according to one informant in ms. a, Lo'e 1919 (Stokes, ^) was "a place for the chiefly child 'Alealea." Just who this 'Alealea was, the informant did not know, and this name has not been found in any genealogy searched to date. In 1919 all Stokes' informants agreed that 'Alealea had been a heiau, and also a place for the gathering of chiefs. A later informant, Pannu, a nephew of Lo'e, in 1957 described 'Alealea as being "the place of the kahuna lapa'au (doctors)" who, he said, raised medicinal plants and cared for the wounds of those who fled from battle.

Two of the large stones adjacent to 'Alealea platform are named, the one on the north side being called the Keoua Stone and the one propped up with smaller stones near the southeast corner being called the Kaahumanu Stone. Informants have not been consistent as to which Keoua the stone was named for, Keoua Kuahu'ula or Keous-kupu-a-pa-i-ka-lani. This latter Keoua was the accredited father of Kamehameha, and the high chief of Kona whose bones, deposited in a cave in the Ka'awaloa Bay cliff wall gave that section

the name "Ka Pali Kapu o Keoua, The Sacred Cliff of Keoua." It was un-  
doubtedly he for whom the stone was named, as the other Keoua, Keoua  
Kuahu'ula, son of Kalani'opu'u, was the Ka-'u chief who precipitated the  
war between Kamehameha and Kiwala-'o and who was years later killed and  
sacrificed by Kamehameha at the heiau of Pu'u Kohola in Kawaihae, Kohala.

The naming of the Kaahumahu Stone commemorates a traditional story of  
Kaahumahu fleeing from Kamehameha's wrath after a quarrel and is told in  
another section of this report. The stone itself may at one time have

ms. a, Kaloko  
been an object of worship, as one informant so stated in 1919 (Stokes, W.)

Of the Hale o Keawe comparatively much tradition and history has been  
June 5, 1869  
preserved, although its actual builder is not known for certain. Ii (A) is  
vague on this detail, saying merely, "It may have been Alapa'i and all the  
chiefs of Kona who built the Hale o Keawe as a depository for the bones of  
Keawe. It must have been built either while Keawe was alive, or soon after

February 2, 1871  
that." One of Kamakau's versions (A) says, "One noted thing that was  
said of Keawe [Keawe-i-kekahi-alii-o-ka-moku] was that he built a house to  
contain the remains of the chiefs of Mounaunau, Hawaii, called Hale o Keawe.  
When Keawe died, his bones were enclosed in a wicker container, ka'ai.

Those while were so enclosed were said to be in the ka'ai (ku i ke ka'ai)."

March 10, 1870

In an earlier version Kamakau ( ) had said, "Keawe-ku-i-ke-ka'ai...was

the one who built these places of refuge at Honaunau and the house to hold

the bones of the chiefs. Because the other Keawe [Keawe-i-kekahi-alii-o-

ka-moku] was a great chief and had his bones woven fast in basketwork like

Keawe-ku-i-ke-ka'ai and laid in the place of refuge built by Keawe-ku-i-ke-

ka'ai, the heiau was called Hale o Keawe." 1917, p.124 Ellis ( ) visited the puuhonua

at Honaunau in 1823 and includes this statement in his description: "The

principal object that attracted our attention, was the Hare o Keawe, (the

House of Keawe), a sacred depository of the bones of departed kings and

princes, probably erected for the reception of the bones of the king whose

name it bears, and who reigned in Hawaii about eight generations back."

1880, p. 131

Fornander ( ), whose information was received some fifty years later than

Ellis, says, "Keawe [Keawe-i-kekahi-alii-o-ka-moku] had a son, Kamaha, who

is said to have built the city of refuge, the 'puu-honua', known as the

Hale o Keawe, at Honaunau in the South Kona district."

We have already touched briefly on the building of the Hale o Keawe,

discounting Keawe-ku-i-ke-ka'ai as its original builder on the basis of



archaeological and genealogical findings substantiating the building of the Hale o Keawe at a later time than the puuhonua wall. All other accounts agree in respect to placing its building at the time of Keawe-i-kekahi-alii-o-ka-moku. Regardless of who actually built it, the Hale o Keawe was a heiau from its inception, since it is established that the bones therein were objects of deification and worship. Also, no bones of women were deposited there, which would have been the case if it had been established merely as a resting place for the bones of a family.

July 6, 1867

Kamakau (X) states that Kamehameha "established as heiaus for human sacrifices...Hale o Keawe and the puuhonua." Traditions of events antedating Kamehameha's time of supremacy over Hawaii indicate that human sacrifices were offered there earlier. Perhaps Kamakau meant that Kamehameha enlarged the functions of the Hale o Keawe to include ceremonies necessitating the sacrificing of humans as part of the rites. If so, he is alone in his contention, as all other accounts give the Hale o Keawe as a heiau where human sacrifices were offered, but not that they were required. Human sacrifices other than those required by the ritual of a particular ceremony

were placed on the altars of various heiaus, the victims for the most part being violators of important kapus.

The first human sacrifice made at the Hale o Keawe, if we are to credit tradition (ms. a Io'e Stokes, A.), was that of Keawe 'Ai, a near and trusted relative of Keawe-i-kokahi-ali'i-o-ka-moku, who offered himself at the time of its erection to give the building itself mana. An historical account of a human sacrifice is related by Laura Fish Judd (1928, pp.76-77) telling of the breaking of a kapu by the chiefess Kapi'olani and a girl companion, who ate of a variety of banana forbidden to women: "They concealed the fruit as well as they could with the palm of the hand and thumb, and rushed into the sea to bathe and eat the forbidden fruit. An eagle-eyed priest discovered them; they were tried for the ungodly deed and condemned to suffer the penalty, which was poverty, loss of rank, and to remain unmarried. This they must suffer, unless suitable expiation could be made. The priest suggested the sacrifice of a little boy, a favorite page of Kapiolani's as a suitable offering. He was immediately seized and carried to the sacred inclosure at Hoonanau (sic), and was seen no more. Kapiolani called for

the same old priest to come and sit by her, and say what he now thought of those proceedings...Kapiolani asked him what he did with the boy. 'He was strangled on the altar,' said he."

Chamberlain's Memorandum (see Appendix) made at the time of the removal of the bones in 1829 mentions other sacrifices in connection with the Hale o Keawe, but the information he received is too akin to known exaggerations of the early converts in discussing their idolatrous past with the missionaries to admit of complete acceptance. It has been estimated that if Chamberlain's account were true, the number of victims sacrificed at the time of its building would have been more than eighty, surely an implausible number when the building of a heiau to Ku, the most exacting of Hawaiian rites, required only two or three (Malo, 1951, pp.159-176). It may have been an early misinterpretation of Chamberlain's memorandum that attributed these sacrifices to the Hale o Keawe as the passage itself is ambiguous and may have referred instead to the Hale o Liloa at Waipio, Hawaii. In the latter case, the same argument holds true against its acceptance. The report of the sacrifices purportedly made during the

preparation of the ka'ai, or basket containers for the bones may also be dismissed as unlikely. Ka'ai containers were long used in Hawaii, as we learn from Kamakau (A) and Malo (p. 106), but there is no report of the necessity of human sacrifice in their making. The value of Chamberlain's memorandum, and it is great, lies in the list of those chiefs whose bones had been interred at the Hale o Keawe, as will be detailed later.

Near the Hale o Keawe, at Kauwalomali, was the site of the first meeting of Kamehameha and Kiwala-'o after the death of Kalani'opu'u, grandson of Keawe-i-kekahi-ali'i-o-ka-moku. Kalaniopuu was first the high chief of Ka-'u, and later ruler of Hawaii from a date some years previous to Captain Cook's arrival in 1778 until his death in 1782. Kalani'opu'u had willed the government to his son, Kiwala-'o, and the care of the god Ku Ka'ili-moku, frequently referred to as Ka'ili, to his nephew Kamehameha. Soon after Kalani'opu'u's death in Ka-'u, the customary redistribution of his lands was made by the heir Kiwala-'o, under counsel from his uncle Keawe-a-ma'u-hili. The dissatisfaction of some chiefs over this redivision of the lands was the basic cause of the war between Kamehameha and Kiwala-'o, resulting in the latter's death and the break-up of the unified kingdom

left by Kalani'opu'u. The fullest accounts of this meeting of Kamehameha and Kiwala-'o are found in the newspapers Ka Na'i Aupuni (Jan. 13, 1906) and Ka Hoku o Hawaii (Aug. 25, 1921) and obviously both came from intimate traditions of Kona people, as they carry such detail as could only come from such localized sources.

The funeral cortege of Kalani'opu'u, having left Ka-'u aboard canoes, puts in at Monamau to deposit the body of the dead king in the Hale o Keawe. The corpse is borne ashore and temporarily laid in a halau, a long shed-like building, outside the wall in order that the chiefs and people may approach to mourn him. Keawe-a-ma'u-hili, mentioned before, another grandson of Keawe-i-kekahi-alii-o-ka-moku and half brother of Kalani'opu'u, announces that the last wish of the dead king was that his body be brought to Kona and "given over to Kanuha to care for." This Kanuha was of the Moana branch of the Kona ruling family and is repeatedly referred to as "the arbiter of life and death, ka ilamuku o ke ola me ka make." On the evening of the next day, Kalani'opu'u is laid within the Hale o Keawe and Kamehameha arrives to mourn his uncle and to perform the

'awa ceremony for his cousin Kiwala-'o, which was his duty as keeper of the god Ka'ili. This ceremony was to purify Kiwala-'o from contamination of association with the corpse. There follows in the original texts a detailed account of the preparation of the 'awa, the kinds of water used for mixing with it, and the prayer uttered by Kamehameha as he prepares the 'awa for the gods. As in the case of the Kamiki episode told earlier, the wealth of detail betrays an intimate knowledge of the old rites. The first portion of the prayer offered by Kamehameha is identical with that offered at 'awa ceremonies witnessed by Pukui, differing only in the name of the god. On this occasion, Kamehameha offers the 'awa first to Ku, the all-embodying god of which the god Ka'ili was a part. As he purifies the 'awa by sprinkling it with sea water, there is a section describing various aspects of the sea, in keeping with a common device in Hawaiian prayers to produce a sonorous and impelling impact by repetition. Then follows the names of other gods, those who had the power to remove contamination, and the 'aumakua gods of the offerer. Again, as in the Kamiki prayer, the Kane gods predominate. The prayer follows:

Eia ka 'awa e ke akua,	Here is 'awa o god,
He 'awa lani wale no;	Choicest 'awa only;
He 'ai na ke kamaiki;	Food from the child [the offerer];
Inu aku i ka 'awa lau-lani,	Drink of the prized leafed 'awa,
I ka 'awa a Kane i kanu i Kahiki,	Of the 'awa of Kane, planted in Kahiki,
A ulu, a lau, a 'o'o no i Kahiki,	Which grew, leafed, and matured in Kahiki,
A ka ia a'e la a mama 'ia no i ka waha.	From him who has chewed it in his mouth.
Ku i ke kahe'e i ka 'apu.	(It) stands ready to be poured.
O Hoaka-i-lani ka 'aina ola,	O heavenly beings whose shadows fall upon the land of the living,
Ia kini akua,	To the myriad gods,
Ia 'oe ho'i e Ku, ua ola ho'i.	To you, o Ku, you who are life.
Eia ke kai ku, ke kai ala, ke kai ola,	Here is the still sea, the rising sea, the living sea,
Ke kai pupule, ke kai hohena, ke kai ulala,	The crazy sea, the insane sea, the un- balanced sea,
Kai 'aumakua, kai nu'u, kai ea,	Ancestral sea, billowy sea, rising sea,
Kai po'i, kai io'ena, ke kai pili'aku e,	Crashing sea, wrathful sea, overwhelming sea,
Ua puni.	Which surrounds us.
Ua puni ho'i na moku i ke kai,	The islands are surrounded by the sea,
O hu'ahu'a kai wale, o napanape ka wai;	Everywhere is the foam of the sea, the water ripples;
O ka wai 'eli a ke koena.	This is the water [to mix with the 'awa] and what remains of it.

O ke au miki, a o ke au ka,

Au ka i uka, a au ka i kai,

I ka 'ale'i, ai ka 'ale moe,

I ka 'ale hokai ho'ie,

I Kahiki e.

O ka lana a Kahiki,

A hiki he nei make.

Ia 'oe la e Lono;

Ia Ku-i-ke-kala;

Ia Lono-i-ka-'uweke;

Ia Kane-i-ka-poha-ka'a,

Ho'oka'a 'ia mai i ke alo o ka  
moku,

Eia ka 'awa la.

Ia Kane-hoa-lani, huli mai ko  
ka lani,

Ia Kane-lu-honua, lu mai ko ka  
honua,

Ia Kane-huli-ko'a, huli mai na  
ko'a 'aina a me na ko'a kai,

Ia Kane-i-ka-wai-ola, huli mai  
ke kai me ka wai,

Ia Kane-i-ka-poha-ka'a, ke ho'oko  
aku nei wau i ka 'awa.

Ia Lono-makua, pau loa na  
'aumakua a me ke akua,

O receding current, O rising current,

O current that runs ashore, that runs  
back into the sea,

O rising billow, flattening billow,

O billow that mingles and rises again,

At Kahiki.

O float there at Kahiki,

Arrive there and be still.

Hearken O Lono;

O Ku-the-releaser;

To Lono-who-opens;

O Kane-of-the-rolling-stone,

Roll hither to the presence of the moku,  
[i.e., Kiwala-'o]

Here is the 'awa.

Hearken Kane-companion-of-heaven, turn  
hither those of heaven,

O Kane-earth-shaker, shake hither those  
of the earth,

O Kane-the-coral-overturmer, turn hither  
the land coral and the sea coral,

O Kane-of-the-water-of-life, turn hither  
the sea and the waters,

O Kane-of-the-rolling-stone, I am fulfilling  
(the ritual of) the 'awa (ceremony).

O parent Lono, all the 'aumakua and great  
gods,



Hele wale o ke alaloa.

Go (thou) on the long trail.

Ua noa ka 'awa la,

The 'awa (ceremony) has been made free,

E ho'i ke kapu a na pae-niho  
o 'oukou;

Let the kapu return to you (lit. to  
your rows of teeth);

'Amama, ua noa ka 'awa.

'Amama, the 'awa (ceremony) is freed  
(from kapu).

[Pukui translation]

The sequel of events following this 'awa ceremony is a recorded part  
(Fornander, 1880, pp.303-312)  
of Hawaii's history. Some chiefs, including Keoua Kuahu'ula, are dis-  
gruntled over the reapportioning of the king's lands, and the Kona chiefs  
are smarting from an insult delivered them by Keawe-a-ma'u-hili at the  
conclusion of his announcement concerning the disposition of Kalani'opu'u's  
body. Keoua, with the intent of setting Kamehameha and Kiwala-'o at odds,  
performs an act of war by cutting down coconut trees belonging to Kamehameha  
and killing some of his men. These victims he sends to Kiwala-'o, in the  
hope that, by accepting them as offerings for the gods, Kiwala-'o will  
thereby sanction his actions and arouse Kamehameha's ire. His hope is  
realized, and Kiwala-'o does offer the dead men to the gods. The live  
captives whom Keoua also sent, Kiwala-'o has put to death, and they are

"offered together by him on the lele of the heiau of Honaunau, to be, perhaps, 'companions in death, moe pu'u', for his chiefly father who was lying in the Hale o Keawe."

Moe pu'u were a customary feature of Hawaiian culture. On the death of a high chief, some through love of their chief died voluntarily so that their spirits would accompany that of the chief's, to serve him in the afterworld. Again, there were involuntary moe pu'u, the victims being put to death in order that the chief would not lack for servers in the spirit world. However, the account of the moe pu'u offered by Kiwala-'o (Ka Hoku o Hawaii, Sept. 22, 1921) is the only instance we know of that moe pu'u were offered on a heiau altar.

Although written traditions have been clear that Kalani'opu'u's corpse was placed in the Hale o Keawe (Remy, 1862. pp. 95-99.), its removal long before the destruction of the house appears certain. A Ka-'u tradition by Fukui has it that after some lapse of time Kalani'opu'u's own sons and kahus took his remains back to Ka-'u and placed them in a cave "either at Molilele or at Pohina cliffs." This is in keeping with a published record

of burial caves (Ke Au Hou, July 5, 1911) saying: "The secret cave at Pohina, Ka-'u: It is believed that the bones of Kalani'opu'u were carried back to this place after Kiwala-'o was killed by Kamehameha I at Keomo." Traditions of the depositing of Kalani'opu'u's body at Honaunau imply that this was but a ruse on the part of Keawe-a-ma'u-hili to obtain more Kona lands for his faction in the redistribution of lands, since it was the custom that wherever a departed ruler's funeral cortege passed, those lands would be considered as belonging to his immediate heirs. When plans were set at naught by Keoua's impetuous act which precipitated war, it is reasonable that the Ka-'u chiefs would take Kalani'opu'u's corpse back again to his own land to be deposited there.

In 1884 Edward Smithies, Deputy Sheriff of Ka-'u, was requested by King Kalakaua to obtain what information he could concerning Kalani'opu'u's bones, and from his letter to the King of October 27, 1884, is quoted:

"I have made enquiries of Wm. Thompson respecting bones of Hawaiian Chiefs as you requested, and I have elicited the following information, viz; that he Wm. Thompson had learned from Keawe and Kaianui (both deceased) that the bones of Kalaniopu and Kaiana were deposited in a cave near Honuapo, the entrance to which was a mile or more inland. That the ancients entered

and traveled with lights (kukui) toward the sea until they arrived at the Pali of Pohina where, midway from the top of the pali there was a very small hole not large enough for a person to pass, but just sufficient size to admit the light of the sun, that the pali was concave from the top to the bottom, i.e. the top projects out far over the sea which washes the perpendicular bluff below. As the pali is of prodigious height and the sea at the base very deep, the approach that way to the small hole would be impossible. There is no one now living that knows of the mauka entrance to the cave. The top can be seen from the Government Road which passes very near the sea. The above is all the information that I have been able to obtain up to the present time..."

And finally, an extract from the Report of the Board of Genealogy of Hawaiian Chiefs, Honolulu, 1844, states: "The cave at Waiakea, Hilo... and the Cave of Pohina, Ka-'u, where [are] the remains of Kalani'opu'u and others of historic fame have been but partially explored."

The Hale o Keawe, we learn from John Ii, was regularly visited by Liholiho during his journeys to the various heiau of Hawaii as his father Kamehameha's representative to attend to prescribed rituals to replenish and maintain the mana inherent in them. Because Ii left the only known eye witness account of the Hale o Keawe at the time it was still functioning, his account is quoted in full:

"The Hale o Keawe in Honaunau was called Ka-iki-'Alealea (The little 'Alealea), and was a puuhouua. Kaikiholu and Paka'alana on Hawaii, Kaka'e in Iao, Maui, Kukaniloko in Wahiawa, Oahu, and Holoholoku in Wailua, Kauai, were also places to which one who had killed could run swiftly and be saved. The person whose writing this is often went about them, including the Hale o Keawe. He has seen this house (hale 'aumakua iwi) where the bones were deposited, standing majestically on the left (or south) side of Akahipapa. The house stood by the entrance of a wooden enclosure, with door facing inland towards the farming lands of South Kona.

"The heir to the kingdom entered the Hale o Keawe during his journey around to the various luakini heiau of Kanoa in Hilo, Waha'ula in Puna, and Punalu'u in Ka'u. The journey began in Kailua, thence to Kawaihae, and from there on around the island to the Hale o Keawe. The appearance of the house was good. Its posts and rafters were of kaula wood, and it was said that this kind of timber was found in the upland of Napu'u. It was well built, with crossed stems of dried ti leaves, for that was the kind of thatching used. The appearance inside and outside of the house was good to look at. The compact bundles of bones (puku'i iwi) that were deified (ho'oakua 'ia) were in a row there in the house, beginning with Keawe's near the right side of the door by which one went in and out, and going to the spot opposite the door (ku'ono).

"At the right front corner of the house where the unwrapped bones of those who had died in war, heaped up like firewood. In that pile of bones were the bones of Mahiolea, father of M. Kekuanao'a. The person whose writing this is saw his own father remove his tapa shoulder covering and

place it on a bundle among the other bundles of bones. He must have asked the caretaker about all of them and their names, and they were told to him. That was why he did so. When the writer saw his father doing this he asked, 'Have we a near kinsman in this house?' His father assented. There are some people who have relatives in this house of "life", but perhaps most of them are dead. The chiefs were descended from Haloa and so were their retainers (kauwa kupo). The chiefs were born, such as Lono-i-ka-makahiki and Kama-lala-walu and so on down, and so were the retainers [i.e., the junior members of the family.]

"After the chief 'Iolani (Liholiho) had finished his visit to the house, a pig was cooked and the gathering sat to worship (ho'omana) the deified persons there. When that was done, the chief and those who went in with him ate together. After the eating was over, the kapu was removed. The travellers left the Hale o Keawe and sailed by canoe, landing at Kamakahonu in Kailua in the evening. There they met Kamehameha. That must have been in the year 1817."

The next recorded visit is that of Ellis in 1823, and two years later, that of officers and men of the H.M.S. Blonde, which had carried back to Hawaii the bodies of Liholiho and his queen Kamamalu who had died in London. Their accounts are quoted elsewhere in this report. Laura Fish Judd (p. 35) left the next historical record of a visit to the Hale o Keawe,

the first time women had ever entered the sacred precincts. Because Mrs. Judd's account of this visit is placed in juxtaposition to her account of their trip to Waimea, earlier writers have been led to quote the date of 1829 for her visit to the Hale o Keawe. A check of contemporary journals, however, discloses that these two trips to Hawaii were separated by over a year, and that Mrs. Judd was first at Ka'awaloa on September 13, 1828, returning to Honolulu on October 3, 1828. It was sometime during this three-week interval that she accompanied Kapi'olani to the Hale o Keawe, which she describes as follows:

"It was during this residence at Kaawaloa that we visited the old 'heiau,' or temple, at Hoonau (sic), in company with Naihe and Kapi'olani. It was then surrounded by an enclosure of hideous idols carved in wood, and no woman had ever been allowed to enter its consecrated precincts. Our heroic Kapiolani led the way, and we entered the enclosure. It was a sickening scene that met our eyes. The dead bodies of chiefs were placed around the room in a sitting posture, the unsightly skeletons mostly concealed in folds of kapa, or rich silk. The blood-stained altar was there, where human victims had been immolated to idol gods. Fragments of offerings were strewn about. Kapiolani was much affected and wept, but her husband was stern and silent. I thought he was not quite rid of the old superstition in regard to women.

"A few months after our visit Kaahumanu came and ordered all the bones buried, and the house and fence entirely demolished. She gave some of the timber, which was spear-wood (kauwila), to the missionaries, and told them to make it into canes and contribution boxes, to send to their friends."

Samuel Ruggles, the missionary who accompanied Kaahumanu when she had the bones removed, apparently left no first hand account of the event.

1847.

Hiram Bingham, however, reports it as follows (p. 426):

"The zeal of Kaahumanu led her as early as 1829 to visit the Hale o Keawe at Honaunau, a cemetery associated with dark superstitions, and surrounded with horrid wooden images of former generations. The regent visited the place not to mingle her adorations with her early contemporaries and predecessors to the relics of departed mortals, but for the purpose of removing the bones of twenty-four deified kings and princes of the Hawaiian race, and consigning them to oblivion. But at that time she thought Naihe was wavering in respect to their removal, and Kekauluchi, whose father's bones were there, she thought still cherished an undue veneration for them; and Boki she feared would treat her with abuse and violence if she should disturb the house or remove its mass of relics. But when she saw it ought to be done, she determined it should be done: and in company with Mr. Ruggles and Kapiolani, she went to the sacred deposit, and caused the bones to be placed in large coffins and entombed in a cave in the precipice at the head of Kealakekua Bay. In doing this she found an expensive article of foreign manufacture, comparatively new, placed near the bones of the father of



Kekauluohi, and which appeared to have been presented as an offering since the date of the prohibition of the worship of idols."

By way of explanation we add that Kekauluohi's father was Kala'imamahu, half brother of Kamehameha through the same father; Kapi'olani, daughter of Keawe-a-ma'u-hili, is the same chiefess mentioned before and of historic fame as the defier of Pele; Naihe, her husband, was the son of Keawe-a-Heulu, and had inherited his father's position as a councillor to Kamehameha. Of Naihe, Judd says (p. 75) he was "guardian of those old tombs of kings and chieftans, which is an honorable and sacred trust."

Kamakau (June 13, 1868) reports the visit of Kaahumanu thus:

"The year 1828 is notable for the visit of Kaahumanu to Hawaii to...attempt the recovery of the bones of Lilinoe on Mauna Kea...It is said that Kaahumanu did not find the bones of Lilinoe, but only those of Liloa, Lono-i-ka-makahiki, Kauhola, and Lole at Waipi'o, and these she removed to Ka'awaloa. She also removed to Ka'awaloa the bones of all the chiefs up to the time of Ka-lani-'opu'u and Kiwala-'o which had been netted into baskets (ka'ai) and which completely filled the Hale o Keawe, and she destroyed the remaining bones with fire."

Lacking a specific date for the removal of the bones, an approximate date has been worked out from various sources. We know that Kaahumanu was

on Hawaii from about December 6, 1828 until about January 15, 1829; that Mr. Ruggles was in Hilo on January 15, and that the young king Kamehameha III was in Kailua, Hawaii, and met Kaahumanu there about January 15.

Allowing time for Kaahumanu's first visiting Waipi'o, and undoubtedly having the bones removed before the king arrived and Mr. Ruggles departed for Hilo, the event must have taken place during the last part of December, 1828, or early in January, 1829, the latter date having the weight of Bingham's account as support. The destruction of the house followed in a few weeks.

Levi Chamberlain and the Rev. E. W. Clark were at Ka'awaloa about the middle of February, 1829, and Clark includes this comment in his total report to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions on their trip:

"We passed Honaunau a little before dark in full view of the celebrated house of Keawe, which forcibly reminded us of the ancient superstitions of Hawaii. This house has lately been divested of all its sacredness. A short time since, Kaahumanu and other chiefs accompanied by Mr. Ruggles, removed from this house to Ka'awaloa the bones of 24 ancient kings and princes. The bones were put into two coffins and after funeral services deposited in the common burying place. The house is to be torn down and a school house erected in its place."

Chamberlain does not recount the details of their stay in Ka'awaloa, mentioning only that they had spent 5 1/2 days there. His memorandum is the only source we have of the names of the chiefs whose bones were removed to Ka'awaloa. The whereabouts of his original memorandum, if it still exists, is unknown, but a copy presumably made by W. D. Alexander is preserved in the Hawaiian Historical Society Library and a facsimile of it appended to this report (Appendix ). On the basis of the 23 names listed by Chamberlain emerges evidence of the Hale o Keawe's function as a depository for bones. An earlier paper (Stokes, 1930) attempted to identify these 23 names, but lacking sufficient genealogical data, led to an erroneous interpretation of this function. A study of the genealogies now available discloses that 14, and possibly 16, of the 23 chiefs were direct descendants of one chiefly mating. This common factor underlying nearly two-thirds of the names leads to the conclusion that the Hale o Keawe was primarily the depository of the bones of those of a closely related family. This family stemmed from Keawe-nui-a-'Umi, circa 1525 A.D., whose son Kanaloa Kua'ana was the first of the hereditary rulers of Kona. Kanaloa

Kua'ana, by marriage to Kaikilani, undisputed senior ranking descendant of Liloa, had one son, Keakealanikane, and two daughters, Keli'iokalani and Kalani-o-'Umi. The mating of Keakealanikane to his full sister Keli'iokalani produced Keakamahana, a chiefess of highest possible rank. She, her daughter Keakealaniwahine, and her grandchildren through this daughter, who were Keawe-i-kekahi-ali'i-o-ka-moku and his half sister Ka-lani-kau-lele-ia-iwi, were acknowledged as supreme in blood rank over all the chiefs of Hawaii. All the other descendants of Keakealanikane and Keli'iokalani through other matings, together with the descendants of their younger sister Kalani-o-'Umi, became junior members of this family, with all the obligations of duty, loyalty and support such a family status involved in a society where seniority ruled.

Obviously not all the descendants of this family had a final resting place in the Hale o Keawe. Hawaiian custom was for a chief to "will" his bones to a trusted relative or friend for disposal, or lacking such designation, for the nearest blood kin to dispose of them, which was usually in the family's own burial cave. No doubt some of these chiefs were placed

in the Hale o Keawe in accordance with such custom, but the earliest interments at least were surely chosen for deification to become immediate ancestral gods, 'aumakua o ke ao, for succeeding generations. We have already pointed out that no bones of the women chiefs could be put in the Hale o Keawe since it was also a heiau. Also, no known priests of this family were found amongst the names listed. This further emphasizes the Hale o Keawe's function as a heiau, as kahunas, as a class, were not objects of deification, although they were usually of the same blood strain as the chiefs they served. The priests of this family, whose own close blood kin were deified in the Hale o Keawe, thus had direct and perfect access to the family gods, not only to the 'aumakua o ke ao but through them, to the 'aumakua o ka po, the ancestral gods of the remote past.

As to those who were in the Hale o Keawe, the fourteen chiefs found to be direct descendants of one of the three children of Kanaloa Kua'ana were: Keawe-i-kekahi-ali'i-o-ka-moku (Keawe), 'Aha'ula, Kumuko'a, Kekoamano, Keawe-a-Kanuha, Ka-la'i-mamahu, and Ka-'o-lei-o-ku, all descendants of the pi'o mating of Keakealanikane and Keli'iokalani. In the junior lines were

found: Kanaloa-i-ka-iwi-lewa, Ku'aiali'i, Keawe Lua'ole, Lono-a-Moana, Ni'ula and Ka-wai-niu-lani. If an equation of names may be accepted, there are two: Ka-la'i-kua-hulu (Ka-la'i being similar to Ka-lani as a title) for Okua and Keawe Kapaulumoku for Keawe-a-Kapeleaumoku (their names, translated, being very similar). These equations are offered on the basis of these chiefs also being descendants of Keawe, as are the six names following his in the listing above.

Once we assumed that the Hale o Keawe was a family burial place of Kona chiefs, then the remaining names on Chamberlain's list had to be of some degree of relationship to these known descendants. By Hawaiian custom, a relationship through marriage is as binding as a blood relationship, once there is a child born to link the two families. Of the seven remaining names on the list, two are easily identifiable as such relatives: Lono-kaua-kini (Chamberlain's Lono-homua-kini) and Lono-i-ka-ha'upu, both of whom are discussed more fully in later paragraphs. There is a fragment of tradition in each case which links to this family two more: Hukihe, a chief of Kona, and Ka-lei-o-ku. The latter was either Nanue Kaleioku, one of

Kalani'opu'u's warrior chiefs during his battles on Maui, or Nuuanu-a-Kaleioku, Nanue's son, who was the leader of Kamehameha's band of warriors called the Kipu'upu'u. The question then arises, why, out of innumerable "eligible" relatives were just these four so honored? For a probable answer we turn to Malo (p. 191, Sec. 29-32), who clearly defines the "walls of defence" about a ruling chief, that is, those relatives who held positions of trust and honor in serving him. These four chiefs, relatives in some degree, must have filled such positions, and in addition must have been punahelo, or particular favorites of their chiefs, who granted them the honor of being interred with the immediate family. We are left with only three names on Chamberlain's list unaccounted for: Keohokuna, 'Umi-'o'opa and Lono-a-koli'i. We can only surmise that they were in the same category as the above.

The chiefs whose bones were deposited in the Hale o Keawe were not all of Keawe's generation. Those succeeding him, we would expect to find, but interestingly enough, there are six names of chiefs of an older generation than Keawe. This gives rise to the speculation that perhaps

these predecessors of his had already been deified and that their bones were transferred to the Hale o Keawe or, more likely, that they were removed from family burial caves either at Alahaka or Ka'awaloa cliffs, with the intent of deifying them together with Keawe. These chiefs were: Keawe's own father, Kanaloa-i-ka-iwi-lewa, also known as Kanaloa-kapu-lehu; Keawe's "uncle" and close companion during life, Lono-a-Moana; Ni'ula, Ka-wai-niu-lani and Ku'aiali'i, also "uncles" (by Hawaiian terminology, makua, meaning relatives of the parental generation) and Lono-kaua-kini, Chamberlain's Lono-honua-kini. Here is a substitution of names of which there can be no doubt. Lono-honua-kini was of the Maui ruling dynasty, and father of Ka'ulahea. Although he was a blood uncle to Keawe's first wife, Lono-ma'a-i-kanaka, and was related by blood to a line from Liloa, he could not have fallen into any of the categories defined by Malo, since he was himself  
1880,  
king of Maui (Fornander, p. 209). It is therefore quite reasonable that we equate this spelling with the name of Lono-kaua-kini, a high chief of Kona, descendant of 'Ehu-kai-malino, and father-in-law to Keawe's sister-wife Ka-lani-kau-lele-ia-iwi.



Of Keawe's generation we mention first Lono-i-ka-ha'upu, Lono-kaua-kini's son. His name has been confused with that of Lono-i-kai-hopu of the Kauai ruling family, following Fornander, source of this erroneous equation. Confirming genealogies trace the descent of Lono-i-ka-ha'upu and his father Lono-kaua-kini from 'Ehu-kai-malino's son Lasa Manamana, who received the Kekaha lands of Kona in perpetuity from Liloa (Fornander, 1880, p. 76). This Lono-i-ka-ha'upu was the husband of Ka-lani-kau-lele-ia-iwi and grandfather of the twins Kamanawa and Kame'eiamoku, councillors to their nephew Kamehameha I. Another of Keawe's generation was his cousin Ka'aloa, and the eleven remaining identified names were of later generations. Of special interest amongst the latter names are those of Kamehameha's half-brother Ka-la'i-mamahu, grandfather of King Lunalilo, and that of Kamehameha's acknowledged son, Ka-'o-lei-o-ku, grandfather of Bernice Pauahi Bishop. Ka-'o-lei-o-ku died in Honolulu in 1818, and Peter Cornay, who was in Honolulu at this time, left an eye witness account of the preparation of Ka-'o-lei-o-ku's bones before transfer to Hawaii.

In addition to the deified bones in ka'ai at the Hale o Keawe were

the unwrapped bones mentioned by Ii as "heaped up like firewood." Ii states that these were the bones of "those who had died in war," and that in the pile were the bones of Nahiolea, father of Kekuanao'a. This chief Nahiolea deserted Kamehameha when the latter came to Oahu to wage war. He fought on the side of the Oahu defenders and was killed at the Battle of Nuuanu, 1795. It may appear strange that his bones would be placed in the Hale o Keawe and it is barely possible that they were placed there as a trophy, or object of degradation. However, it is more likely that it was because of his inherited right, through descent from Kalani-o-'Umi, to a place in the family burial place and that some relative thought enough of him to accomplish this. If this is the correct explanation, it follows that the bones of "those who had died in war" were warriors of the family. These were probably the bones mentioned by Kamakau as having been destroyed with fire.

When the Hale o Keawe was emptied of its relics and the missionaries had received their souvenir pieces of kaui wood, the house itself was torn down. Alexander (1890) states that "The house and fence were entirely demolished, and the sacred Kaui rafters were used in building a

Government House on the site now occupied by Mackfeld & Co.'s building, which was therefore called 'Ka hale Kauila.'" The site occupied by Mackfeld & Co. at the time of Alexander's writing is at present that of The Liberty House in Honolulu. Some of the kauila timbers were possibly used for the Hale Kauila reported to have been erected in the vicinity of the present caretaker's house, and which may have been the site of the school house mentioned by Clark.

In speaking of the removal of the bones from the Hale o Keawe Alexander says: "...the venerated deified bones were removed, deposited in two large coffins, and interred in a secret cave at Ka'awaloa, where they remained for nearly 30 years. Mr. Chamberlain made a list of the names of 23 chiefs, whose bones were then removed, and stated that five or six more were brought over from the sacred "House of Liloa" in Waipio...In January, 1858, Kamehameha IV, accompanied by a numerous retinue, made a tour of the windward islands in the British sloop-of-war, Vixen, Captain Meachen, arriving at Ka'awaloa, January 24th, 1858. On the following night the venerable kahu, or guardian of the secret burial cave, was ordered to remove

the stones that concealed the entrance. The coffins were then brought out by torchlight, and carried on board of the man-of-war, which brought them to Honolulu, where they were consigned to Governor Kekuanao's...After the completion of the present Mausoleum in Huanu, on the night of October 30th, 1865, the coffins of the former royal personages of Hawaii nei, including those brought from Ka'awaloa, were removed to it in an imposing torchlight procession."

Alexander's version must be accepted with some reservation. His account of the removal of bones from Ka'awaloa is partially confirmed by the Report of the Board of Genealogy of Hawaiian Chiefs concerning the remains of ancient Hawaiian chiefs: "Those of Liloa and Lono-i-ka-makahiki are now deposited in the Royal Tomb of Kawanakoa, Honolulu, Oahu, which remains were removed from the Cave at Hoaihu, Kaawaloa, during the reign of the late King Kamehameha IV., and transported to Honolulu on H.B.M.S. Vixen, Captain Micheme, 1861 (sic)." This report, it will be noted, mentions only the bones of Liloa and Lono-i-ka-makahiki, which were presumably among those brought over from Waipio, but does not mention the

Hale o Keawe bones. Alexander seemingly includes the coffins containing the bones from the Hale o Keawe as being amongst those removed to the Mausoleum at Nuuanu, but nowhere in the various accounts of the removal of the royal remains to Nuuanu are these coffins listed or even mentioned. Thus on the basis of Alexander's account, it has been assumed that they were left at the old mausoleum at Pohukaina, in the present Palace grounds. It may be that these two coffins are interred in the mound now marked as the site of the Pohukaina mausoleum, but it is equally possible that Kekuanao'a did not have these two coffins placed at Pohukaina at all, if indeed they were taken from Ka'awaloa in the first place.

And so we end the story of the Hale o Keawe on the same note of question that we began it. Who originally built the house? What determined the selection of chiefs for deification there? What really has happened to their bones? Though much is known about its physical aspects, we are left with these questions partly unanswered and partly unanswerable. Perhaps it is fitting that this should be so, in accordance with the Hawaiian custom expressed in their saying, "Ho'okoe 'ia no kekahi - something has been withheld."

## THE CONCEPT OF ASYLUM

by

Marion A. Kelly

### Asylum in Hawaii

In aboriginal societies it is not unusual for the punishment against any individual who commits an anti-social act to be immediate death, and the goal of war to be extermination. Hawaiian society was, generally speaking, no exception. However, within Hawaiian culture existed an intriguing element: specific sites were set aside in each district and designated as places of refuge -- sanctuaries for women, children, old or ailing men in time of war, for vanquished warriors fleeing from their would-be annihilators, for criminals fleeing from revengeful pursuers and for lawbreakers fleeing from punishment. The sanctuaries were inviolable and their protection extended to the guilty as well as the innocent.

How such an institution came into existence in Hawaii is the immediate concern of this paper. Its development from the already existing institutions and cultural patterns of Polynesian society and its

refinement in Hawaii is difficult, if not impossible to trace step-wise,

but considerable evidence has been collected which allows for certain undeniable conclusions, however limited or qualified they must of necessity be.

The term for a "place of refuge" was pu'uhonua, literally, pu'u, hill; honua, earth. The Hawaiian historian, S. M. Kamakau ( ) defined

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a pu'uhonua as a place to go to "escape and be saved from being taken prisoner or from being put to death." It may be that the word pu'uhonua was derived originally from a hill-type fortress. Such refuges are found throughout Polynesia. One attempt to explain its derivation comes from a story about the inhabitants of the Island of Molokai. Upon being attacked by invaders from Maui, the defending population repaired to a hill from the top of which they rolled stones down on their attackers, thus saving themselves. And, the story goes, the hill became known as a pu'uhonua (Pogue, 1858, p. 21).

This same term is used also to designate caves of refuge. In areas where large lava tubes were found Hawaiians sometimes used the particularly well-located tubes in which to hide from pursuers. They sometimes built

stone walls across the lava tube caves near the entrances, allowing space for passage of only one person at a time. Although these caves were mainly defenses, they were called ana-pu'uhonua (ana, cave).

However, the term pu'uhonua was used to indicate considerably more than a successfully defended hill or cave. The key to understanding the theory of places of asylum in Hawaii is to be found in the relationship between the chief and his people. Between them was an interdependence which can be expressed in terms of the labor and productivity supplied by the people on the one hand, and the leadership and protection supplied by the high chief on the other. The position of the chief and its accompanying powers were inherited from his ancestors and it was within his power to spare the life of, or extend mercy to any subject, regardless of guilt. This power of the high chiefs occasioned the term pu'uhonua to be applied to them.

High chief Liloa (c. A.D. 1475), undisputed ruler of the Island of Hawaii, was termed a pu'uhonua. One of his sons, Umi, who, having been raised by his mother away from the court of Liloa, in order to establish



recognition of his high birth gained admittance by stealth to Liloa's presence, threw himself into Liloa's lap, his only refuge among warriors dedicated to protecting their chief. Liloa spoke to Umi and in doing so extended him asylum which gave Umi the occasion to prove by presentation of the proper chiefly accoutrements that he was indeed Liloa's son. The Liloa-Umi story is entirely in keeping with what is known of the powers of high chiefs throughout Polynesia. Even into post-European times this concept operated in Hawaii and the personage of Kaahumanu, the favorite wife of Kamehameha I, was confirmed a pu'uhonua by her husband as were all the lands that belonged to her. Of course, Kamehameha himself was a pu'uhonua (Kamakau, March 10, 1870).

Today the best known of the Hawaiian places of refuge is the one at Honaunau, South Kona, Hawaii. It is located on a relatively flat piece of land at the seashore. The only spot within the enclosure which bears any resemblance to a "hill of earth" is a sand dune that rises about six feet above the surrounding area. This could hardly be a successfully defended hill. More indicative of defense is the massive stone wall which protects

the area from inland intruders. The presence of this heavy wall could be interpreted as evidence that a certain degree of physical protection was necessary as insurance against intruders.

Much more important than physical protection was the supernatural protection and sanctity of the surrounding area. Thus, each pu'uhonua site was closely associated with a heiau. The heiau of the pu'uhonua at Honaunau at the time of European contact was Hale-o-Keawe. This association with religious structures indicates that a pu'uhonua as that at Honaunau was not merely a place of physical refuge, but more specifically a sanctuary. In a thatched house on one of the heiau platforms were kept the bones of deceased high chiefs, now deified. This was not a burial, but rather a deification. Hawaiian burials per se were quite different (Westervelt, 1904, p. 150). The powerful mana of these deified chiefs continued after life to surround the area and to afford protection to anyone entering the enclosure. The sanctuary at Honaunau was under the protection of the deified chief, Keawe, and the one at Waipio Valley under Liloa.

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Kamakau ( ) states that the places of refuge in ancient times were divisions of land cut off from a district. The examples he gives are not specific sites, but large land divisions which correspond to sub-district divisions (ahupua'a). These lands were reported to have been considered very sacred and true places of refuge probably because they had belonged to persons of very high rank who themselves were considered pu'uhonua (Fornander, 1880, p. 278; Thrum, 1896, p. 75). McAllister (1933, p. 18) reported the opinion of Lahilahi Webb, an authority on Hawaiian culture, "a tapu land was not necessarily a place of refuge." Except at Koloa, Oahu no evidence that specific heiau were connected with the function of these lands as pu'uhonua. Whether the large land-tract type of pu'uhonua preceded the site type is not determinable with the evidence available.

All the elements necessary to the establishment and function of places of refuge or asylum were present in Polynesian culture. Polynesian concepts of mana, or sacred power of the high chiefs were an integral part of the Hawaiian places of refuge. Each chief inherited his family's sacred other things being equal, powers; the first born, because he was believed to have received the greatest

amount, was usually considered the most powerful. Mana, it was believed, could then be preserved in the bones of a deceased chief who had been deified, and thereby his powers could be made to extend beyond his lifetime. To this end exacting rituals were performed by priests (kahuna) and descendants of the lineage at the heiau.

Early in the history of post-European Hawaii some American and British visitors began to study the language, customs and institutions of the Hawaiian people. Many of these scholars were well acquainted with the bible, and as was common practice in a period when the methodology of scientific inquiry was in its infancy, they often were satisfied that a quotation from the bible was explanation enough. In an attempt to translate into its English equivalent the Hawaiian term, pu'uhonua, as it applied to the sanctuary at Honaunau, early visitors used the term "city of refuge" which they selected from the Book of Deuteronomy. This was an unfortunate choice because the pu'uhonua at Honaunau was not a "city" or even a "village" of refuge. Although misleading, the term was perpetuated by other scholars (Westervelt, 1904, p. 150), and popularized by Mark Twain (Clemens,

1872, pp. 526-529). And even Hawaiians, anxious to measure up to the standards expected of them by these European and American scholars and teachers began to include in their stories of ancient customs certain elements to please their white brothers. The volume of evidence to prove the theory thereby expanded considerably.

Once the biblical terminology had been applied to the pu'uhonua at Honaunau, the next logical step was to theorize on the connection between the two geographical areas, Israel and the Hawaiian Islands. Scholars of the bible offered the explanation that the Hawaiians were surely the descendants of a lost tribe of Cushites who had migrated through Arabia and India, bringing with them the Hebrew idea of a "city of refuge" (Fornander, 1919, p. 234-5; 1878, p. 118; Ellis, 1842, <sup>IV,</sup> p. 170). For the purposes of missionary work among the Hawaiians this theory was popularized and became for all practical purposes quotable as fact (Malo, 1951, p. 8). The Hawaiians thus were conveniently identified as "children of God."

One of the interesting examples of missionary inspired education and teacher at Lahainaluna was uncovered in a writing left by a minister. He

explained that a refugee had to live within the enclosure of the pu'uhonua

"until the chief died, then return to his land." (Pogue, 1858, p. 20).

This information is lifted directly from the biblical description of the cities of refuge of Israel, the word "chief" being supplied for "priest".

Nowhere in any other material collected is there indication that refugees

remained within the enclosure for more than a few days (IV, Ellis, 1842, p. 167).

The point on which the theory of asylum seems most at variance with modern concepts is the question involving "guilt" and "punishment". To our way of thinking a criminal must be punished for his crime and failure to do so is an injustice to the injured innocent. However, no story collected in connection with people entering a pu'uhonua seeking refuge gives any hint that a judgment was necessary to determine who was entitled to asylum and who was not. The reliable informants state flatly that all persons presenting themselves for sanctuary were in no way to be molested

(IV, March 10, 1870  
Ellis, 1842, p. 167; Kamakau, (1890)). If a pursuer went too far,

attempting to punish or kill a criminal who had already reached the pu'uhonua the priest in charge of the sanctuary was duty bound to deter, or if

necessary to slay or have the pursuer slain. If a priest allowed one who had come within the pu'uhonua to be killed by his would-be avengers, the priest could be put to death by the high chief (Ellis, 1842, p. 167; Thrum, 1908, p. 72). The pu'uhonua of ancient Hawaii was indeed a secure refuge for those who reached it.

An important problem regarding the function of pu'uhonua was that of access. In the search to discover to what extent pu'uhonua were used throughout the island group it became evident that every large land division (moku'aina) of each island had at least one, and perhaps on the largest island, Hawaii, there <sup>were</sup> more than one for some districts. This latter cannot be stated with certainty because of the connection between a pu'uhonua and the ruling chief of an island or district. Where a chief is defeated in battle, his temples and institutions fall into disuse and new ones are established by the victorious chief. Thus, it is impossible to say when the structures, which are today cited as "ancient pu'uhonua", operated as such, for how long a period, and which were in operation simultaneously. The island of Kauai might be an exception to this. As

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Kamakau (3/10/70) stated, "Only on Kauai the old places [of refuge] remained because Kamehameha's wars did not extend to Kauai and hence these lands were not distributed to his war leaders. The government remained under the heredity chiefs." And, it might be added, the pu'uhonua were continuously maintained. The best that can be done is to list all the pu'uhonua, their location, and the sources which claim them to have functioned

Annotated List following  
at one time as pu'uhonua (see Annex A of this section).

### The Theory of Asylum

Having established that Hawaii had an institution which was based on the concept of asylum, the problem presented itself as to whether this concept existed in other areas of Polynesia, if so, to what degree and what forms did it take. Lastly, the question of what other societies had similar institutions had to be answered. Material again, is scant, but the following pages are an attempt to present the available evidence.

#### Ancient Greece

The human concept of asylum is apparently very ancient. Sacred places of refuge have occurred in many different types of societies throughout the



world. Through such an institution people have expressed the social need for protection against blind revenge and for securing peaceful order and reason in the society of man.

The word asylum stems from the Greek word asylon, meaning a place safe from violence, a sanctuary. Generally speaking, all Greek temples and altars were sanctuaries. It was a religious crime to remove by force any person or thing once under the protection of a deity. However, it was only a relatively small number of temples in which the protection afforded by the deity was strictly observed. One of the examples of a temple which functioned as a refuge was the ancient Greek temple of Diana at Ephesus. Its sacred area is said to have extended to some distance outside the immediate temple.

In ancient Greek society it was recognized that the people most frequently in need of sanctuary were slaves who had been maltreated by their masters, soldiers who were defeated and pursued by the enemy, and criminals who, fearing a trial, had escaped before sentence was passed (Encyclopaedia Britannica: Asylum).

### Cities of Refuge in Israel:

Perhaps the most famous examples of places of refuge in the ancient world were those "cities of refuge" found in Israel. Jerusalem is itself translated "City of Peace", and the Arabs usually designated this city by names expressing holiness or sanctuary. During a period when legal authority was being consolidated, the rural shrines of ancient Israel were abolished. People living any distance from Jerusalem needed a place of asylum in their own district. The book of Deuteronomy (iv, 41-43; xix, 1-7, 11-13) describes the cities of refuge established to serve each large district and the manner of their use.

Three cities were set up west of the Jordan and later three east of the river (Joshua xx). To any of these cities a person might flee and within its boundary be safe from blood revenge. Any person seeking sanctuary had to stand before the priests and the judges of the city of refuge while they made inquiry as to his innocence or guilt. Those judged guilty were returned to their own cities for punishment. Those judged innocent could live in safety within the walls of the city of refuge until the death of the high priest of the land after which time they might return

in safety to their home city (Numbers xxxv, 6, 11-32).

Asylum in Early Christian Times:

With the establishment of Christianity, the custom of asylum or refuge became part of the Christian church. The idea that a church could afford asylum to criminals or refugees was founded upon the belief in the contagion of holiness. Hence, it was sacrilege to remove the man who had gained the holy precincts; he was henceforth invested with a part of the sacredness of the place, and was inviolable so long as he remained there.

Roman law did not recognize Christian sanctuaries until toward the end of the 4th century when they finally established the privilege to within fifty paces from the church door. Later it was extended to include the church courtyard in order to provide some other place than the church for the fugitives to eat and sleep. Refugees were to leave all arms outside. Refusal to surrender weapons jeopardized their position and they could then be seized in church. Capital punishment was to be meted out to all who violated the right of sanctuary (Encyclopaedia Britannica: Sanctuary). The right of sanctuary is still recognized in countries where the church is

politically strong.

In Scotland today can be seen what remains of a sanctuary cross.

Located near Lindores, Fifeshire, is the famous MacDuff's Cross. MacDuff, it is said, was awarded special sanctuary privileges for his kinsmen after the defeat of Macbeth in 1057, and the succession of Malcolm III to the Scottish throne. Supposedly clansmen within the ninth degree of relationship to the chief of the clan, if guilty of unpremeditated homicide, could claim refuge and be safe from capital punishment upon reaching the cross.

There are other remnants of sanctuary crosses in Cumberland and Cornwall. Because not much is known about their use, they have been estimated to be sign posts to guide fugitives to sanctuaries in the area (Encyclopaedia Britannica: Sanctuary).

#### Asylum among Australian Aborigines:

There is evidence that even people of stone age societies had places of refuge. For the Arunta people of Australia there are reported sacred "storehouses" which served as sanctuaries. These storehouses contained symbols of tribal ancestors as well as of especially powerful

living tribe members. To these people each symbol was an embodiment of the spirit and power of the individual it represented. The presence of these symbols in the storehouse endowed it and the surrounding area as a haven or refuge for men and even for any animal that might venture into it. Even the plants in the surrounding area were taboo and never touched or interfered with in any way. Women were forbidden to go near the storehouses and no quarrels or displays of weapons were allowed in its vicinity.

Among the elements found in these sacred storehouses of the Arunta is one which was prominent in Polynesian sanctuaries: that of deifying powerful ancestors. These ancestors were the leaders who had inherited great spiritual powers. Symbols of these deities were then placed in a house, which by their very presence became sacred, and the area surrounding the house, following the rule of contagion, became hallowed ground (Spencer, I, 1927, pp. 108-110).

#### Asylum in Polynesia:

It has been said that all Tongan god-houses were sanctuaries to which

a fugitive might flee, but there seemed to have been certain sanctuaries which were considered special places of refuge (Gifford, 1929, p. 324).

A sanctuary in Tonga was a place consecrated either by express declaration or by the burial of great chiefs on the spot. War was forbidden in the area and it was considered high<sup>ly</sup> sacrilegious to attack an enemy or spill his blood within its confines. Some sanctuaries were considered safer than others, although the reason for this is not given. The strength of protection which a high chief might give his people depended on his own power as a leader and on the reliability of his priests whose responsibility it was to insure the right of sanctuary to those who sought it. Where a place of sanctuary was consecrated by burial of great chiefs, some of its power to function as a refuge was derived from the inherited supernatural power of these great chiefs. Whenever a sanctuary fell into disuse or was not properly cared for, the security of a refuge was weakened or destroyed.

The most famous sanctuary in Tonga was Fanakava in Lapaha at the Tui Tonga's place of residence in Tongatabu. Most sanctuaries had enclosing fences within which was situated the house of the presiding deity; the

house being occupied by the officiating priest or priestess (p. 291).

Another sanctuary, and one of the three considered very safe, was that of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua at Maufanga, Tongatabu. Unfortunately not enough is known about these sanctuaries to be able to reliably estimate the importance of their role in ancient Tongan society.

In a story related by Gifford a chief, Niukapu, fleeing from a revengeful pursuer, had the choice of three sanctuaries. Only one was considered inviolable and that was one ruled by a priest named Kautea. Niukapu succeeded in gaining entrance to this sanctuary and the priest accepted him as a refugee. The revenger, discovering this, ordered someone's finger cut off and sent to the priest. Etiquette demanded Kautea cut one of his own fingers off and send it as a return gift, which he did. Next, a human body was delivered to the priest Kautea. This called for a similar act in return, or the refugee would surely have to be given up to the pursuer. The priest's daughter generously offered herself in Niukapu's place. Immediately the priest had her killed and presented the body to the would-be avenger. This act was tantamount to the priest

having offered his own life, which was considered preferable than to have a refugee die (Gifford, 1929, p. 300).

A place of refuge is mentioned by Mariner in connection with a violation of the right of asylum. It seems that a chief went on a foraging party with some friends. Their canoes landed near a consecrated inclosure called Gnacac. Here they met four of the enemy. Realizing their numerical disadvantage, the enemy attempted to flee to the consecrated place where they would have been safe. The chief, however, pursued them to the reedwork fence around the asylum. One of the refugees had actually placed a leg over the fence when the chief, blinded by vengeance, struck him a fatal blow on the head. Suddenly realizing what sacrilege he had committed, our chief was <sup>overcome</sup> with fear and hastily retreated to his fort. There a priest was consulted and after much ceremony it was determined that a child should be sacrificed to atone for the sacrilege. This accomplished, the body of the child was carried to various houses consecrated to different gods with a prayer to each asking acceptance of the sacrifice as atonement for the sin committed. (Mariner, 1817, I, p. 216-219).



Another European visitor of early days described a battle between two groups of Tongans. The European was helping one group against their enemies. A number of the enemy had taken refuge in a large burying place (Fiatooka), believing that the sanctity of the place would secure them from violence.

Our party however made an attack upon the place, and attempted to pull up the fence. But as the enemy within could not be seen, yet could see us, when any one attempted to pull off the reeds, they pierced him with their spears. They judged it best, therefore, to set fire to it; but the sanctity of the place deterred them. They applied to me: I threw a firebrand upon the thatch; it did not light for some time: at length it was all in a blaze. Many of them fled out, but they found no quarter: the rest therefore stood upon their defence, and fought desperately till they were all killed (Vason, 1810, p. 173).

Vason also describes a district called Mafanga, which was considered a sanctuary or country of refuge to those who fled there. After a complete rout of his enemies, the chief under whom Vason operated gave orders to pursue those who had fled to Mafanga for refuge. Arriving there, they took the refugees captive but did them no injury. Of the total captured they separated eight or nine of the chiefs and installed them on a small distant island where they could not escape; the commoners they disarmed and returned to their respective districts. In this way Loogolala

became the chief of the whole island and appointed many of his friends as governors of the different districts.

The most famous of sanctuaries was Fanakava, a large green (malae) where the Tui Tonga held his kava ceremonies. Adjacent to this was a tract called Fiehua on which was situated a house of the god Finautauiki. This house was also considered a place of sanctuary (Gifford, 1929, p. 324).

The use of caves as a place of refuge was not unknown, although they are not associated with any supernatural protective powers, but were merely good defenses. A cave called Analahi (large cave) on Tongatabu protected a group of refugees "for a considerable length of time"; the only entrance was so difficult that a single man could guard against an invading army (McKern, 1929, pp. 90-91).

The Tongans had both elaborate fortifications and sacred places of refuge. Identified with the former were earthen walls or embankments, a fence of upright posts or heavily reinforced reeds, and often a dry moat. Such a fort was termed kolo (p. 80). Fortified valleys or mountain retreats are found in many areas throughout the Pacific. Their development

is considered purely local and as fulfilling a need for protection against enemies. The so-called fortified villages are merely forts large enough to accommodate an entire village for longer or shorter periods of time as is necessary. The fortified refuge is not to be confused with sacred sanctuaries, which may or may not contain elements of fortification.

One additional thing should be mentioned regarding Tongan sanctuaries and that is a structure called a fale hufanga by Gifford <sup>1929,</sup> (p. 324 ) but not elaborated upon by him. From its name it would appear that it is similar to the Tahitian fale hua, but all attempts by the writer to obtain information regarding the function of this Tongan structure have failed.

In New Zealand we find the term punanga (Best, 1924, <sup>I,</sup> p. 306), meaning a secret place of refuge to which refugees might retire in time of need, and usually located in an adjacent forest. Whether this term carried with it a sacred connotation is not known. However, the better known Maori pa (fortress, or fortified village) was well described in early literature. The people of an area might have both an open village (kainga) and a fortified village (pa) to which they could retire for protection in case of

an enemy attack.

Tregear (1904, pp. 202-203) tells us that a prisoner of war might have his life spared by a chief of the victorious tribe who accomplished the fact by throwing a mat over the prisoner and thereupon claiming him tabu.

This is a concept similar to that which sometimes operated in Tahiti,

Samoa and Hawaii. In all of these places there are stories describing defeated warriors or fugitives throwing themselves at the mercy of some high chief who had the power to extend his protection or to order immediate death.

Although there is no mention of sacred places of refuge in Maori literature which compares in any way with that which is found in Tongan material, there is one story of a woman named Hine who was so highly venerated by her tribe that her home was held forever inviolable and sacred. Even when a warring party entered a fort in which she lived, her father was reported to have said, "Do not intrude on the courtyard of Hine." This was sufficient to deter the attackers. This story may explain a Maori proverb "the courtyard of Hine must not be trodden by a war party." A refusal to

do battle or a message of peace was indicated by the phrase "Come to the courtyard of Hine."

The Marquesans had clan or family shrines which were the property of particular families, burial places of chiefs and priests, and depositories of skulls of a living person's ancestors. The right to deposit the skulls of one's ancestors in any given shrine represented kinship ties and the right of ownership in the tract of land in which the me'ae was located (Handy, 1923, pp.58-59). This custom which decides whose bones shall be deposited in a shrine shows up interestingly in the Hawaiian place of refuge at Honaunau. The literature available on the Marquesas makes no mention of such sacred places functioning as asylums.

In Samoa, as in other places in Polynesia, the usual punishment for murder and adultery was death. The family of the victim was free to seek revenge on the guilty person or a member of his family. In case of murder, the culprit and his family might flee to the house of the chief of the village for protection, or to the house of the chief of another village to which he is related on his father's or mother's side. Usually he was safe

while he remained there. If the family of the victim pursued the murderer to another village, they would risk hostilities with those who protected the refugees (Turner, 1861, pp. 285, 334). A chief felt honored that a fugitive would seek asylum with him. Such an act represented recognition of the chief's powers as a protector. In gratitude a refugee might attach himself to his protector's staff and remain to serve him indefinitely.

An unusual place of refuge on Upolu Island was an old tree inland of one of the villages. It was considered a "place of refuge" for murderers and other capital offenders. A criminal who reached the tree was safe and the avenger of blood, prevented from pursuing farther, had to wait for an investigation and trial. This is the only mention in the literature for all of Polynesia that a trial had to be held, and because it could represent the influence of Christianity in Samoan culture as it has been found in other areas of Polynesia, such a statement from Turner (pp.64-65) should be repeated only if the reservations are noted. The Samoan story about this tree reports that long ago a high chief of the Atua district lived at that spot. After he died the house fell into decay, but the tree was fixed on

as representing the departed leader, and out of respect for his memory it was made the substitute of a living and royal protector. It was called "o le asi pulu tangata," the asi tree, the refuge of men. In explanation of this theory an informant said that at one time a village had been without a high chief for ten years. Anxious to have some protecting substitute, they fixed upon a large o'a tree and made it the representative of a high chief, and an asylum for the thief or the homicide when pursued by avengers.

Although these descriptions of sacred places of refuge in Samoa reveal no large temples, as those that were used in Tonga or in Hawaii, all the essential elements were apparently present. The theory of asylum functioned in much the same manner while only the form that it took was different. The strength of the protective force originated from the power of the chief.

In the interior of the district of Tahiti-mui is a large valley rather like a vast room surrounded by mountains which form the heads of other valleys emanating from them. This large valley was once an area designated

as Te-piha-ia-teta, the room of High Chief Teta who extended hospitality to the refugees, and it formerly served as a refuge to which political offenders and others fled. Henry (1928, pp.73-74) quotes from Tahitian lore the following poem:

Ha'apai-a-no'o is the room of refuge,  
The land of the little clan of the strong,  
The room of refuge!  
A settling place for winds (strife) is Ha'apai-a-no'o,  
Ha'apai-a-no'o is the greatest valley,  
A room it is for Tahiti.

Tahiti goes thither in trouble,  
To King Teta,  
And escapes the searcher,  
And escapes from battle,  
At Ha'apai-a-no'o breadfruit is food for rats (so plentiful).

As far as we know the use of this large valley as a place of refuge was not connected with the sacredness associated with places of refuge in Tonga and Hawaii, but was rather a place to which the pursued would flee because the forest provided an excellent cover, food was plentiful, and even defensible positions were not difficult to find.

In some of the other references, however, we do find an element of sanctity and chiefly power used in connection with giving asylum to refugees. If, in time of battle, any high ranking chiefs of the victorious army were known to be humane or known to have shown compassion in the past,



or if any of the vanquished had formerly been on friendly terms with one of them, he might, by avoiding other warriors of the victorious army, risk his life further by finding such a chief and, prostrating himself in his path, supplicate the chief's compassion, or rush into his house and throw himself on the ground before him. Although his life would be endangered while he was seeking the chief, once he had gained his presence, none dared to touch him within the high chief's enclosure without his orders. Generally speaking, a chief thus appealed to would speak out or give a sign of recognition and thus secure for the individual his safety

IV,  
(Ellis, 1842, p. 161). This example along with many others of a slightly different nature confirm that the ali'i in Tahiti as throughout Polynesia held the power of saving a life or ordering death.

The power of the ali'i over life and death could be involved in other ways. A prostrate warrior as he lay at the feet of his antagonist wounded or disarmed, would perhaps supplicate mercy by crying, "Spare me, may I live!" and at the same time call out the name of the victorious warrior's high chief. The intention was to surround the victim with the aura of a

tabu and sacredness attached to the ali'i by calling out the name of the high chief. Although not always certain, such action sometimes brought forth mercy (p. 292). This practice is similar to that of Christians who call forth the protection of their God in time of need by making the sign of the cross.

By far the most secure refuge was a fortification (pa) prepared in the mountains before the battle, stocked with food, and having a secret and protected path to a source of fresh water. Of these there were several examples. For the most part they were natural fortresses improved by stone walls, and steep precipices, difficult to travel mountain paths, and defensible positions where heavy stones could be thrown down upon unsuspecting invaders. One of the forts on Huahine had walls of solid stonework twelve feet high and in some places ten or twelve feet thick, enclosing an area about a half mile on each side in which there were many fruit trees and several springs and a temple dedicated to their tutelary deity. An around-the-clock watch was kept from the tops of these stone walls during time of war, and within the enclosure were houses sufficient

in number to care for the entire population of the area (pp. 313-314).

Thus we have certain elements found at Honaunau: the thick walls for protection and a temple dedicated to a deity. Ellis does not mention that this was any more than a fortress and any comparison will have to end there.

There was another type of refuge mentioned by Henry (1928, pp. 298-299, 312-313) which has overtones of the type used in Hawaii. During times of war the district contemplating battle would first select a secluded area and build a fare hua (house of the helpless) in which to place their women, children and disabled and aged men. Such a place was under the protection of "a priest of the gods cricket." No hostile party dared molest the fare hua during action, but afterwards its sanctity no longer existed, and the warriors of the victorious armies routed out the vanquished from every corner of their land. Some might escape to a pa or fortified area inland, and others to a friendly distant district, but those found by the victors were usually killed, their crops destroyed, houses burned, and temples desecrated.

## Conclusions

It is apparent from the material available that the Polynesian concept of a place of refuge is rooted in the inherited powers of the high chief. This is to be seen in the custom of declaring very high chiefs to be pu'uhonua, of declaring certain lands belonging to chiefs with powerful mana to be pu'uhonua and of placing the bones of deified ancestors in temples connected with specific sites which were thereby designated pu'uhonua. The ability of a chief to act as a refuge in turn stems from both his inherited sacred power, or mana, and from the political power or authority he is able to command. Thus the Samoan chief who gives asylum to a man from another district is able to do so because he controls enough people to defend his house and his district. The appearance of a refugee is indeed a compliment to his strength.

Also in Samoa the use of a tree in place of a high chief is a symbol of the continued power-after-life theory on which the deified ancestor is based. The tree was chosen as the site of refuge to replace the house of the deceased chief. It was a symbol of the chief's powerful position

during his lifetime.

In Hawaii the institution of the pu'uhonua was much more fully developed than in any other area in Polynesia with the one possible exception of Tonga. There were other Hawaiian institutions which had a unique development. The Hawaiian chiefs had advanced to a point where they alone of all Polynesian chiefs could demand and did receive complete submission from their subjects. The act of prostration by all commoners upon the appearance of a high chief or any of his servants (because they might be carrying some article belonging to the chief) is evidence of the powerful position of the Hawaiian chief -- a development unequalled elsewhere in Polynesia.

All the elements of Hawaiian pu'uhonua are to be found in other Polynesian areas. These had been transported to Hawaii as part of the general cultural knowledge of a Polynesian background. They were elaborated upon, and adapted to local needs and conditions. There is no evidence to justify looking to Israel or to other areas for the seeds from which the Hawaiians developed their concepts of asylum as represented in the pu'uhonua of Honaunau.

ANNOTATED LIST OF PUUHONUA IN THE  
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

by

Marion A. Kelly

ISLAND OF HAWAII

Haleolono, Naalehu, Kau.

The only authority stating that this heiau functioned as a  
pu'uhonua is Mrs. Mary Kawena Pukui who gave the following story:

A Hawaiian man was being pursued. Why, no one remembers. He ran, and while he ran the owl aumakua (family god) came and told him to lie down. The owl scratched leaves over him, covering him so that his would-be avengers passed by him. The owl then led him away, but his pursuers, discovering the trick were after him again. The owl returned and, forcing him to sit against a rock, perched himself on the man's head, covering him with his wings. That spot has ever since been called Poopueo (owl head). It was then but a short distance from there to a temple called Haleolono (an agricultural heiau where shedding blood was tabu). The owl guided the refugee to the heiau and the priest extended him protection. The refugee, feeling indebted to the priest, became his apprentice and was taken into the family as a son. The priest's name was Alapai.

Haulslani or Pakiha, Holualoa, North Kona.

Stokes (ms.b) reported that Haulslani was "described by residents

as a puuhonua,..built in the time of Keakealani, queen of Hawaii about eleven generations back." He also believed that this was the same heiau described by Ellis (1917, pp. 88-89) as Pakiha, although the name Pakiha and that of a nearby village, Kaluaokalani, mentioned by Ellis were unknown to Stokes' informants.

Reinecke (ms.) comments, "If Pakiha and Haulelani be identical, the pu'uhonua has been extended considerably makai for purposes of cultivation, as the dimensions are now approximately 200 x 500 ft. [270 x 210 ft. given by Ellis]. The interior certainly has been torn up for cultivation....On the east the wall is about fourteen feet thick and eight feet high; about the same on the south; on the north only about eight feet wide and eight feet or less in height, widening into a low platform near the makai end. There is no makai wall."

On a sketch map by Kekahuna (1950) appears an enclosure labeled "Pakiha Enclosure" located adjacent to another enclosure entitled "Pu'uhonua Enclosure." The "Pakiha Enclosure" might be the same

structure as that mentioned by Stokes and Reinecke, and which they called Hauelani Heiau. Kekahuna describes the Pakiha enclosure as having been the residence of "Queen Kekealani" on the land "Kekuaokalani." Whether Kekahuna is using Ellis as his source is not known, but it seems to be the case in this instance.

Hauola, Hamakua.

Thrum (1908, p. 41) mentions a heiau called Hauola as having been at one time a pu'uhonua in Hamakua. Hudson (ms. p. 193) states that all trace of this pu'uhonua has been lost.

Honaunau, North Kona.

The site of Hale o Keawe heiau and the largest pu'uhonua in the Hawaiian Islands.

Kapuanoni, Kahaolu, North Kona.

Thrum (1908, p. 72) stated, that this was a large heiau.



described as an ancient puhonua and luakini built in the the time of Lonoikamakahiki. Tradition has it that when Malaihi was its kahu (or keeper), a native fled to it from Pahoehoe and was followed in by his pursuers, seized, and taken away without remonstrance, which violation coming to the ears of the king he had the keeper slain and sacrificed on the altar of Ohiamukumuku.

Stokes (ms.b) reported that the grandson of this heiau's last priest informed him this heiau was built by Kalaniopuu. Stokes did not mention that this was reported to be a pu'uhonua.

Keeku, Kahaluu, North Kona.

Located directly on the shoreline, this heiau was said to have been one in which human sacrifices were offered. It was reported to have been built by Lonoikamakahiki and also to have served as a pu'uhonua (Stokes, ms. b).

Reinecke (ms.), using the same informant as did Stokes, noted that this was "a heiau of first rank, for sacrifice and also a

pu'uhonua." His informant was Malanui, whose grandfather was the priest of Kapuanoni heiau. The walls of Keeku were exceptionally heavy and strongly built. Foundations were located to the south of the main structure which were said to have been the site of Hale-o-Papa (House of Papa). A petroglyph located on the rocky ledge supporting Keeku is reported to be a picture of Kamalawalu, a defeated chief.

Malulani, Kioloaka, Kau.

This heiau was described to Stokes (ms.b) as having been a place of refuge and the location of a house called Hale o Keola, (House of Keola).

Mokuola, Hilo.

Thrum, (1908, p. 56-57) reported the island of Mokuola, located in Hilo bay, as having been a pu'uhonua and that it included part of the mainland across from the island on which was located a heiau of

luakini class and called Makaolu. The northern part of the little island, which was the place of refuge, was known as Kaula-i-na-iwi (where bones are placed to dry or air). The earliest reference to Mokuola as a pu'uhonua is found in Bloxam's original papers (ms) concerning his visit to Hawaii in 1825.

Pakaalana, Waipio Valley, Hamakua, Hawaii.

According to Ellis (1917, p. 273), the walls of Pakaalana were inferior to those at Honaunau, and its enclosure smaller, but it appeared to be of greater antiquity than Honaunau. Its Hale o Liloa (House of Liloa) was supposed to have housed the bones of Liloa, a famous chief and father of Umi, who reigned about fifteen generations back. A rudely carved stone image about six feet high stood at one corner of the wall and was said to have been an image of Liloa.

Fornander (1880, p. 73) comments that the builder of this heiau is unknown, but it was supposed to have existed before the time of Kila, as it figures in the legend of Moikeha. Kila, Moikeha's son, was accused of breaking an eating kapu and entered the place of refuge

within the heiau of Pakaalana, "a place where the violators of any kapu could be saved from punishment" (1916, p. 134). The taboos of Pakaalana were the most sacred on Hawaii, and remained so until its destruction and spoliation of all the royal associations in the valley of Waipio by Kaeckulani, King of Kauai, and confederate of Kahekili, King of Maui, in their war upon Kamehameha in 1791.

Thrum (1908, p. 57) adds that Lono was one of the gods of this temple in the time of Kiha and it was here that Ika, chief of a bandit clan with his companions were slain by Kiha and sacrificed upon its altar. Stokes (ms.b), following Ellis, mentions Pakaalana as a famous pu'uhonua.

Wahaula, Pulama, Puna.

Fornander (1880, pp. 35-36) says that in the original enclosure of this heiau was a sacred grove which contained one or more specimens of every tree growing on the Hawaiian group. Although he mentions this heiau as a very important one in Puna, he does not say that it

was a pu'uhonua. Thrum (1908, p. 52) says that the heiau of Wahaula "also had a puuhonua, or place of refuge, in connection with it, where those having broken kapu, or in times of war, might flee to from their pursuers and escape all penalty. Opinion differed, however, as to its location, some maintaining a place called Hale-o-kii (House of the Image), about a mile distant from the heiau, on the adjoining land of Kahaualea was the puuhonua of the district; while others held that the leveled area outside the walls to the southwest was the mecca."

He further comments that the present area (as he saw it) would not embrace a grove of trees, and thus he believes that the renovations and rebuildings done under several different chiefs (1908, pp. 48-54) must have made it smaller than its original size.

An interesting comment by Stokes (ms.b) notes another heiau called Wahaula, but located in the land of Kamaili, Puna, was claimed by local residents to have been the original heiau of Wahaula and that the stones were taken to Pulama to build the large Wahaula heiau

at that place.

Note: No information has been found which gives a pu'uhonua site for the district of Kohala, Hawaii. It is likely that one existed there, but any knowledge regarding such a site has been lost.

#### ISLAND OF MAUI

Kaili, Puuhaoa, Hana.

A land division under the protection of the god Kukailimoku which was made a land of refuge by express declaration of Kamehameha I (Kamakau, March 10, 1870).

Kanemalohemo (Keakalauae), Popoiwi, Kaupo, Mokulau.

Walker (ms.) claimed this heiau to have been called Keakalauae and that it was used as a pu'uhonua. He measured its size as 168 feet by 330 feet. Fornander (1880, p. 133) said it was built by Kekaulike, King of Maui, just before a raid on Hawaii in the early part of the

18th century. Thrum (1909b, p. 48; 1938, p. 129) list Kanemalohemo as a heiau, but not as a pu'uhonua.

Kaniomoku, Hana.

March 10,  
Kamakau ( / 1870) says this was a land belonging to Kaahumanu and made a pu'uhonua by Kamehameha I. The name appeared listed by Thrum (1909b, p. 48) as an ancient heiau and place of refuge. Later Thrum (1917, p. 53) said, "Confusion prevails relative to the formerly listed Kanimoku heiau and place of refuge of the district. Some maintained that the heiau of this pu'uhonua was called Keaumuku; others held that it was simply the place of refuge of the district and held no temple. It is famed, however, as the place where Kaahumanu, the favorite queen of Kamehameha I, was brought at an early age from her birthplace at the base of Kauiki and reared till well grown. A visit to the locality revealed no indication of a heiau structure." However, in his 1938 List of Heiaus and Sites the name Kaniomoku appears as "an ancient heiau and alleged place

of refuge." (1938, p. 129).

Kukuipuka, Waihee.

This is listed by Thrum (1909b, p. 48, 1938, p. 130) as a place  
of refuge for West Maui and also a heiau. Kamakau (March 10,  
1870)

lists it as a land belonging to the god Kuka'ilimoku and having been  
made a pu'uhonua for Kahukuloa, Maui.

Lahaina, West Maui.

Fogue (1858, p. 21) listed Lahaina as one of the pu'uhonua of  
Maui where men were free when they entered it.

Lanakila, Kaalae, Hana.

Thrum (1917, p. 54) reported that Lanakila was a medium sized  
heiau which afforded refuge in time of war.

Olowalu, West Maui.

Fogue (1858, p. 21) listed Olowalu as a pu'uhonua on Maui where



men were free when they entered.

Poaiwa, Poaiwa, Waiehu.

Poaiwa was reported by Thrum (1918, p. 126) as a pu'uhonua and heiau.

Poli-poli, Napoko.

A land division under the protection of the god Kukailimoku which was made a land of refuge by express declaration of Kamehameha I (Kamakau, March 10, 1870).

Po'opuupaa, Waihee.

Pogue (1858, p. 21) listed Po'opuupaa as a pu'uhonua where men were free when they entered.

Puunau (Faunau), Lahaina.

Puunau was named by Kamakau ( / <sup>March 10,</sup> 1870) as one of Kaahumanu's

lands made a pu'uhonua by Kamehameha I.

Waipukua, Waihee.

Waipukua was listed by Kamakau (March 10, 1870) as one of the lands of Kaahumahu made pu'uhonua by Kamehameha I.

ISLAND OF LANAI

Halulu, Kaunolu, Kealia.

The most imposing ruin on Lanai stands upon the west bank of Kaunolu valley, two hundred feet from the sea. It is the heiau and place of refuge named Halulu which was still in use sometime between 1778 and 1810 when Kamehameha I was in the habit of visiting Kaunolu (Emery, 1924, p. 62). Thrum (1909a, p. 41) gave the name of this pu'uhonua as Kaunolu, at Kealia, and mentioned the name of the priest in charge as being Papalua.

ISLAND OF MOLOKAI

Kahoonohe, Moanui Valley, Apuhi Pohakupili, Kona.

Here, it was reported to Thrum (1909a, p. 64), a very important

chief was buried. His bones were safe because this heiau was "a temple of refuge and tabu." Stokes (ms. b) states that a heiau in Moanui Valley which corresponds in measurements to the one Thrum described as being Kahoonoho should be called Kakahaku. Stokes makes no mention that this was a pu'uhonua. He also placed a heiau named Kahoonoho in the land of Pohakupili (five lands distant from Moanui Valley). He reported that this was very small in size but that its placement on a promontory and the size of its retaining wall would indicate its importance.

Kaili, Halawa Valley, Koolau.

Stokes (ms. b) notes the Pu'uhonua of Kaili, but he did not visit the location. Keola (March 25, 1893) in identifying Kaili pointed to the

site which he located at the foot of a steep pali.

Kalanikaula, Keopukaloa, Kona.

This is a sacred kukui nut tree grove named after a powerful priest (kahuna). "Here fugitives sought and received refuge and sanctuary" (Cooke, 1949, p. 153). There is doubt whether this grove of trees was a pu'uhonua in the same sense that Honaunau was, but it may have functioned in this capacity because Lanikaula was a very famous and venerated kahuna with a great reputation as a prophet and counsellor. It well may have been that he was powerful enough to give refuge and sanctuary to fugitives.

Kalua'aha, Kona.

When Kamehameha attacked Molokai and killed many of the people, those who fled to the land of Kalua'aha escaped death. Kamakau

March 10,  
(1870) states that this land was designated as a pu'uhonua by

Kamehameha I because it belonged to his favorite wife, Kaahumanu.

Anyone who fled to this land could escape punishment and death.  
(Pogue, 1858, p. 21).

Kawela, Kona (On the boundary between Kamalo and Kapulei, Kawela Gulch).

Cooke (1949, p. 111) stated that this was a pu'uhonua and then he described its similarities to a fortification. Phelps (ms. Site 34) states, "all could point as well to its having been a heiau as a fort. It is true that this place at Kawela was a natural defence position; but so, indeed, was practically any ridge on Molokai. On the whole I feel that it had served, probably successively, both functions. Originally a heiau, at one time it happened to be used as a position of defense or a refuge and thus acquired its designation by local tradition."

Kukaua, Kawaihoa, Pelekunu Valley, Koolau.

Stokes (ms.b) wrote that although this was called a pu'uhonua by local residents, it distinctly had the appearance of a fort, and that it's name Kukaua was a corruption of the word Puukaua, a fort.

Mapulehu, Kona (adjoining land of Kalua'aha).

This land was declared to be a land of refuge by Kamehameha I because it had belonged to his favorite wife, Kaahumanu (Pogue, 1858, p. 21).

Oloku'i, between Pelekunu and Wailau Vallies, Koolau.

Oloku'i was identified as a pu'uhonua by Pogue (1858, p. 21) and located north of Pelekunu valley. This is the location where Molokai men sought refuge from invading Maui warriors. The Molokai people climbed this hill to escape from the enemy and upon being pursued they rolled stones down on their enemies, thus saving themselves.

Pakui, between Ualapue and Manawai, Kona.

Thrum (1908, p. 40) listed Pakui as being a heiau of pu'uhonua character, but in his "Complete List of Heiaus and Sites" in 1938 mentions no pu'uhonua for the Island of Molokai.

Pu'uali'i, Eliali'i, Wailau Valley, Koolau.

Although this was termed a pu'uhonua, Stokes (ms.b) comments that when he visited the site he felt the situation suggested merely a heiau rather than a pu'uhonua.

#### ISLAND OF OAHU

Haunmaniho, Waimanalo, Koolaupoko.

A small hill said to have been famous in olden days as a place of refuge and recognized by all chiefs (McAllister, 1953, p. 18, 191).

Kailua, Koolaupoko.

Kailua is a large area of land which was considered sacred and a land of refuge (Kamakau, March 10, 1870).

Kawaluna, Waolani, Nuuanu Valley, Kona.

Fornander (1880, p. 280) connects this heiau with Kualii, a high born chief from Kailua. Kamakau (July 29, / <sup>1865</sup> ) said: "The

sore-eyed are at Waolani, the crippled are at Waolani, the lame are at Waolani, the bald-headed are at Waolani, the humpbacked are at Waolani." Alexander (1891, p. 45) goes further and says, "Waolani was sacred to fugitives and the sick." Tucker (ms.) carries it a little further and says that this was a pu'uhonua for the sick and infirm and he also gives an expression which was used by older Hawaiians in his day: "Kela Kanaka o Waolani" (That man of Waolani) which was a phrase of derision and contempt for one who is crippled. This heiau was thought to have been back of the Oahu Country Club, but the exact site is not known today.

Kawiwi, Waianae.

Ke Kamakau reported this to be a place of refuge in time of war and further stated that it was not like Honaunau (3/10/1870). It is not connected with a heiau, but is more like an extremely inaccessible mountain retreat.



Kualoa, Koolaupoko.

This is a land which was considered a very sacred place and a true place of refuge where a man condemned to die was saved if he entered it (Kamakau, <sup>March 10,</sup> / 1870). Exactly why this was considered sacred land is not known for certain. It may have been that a very high ranking chief or chiefess resided there at one time and the land thus assumed a sanctity. Some opinion holds, however, that "tapu land was not necessarily a place of refuge" (McAllister, 1933, p. 18). It should be pointed out that on this land was located the pu'uhonua of Puakea, which may have some bearing on the fact that the land itself was sacred (pp. 168-170).

Laie, Koolaupoko.

<sup>18,</sup>  
McAllister (1933, p./157) was told by several Hawaiians living at Laie that this land was formerly an ancient pu'uhonua. Pogue (Ms., p. 31 ) also stated that Laie was an ancient place of refuge and that the boundary on the Kahana side was called Pa-paa-koko, (Fence that held the blood).

Puakea, Hakipuu, Kualoa, Koolaupoko.

"This is a large three terraced heiau, still in existence; an

ancient place of refuge to which is coupled the name of Kaopulupulu as the supervising priest" (Thrum, 1909a, p. 42). However, in his "Complete List of Heiaus and Sites" in 1938, Thrum did not mention any as pu'uhonua for Oahu. McAllister (1933, p. 168-170) following Thrum names Puakea as a pu'uhonua.

Waikane, Koolaupoko.

March 10,

A land division named by Kamakau ( / 1870) as sacred and also a refuge.

#### ISLAND OF KAUAI

Hauola, Hoes Valley, Waiawa, Kona.

Rice (1923, p. 45) said that "Ola sent the Menehune to build a heiau at the mouth of the Wailua River, which was to be called Hauola, after the famous city of refuge of his father at Kekaha." If this information can be relied upon, then it may be that the heiau Hauola is the place of refuge at Kekaha referred to by Kamakau

March 10,  
(/ 1870). Because Hauola does not conform to the long, narrow  
shape of two other pu'uhonua on Kauai and one on Niihau, Bennett  
(1931, p. 49) feels that it may not have been a pu'uhonua. Thrum  
(1907, p. 63) does not mention this as a pu'uhonua.

Hikinaakala, Wailua-kai, Puna.

Dickey (1917, p. 15) claimed the name of this ancient pu'uhonua  
to be Hauola. He located it a little east of the mouth of the  
Wailua River and on its south side. "Here," he explained, "a murderer  
or one liable to death because of violating a kapu might flee from the  
pursuer and be safe. The gates were always open to the fugitive, who  
could rush in, thank the principal idol for safety and after remain-  
ing within the walls a few days, be immune and leave..." The actual  
heiau of Hikinaakala he located in the southeastern part of this  
place of refuge.

Thrum (1924, p. 34) dubbed it "long-fellow" because of its shape;  
395 feet in length, 50 feet in width at the rear and 30 feet in front.

Some of the walls measured by Thrum were six feet high, 11 feet thick and constructed of heavy stones. He also noted the ruins of another structure at Waimea [nearly at the opposite side of the island] of the same name, but he expressed some doubt as to whether the one at Waimea was truly a pu'uhonua. Pogue stated that this pu'uhonua was for the use of the districts of Puna, Koolau, Haalelea and Napali (1858, p. 21).

Hikinaakala, Waimea, Kona.

Thrum (1907, p. 39) located this pu'uhonua in Waimea Village, but he added that while "some report it as a place of refuge,.. others assert that the crossing of the river [Waimea River] to Makaweli was the only pu'uhonua in this section of ancient Kauai."

Kekaha, Kona.

Kekaha was said by Kamakau ( <sup>March 10,</sup> / 1870) to have been the place of refuge for the land of Mana. Whether this refers to a particular site or to the entire area known as Kekaha is not known.

Keonekapu-a-Kahamalu'ihii, Waimea, Kona.

March 10,  
Kamakau ( / 1870) states that in the time of Kahamaluihi

this was the place of refuge on Kauai for the district of Waimea.

The exact site has not been identified. Pogue (1858, p. 21) mentions this pu'uhonua as the place of refuge for Waimea, Mana and the lands adjoining Kona.

Puwouhou.

Bennett (1931, p. 49, 131) mentioned that this structure was considered by native informants as a place of refuge which is located on top of the hill mapped as "Puu Auau." The structure itself has been completely demolished and the hill planted in pineapples.

Waiakalua, Kilauea, Koolau.

Thrum (1912, p. 41-42) says some people referred to this structure as an ancient pu'uhonua, but there is nothing definite about their information. The heiau is located on a bluff overlooking the ocean at about 1000 feet elevation.

Wailua, Puna.

March 10,  
Named by Kamakau (1870) as the place of refuge for the  
entire Puna districts on Kauai. It could be that he referred to  
the famous pu'uhonua of Wailua, Hikinaakala.

#### ISLAND OF NIIHAU

Kihawahine, Pali Koa'e, Lehua.

Thrum (1907, p. 43) included this structure in his list of  
heiau as a pu'uhonua. It was built in the long, narrow style of  
the pu'uhonua of Hikinaakala at Wailua-kai, Kauai and the one of  
the same name at Waimea, Kauai.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FEATURES OF THE PUUHONUA AREA

by

J.F.G. Stokes

The great puuhonua wall

Dimensions of the wall. The east wall is now 623 feet long, and varies in width at the base from 23 feet on the north to 17 feet on the south, and in height from 8 to 12 feet, due partly but not entirely to the undulation of the ground. The south wall is 365 feet long, with an average width of 16 feet, and a height comparable to that of the east wall.

Ellis in 1823 (1917, p. 128) measured the enclosure and by including the platform supporting the House of Keawe, obtained a distance of 715 feet for the long side, and 404 for the short side. He gave the height of the walls as 12 feet and the thickness as 15 feet. Lyman, after his visit in 1846 (Wed. Dec. 2, 1846) states that they had measured the wall "from the entrance at the south end of the platform of the house, and found the east side to be 600 feet and the southern 400."

From Lyman's plan, figure 2 , it is evident that this 600 foot measurement was from the entrance through the east wall at that time, as he gives the width of the house platform as only fifty feet.

Hitchcock, in 1890, see figure 3 , obtained a length of 697 feet by including the house platform. By this time a great tidal wave had torn away some of the platform. Hitchcock gives the length of the south wall as 400 feet, mentioning that an extension of it was "waved washed away".

This south wall can be traced for 90 feet beyond its present end, through the occurrence of the base of a cross-wall, making its original length at some time at least 460 feet. It probably once extended out on Paniau flat to as far as the sea, except perhaps for an opening. The western border of Paniau flat, in its higher position in relation to the land to the south, forms a natural boundary.

The photograph (plate 14 , no. 1466) taken in 1889, of the middle part of the outer face of the north wall, when compared with one from the same point of view taken in 1919 (plate 15 , no. 3472) shows that in the reconstruction perhaps a foot or two feet in height of the original wall



has been lost in this section.

Where the walls cross sand beds or sinks floored with muck there had been some collapses as shown in the photo of 1839 (plate 38 , photo 28801).

Those who worked on the 1902 reconstruction reported breaks at the depressions 100 and 180 feet respectively, north of the southeast corner.

(Note by K.P. Emory: The present termination of the north wall was arbitrarily set in the 1902 construction, and the 3 foot bench along its north face and the indentation, 5 feet wide and 7 feet deep, has been put in as an accommodation to those who wish to climb to the top of the wall.

If Ellis' measurements and estimates were accurate, and there is no reason to suppose they were not, the wall extended another five feet north in his time. Remarkable is the fact that the continuation of the outer face of the great wall was found, upon removal by Stokes of stones, (see plate 16 , photo 2069) to continue through the present platform of the Hale o Keawe at what is now the front of the second terrace, approaching from the north, and there is every indication that the south face of the great wall extended through this platform also, because the present path

into the enclosure will be observed at this point to rise in order to pass over large, deeply embedded stones, and on the opposite side of the platform, stones embedded in the sand are nearly in line, and in between Stokes was able to trace the facing part way. Stokes has noted also several very large boulders extending in a line with the east face of the great wall out towards the point of the Akahipapa flat, suggesting that the wall at one time may have extended that far. However that may be, it is certain that the great wall at some time in the past extended as far as the water's edge. When the platform of Hale o Keawe was installed, the base of this wall was incorporated into it. The shelf nearly 3 feet wide and 2 feet high which runs at present along the outside of the east wall from the entrance southward to the wall crossing the ponds had been added since 1919. It obscures the great size of some of the foundation blocks.)

The irregular course of the great wall may have been due to poor planning, but some of the turnings may be explained by the desire to avoid a spring on one side and a fish pond on the other.

Such was the destruction of the south wall by tidal waves that in

1902 over a hundred feet of the west end was restored, but in the restoration the wall was swung slightly to the north of the original line, as revealed by the trench we dug. See plate 17, photo 3489.

(Note by K.P. Emory. A break in the east wall, close to the north end, and 600 feet from the south end for the entrance into the enclosure was made prior to 1846, as shown on Lyman's sketch, figure 2. This may even have been an original entrance, as Ellis says (1917, p. 127):

"This [punhonua] had several wide entrances, some on the side next the sea, others facing the mountains." It is noteworthy that just north of this point of break were observed in 1919 the foundation stones of a wall, and south of it a rough, low modern wall extended southward (see dotted lines on map) and, <sup>which</sup> had functioned in a goat or cattle pen, according to information obtained at the time. This wall on the south was probably part of the wall of the goat pen indicated on Lyman's map of 1846.)

Construction of the great wall. As in all Hawaiian masonry the stones are dry laid, but fitted together in the facing with more than usual care, a

flat side exposed in the facing. The east wall is faced for a distance of 175 feet from the north end with sea-worn or weathered slabs and blocks, many of large size and placed on edge or on end. See plate 18 , photo 3469. The largest stone is in the outer facing 115 feet from the north end. It measured 6.5 feet high, 5.3 feet wide, and 2 feet thick. See plate 19 , photo 3471. The continuation of the east wall southward, and the south wall, are faced with smaller stones which are not sea-worn or weathered.

In erecting the wall it should be noted that a firm base was not prepared by the removal of soft material down to bed rock. For the greater part of the route, the base stones rested on lava which was undoubtedly bare when the walls were laid up. The portions of the walls which were found collapsed when the reconstruction of 1902 was commenced, were those which rested on soft ground. In trenching along the outside of the east wall it was found that for 47 feet from the north end, the base stones rested on sand. The full depth of sand was not ascertained, as in spite of bracing, the reconstructed wall collapsed during the operation.

However, at one point a measurement had been taken and it was found that the base of the wall was two feet below the present sand level and two feet above the bottom of the trench. On the opposite side, at the corner, the sand was two feet deep, and the wall base one foot above the lava bed.

See plates 20, 17, photos 3473 and 3489. Base stones in the south wall of that portion described as a niche to the west of Hale o Papa, rested on three inches of sand on one side of the wall and on one foot of sand on the other. The lava bed is low here. Near the end of the traceable continuation of the south wall, also where the lava dips, other base stones were found resting on sand.

A remarkable feature of the construction was revealed at places where the interior of the wall had been exposed by collapses or removal of stones. This was a labor and material saving, hollow construction for many stretches of fill, known to the local Hawaiians as pao (caverned) construction and accomplished by laying lava slabs or columns across spaced walls or upright piers or columns and having several tiers of these.

Figure 4, represents a diagrammatic cross-section of the great south

wall, and plate 21 , photo 2811, shows how such work proceeded, in a theoretical extension of the end of the south wall, demonstrated by Hawaiian workmen. This type of construction has been observed nowhere else in the Hawaiian Islands except at Honaunau, and in the heiau platform of Alahaka, half a mile to the south, in Keeksa land section. It takes advantage of the local lava beds and the way they are, or can be, broken up.

Two parallel walls 3 to 3.5 feet wide and 8 feet apart were erected in this reconstruction and as they went up the space between was filled in with the pao construction. The side retaining walls were carefully faced within and without, but the largest and best stones were set in what would become the outside face of the great wall. Between the two retaining walls and at right angles to them, stone piers were set up (hooku) some two feet apart, to receive stone slabs laid horizontally (hoemo) between them. Another row of piers was set up parallel to the first and some two feet from it and stone beams laid across this also. The space between the first and second row was bridged by stone beams laid at right angles to the other beams, across from pier to pier or with their ends resting on the other

beams. Small stones were wedged in between the horizontal and the surface filled in and levelled off with small stones forming a rough pavement,

kipapa. After a section of this fill construction has been completed, an upper deck of the same construction was commenced, and so on until three tiers had been erected, then the remaining space between the retaining walls would be filled in roughly and the top levelled off in a pavement.

Some of the supporting piers were made up of several stone blocks placed one on top the other, but most of them were simply single basaltic columns set on end. Some horizontal pieces rested on indentations of the inner face of the retaining walls.

Breaks in the middle portion of the exterior face of the south wall, revealed in 1919 glimpses of the pao construction. See plates 22, 23, photos 3484 and 3482). In plate 22 , photo 3484, a second tier is exposed. On entering this cavity to observe the structure, eight sets of columns could be observed westward, as far as could be seen in the dim light. It happens that the pier on the left showing in this photograph is made up of four stones placed one on top the other, but the other piers

were one-piece columns. A break in the wall a little north of the last, gives glimpses of three tiers of pao construction. See plate 38, photo 3482.

The pao construction is obviously a technique developed from the stone chambers or vaults to be seen in house and burial platforms, where a row of slabs set a foot or two apart, are bridged over with slabs.

The pao construction was not found for the full length of the south wall. At intervals it changed to ordinary fill of rough stones, a construction known as hakahaka (vacant spaces) a term applied when stones were placed angularly to each other in order to fill space with little labor. Before the pao construction could be resumed, it was necessary to face this fill. It was evident that the builders would first select from among the stones brought to them, those most suited for pao construction and that when these had been used up, the odd-shaped stones were then piled in the hakahaka manner and the section they were working upon finished off with a cross-facing.

The portions of the wall where the cross-facings were present seemed



to have been the weakest. The wall collapsed at three places as the sand was being removed from along side the base. In two of the three, the break occurred at the cross-facing, while the third revealed a filling of hakahaka construction.

This cross-facing, extending upward to the top of the wall, was found in many places. Twenty-seven sections were thus marked off, varying in length from 20 to 65 feet. Could the walls have been examined in its original condition or before it was resurfaced in 1902, it would probably have been found that the sections were twice as numerous, and that they ranged in length from 20 to 25 feet. Where observed they are marked on the plan, with the direction of the facing indicated. The directions of these facings reveal that the wall was built in sections. When in a section both ends are faced, that section must have been finished as a unit before the adjacent sections were added. When a section has not been faced at either end, it is clear that it was put in between the adjacent sections, and afterwards, the southwest corner was completed and faced on the north and west before the adjacent sections were ordered. Ellis

stated that in 1823 "holes were visible in the top of the wall where large images had formerly stood, about four rods (22 feet) apart throughout its whole extent". No holes were noted in 1902, but if they did originally exist in Ellis' time, it would seem that one image was placed in each section of wall.

If the southeast corner of the great wall is examined it will be noticed that the corner section was completed and faced on the north and west. Adjoining the west facing, another section was added and faced. Then follows a section without facing, indicating that workers on the wall to the west of this section had completed their portion of the wall, facing it with a cross wall, and then this section of the wall without end facings had been added. Now, proceeding northward from the corner of the great wall, one may observe that a short section of wall had been added to connect with a portion of the wall already built. Four more sections to the north is one section which had been faced at both ends. These three sections to the south of this section faced at both ends, are all faced on the south, while on the north is one section faced on the north and then

a section filled in to connect with a south-faced section to its north.

Here we seem to have a unit of construction, the initial point or section

being the section of wall faced at both ends. One section was added on the

north, three on the south, before sections were added to connect with a

unit completed on the north and with the corner on the south. More to the

north and the west of the portions of the great wall described, the sections

identified are longer, but this is probably due to the intermediate lines

of demarkation being obliterated on the surface. Our examination as far

as it goes brings out a probability that there were at least seven units

of construction or seven groups of workmen engaged in building these walls,

and that the groups worked simultaneously. In this connection what my

Hawaiian informants said about the building of the wall by the men im-

pressed for the work from the ahupuaa land sections extending four miles

to the north and five to the south, is highly interesting and seems

probably true. The number of ahupuaa land-sections within these miles is

nine. With such a labor force working simultaneous it does not seem im-

possible for the great wall to have been erected in five days, each of the

nine or so groups erecting a section in a day.

Source of the stones. A native account is to the effect that the stones were brought from Paumoa and Alahaka in the adjoining Keokea ahupuaa to the south. This statement may be correct in part, as the lava breaks up readily into columns in that locality as at Honaunau. The greater part of the material, however, was without doubt gathered from nearer sources. In the vicinity of the puuhonua the surface of the lava is broken in many places. Depressions of one or more feet in depth are common, and these have had their edges broken in a way which does not suggest weathering alone. There are very few loose stones in the vicinity of such places, and so there is little doubt that they served as primitive quarries.

#### The ancient heiau platforms

Dimensions. West of Alealea heiau lay a vast heap of loose rocks, stones, and pebbles in a trilobed area indicated by dotted lines on the plan,

See plate 24, photo 3457.  
figure 5 . A The heap extends over an area having a maximum width of

175 feet and length of 325 feet. The form of the pile suggested the effects of successive tidal waves coming from the southwest and the northwest.

Ellis mentions (1917, p. 128) that within the puuhonua "were three large heiaus, two of which were considerably demolished, while the other was nearly entire." As the well-preserved one, through the measurements given by Ellis, is the Alealea platform, the two "considerably demolished" ones must have been situated in the area of the great heap of stones. Since Ellis' time, the ruins would have been subjected to at least two tidal waves.

Without doubt, also, stones were taken from this area for the construction of Alealea platform. Disturbances of a later date have added to the general disarrangement. Tombs have been built on the site and to the south, the stones for which seem to have been taken from the mound. Damage too has been caused by treasure seekers, tearing up the pavements.

Following out of alignments of facings, has resulted in determining that at least one massive platform, about 110 feet by 320 feet, its long axis east and west, stood here, and probably a small platform just to the north, 28 feet wide and 60 or more feet long. The plan, figure 5 shows by dotted lines the areas where trenches were put through in the

effort to determine the shape and construction of the original structures which had been erected here.

The western lobe of the area is composed of the largest stones, held in place partly by their own weight on the bare lava, but mostly by being cemented by lime in the sand on which they stood. The smaller rocks and stones have generally been sifted out and carried by the sea to the main heap, the northern borders of which are lined with loose rocks. The small eastern lobe is almost entirely composed of small and large pebbles. The surface stones are generally rounded, as though sea worn or weathered, in strong contrast to the sharp-edged stones which were found beneath.

The middle portion was the highest, where it is marked with an elevation of 9.32 feet above mean tide. The contour of the heap inclines sharply on the west, but declines gradually to the east. The lava bed generally dipped slightly to a longitudinal middle line, and was highest on the south side.

A close examination revealed on the north and west a few lines of stones still standing in position and on the south, the tops of a line

of stones partly under the sand. From these may be picked out the lines of the original north, west, and south walls of a platform similar to Alealea but larger.

The west wall was very distinct for part of the way. The lava-bed dips here and has filled with lime sand, which has become mortar-like in consistency due perhaps to the presence of fresh water. Some of the massive facing stones of the first course have been held in place by this inert sand. Digging beyond this line to pick up other lines proved profitless.

The eastern wall could not be found. In trenching through the heap to find it (trench D), the loose stones were followed down for four feet, and loose free sand for another five. Bottom was not reached for the whole length, as seeping water filled the trench and caused it to collapse. The sand was generally free of stones, and there were none in place indicating walls. At the juncture of trenches D and E, the eastern edge of a level portion of lava was met with and a few small stones in line here suggested the wall. Further investigation showed that the line was

accidental. A beginning of the wall might have been suggested by the presence of two boulders near the southwest corner. They measure about 7 by 9 feet in plan, and are 3 feet thick. However, their sides are so very rounded that they would be unsuitable for wall building. They are so weathered in appearance, unlike the stones in the vicinity, that they probably antedate the time of puuhonua by many centuries. In all the debris on this northeast side the large facing stones were absent. We may conclude that the wall ran on the lava to the west of trench E, and that after this heiau platform was damaged by some tidal wave and abandoned, many of its stones were taken to build the more recent Alealea. The absence of support on the east may well explain the peculiar flow of stones in that direction.

The trenches F and G, dug to examine structural features and to pick up any parallel lines of stones running east and west, produced some results only towards the south. However, although the Hawaiian laborers employed had already become familiar with the hollow pao construction of the walls, and worked very carefully, the method was changed, and two



picked men were set to work removing surface stones with their hands in order to expose the kipapa, that is the pavings underneath which would show pao construction. A portion of kipapa, in sight west of center, was followed to the east and found to undulate considerably and with an irregularity not in accord with the contour of the ground, and the height of the supporting piers found varied very much.

Two other parallel shallow trenches made in the same way through the middle of the heap along its shorter axis gave varying results. That on the west showed pao construction similar to what had been previously found. In the eastern trench, however, only loose stone was found, suggesting a general collapse of the east-central portion of the heap, rather than fill with rough stones.

The southern wall could be traced for a greater extent than any of the others. The eastern portion required but little excavation to reach bed rock. On the west, however, the sand had accumulated to a depth of 3 feet. On referring to the plan (figure 5 ) it may be observed that these two separated portions are not exactly in true line, a feature noticed also in

Alealea and the great walls. This irregularity is not due to tidal wave action, as the corresponding inner wall continuing beyond the gap is straight.

In the plan the principal face of the south wall which must have been a retaining wall for the platform is indicated by a thick line.

The south wall is really composed of two parallel walls as in the great puuhonua, and filled in between with loose stones. Alignment of base stones of facings show that each of these two retaining walls was faced on the inside as well as the outside. The thickness of the outer wall was 6 feet. A greater thickness than could be observed in the two parallel retaining walls of the great puuhonua wall.

Towards the eastern end there are stones suitable for facings, which are laid on the side instead of the edge. The western portion is faced with large slabs, as was the northern part of the great east puuhonua wall.

Plates 25, 26, photos 3461, 3462 show the trench dug to reveal this south wall, and it may be seen that many of the larger facing slabs were found as they had fallen. In replacing them it was ascertained that

the original minimum height of the platform at this edge had been 4 feet above the immediate contour but 10.36 feet above the datum point. One of the slabs had an even surface on one side, but a large bulge on the other. The latter had been worked down, as though to make it fit into line.

Another wall on the north approximately parallel to the last and 3 to 4 feet away is a single line of stones faced to the south. The space between walls was followed to the lava bed 1.5 feet below, but nothing was found to suggest an explanation of the proximity of the walls to each other. The single line of hooniho was not intended as the original southern boundary of the platform, as might be supposed, as it lacks the large facing slabs. It was without doubt intended as a bracing wall.

Another single-lined wall is 25 feet to the north and faces to the south. It does not continue through the vault, but its line was picked up again to the west. Between it and the main south wall, and at right angles to both are two short lines of wall base stones facing each other,

and only six inches apart. (Note by K.P. Emory: Was this a section of a vault for hiding things?) Another short line facing to the north and parallel to the major axis of the platform may be noted towards the east. All this section is low, perhaps because it furnished the stones for the many graves on the south. It is difficult to explain the object of this wall except as a bracing wall, and for this purpose it would seem to be too light.

As has been mentioned the filling in of the middle section of the ruins is made of pao construction, which is traced to a short piece of wall apparently double lined, and facing to the north. It probably did not continue to the east. The pao construction occurs again between the last mentioned stone line, and another, parallel and further to the north. This is unquestionably double lined, and some of the stones in its northern line are slabs like the other exterior facings. It would be taken as the northern boundary of the platform except that there are base stones of another double-lined wall parallel to it and only 4 feet to the north, with its principal face facing to the south. These walls are 5.5 feet wide.

There is a little filling between them which is very rough and quite unlike the laid pavement in the vicinity. Still more to the north is a short thick line of facing, many base stones of which are columns laid horizontally. These would have been very suitable for pao construction, though somewhat longer than those found in this structure.

We might be inclined to regard the space between this and the last wall as part of a terrace lower than the main platform, but one of the large facing stones now inclined inward, yet with its base in position, would indicate the height of the wall here as at least 8.5 feet, so that we may conclude that here was another platform of equal height.

All the northern lines of base stones were held in place partly by paving, and other stones which had become wedged in, and partly by sand which has sifted in between. The lava on which these stones rests is lower than the portion to the west from which loose material has been swept away.

Alealea heiau

Dimensions: The platform which is now known by this name is nearly rectangular in plan with walls varying from vertical to a slope of 1 in 20. Ellis states (1917, p. 128) that it was nearly entire in 1823 and was "a compact pile of stones, laid up in a solid mass, 126 feet by 65 and ten feet high." These are almost exactly the present measurements, except that the height varies from 8 to 11 feet according to ground contour. The platform rests on a portion of the latest lava flow, which raises its base a few feet above its surroundings.

Construction: The walls of the original portions are faced with slabs set on edge (plates 27, 28, photos 2450 and 2066) weathered or sea worn as in the northern portion of the great east wall. Two of the facing stones had been worked down by pecking, both near the northeast corner. That on the north had undergone but little change, but that on the east (plate 28, photo 2066 at base) had been reduced over almost its entire face. The edges, however, did not seem to have been worked. The north and east borders of the platform were both bent inward (see the plan on

the map), an unusual feature for a Hawaiian structure of this size.

The pao construction in the interior was of similar construction to that in the great walls, except running longitudinally through the middle was a double line of bracing walls.

Reconstruction: The restoration of 1902 consisted of rebuilding the whole of the western end and levelling off the paved surface, in addition to building steps in the southern wall for the convenience of visitors. Two of the workmen of 1902 volunteered the information that there had been a mound of stone on the surface of Alealea, near the middle of the eastern end. The situation of this mound corresponds with that of the stone base of the Anuu or Lananuunamao, often termed the "oracle tower", the most important feature in a temple, and one which has been preserved on many temple sites.

Alealea heiau is described today as having been a temple for pleasure, where the chiefs reclined and relaxed to look over the country or watch the hula. Its present rough surface was covered with smooth beach pebbles. Formerly access to it was by means of a ladder of kaula wood which the keeper of Alealea platform produced from his house and set up. When the chiefs departed the ladder was placed again in storage.

(Kekahuna, on his map of 1952, places a house site on the east side of the platform and calls it the house of the priest of Alealea, and another on the south side on which he says there stood a ti-leaf thatched hut, in which chiefs and priests held ceremonies. Twenty-two feet from the southwest corner of Alealea he regards some stones as the site of a fisherman's shrine, one which he mentions <sup>is</sup> a large stone, face down, which has two depressions in the face, in which stone fishing deities were set up. On the north, two upright stones are standing which Stokes told me were not there in 1919. These are designated by Kekahuna as "stone idols." The house sites and shrine are not as well defined as on his map. K.P.Emory.)



## Platform of the Hale o Keawe

Dimensions of the platform. From the fact that Ellis included the platform on which the Hale o Keawe stood, in his measurement for the east boundary of the puuhonua, obtaining a length of 715 feet (1917, p. 128) and that Hitchcock, before the restoration but after the tidal wave, by also including the platform, obtained a measurement of 697 feet (1889), plus the statement of local people who had seen the platform before restoration, proves that it extended out towards Akahipapa flat by at least ten and perhaps by as much as fifteen feet from its present position. Ellis gives us an idea of the size of the area on which the house stood, in saying (1917, p. 124), that the house, 16 feet wide and 24 feet long, was surrounded by a fence which left an area paved "with smooth fragments of lava laid down with considerable skill", in front and at each end, of 24 feet. This would mean a minimum of 72 feet of paving beyond the end of the great stone wall, or from the north border of the platform towards the stone wall. Lyman (ms.) gives the dimensions of the platform on which the house stood as "50 feet by 50." His dimensions could well

refer to a house platform set on a paved court. Hitchcock who saw this whole area in ruins in 1890, estimated (fig. 2) it was "about 100 feet square". The present platform (see plate 29 , photo 3438) is 58 feet from north to south and 68 feet from west to east not counting the easternmost terrace which is an entirely modern addition of the 1902 reconstruction, as I learned from Mr. Wright, the foreman. Lyman's mentioning that the house stood at the back of the platform and his drawing so indicating, fixes the original width as no less than 50 feet. Kamakau speaks of a refuse-pit lua pa'ū, north of the house near the entrance, and in 1919, a great slab which had covered it, found by the workmen of 1902, had slid into the sea through the collapse of the retaining wall. It was returned to the platform for resetting. See plate 30 , photo 3441. The fact of its fall into the sea shows it was near the present north edge. The workmen of 1902 reported that more than two skeletons were found in the cavity under the stone.

Ellis places (1917, p. 124) a group of twelve images in a semicircle at the southeast corner of the space that was enclosed by a wooden palisade,

their pedestals planted in "a pile of stones neatly laid up in the form of a crescent, about three feet wide and two feet higher than the pavement." This being the case, the house could not possibly have stood at the place of the raised platform erected in the reconstruction of 1902 as its site, but at least twelve feet further north.

(Note by K. P. Emory. The main traditional history concerning Hale o Keawe has been covered by Dorothy Barrere in the section of this report on its function and history. But Stokes collected from Lo'e, Kamehameha wife of Ma'inui, the following legend which had sprung up about concerning the days before he became lord and master of Hawaii. While the truth of it can not of course be vouched for and seem rather improbable, it does illustrate typical legends about Kamehameha, and her naming the guardians of Hale o Keawe gives information worth preserving.)

A near and trusted relative (iwi kuamoo) of Keawe named Keawe-ai was formerly in charge of Alealea, and his son, Aue succeeded him, and lived at Hale o Keawe. After Keawe died, Aue became guardian of Hale o Keawe as the king's tomb, and the guardianship continued in the family. During the time of Aue's son, Kihaulani, Kamehameha came in the night, landed at Akahipapa, passed on the inland side of Hale o

Keawe and entered it. He went to the place of Keawe's bones and was about to carry them off, when Kihaulani who had secreted himself therein, cried out. "E kalani (oh chief)," Kamehameha being taken by surprise, left without removing the bones.

Kihaulani's son was Kuahuia, and Kuahuia's son Kaanaana, whose son was Makia. Keawe-ai's full name was Mooiki Keawe-ai (Lizard Keawe-ai), because he was tattooed with small lizards on his face, 2 on eyebrows, 2 on back of cheeks, and one on his chin.

#### Hale o Puni

Adjacent to the Hale o Keawe platform, to the west, was a heap of rubble, which on being cleared revealed edgings of a rectangular platform, see plate 31 , photo 3445. The men said that this was the site of the Hale o Puni or Hale o Kapuni, the priests' quarters. The priests' quarters were also pointed out as to the south.

#### Hale o Papa

A stone platform approximately rectangular in plan, measuring 25 by 30 feet and its level surface 1.5 to 3 feet above the adjacent lava, is attached to the inner face of the south wall of the puuhonua by a low

wall. The low wall was built later than the platform, apparently, but all accounts are to the effect that it is ancient.

The restoration of 1902 included the re-surfacing of the platform. The structure as found had an ordinary filling of rough stones. The facing stones do not point to particularly careful work, and this feature suggests a later period or that the purpose of the platform was of minor importance. However the method of structure is no indication of the comparative age of the structure. There is no occasion to suppose this structure was built in modern times.

(The designation Hale o Papa was given to this platform from the fact that one of Stokes' informants described it as a heiau for women, and Hale o Papa is the term for such a heiau. Kekahuna takes exception to this, on his interpretative map of 1952, and claims it was a platform for the menstrual house of the chiefesses. Either could be correct. However, there would be a Hale o Papa attached to a religious center such as this, and I am inclined to favor the earlier information. K.P.Emory.)

### Akahipapa flat

The tongue of lava off to the north side of Hale o Keawe, attached to the shore at low tide, is called Akahipapa. It is known as the place where refugees could land after swimming from the rock Puu o Ka-u, across the bay. On it a tall spear is said to have been set up from which a white flag flew to mark the entrance to the puuhonua. Instead of a spear my old guide Ma'inui (see plate 32, photo 3419) mentions an idol as the goal. Hitchcock (see fig. 3) mentions "a long pole in a sunken rock, a point of safety", and Dampier, see plate 2, shows in his sketch what looks like the trunk of a coconut tree rising near the end of the flat.

On the surface of the larger southern portion of the flat are three tanning tanks, a large petroglyph of linear human form, about 4 feet long and 2.5 feet wide, and a papamu or rows of pittings, 10 by 11 rows, for

See plate 33 A & B.  
the game of konane. On the smaller, outer part of the flat are some 41 pot holes and 8 rows of 3 pittings each for a game which my informant Lo'e, wife of Ma'inui, said was called pahiuhiu and resembled checkers.

(Kekahuna calls the outer part of the flat Malihini, a name which was

applied by Lo'e to a little under-water depression just bordering the south of the larger portion of the flat. K.P.Emory.)

(Note by K. P. Emory. On the shore just west of the flat, Hitchcock (see fig. 3) marks a spot as that where Kamehameha landed. This is probably intended for the place where he landed when he came to meet his cousin Kiwala-o, before hostilities began. John Ii, in the Kuukoa of March 20, 1869, speaks of Kamehameha landing, "in back of Akahipapa", from his single canoe named Noiku, with his canoe paddlers:

No sooner had his foot touched ground when those on shore were ready with spears of hau wood to hurl at him [a custom observed upon the landing of a chief.] This they did, and those on land watched with admiration as Kamehameha thrust them aside as easily as dashing off bailing water. A person remained near the chief with a container of water for his bath..... Kamehameha then went up to see his cousin Kiwalao.

It is not certain from Ii's account, whether "in back of Akahipapa" meant the place marked by Hitchcock, or the cove of Keone'ele.)

#### Shelf built into the south wall

A bench or shelf, 12 feet by 17 feet, 3.5 feet below the top built into the south wall of the puuhonua, by omitting part of the second and top tiers and facing the disturbed portion, was said to be ancient.

Of the accounts given me, one of which was that it served for the posting of a guard, the following seems to be the most reasonable:

In preparing for capturing the man-eating shark, niuhi, the body of a dead man or pig was placed under the shelf and left for several days. Decay being sufficiently advanced, the body was wrapped in ti-leaves and suspended from the connecting booms of a double canoe and carried out to sea. Reaching a suitable place, a man with a sharpened stick began to stab the bundle to release the decomposing fluid. A shark was expected to pick up the scent and follow, gulping the oily water as he swam, a process believed to dull his senses. He finally arrived between the two hulls of the canoe. A reception prepared for the shark was two rods, each with a noose at one end and the shaft passing through its companion noose. With one noose slipped over the shark's head, and the other over its tail, it is only necessary to slide the rods in opposite directions to secure him.

I would not have paid attention to this story except for the fact that the Bishop Museum has in its collection two weathered dishes ( )



used for holding decomposing human bait for sharks and employed by the chiefs in sport. When the sharks had been drawn to the spot, the chiefs jumped overboard and fought them with wooden daggers.

#### Walled enclosure within the sanctuary

Lyman's sketch map of the puuhonua, figure 2, indicates a wall extending from an entrance thru the great wall on the north around to Alealea platform and then back to the great wall. It was designated as a goat pen. Running from the southeast corner of Alealea to the great wall, was a stone wall the western half of which was six feet high and wide, built of selected, well-placed stones, and was not modern. It shows in a photograph taken by W. T. Brigham in 1889 (photo 28802). It was, however, probably built later than Alealea. The eastern half, on the other hand, was very loosely built and looked modern. The land is low here and I was told that the tidal wave swept through this part. It undoubtedly swept away a continuation of the well-built wall.

Through the western portion of the wall, at a distance of 50 feet

from the corner of Alealea a hole 1 by 1.5 feet had been put through the base of the wall. A cross facing through the wall at 41 feet from the corner of the heiau, marked the former position of a passage. Emory informs me that all this wall connecting Alealea platform with the great wall has been removed in recent landscaping.

In 1919, a wall with a branch, formed part of an enclosure along the line indicated by Lyman from the entrance. An account was current during my visit that this wall penned up refugees for various purposes, but upon taking down a section of it around a coconut tree, see plate 34 , photo 3443, a mark was found on the lower portion of the tree which we discovered was made by the man standing beside it, about the year 1885. He also made the mark higher up. These have been whitened in the photograph to make their observance easier. These are marks made by lessees of coconut-palms, a practice at the time. The engineer of the reconstruction of 1902 told me these walls served for goat and calf pens of former residents of Honaunau.

Minor features within the punhonua enclosure

The Keoua stone. On the north side of Alealea heiau lies a great stone which had been partly dressed in ancient times, in an attempt to square it. It measures 13.5 feet long and averages 2.5 feet wide and thick. In 1919 it lay with one end against the heiau platform, where it had evidently been carried by a tidal wave, and on the side exposed to the sea, the letters "KEOua" had been hammered out by a steel tool. In turning it over and moving it ten feet to the east, it was found to fit within the space encompassed by six post-holes anciently drilled in the lava as marked by pegs we inserted (see plate 35, photo 3451), and we assume this to be its original position.

Local tradition about this stone is that a chief named Keoua was in the habit of taking his men fishing and while they were so occupied he would lie out on the stone and sleep. Mark Twain in 1866 (1935, p. 185) spoke of it as having been brought hither many centuries ago on the shoulders of a high chief to be used as a lounge. A natural rust-colored concavity near one end marks the place where his head is said to have

rested, while his feet almost reached the other end of the stone.

Variants give his height as equal to or exceeding the stone's length.

The concavity may have suggested to the compliant of a local geography

an identification of the Keoua stone as a sacrificial altar, but

killing within the puuhonua would seem to have been prohibited.

Were posts inserted in the six holes about the stone a canopy of coconut leaves overhead and a mat underneath would have made this a comfortable stone to lie upon.

The question naturally arises regarding the incompleteness of the stone. The top, as now placed, is finished. The two sides need only a little more pecking. What is now the bottom was part of the original lava surface and was practically smooth enough, while the ends would almost do as they are. The answer may be found in Kamakau's tradition of the fighting king Umi, who ruled over the island of Hawaii, and part of Maui (newspaper Ke Au Okoa, Dec. 15, 1870):

"When Umi felt that his end was not far away, he conceived the idea of building a mausoleum of large lava blocks to house his body, and transmitted orders to all his relatives and their retainers to prepare the same, a fathom or more long, a yard wide and half a yard thick. Umi died before the work was complete."

Kailua, in North Kona apparently was the assembly point and fifty years ago a hotel there was approached by a magnificent flight of steps of these dressed stones, and they had been put to use in other places.

Possibly the Naha stone on the grounds of the Hilo Library, was one of the stones intended for Umi's tomb. It, like the Keoua stone, never reached completion. Much less advanced in dressing than either are the two stones known as Pohaku o Ka'u near the sea at Inanui, at the northwest corner of the punhonua area (see plate 36, photo 2071).

(Note by K. P. Emory: In 1933 I saw the stones Stokes speaks of as being in the steps to a hotel, in the steps to Ocean View Inn, and fortunately photographed these [Bishop Museum photo 16933]. They have since been cemented over and a new hotel erected in place of Ocean View Inn called the Lihikai. The Bishop Museum has two of the worked stones from Kailua in its court, one measuring 70 by 24 x 15 inches, and another, B7348, measuring 31 by 16 by 7 inches, and Hulihee Palace has several in its yard which were salvaged when the sea wall between it and the wharf was broken in 1957 to widen the road. They were found incorporated

into about the middle of this wall.)

A Ka-'u tradition relating to the Keoua Stone, given by Mary Kawena Pukui, in 1957, relates that Kanaka'ole was a man of a kahuna family of Ka'u, born about 1800 A.D. He was very tall. Once, on a trip to Kona, he and his companions went to see the Keoua Stone at Honaunau. Someone suggested that Kanaka'ole lie on it, to see how his height compared with Keoua's. It was seen that he was taller. The Ka-'u family's story is that because the Kona people felt that there should be no one who could claim to be taller than Keoua, they had some Kona kahuna 'ana'ana pray Kanaka'ole to death.

The Kaahumanu Stone. Just south of the southeast corner of 'Alealea heiau is a large rough rock, 11 by 6 by 3 feet, set up on blocks of stone, about 1.5 feet above the ground, and known as the Kaahumanu Stone, after

See plates 37, 38, 39 (photos 3454, 28801, 3455)  
and oft-told incident. As related by my informant Lazaro, Kaahumanu, the

favorite queen of Kamehameha, left him one day after a quarrel. Accompanied by her pet white dog she travelled southward along the coastal trail to Lae Mamo, the north point of Hanauma Bay, where she took to the sea,

swimming with her dog across the bay. Landing at Inanui she hid behind one of the large rocks called Pohaku o Ka-u and rested a little, the dog meanwhile climbed up onto the rock (see plate 35 , photo 2071).

Kamehameha, in pursuit, had reached Lae Mamo, and not seeing Kaahumanu decided that the local natives had hidden her in their houses. He proceeded to smoke her out by setting fire to the grass houses beginning with that at Kahapaakai. When the arsonists had reached about half way along the north side of the bay, one of them saw the white dog on the rock and informed Kamehameha. The burning was stopped and Kamehameha and his servants proceeded around the bay.

Meanwhile Kaahumanu left the shelter of her rock and walked around to the far side of 'Alealea heiau, where she hid beneath the rock which now bears her name. The searchers spread out and as one of them approached, the dog barked, revealing the place of Kaahumanu's concealment. Reconciliation fortunately followed.

Stone for the game of checkers, konane. Twelve feet to the southwest of the Kaahumanu Stone was a block of basalt 2 feet wide, 2.5 feet long,

and a foot thick. Its upper surface is pitted with rows of holes, 9 by 11 rows, marking the positions of the black and white pebbles with which the checker-like game of konane was played. Such a game stone is called a papamu and this one is now called the papamu of Kaahumanu.

Pohaku nana la, Stone for Looking at the Sun. Word was received that formerly a rock was standing erect, and on its flat face were incised pictures of "The sun, moon, and stars", and that one of the tidal waves had upset it into a pool. The authority was regarded reliable enough to go to the expense of raising the rock, and I sent to Honolulu for our chain hoist. The name of the rock is Pohaku Nana La, translatable as "Stone for Looking at the Sun." While waiting for the hoist, I quizzed old Ma'inui about the alleged markings, and was told there were none. Further questioning brought out the information that the rock merely figured in a child's game. Part of the rock rested on the edge of the pool and the other in the pool itself, making a submarine tunnel. With the sun in the right direction a youngster could dive through the tunnel with eyes open and see the sun like a bright glowing green ball. Plate 40, photo 2070, shows the soles of a boy who obligingly demonstrated the process.



Spring. Where the wall from Alealea heiau met the great east wall of the puuhouua, and just to the south of it, is a spring which had been filled with stone brought in by tidal waves. We dug it out in 1919. Keawe's bones were said to have been washed here.

Makaloo pools. These pools in the southeast part of the enclosure have the makaloo sedge growing in them, a reed which furnished material for the making of fine mats.

Kekuai'o pool. This is one of the pools useful for practicing the art of narcotizing fish with the plant auhuhu, Tephrosia piscatoria. See plates 41 A, B, photos 3514 and 3522. It was here I was given a demonstration of the method which I have described fully in my paper on Fish Poisoning in the Hawaiian Islands <sup>Stokes,</sup> (1921, pp. 219-233). Not only here but at Inanui way to the north and at other places not more than 200 feet from the sea, the surface of the lava gives evidence of heavy battering. Questioning brought the answer that the marks were caused by the beating and comminuting of the auhuhu plant, for narcotizing fish. Two methods were followed at Honaunau. In the tidal pools such as

Kekuai'o, the pulverized plant was loosened in the cracks of the rock.

The fish soon came into the open in a dazed condition, or died being unable to escape. In the second method a net was stretched across an indentation in the reef, and the auhuhu thrust into the holes or cracks in the reef face. Almost immediately the sap began to dissolve in the sea, causing the fish to break for the open water, where they were caught by the net.

Artificial concavities in the lava. In many places in the lava beds within and without the asylum may be seen artificial concavities of different sizes and shapes, and natural concavities which obviously have been partly shaped. Some of them are basins where tapa or fish nets were dyed, some of the smaller ones are mortars for pounding salt, seaweed, bait for chum, or sea urchins to get rid of their spines and shells. But some of them are obviously post holes and holes for supporting images, flag poles, or tabu signs. A few may be simply boundary marks. They have been made by cracking the lava with hammer stones or by abrasion with hammer stones and pounders. Some of the hammer stones have been picked up

within and without the enclosure, a typical one being a reshaped body of an adze, see figure 6, which shows heavy battering at both ends and along the edges. The typical shape of a post hole is illustrated in figure 7. In many of the holes it would be necessary to wedge the post with small stones or to lay large stones around it for support.

Seventy-five feet south of Hale o Puni is a platoon of 18 holes in rectangular formation about 2.5 feet apart. See figure 9, A. The size of the completely shaped holes ranges from 3 by 3 inches to 5 by 5 inches, diameter and depth, while other holes at cracks or showing prismatic sections range from 4 inches in diameter and 7 inches in depth to 7.5 inches in diameter and 10 inches in depth. From analogy with Ahuena heiau at Kailua, illustrated by the early voyagers, we may visualize here a group of warning images, such as the image shown in figure 8, and possibly an offertorium on which those not allowed to enter the heiau Hale o Keawe, might place their gifts.

Five other concavities of similar size to the foregoing are to be

found 40 feet northwest, near the water's edge. They may have served for warning images or flags, as the refugees from the north are said to have entered in this vicinity. Ellis (1917, p. 128) speaks of a "low fence" in the northwest part of the enclosure, what he saw may have been the bases of weathered images set up in these concavities. (photo 3453). Plate 42, ^

Just to the north of the northwest corner of Alealea heiau, is a set of concavities as though to support figures greeting a canoe entering Keawewai inlet. Four concavities are arranged in a row east and west, where a corner is turned and five additional concavities extend a line southward. Within this space is one square concavity and a basin 10.5 inches wide, 9 inches deep. Nearer the heiau is another basin, 16 inches wide, 8.5 inches deep.

At the head of Awawaloa inlet a group of about 30 holes indicates another area where posts or images were set up. Here the lava is about three feet higher than the surrounding area and from this spot there is a commanding view up and down the coast. The diameter of the holes range from 7 to 10 inches and the depths from 7 to 27 inches. Following the

arrangement of the drill holes, it might appear that an attempt had originally been made to arrange them in rank and file spaced about 8 feet apart. This may have been so. However, the situation at the intersections of cracks would also explain the spacing and approximate regularity.

Burials. Sixty feet north of the end of the south wall is a concrete tomb and adjacent to it a pavement probably marking graves. Lyman on his map, see figure 2, places two graves here, so they were present as early as 1846. Adjacent to and south of the old heiau platform was a graveyard as indicated by pavements, and within the heiau platform were at least two vault burials.

Stone image Hawa'e. In the Hawaiian Ethnographic Notes, Vol. III, p. 486 in Museum manuscript files, is a copy of a paper of Hon. C. R. Bishop, written by an old native man of Kona, Hawaii, and translated by Mary Kawena Pukui, which speaks of a stone image in a sea cavern at Honaunau.

Hawa'e was the name given to a god who was worshipped by the ancients of these islands. In the legends about this god, he was famed for his mana, strength and helpfulness toward those who kept him. In the stories of the kahuna classes, Hawa'e was the seventeenth from Haumea. Several times four hundred large wooden images were known and called by the name of Hawa'e. Because they were so heavy that they could not be taken everywhere, they were kept in secret caves in the mountains of Kona, Hawaii, and stone images were made as substitute for the wooden images...

The second stone image named Hawa'e is twenty feet or more in height. This image is in a sea cavern on the seaward side of the famous Hale o Keawe at Honaunau, South Kona. This is the story of the tossing in of this image. The chief, Ehu Kaipo [called in genealogies 'Ehu-kai-malino], commanded the kahuna to toss the image into the sea to dedicate the sea for the drowning of victims. If the chief wished to have a prisoner of war killed, or one who had broken the kapu of the chief, or some other misdemeanor worthy of death, then the victim was taken to the edge of the sea cavern. A rope was tied to his neck weighted with a big stone. Before pushing him in, the kahuna prayed to Hawa'e in this manner: "O Hawa'e in the day; O Hawa'e in the night; O Zenith; O Horizon; O Hawa'e who lies in the dark, sacred sea of Kane, the sacred sea of Muliwaiolena; the drowning sea of the heavenly one. 'Amama, the prayer has flown."

Then the man was let down into the sea. The chief held his head and pushed him down into the water saying, "Lie still in the sacred sea of your lord." He was so left until he was dead, then he was lowered away down and tied to the stone image, Hawa'e, that lies immovable in the bowels of the ocean."

(The chief mentioned in this story, 'Ehu Kaipo, or 'Ehu-kai-malino, is the same one as may have constructed the original puuhonua at Honaunau.

He was contemporary with Liloa, circa 1475 A.D. His kapu, or prerogative, of drowning victims was the kapu lumaluma'i, "drowning kapu", the prerogative of various chiefs of the islands, including Kualii.

(Just south a few feet of Lae Limikoko is a cove at the bottom of which is a stone formation resembling a pig. Kekahuna had it pointed out to him as a demi-god named Pua. Possibly this is the stone image named Hawa'e. K. P. Emory).

Features along the south side of the south wall

Cup marks. A remarkable arrangement of cup marks was found along the south side of the great south wall of the puuhonua. Sticks were set up in them to show their position in plates 34, 44, photos 28812 and 3478. Their position is also shown on the map, figure 10. At the southeast corner, a single peg near the wall is fronted by a row of four others which in turn is fronted by another row of five. Extending outward and forward of each flank is another peg. In none of the holes does the depth quite equal the diameter, the nearest being 5.25 inches in diameter and 5.5 inches deep. The range of sizes is from 4 by 2.5 inches to 7.5 by 6 inches, diameters and depths, respectively, the first undoubtedly being incomplete. If tall uprights were placed in them they would have had to be supported by stones placed around their base.

The two outriders on the flanks are part of an alignment extending about 75 feet to the southwest, and then bending to the northwest. On the first leg of this alignment the holes were found to increase irregularly in depth until the northwest leg was reached, when the depth



is distinctly greater than the diameter. Between this alignment and a depression next to the great wall are other concavities, not laid out with regularity.

Opposite the midpoint of the south wall was another group of concavities. Some of these holes were relatively quite deep, one being 6 inches in diameter and 12 inches deep. Some twenty feet to the southwest a group of widely scattered prismatic and deep holes were observed, as well as a few which appear to have been drilled. The largest of the latter is elliptical in cross-section, 10 x 12 inches, and 21 inches deep. Eighty-one feet southsouthwest of the end of the south wall was a rectangular concavity where old Ma'inui said he had seen a wooden image set up, 3 feet high. The concavity was at the top of a lava swelling, and measured 20 inches square at the surface, 12 inches square at the bottom, and 12 inches deep. The image, well outside of the great wall is said to have been the southern limit or entrance to the asylum.

Kuula, fisherman's shrine. A large natural stone, with smaller stones clustered around it (photo 3493), fifty feet southwest of the bench in the south wall of the puuhonua was pointed out as a kuula, or fishing shrine to the god Kuula. Clearing the small stones away, my workmen found what they identified as bones of two very young pigs, no doubt the remains of offerings. (This kuula no longer exists. K.P.Emory).

Burial ground. The area adjacent to the west end of the south wall was a burial ground until recent times. One of my workmen had a grandmother who was buried there. In excavating the area south of the wall, see map, figure 10 , more than fifty burials were encountered, three of them in vaults, of recent date. See plate 45 , photo 3496. Some of the others may have been pre-European burials as they were buried in the flexed position. See plate 46 , photo 3502.

Cross-section of a low mound. In the excavating a cross section was made through the middle of the area south of the wall tangent to a coconut tree, in the hopes of learning something of the geological and cultural

history of this ground. The result is shown in plate 47 , photo 3503 and figure 11 . The tidal wave of the last half of the last century piled up about two feet of small stones and sand around the base of an old coconut tree. The depth of two feet below it could have been accumulated in a short time. Therefore the whole bank against the wall of the enclosure can not be relied upon to give us an idea of its age, as it seems to be of very recent formation. (The only reliable method of determining the age of <sup>the</sup> wall would be by radiocarbon dating of charcoal left by man directly under and antedating the wall. This method has been available only since 1950. K.P.Emory.)

FEATURES PERTAINING TO EARLY HAWAIIAN LIFE IN THE HONAUNAU BAY AREA

by

J.F.G. Stokes

I can best acquaint you with the features of the old Hawaiian culture which I found about the bay of Honaunau in 1919, and which for the most part must still exist, by taking you on a tour of them.

Approaching the village from the north along the road built in 1918, the first for wheeled traffic, we pass through seemingly endless lava flows, rough and forbidding in appearance, descending to the sea on the right. The main flows are in broad ridges, but the surface with its hills and hollows suggests a black ocean solidified while in a storm. As we reach the crest of the last ridge, we see below us a striking contrast of colors, the deep blue of Honaunau Bay, the yellow beaches and the green foliage of many trees, these environments of the present limited village making a beautiful relief from the barren lava around and beyond.

The road descends on a steep grade to the head of the bay, but as we near the outskirts of the original village, we stop at a sleeping cave

formerly used by travellers. See map A, . It is part of a lava bubble, its roof being the lava surface which is broken in places. It extends on both sides of the present road, which, after much filling, has passed through the middle. It lies between two branches of the ancient trail, one of which swings to the north-east and goes to the uplands, the other turning to the south and passing through the rear of the village. The ancient trail has been following the indentations of the coast at a distance of from 200 to 300 feet from the shore, and came from the village of Kipu and beyond.

We may descend to Lae Mamo, the northern point of Honaunau Bay as did the travellers of a hundred years ago and more. We pass over the black lava, level in places for a few feet or a few fathoms and then broken by a little gulch or rugged knoll. The path over the smooth surface is unmarked, since bare feet and leaf sandals have left no trace. We know we are on the trail however, as just ahead is a break which is bridged by a causeway, paved with a double line of closely laid flat lava blocks and leading in the right direction. These pavements, called kipaepae, are all

there were to indicate the trail. A little farther on, the lava is broken up, but travel is still comfortable as the kpaepae is found again. After passing partly around an abandoned goat pen, we lose the trail temporarily, since the kpaepae cannot be found, its paving stones having no doubt served some modern utilitarian purpose.

We have been passing at the back of a former part of the village, and a century ago we could have met the scattered lines of grass houses of the commoners. The houses would have appeared on their small stone-platformed foundations, unenclosed by the modern stone wall which the introduced animals made necessary. A large proportion of the commoners in the village lived in this bare section, which supported but little vegetation. But such as it was, it was put to use. At least four dry-land shrubs, a bush, and a bunch-grass were present: the 'auhuhu (*Tephrosia* sp.) for narcotizing fish, the yellow flowered ilima for leis, uhaloa and noni for medicine, and pili grass for house thatch. This scarcity of vegetation was not regarded as serious, however, as there was the trail which led inland to the cultivation patches, and the sea was in front with its fish

and its sea-weed waiting to be taken.

The small house platforms have generally disappeared, and in place of them are the kuleana - home sites of the land division of 1849. The house sites are less in number, but greater in size, each enclosed with its modern stone wall. The occupants of these have in turn disappeared, with few exceptions, and back against the lava slopes are other low platforms of stone, similar in proportion but slightly smaller than the former house foundations - a method of burial which seemed to have largely replaced burial in caves, under missionary influence. In the vicinity are several large enclosures with high walls - pens into which goats were driven.

If we continue past the last kuleana, we may again find relics of old Hawaii, as across our path is a toboggan slide (kahua holua) with its sloping paved runway somewhat disturbed and lacking its former surface of dried grass; however, its lines and those of its possible "betting pen" or wrestling pens are still fairly distinct. It seems not difficult to conjure up the crowded spectators, full of excitement as they wagered on their favorite contestants, some steadily losing the property to which

they might lay claim and finally staking in turn their children, their wives and their own bodies.

Passing on, we again find the kīpaepae, but this time in smooth sea-worn stones, known as alā placed singly in line - the form generally found near the shore. It continues on its serpentine route to the north, to Kipu as mentioned, and so on to Kealakekua Bay, where Cook's officers waited in vain for the return of their captain.

As Kipu is not of interest at the moment, we may turn off at one of the branches of the trail and examine the ruins of one of the Kona coast salt factories. The name of the place is Kaha-pa'akai, meaning "to scratch salt". It was a house platform of stone, 2 to 4 feet high, an enclosure on the north and the remains of a terrace on the west. There is a double line of salt pans along the northern edge of the terrace (plate 48, photo 2065) and a few more along the western edge, and it would seem that they had originally been arranged along three sides of a rectangle, the platform being the fourth side. Probably a path ran between the rows of pans. The terrace has been much disturbed and many of the salt pans



overthrown, probably by a tidal wave. Twenty salt pans are still in position.

The pans are stones, slightly weathered, measuring from 15 to 40 inches across. The upper surface has been set level, and hollowed to a fairly even depth of from 1 1/2 to 2 inches, the outline of the concavity is fairly even. The capacity of the pans is from 1 to 5 gallons of water. In these, sea water was evaporated, the process requiring 3 or 4 days. The crystalized salt was then scraped up with sea-shells, opihi (limpets) and portions of leho (cowry), packed in bags of pandanus leaves and bartered to the people from inland. Salt prepared in this way, according to the aged informant, was valued highly as it was soft (fine) and savory, not hard and bitter like that made in the large earth pans as on Oahu.

This ancient industry was carried on here by a man and his wife until about 1833.

Two pans may be seen on the side opposite the platform, one of which was in process of being deepened. A broken beach pebble of very compact basalt was found near the platform. All its angular edges have been

blunted by abrasions, and it is undoubtedly the kind of hammer with which the work was done. In later days some of the pans were removed, deepened with metal tools and used as troughs for feeding pigs. Salt was also obtained by the evaporation of the spray and water left by high tides in small hollows along the edge of the sea. The crystals were pounded in place with a stone, and in time the natural hollow became a small mortar.

The mention of salt may remind us that we are thirsty, and we may find a spring 100 feet to the south-east of the platform. It is a cleft in the lava, descending vertically, and with portions of the walls projecting irregularly. There is room for a nimble climber to squirm down into the cleft and obtain the water, which cannot be seen from the surface about 25 feet above. Two other springs, similarly situated, may be found along the north shore of the bay. They are only approximately indicated on the plan.

Proceeding along the shore towards the head of the bay we meet with two small platforms of stone, 4 and 6 feet high respectively. These are the foundations of two minor temples for fishing, rain and food crops.

And after again crossing the line of the toboggan slide, we find a collection of 6 salt pans in a disturbed condition. Various place names are mentioned, but requests for explanations of the meanings cause difficulties. We pass many small gulfs eroded by the sea. At the head of some of them are "jumping-off places" called lele kawa, where children and others enjoyed the sport of jumping from the height into the sea. The most favored place is noted on the map, where a jump of 30 feet may be made. At this place also is a canoe-landing (plate 49 , photo 2048) up the west side of the inlet. There is also provision for mooring a canoe across the mouth of the inlet by means of holes cut in projecting rocks on the east and west and about 3 feet above sea level. The distance between the mooring blocks was 58 feet. The hole on the east was broken off in a storm five or six years ago. The canoe was normally moored in calm weather and drawn up the slide if rough.

We have been passing the commoners' dwellings, and now come to a high, well built platform called Hale Huki, the residence of a former chief of Honaunau. The spring in front is more accessible than those we have

passed, and is still in use.

As we reach Kuemanu, we find on a prominence some inclined holes cut in the surface of the lava. These were for the support of long poles projecting over the sea, and which served to keep the fish set line from fraying against the rocks on the shore. The fighting ulua was taken here, where the water is very deep. The line was left out for several hours at a time, attached by a light cord to the end of the pole, and, the cord breaking when a fish was hooked, the fisherman was thus allowed free play with the line. The practice continues in other places, and in modern times a bell is sometimes fastened to the pole.

After passing around Kuemanu, we leave the sloping lava and reach the more ancient lava flat which continues for a mile or so to the south. We find the beach sand extending inland for a hundred feet or so and beyond the modern walls and sustaining luxuriantly growing exotic trees, with an occasional old coco-palm. We also find the lava broken through in places by foreigners to tap the underground streams. We may still remain in old Hawaii, however, if we remember that the rough sloping ground beyond the

foliage was where others of the commoners lived, while the chiefs occupied the pleasant spots in front of us. The latter may be concluded by the presence in the lava of artificial pittings and cupmarks. Some are inconspicuous and easily overlooked, while others are deep enough to support upright sticks. In this vicinity they may be taken as boundary marks of some tabued place.

As we move along the shore, we find more concavities worked in the lava, most of them now being under water at high tide. Some are oval, about the size and shape of a baby's bath tub, and were used for tanning nets; others of smaller size are circular, and were mortars for pounding the tasty sea-weeds, smaller ones yet were for pounding salt, while on the edge of the lava and overlooking the sea may be seen others, still smaller, for pounding crabs and sea-urchins as hauna, or chum to attract fish. Some large single mortars further down the coast were also used for dying tapa. At Laekole, map 1, we find an aggregation of old mortars joined together by channels (plate 50, photo 2044) and used for the same purpose as those to the north. It will be noticed in the illustrations

that the main tank was originally three mortars which have been broken together in use. The only details remembered are that noni root was pulverized and mixed with salt water to produce a yellow dye. We must not get the idea, however, that a mortar was only used for one purpose. As it grew in size by use it would undoubtedly serve the purpose for which its size adapted it.

The tanning tanks above ordinary high tide are still in operation. Bark of the kukui (*Aleurites triloba*) is comminuted in a dry tank with a heavy stone (about 30 pounds in weight) which is dropped and thrown on to the mass by the fisherman in a standing position. The tougher pieces are picked out and hammered by smaller stones on the edge of the basin until reduced and then sea water is added and the bark allowed to steep for about 10 minutes. The tannin is quickly released. The bark is then removed and the net immersed for 24 hours if a new one, or from half an hour to an hour if previously tanned. If in constant use, the net is tanned again every two to four weeks.

Adjoining Laekole on the south is a place called Kuula from the fact

that formerly there was an offertorium or temple there to this god of fishing. All that remains of the temple is a large stone, which the sea has moved. At Kuula, is a sink and another at Puuehu to the south, which fill with brackish water at high tide. From analogy with other places in Kona, these were no doubt used for removing the salt from the body after swimming in the sea.

Our road to Puuehu, however, was apparently barred in former times, as we find irregular lines and rows of cupmarks, much more distinct than those we saw before. Are we inside or outside the sacred boundary, and does it bar access to the small harbor or to the land? It cannot have been for the protection of the Kuula, as such places were not regarded with the veneration of the great temples. The riddle would appear to be solved when the older people explain that Kapuwai is the name of the harbor, and that into it pour springs of fresh water which were tabued to the commoners by the chiefs. As other ancient springs in the vicinity were on tabued ground, the plight of the commoners apparently compelled the consideration of the chiefs. The former had their watering-place at the spring called

Waihoi, now filled with sand, at the north-east corner of the harbor.

We may avoid the boundary marks by keeping along the edge of the sea until we reach the northern point of Kapuwai's diminutive harbor. This is called Puu o Ka'u. We find around us many ancient mortars and tanning tanks, which are under water at half tide, but looking across the water to the south-west, we may see the massive stone platforms and wall of the pu'uhonua. In the same direction, and as though reaching towards us is a low-lying tongue of lava called Akahipapa, on the northern portion of which there formerly stood some idols. The route we have been following along the shore of the flat, is that taken by the refugees when coming from the north, but at Puu o Ka'u they must take to the sea and make their way to a flag or an idol on Akahipapa, when they will receive sanctuary. The water is shallow here, and were we to follow a route bending to the west, we might cross in a maximum depth of 4 feet. In the direct route there are one or two places where we would have to swim.

To the west of us, where there is a light surf, are two shoals. That on the south contains a cavern, known as Lua Mano, where the natives say a



shark (i.e. a shark god) once lived.

Avoiding the sea and turning to the east, we follow along the northern shore of Kapuwai baylet until we come to Kaelehuluhulu. Here we find 3 alignments each of 3 cupmarks in the lava, 7 marks in all. One of the informants stated that they had been for posts of shelters, at the water's edge, under which the chiefs' wives were accustomed to lounge and eat newly gathered loli (holothuria) and sea-urchins.

From here we may pass the site of Waihoi spring and travel along a lane leading inland. The portion in the village probably follows the ancient route, but beyond, the road is probably modern as a little to the south we find portions of ancient trails, first leading to the east and then to the north-east. The latter were without doubt the former routes, as the gradients followed are more comfortable than the direct road. This road branches near its western end, near the place where it crosses continuation of the Kipu road we followed previously. The branches were probably the original streets of the village. Alongside the northern branch is a place called Waicha, where formerly lived a chiefess called Kamahukilani.

At the joining of the southern branch with Ponahakeone was another place called Ko'olau, where a chief was said to have resided. This lot has no indication of an ancient house site. But on the lot adjoining it on the north there is a high platform, which was probably the real site.

Before moving on let us consider the ancient trail from Lae Mano which, from description follows the route marked on the map and continued all the way to Ka-wai-o-Pele in Keokea. The kpaepae was found in two stretches of about 100 feet each, in Keokea, paralleling and about 15 feet distant from the government trail, but it was not found between Ka-wai-o-Pele and Honaunau. The strength and eyesight of our aged informant Ma'inui were too feeble for him to assist in the search, so we must conclude that the route lay along that since adopted by the government. The lava along the road, or trail, as it passed through the village was smooth enough to render paving unnecessary. This route some hundreds of feet inland from the shore was occasioned by the proximity of the royal residence.

Crossing the trail are remains of two toboggan slides in addition to

the one previously mentioned. See map A and 1. One, to the north of the village, has been almost entirely demolished, but the other on the south is longer and in better condition. See the plan and profile made by Bishop Museum party of 1957, figure 12. Near its lower end I observed some petroglyphs of ordinary pattern. (Note by Emory: we searched for these in 1957 but could find no trace of them.) A hundred feet north of the two watering places named Kolea and Keoneele was a depression enclosed by a low wall, oval inside and rectangular without, which wall, Emory informs me has now been destroyed for material of a new cattle wall adjacent to it. Although no information was to be had locally concerning this ancient enclosure its proximity to the toboggan slide suggested some arrangement for sports such as boxing or wrestling.

We may now return to Kapuwai, map 1, and continue around the southern shore. The lava juts out into the little harbor, and on the western side of the peninsula, about the middle is a palm mold, under water at low-tide, from which gushes a supply of fresh water. This is the spring from which the harbor takes its name. The mold is a foot in

diameter and 1.5 feet deep. The flow of water is quite strong, welling up above the surface of the sea at all tides. Other springs are to be noticed, at low-tide emerging from under the lava flats on both sides of the tongue.

The local natives explain that the water was tabued by the chiefs. In the royal precincts to the south is another spring called Papailei, of which nothing was remembered but the name.

As we return from Kapuwai spring we find a line of pittings and cup-marks pointing towards the northeast corner of the park enclosure. If we continue along the present road we will find, after passing the sand, 3 other cup marks alongside the wall of the opposite enclosure. More to the south, other cup marks will be found in the vicinity of the trail until we reach the great wall of the pu'uhonua to the southwest. These cup marks were undoubtedly the eastern and southern boundaries of the king's premises. The light walls we have been passing are modern, those of the two enclosures on the north having been built about 1868, while the southern portion was built about 1875.

The coconut grove referred to was planted by high chiefess Pauahi (Mrs. Charles R. Bishop) about 1867, probably as a part of the ceremony of the taking possession of the newly acquired land. Three of the participants were found, one of whom returned from a neighboring village for the event. Their account was that the men dug the holes, Mrs. Bishop placed the nuts with her own hands, and the local women covered them over with earth. A great feast followed. The participants were people who were born on the land.

On the western side of the enclosure and between the wall and the shore are more cup marks, a group of sea-weed mortars, and a tanning tank, the latter under water at high-tide. A little more to the south is the spring Papailei previously referred to. Here a basin two feet square and eight inches deep has been broken out of lava; but the work looks too fresh to be ancient. The water of this spring, as at Kapuwai, is excellent.

We are now on the eastern shore of Keons'ele cove. It was undoubtedly the king's private harbor. The heavy wall adjoining Papailei Spring is the retaining wall of a large house platform. The southwest

corner had been broken down; but it was originally eight feet high on the sea side, and was restored by the City and County in 1919. What remains is fairly level and is six inches above the ground on the land side, the land rising somewhat to meet it. This platform is known to some natives today as Kauwalomalie. The same name is applied, or extended, by others to the land on the north and also to the remains of a platform on the east of Keone'ele. We may be safe in concluding that Kauwalomalie was the name of a whole section indicated as the king's residence by the bounding cup marks south of Kapuwai. Just what part of the king's establishment stood on this platform on the east side of Keone'ele inlet, it is difficult to say. The local account is that the house standing on this platform was for various amusements of the chiefs, such as the games puhenehene, and kilu. Another account is that it was the king's canoe house. But while the size and shape are suitable for this purpose, its situation with regard to the water is not. It might well be regarded as the official reception hall. In 1830 a large house standing here was used as a school, which one of the informants had attended.

It was impossible to locate all the other houses of the king's establishment. There was a very old frame house to the southeast of the large platform. It rested on a smaller platform which looked ancient. Adjoining it to the northwest is a pit called Inau Poho. No particulars could be obtained of the latter except that the name was used in ho'c-pa'apa'a (punning contest of wit) with Puuehu, previously mentioned.

There are five cup marks in front of this platform, two pairs and a single one. The pairs are twelve feet apart and suggest places for standards as though in front of the king's dwelling. (Note by K.P. Emory: Kekahuna (1952) refers to the pair of large holes as kanoa, bowls into which the 'awa was filtered, and the smaller holes as places where torches were set up.) The only other platform remaining was a small one in the northern portion of the coconut grove, suggestive to a degree of a guard house. Probably the grass house shown standing in this vicinity in a photograph taken in 1889 (see plate 51 , photo 28800) was set upon this platform. I was told it was erected about 1888 and that it was leased to a Chinaman for storing coconuts.

The name Keone'ele is applied to the white sands extending from the cove to the great wall of the pu'uhonua. It is doubtful if the sands extended that far in early days. The name means The-black-sands, and in digging south of the site of the Hale o Lono, black sand underlay the white. (Note by K.P. Emory: Kekahuna gives the name Kame'ele to the sands immediately at the head of the beach.)

The coconut trees I saw in this area were planted in 1908, but a few palms in the vicinity belonged to an earlier grove visible in a photograph of Honaunau Bay taken by W. T. Brigham in 1889.

To the south are the king's fishponds, Kaloko. The wall of 1875 passes through the middle of that on the south. The water in them is supplied from the underground springs and rises and falls with the tide. The portion inside the wall is still kept in condition but that outside has been abandoned, and is partly filled with mud. However, the water rises enough at high tide to furnish water for cattle. (Note by K.P. Emory: Kekahuna (1952) gives these ponds the name He-lei-palala. The name Kaloko simply means "The Pond.")



Cup marks may be noticed in an irregular line along the south-eastern border of the pond -- no doubt tabu signs of the king's preserves. Slightly to the east of the line between the ponds and the king's dwelling was a well, the water of which was said to be particularly good.

South of Keone'ele Cove stood, according to local informants, a Hale o Lono, a secondary grade of temples not used for human sacrifice but for the four periods of prayer held monthly for eight months of the year.

Midway we may pause and see to the north a tongue of lava called Ka-ule-lewalewa (under water at high tide) with a line of four vertical holes along the eastern border, and the beginning of another hole on the other. (See plate 52 , photo<sup>3</sup> 427.) They are about two feet square, and the intermediate two in the line of four are three feet deep and all the others about a foot and apparently incomplete. The deep holes were filled with sand and pebbles. My 93-year old guide said he had seen and idol of kauwila wood set up in the deep hole to the south. It had head, eyes, ears, mouth and arms, but he was unsure about the legs. Men were set to work cleaning out the holes, and soon brought me, from the southern

hole, three pieces of wood which they identified as kauwila wood, as did the museum botanist. The guide was not present, but when I brought him over to confirm his statement, he did so without hesitation, not knowing the kauwila fragments had been found.

The three pieces of wood together would have formed a plaque eight or ten inches across and one to two inches thick with the upper part eaten by teredos and lower part still solid and rounded off.

It might seem that a double row of four images had been planned for the mausoleum's sentinels, and never completed. While a subsidence which may have been going on was submerged this part, and more.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FEATURES OF  
HINTERLAND AND KEAMOALII OF HONAUNAU, KEOKEA, AND KIILAE

by

Kenneth P. Emory

Hinterland of Honaunau

Back of Honaunau Bay and southward of the road leading to the uplands, is an empty area except for several pens, a number of graves marked by platforms, and a holua slide. See maps 3 and 4. Stokes has described the ancient trails which we were also able to pick up and which cross the old irregular wall which runs along the uplands roughly parallel to the park boundary. The lower part of the south branch of the trail running inland is so wide and has been so well constructed as to suggest its remodeling to accommodate horses. Through much of the length of these trails, stepping stone reveal the ancient parts, as these were to make the foot traveller comfortable. Stokes believes that where the north branch of the trail crossed the road, another trail bore off to the south to connect, in the vicinity of Wainoni, with the "Kamehameha Highway," the

old government trail to Hookena village. However, no trace of it can now be found.

From the northeast corner of the proposed park area to the concrete tomb map 3, at the southwest corner of that quadrangle, runs an irregular rise overlooking the bay. In the eastern part of the quadrangle lie two groups of graves, that on the east is a compact group of some 15 graves marked by rectangular piles of stones; that on the west by five rectangular platforms placed as shown on the map. These vary from 2.5 to 4 feet in height, depending on the unevenness of the ground.

In the center of the area are two small enclosures being used as pig pens in 1957.

The holua slide which Stokes noted we were able to trace as far as shown on the map, but not across the road. See map 4. To us the slide appears never to have been completed, because of the lack of stones at the part which meets the bottom of the slope. The platform at its beginning does not have the shape of a take-off and may actually be a later platform, perhaps serving as a tomb. See our plan and profile of

this slide, figure 12 . This may have been designed for a practice slide.

#### Keamoaalii in Honaunau

At Wainoni just east of the ponds adjacent to the asylum is a nicely paved house site. This area had been set aside for a school in the 1850's and a Protestant church is to be seen standing upon it in a photo taken in 1889. See plate 38 , photo 28801.

South of Wainoni is a wall built since Stokes' visit in 1919, which parallels the old Kamehameha Highway and turns westward to connect with the kuleana, or house-let, walls present in 1919. See map 2. An ancient spring has been surrounded by a wall and developed into a watering place for cattle. It was named Keoneele and adjacent to it on the north was a smaller spring named Kolea, which has been obliterated since 1919. Along the south side of Keoneele spring is an upright stone set solidly in the ground and measuring about a foot square and 2 feet high. An ancient terrace platform paved over its western end with pebbles and water-worn stones, adjoins a pen. Further west are remnants

of ancient house platforms, one on each side of an old wall.

The house platform on the north has a grave attached on its north and an ancient grindstone at its southwest corner. It is enclosed in a kuleana awarded to one named Kaliai according to the Land Commission Award 7219:2. It is described there as a pa hale, house enclosure, and stated that it is on the land Keamoalii and was given to Kaliai in 1840 by Uweloa who had had it enclosed in that year. In describing the lands on each side, the land on the north and east was said to belong to the konohiki, that is, the man in charge of the ahupuaa of Honaunau. The land bordering its south was said to belong to Kaheananui and that on the west to Manuwa. Along its south border, it is written, ran an alanui, road or trail.

We come across the name Uweloa again in connection with the kuleana now in the name of George Douglas, and connecting with the kuleana just described at the northeast corner. It was given, according to the records with the Land Commission Award 9473: 1, to Uweloa, or Ueloa, by his "parent" Kekuiapoiwa, in 1800, who enclosed it in that year.

Keamoalii is spoken of as a land division known as an ili. The land on the north is described as belonging to Kaheanui and the land on all the other sides to the konohiki. The Uweloa house site (pa hale) contains a large, well built stone platform on which the Douglas house, recently burned down, was placed. This is probably an ancient platform. On its eastern end lay an ancient grindstone. Kekuiapoiva was the name of Kamehameha's mother, and possibly the mother or aunt of Uweloa.

The lot north of the one just described contained no house foundation. In its northeast corner was a broken salt pan perhaps used for a pig trough. South of the beach road are the ruined walls of house lots and the remnants of one old house platform.

On the shore at Paieki is a remarkably clear cut papamu, see plate 53 , photo 3508, with 13 by 15 rows of pittings, frequently awash at high tide. Adjacent to it is a natural canoe landing and to the south of it a barely discernable papamu. Inland before reaching the road are two more papamu, the further one larger and more distinct, with 12 by 14 or 15 rows of pittings.

## North Keokea

Near the boundary mark Paaiea is a solitary petroglyph of simple, linear human form, a foot long, which may have marked the ancient boundary between Honaunau and Keokea. Following along the boundary we come across a large stone platform, 45 by a hundred feet, averaging 5 feet high, which served as a cemetery, containing one concrete tomb but with no names or dates. Originally this probably was a foundation for houses. Two platforms a foot higher than the main platform are paved with smaller stones. Further inland is a natural column of lava, perhaps a splatter cone, which rises about fifteen feet above the surrounding area and is named Pohakuloa. It served to mark the boundary between the two adjacent ahupuaa. Following the boundary line across the old highway and onto the heights a high rough wall, as much as 5 feet high and 4 feet wide at spots, circles an outcrop of lava forming an oval enclosure 85 by 110 feet in diameter. Kekahuna believed this was a plot for growing sweet potatoes and the walls were to prevent goats from entering. Two hundred feet south of this enclosure is a small,



rough stone platform against a lava bank which contained a short cave.

In the cave were bones of a child.

Returning to the shore, the first important site along the east side of the beach road is the house site of Unea Akana marked by the stone and plaster walls of an old house, a concrete cistern built on an old house platform and surrounded by walls of the kuleana. At the southwest corner of the lot is a pavement of large water-worn stones marking an ancient house site and between it and the house of Akana is a small pig pen. Behind it are growing hala and loulu-palm trees which probably surrounded all the old house. The next house lot to the south, that with of Clara De Mello, a modern dwelling upon it, has had added to the east two cattle pens and a wall connecting with the wall running parallel to the Kamehameha Highway. One of the concrete troughs built into the walls is dated March 5, 1945. A windmill had been placed over a well known in 1919 as Waikulu, and in the southeast corner of the great enclosure on the east, a red-wood water tank and a pump house had been abandoned.

The De Mello property in 1853 came into the ownership of Manuia from his parents in 1819 according to Land Commission Award 9467 and was located in the ili of Alakai. It lay adjacent to the property of Muki on the south who received his portion from Uhai in 1840. Land Commission Award 9470 states this. Uhai seems to have been the konohiki, or manager, of Keokea at the time he witnessed that the little lot at the northwest corner of the Aona property was given to a man named Makoi by his parents in 1819 as stated in Land Commission Award 9469 which places it also in the ili of Alakai.

Just south of the De Mello place are the remains of an ancient house platform adjacent to a pen, with foundation stones of an old wall enclosing an area on its south. Inland are a number of graves and the remnant of an old wall. Nearer the Kamehameha Highway is another house platform with pens attached. In 1945 the U. S. Army set up a firing range upon its northern side which accounts for two adjacent, small, narrow, coral-paved platforms, one higher than the other, constructed from materials of the old site.

South of this old house platform at a distance of 150 feet is a heiau platform 50 by 60 feet, filled with heavy stones, and remarkable for the natural rock column which rises ten feet above the pavement midway between the sides at the north end. See plate 54, photo H 284. The column is of lava and has been roughly shaped into rectangular form. It occupies the position of the lananuu, or oracle tower of heiaus and would seem to have served the same purpose. The surface of the platform is now in rough condition, but smaller stones were observed at the south end, a facing across the platform at 20 feet from the north end and a foot higher, and a short section of facing along the west side framing a rough mound on its west, which may be a burial mound.

A pit in a jog at the northwest corner may have been a sacred refuse pit, or a pen, or the enclosure of a well. Naluahine, 95 years of age, gave us as the name of this heiau, Ma'o, which he said was the name of a bird, later he called it Oma'o. Panui, of equal age knew of the heiau but said he did not know the name and doubted if Naluahine really did. Ma'o is also the name of a heiau at Waiaha in north Kona. Stokes, in

1906, noted this Keokea structure, but obtained no information about it.

His plan (photo 5379 C in Bishop Museum) simply states it as a

"structure at Keokea". However, it was included in his heiau plans.

South of Oma'o heiau are the ruined walls of a large enclosure containing one small house platform paved with coral pebbles.

## Central Keokea

Central Keokea, covered by map 5, contains the house site of King Keawe, a full-length holua slide, an ancient heiau, shelters and burial caves in the spectacular cliffs of Alahaka, and a famous lava tube called Waiu-o-Hina, Breast-of-Hina, which emerges in the face of the sea cliff.

Keawe's house site. The house site of Keawe, see plan, figure 13, has fortunately been well preserved. It is not only of great traditional interest but it exhibits the plan of a chief's establishment, for certainly the three adjacent house spaces accommodated the three most important houses of a chief: his hale mua, or house where the men ate, and worshipped their family gods, the hale noa, the sleeping house of the family, and the hale 'aina, where the women ate. We can only speculate as to where each of these three houses stood, but probably the hale mua stood on the central and highest platform, the hale 'aina on the north, and the hale noa on the south. There seems also to have been located here a canoe shed, halau, between two of the house platforms, where a canoe not in constant use could be stored.

Uhai, who appears to have been the konohiki of Keokea in 1840, gave this land to one named Kawelo, and it was awarded to him in 1853 by Land Commission Award 9465. It would be interesting to know who Kawelo was to have been given such a choice site.

A few pieces of crockery reveal the site as having been occupied in historic times, but its original composition does not seem to have been seriously impaired by such use. Old Maluahine claimed one named Kamai lived here in the 1870's and that he built the goat pen to the northwest of Heiau Alahaka. Both our old informants, Maluahine and Panui spoke of the site as the residence of Keawe, but Maluahine went further to say it was Keawe-nui-a-Umi, or Keawe I, and that in latter time Kiwala-o occupied it.

Just to the south of it is a small, rectangular platform, which Kekahuna identified as a ku'ula or fisherzen's shrine, and identification which he made also of the site at the head of Ilio Point, where, it is probably just the rectangular stone platform which served as a shrine. The adjoining platform and enclosure may have been the quarters of the

officiating kahuna.

Ilio Point. On Ilio (Dog) Point is an indentation where one may look down through about eight feet of water to a stone formation resembling a dog. See plate 55 , (photo E 17, 9). According to Kalokuokamaile, whom I saw in 1924, the name of this dog was Keokea, and the ahupuaa of Keokea derived its name from it. However, Mary Kawena Pukui regards Keokea as a contraction of Ke-one-kea, The-white-sand. Panui, in 1951, recited a legend of this stone which was recorded by Homer Hayes on tape (Museum Tape 28). In brief, translated, it is this:

"After Pele and Kamapua'a divided the island, Pele destroyed all the kupua (supernatural beings) on this side of the island, including the dog that is in the sea at Keokea. His name is Anahulu." It is interesting to note that in reciting the story to Hayes he said the dog was called Anahulu, Ten Days, because it is on the tenth day that a puppy opens it's eyes. However, when I talked with him at his home in Keel in November 1957, he said that the dog was called Anahulu because he came from Puu Anahulu in North Kona, and this was the explanation of the name

which Kekahuna had heard from his informants.

Sites near Keawe's dwelling. To the north of Keawe's dwelling site is a large modern enclosure with a corral attached, the building of which robbed the enclosure on its north of most of the stones from its east wall. Within the enclosure is an excellently preserved house platform in two steps, finely paved with coral pebbles. It has a jog in its northwest corner, where is located a stone chamber, which Stokes learned had served as a chicken coop. See plate 56, photo 2045. It was closed by a stone slab. When we examined the structure in 1957, a pen had been built in front of this vault, filling out the corner.

On the north of this platform, which Maluahine said also was used by Kamai in the 1870's, is level ground where a house must have stood as it is floored with coral pebbles and an ancient grindstone lay before it.

Returning to the shore, a number of tree moulds in the lava may be observed inland from Kii Point. See plate 55, photo S:30, 14. They resemble exactly those at Honaunau Bay. These have frequently been called moulds of cocenut trees, but this is an ancient flow, in all



probability predating the arrival of the Hawaiians whom we believe introduced the coconut. A close examination by Edwin Bryan and myself has convinced us these are not coconut trees, as the trunks moulded are too slender. We believe they represent the narrow-stemmed indigenous *Pritchardia* palms, which grow naturally in the area today and which certainly could have been here in prehuman times.

From Kii Point the shore curves in to form the north side of Alahaka Bay, and 200 feet away a point of lava has had a cavern pierced through it by wave action. This arch is known as Ka-wai-o-Pele, The-Water-of-Pele. See plate 57 , photo 2045.

The path which leads from the end of the beach road to the ancient highway passes the inland end of Keawe's house site where on the left are the remains of the foundation of a stone and mortar chapel and on the right a papamu pecked in the lava.

The Kamehameha Highway. This highway is accredited to King Kamehameha I. It runs along from the end of Hanauma Bay to the south end of Alahaka cliffs, up the cliff by a well-built stone ramp paved

with heavy waterworn slabs, and southward towards Hookena. Over much of its length across Keokea it is built up like the bed of a railroad, 10 feet wide, and in spots paved with coral, sand and pebbles. One might judge it entirely modern, but Mark Twain (Clemens, 1938, p. 191) in July 1866, puts it in the time of Kamehameha or earlier. He speaks of it in these terms:

We walked a mile over a raised macadamized road of uniform width; a road paved with flat stones and exhibiting in its every detail a considerable degree of engineering skill. Some say that wise old pagan Kamehameha I planned and built it but others say it was built so long before his time that knowledge of who constructed it has passed out of the traditions. .... The stones are worn and smooth, and pushed apart in places, so that the road has the exact appearance of those ancient paved highways leading out of Rome which one sees in pictures.

Naluahine claimed the highway was built by Kamehameha III, and that in early times a ladder enabled the traveller to surmount the cliff, hence the name Alahaka, Road of the ladder. The road as it appears at present was certainly built to accommodate travel by horseback, but it must have followed the ancient trail. Remnants of an older alignment

of its southern end as it approached the cliff, are traceable as shown on map 5. The ramp with its heavy flag stones is the most impressive part of the highway. On Land Commission Awards of 1853 it is called Alanui Aupuni, Road of the Government.

The great holua slide. Inland, back of Alahaka cliffs and to the northeast is the start of the 1290 foot holua slide which terminates back of an ancient house platform at Paumoa. It has long gone undetected because of the removal of stone for the old highway and for the wall which crosses it before meeting the Alahaka Cliffs. The upper part, fortunately, is virtually intact, and the lower part could be easily restored because the boundaries of it are traceable. A holua sled is preserved in the Bishop Museum (plate 58 ), and William Ellis gives an excellent account of the sport (1917, pp. 219-220):

The horua has for many generations been a popular amusement throughout the Sandwich Islands, and is still practised in several places. It consists in sliding down a hill on a narrow sledge, and those who, by strength or skill in balancing themselves, slide farthest, are considered victorious.

The papa, or sledge, is composed of two narrow runners, from seven to twelve or eighteen feet long, two or three inches deep, highly polished, and at the foremost end tapering off from the under side to a point at the upper edge. These two runners are fastened together by a

number of short pieces of wood laid horizontally across. To the upper edge of these short pieces two long tough sticks are fastened, extending the whole length of the cross pieces, and about five or six inches apart.

Sometimes a narrow piece of matting is fastened over the whole upper surface, except three or four feet at the foremost end, though in general only a small part for the breast to rest on is covered.

At the foremost end there is a space of about two inches between the runners, but they widen gradually towards the hinder part, where they are distant from each other four or five inches.

The person about to slide grasps the small side-stick firmly with his right hand, somewhere about the middle, runs a few yards to the brow of the hill, or starting-place, where he grasps it with his left hand, and at the same time with all his strength throwing himself forward, falls flat upon it, and slides down the hill, his hands retaining their hold of the side-sticks, and his feet being fixed against the hindermost cross-piece of the sledge.

Much practice and address are necessary, to assume and keep an even balance on so narrow a vehicle, yet a man accustomed to the sport will throw himself, with velocity and apparent ease, 150 or 200 yards down the side of a gradually sloping hill.

The Alahaka Cliffs. The cliff (plates 59, 60 , photos 2054

and 2050) is the site of three major burial caves, which we have in-

dicated on the map, and a number of shelters. Ellis in 1823 (1917,

pp. 130-132) was immensely impressed with the spectacle of this cliff

with the cascades of solidified lava festooned over it, forming archways. He

noted the burial caves and the cave and bluff shelters:

As we passed along this vaulted avenue, called by the natives Keanakee [The-turning-cavern], we beheld a number of caverns and tunnels, from some of which streams of lava had flowed. The mouths of others being walled up with stones, we supposed were used as sepulchres. Mats spread upon the slabs of lava, calabashes, etc., indicated some of them to be the habitations of men; others, near the openings, were used as workshops, where women were weaving mats, or beating cloth. Some, we also saw, used as storehouses, or depositories of sandlewood.

At the north end of the cliffs, where they become low, turn, and disappear, is a large natural shelter formed by the mouth of a lava tube. It is reached by two entrances which slope down to its floor about 20 by 40 feet in area, with the roof some 25 feet above it at the highest point. The floor has no depth of deposit but on it waterworn stones serving for paving and for seats, charcoal, candlenuts, some sea shells, and the skeleton of two pigs, and a dog mandible show its use as a shelter. It leads into a small lava tube, which had been walled off, where are the skeletal remains of at least 12 individuals, among them children, all in poor condition with all intact crania removed. No cloth or buttons were seen, indicating these were ancient burials.

Around the bend in the cliffs, where they commence to rise to some height, is an excellent little shelter, with a floor space 10 by 25 feet, and a platform and wall in front. On the floor were fragments of a wooden bowl, fragments of gourd containers, fire sticks, large waterworn slabs, sea shells, pig bones, etc. Collectors had dug into one corner of the floor since my first visit in 1953.

Further to the south along the base of the cliffs and directly back of a small almost entirely natural platform overlooking the flat land of Alahaka, is a small shelter. This was partly walled and contained some gourd fragments and pig bones.

Above the shelter just described is a small cave, about 12 feet deep, with the floor strewn with lava fragments shaken down upon it by earthquakes and landing upon the burials within. At least five children or babies were buried here, because five frontal bones were observed. A very small baby was buried in a gourd container. It had been first wrapped in white European cloth with a green and red print, then in tapa cloth with a design in red and black. There were at least four other such gourd containers in fragmentary condition and much eaten by worms.

In exploring along the whole length of the top of Alahaka cliffs it was only above this that we came across any structure. Here, George Ruhle reports a small stone platform or cairn near the edge of the cliff.

Between the cave just mentioned and the important lava-tube burial cave to the southeast, is a small shelter formed by a cleft in the cliff,

rather high up, which contained cowrie shells, candle nuts, and animal bones, and served as a one-man shelter.

The cliff now begins to dip lower and we reach a point where it is easily scalable. By following along near the top of the talus slope we come to a cave entrance which had been carefully walled on both sides. The lava flow over the top of the cliff above seems to have dripped onto the outer part of these man-made walls, but a very careful scrutiny did not substantiate that this was so. The narrow entrance leads downward to a wide tube which has a short branch to the left, continues inward about 60 feet and then forks. The floor had been carefully levelled in places with blocks of lava and on the sides, shelves built in. Along the shelves were laid burials. These extended well into historic times as revealed by buttons, European cloth, and glass beads. However, there were older burials and originally the mouth may have served as a shelter because here we found the usual debris of a shelter floor. At least twelve, probably many more, individuals were buried here, among them one child.

Further to the southwest of this burial cave, by 250 feet, having an opening clearly observable up on the cliff, and reached by an easy climb, is the entrance to another important burial cave, where modern coffins had been burned to destroy them. This too must have been used in ancient times, but its heavy use up until the beginning of this century, has obscured the original burials. The place has been frequently visited and ransacked, many whole unburnt bones, clothing, a hair brush, modern buttons, clutter the chambers. This is undoubtedly the cave which Mark Twain mentions in a humorous episode where his friend enters to investigate and backs out in a hurry when he bumps his nose on the corner of a canoe-coffin (Clemens, 1938, p. 194).

Just to the north of this burial cave the cascading lava flow which Mark Twain described as a petrified Niagara takes on a striking character, where the top of it has been detached from the cliff. Under the arch is a deep and long shelter, which, however, does not seem to have been much used. Its entrance on the south offered a better place for a shelter and gave evidence of terracing to provide working space.



Around the corner of the high pinnacle to the south, which rises 84 feet above the level of Alahaka Heiau platform, two conspicuous lava tube openings lead into tubes with branches, which we followed for some distance, but found no burials. Below their entrances was a shelter floor with some animal bones, perhaps goat bones, and indications of some use through a few sea shells, and waterworn stones serving as seats.

Near the east end of the cliffs, a natural shelter has been provided by an arching lava flow, and on its floor are tell-tale waterworn stones used as seats, and sea shells indicating use as a shelter. The floor has no depth of earth to it and so would be useless for archaeological excavation. However, this, as with other shelters along the cliffs were ideal as workshops because of the shade they afford, and their dampness which made them suitable for storing and working pandanus leaves for mats. This particular cave was surely one of those seen occupied by Ellis.

Where the cliff turns again and along side the ramp is a natural shelter which had been extensively used, and above it are lava tubes which we found empty upon exploring them.

At the upper end of the stone ramp a shelter on the north (plate 61 , photo H 268) leads into a lava tube known as Waiu-o-Hina, Breast-of-Hina, because near its seaward end two stalactites resemble the breast of a woman. It is 160 feet long, varies in width from 10 to 15 feet and in height from 2 to 6 feet. Where it emerges on the cliff it appears to be more than 20 feet above the deep water at the base.

Alahaka heiau. Lying within the amphitheater formed by the cliffs of Alahaka is the stone platform of an ancient heiau, 60 by 90 feet, and at its highest point above the surrounding lava floor, 8 feet high. It is remarkable for its facing of carefully fitted lava stones with a flat, vitreous surface exposed in the face of the wall. See plate 62 , photo 2036, and for its pao or vaulted construction, see plate 63 , photo 2058. All through the greater part of the platform glimpses into the hollow underpinning may be had, where the pavement has been torn up perhaps by curiosity seekers, perhaps for stones to build the goat pen 150 feet northwest. The southern end was lower and distinct divisions in the pavement were originally present. A long, careful, and detailed study of

alignments and original surface pavements would enable a reasonably good restoration to be made of this heiau.

Stokes was told in 1906 that this was not a heiau, but in 1919 an old woman, a former resident, said it was a heiau name Hale o Lono, and that human sacrifices were not offered here. Hale o Lono can be a descriptive name for heiaus where human sacrifices were not offered. Reinecke (ms.) collected the name as Heiau Walahaka, which is of course, Heiau Alahaka, and merely a descriptive name. Kekahuna gathered the name 'I-maka-koloa, which is the name of a famous chief. Undoubtedly it is a quite ancient heiau, probably contemporaneous with Alealea heiau which has the same construction.

House platform at base of cliff. Before the old highway turns to mount the cliff the remains of an ancient house platform can be observed against the cliff. It consist of one platform, 20 by 40 feet and 2 feet high, placed on a larger platform. The cliff in back rises to a height of about 50 feet. Here is where a guard lived, according to Kekahuna.

## South Keokea

Mounting the Alahaka Cliffs by the stone ramp, we pass back of Pukakio Point and Hinalea Cove to the first ruins of consequence, those of the establishment of the Jno. Ahu family abandoned for more than a score of years. This seems to have been built on an old site of some consequence, but the modifications have been so great as to obliterate its ancient character. We learn from Land Commission Award 9464 that this pa hale, or house site, in the ili, or land section, of Pa-ilima, Keokea, was awarded in the 1850's to one named Makaika, who had received it from his parents in 1819. At the same time we learn that he had been given 19 taro patches and 9 sweet potato patches inland in the ili of Papuaa, in Keokea, from one named Polani, in the year 1839, and 6 potato patches (kihapai uala) in the ili of Ulukaa, in Keokea, from one named Kaawa, in 1840. Thus he was well provided with products from the sea and the land.

On the south of the point, Alahii Cove in Kiilas Bay provided a deep and sheltered waters for small steamers to enter for the unloading of lumber and commodities in exchange for salt, goat and cattle hides. Whale boats

and canoes, through most of the year, could glide up to a natural rock shelf and easily embark passengers and freight.

Across the old highway we come to the outskirts of Kiilae Village, where stone walls enclose house lots. Some of these walls are old and tumbled down, others quite new. The first enclosure on the north, see map 6, takes in land around a height overlooking the highway, and in its central part a lava bed provides a natural platform for a dwelling which seems to have stood here judging from midden material. Likewise, the enclosure to the south must have had a dwelling for the same reason, and a papamu on a portable stone rested here. The third lot has two old house platforms, at one of which a small enclosure surrounds a concrete tomb. The next lot south has a small, typical house platform, and the enclosure next to the boundary between Keokea and Kiilae, had a modern establishment erected on it not long before, as decaying, house timbers, discarded metal pots, broken crockery, gave abundant testimony. But in front of a stone-wall pen in the middle of the lot is part of a fine ancient paving of large waterworn stones and in the back part of the lot, the foundation

stones of an ancient house, while into the new wall along the south border are incorporated numerous waterworn boulders which must have been in an old house platform nearby, for the ground here is strewn with midden material. In the southwest corner of the lot an artificial basin, a foot in diameter and a foot deep had been pecked into the top of a stone ledge.

This last lot is recorded in the Land Commission Awards as award 9463, to one named Holua, who received it from his parents in 1819. It is stated to be in the ili of Papuaa-iki, in Keokea, and that Holua received a taro patch in the ili of Piahulihuli, in Kiilae in 1840.

## Kiilae

We cross now into Kiilae, a village which owed its importance to Kiilae Bay and to the well, Wai-ku'i-o-Kekela, Pounded-well-of-Kekela, over which a windmill was erected in recent times.

Chiefess Kekela-o-ka-lani was the mother of Queen Emma, the wife of Kamehameha IV. She resided at Kiilae on the beautiful house platform overlooking the well in the early and middle 1800's. Kalokuakamaile of Napoopoo, wrote out for the Bishop Museum in 1923 this story concerning the well (translation by Dorothy Barrere);

### Story of the Pounded Water of Kekela

An elderly man and his wife were living in the middle of the cultivable (kula) lands of Kiilae, South Kona, Hawaii. The work of these two was the cultivation of sweet potatoes. Also with these two old people was a dog. While they cultivated this land, and the days were very long, they could not understand the doings of their dog. While they cultivated near the mouth of a certain cave their dog appeared from inside of it, and came out wet with water.

The old man said to the old woman, "Do you see anything unusual?" Answered the woman, "No, I don't." Said the old man "Let's wait until tomorrow, then you will see and we will both see it." The old woman did not understand the words of her husband. They lay down that night with their dog. The old man observed their dog more closely and he noticed when the dog went out. He did not neglect to notice the time of his going. He watched closely until the time the dog left. At the time the dog went, he followed quickly. The dog entered the cave. He noticed when he went in and when he came out again.

The two cultivated their sweet potato garden; and near to the time the dog was to return to them, the husband said to the wife, "Let's go to the opening of the cave and there do our work." They went to the opening of the cave to cultivate. Said the man to his wife, "I have an unusual thing to show you." "What unusual thing?" "Do you see our dog?" "Not in the least." Said the man, "Let's stay here until our dog returns. We are going to receive riches and benefits from our dog. Let's wait until he returns. He will come soon." While they were talking the dog came, and his fur was wet with water. Said the husband to his wife, "Now do you see our dog? Yes; and do you understand?" "No." "Don't you see the fur of our dog is wet with water? Yes; indeed; there is water perhaps inside this cave. Tomorrow we will go with the dog into the cave. Maybe the water inside will be lucky for us, who live in this land without water."

They made several strings of kukui nuts and bound them together with green ti leaves so they would not burn all at once and quickly use up the nuts. This was a light for entering into the cave. When they entered with their dog, they went along inside the cave until they reached a place they couldn't go through, the entrance being very narrow. They returned outside, leaving the dog. While they came out of the cave, the old man said to his wife "Let us make this known to the overseer of this land, and, perhaps, obtain this water." The report was sent to the overseer, and several men were sent to go with the dog. The men went to the place where they could go no farther, only the dog being able to go on. This was made known to the alii who was living at Kiilae, this water of the dog's. She asked her kahunas about it, whether it was really water or not. The kahunas of Kekela looked and saw that it was truly so, that it was really water, and with great labor could be obtained. This water was there to be obtained from the rock.

This water was near the seashore. It was a mile from the entrance of the cave to the seashore where the spring was. That cave has been called the Cave of the Dog to this day and forevermore. The kahunas pointed out the place to hammer a certain rock with another rock. The work of the men was to go upland to fetch firewood to be lighted on top of the rock of the spring.

It was lighted to burn red hot, then a rock hammered onto the rock set on fire, then the rock that was lighted burst open. The strange thing was that the travelling company coming from Ka-'u to go to Kohala could not go, they were stopped there and sent upland for shoulder loads of firewood. And so with the people going to Ka-'u - they were stopped there and sent up for shoulder loads of firewood. Truly this spring was made here, beside the road that goes to Ka-'u, Hilo, and around the island of Hawaii. Therefore, no one who passed by could escape. The alii's work was continued right on top of this hard rock mound, without knowing there was water underneath this mound. But she listened to the words of her kahunas. The men fetched firewood and it was a long time that they hammered with patience at the rock until the water was obtained. Ha, wonderful indeed was the making of this spring; only on the paying attention of the alii to this doing of the kahunas. Here let it be said, the pointing out of the kahunas was correct. Eight feet were pounded through that rock mound before water was found. And here is this spring that lies here by the road. It was called after the name of the alii whose work it was. That was Kekela. The



name of this spring to this day and forever, and a famous deed it is indeed,  
"The Pounded Water of Kekela."

Among chants in the Bishop Museum composed for Malia Ka'oanaeha Davis  
is the following (translated by Mary Kawena Pukui) which eulogizes Kiilae  
and the well Wai-ku'i-o-Kekela, and mentions the cliffs of Alahaka:

Pau 'ole ka manao	Endless is the thought
Ka nani o Ki'ilae,	Of Ki'ilae's beauty,
O ka 'iwa kiani	Of the soaring frigate bird
Malu iho na pali.	Casting a shadow on the cliffs.
Pali a o Alahaka	The cliff of Alahaka
O ka haka kau 'ia	Is the perch on which
O ku'u mana'o.	My thought rests.
I mana'o aku au	I have thought
E inu i ka wai	Of drinking the water
Wai-ku'i-a-Kekela.	Of Wai-ku'i-a-Kekela.
Hu'elani, ku'u hoa,	Hu'elani, my companion,
Ku'uku'u 'ole ihi.	Never relaxes.
Ua lawe e ka ihu	Taken along at the prow
O ka huelopoki,	Of the whaleboat,
Oni ana i ka maka	Passing before the eyes
Na lee makawalu.	Are the many points of land.
Na Hau o Ma'ihii,	O Hau breeze of Ma'ihii,
Mai maihi 'oe	Do not remove
I ka pili ua paa.	The bond that holds fast.

Au ana i kai	Floating out to sea
Na lehua o Pinaonao,	Are the lehua of Pinaonao,
Pauku me ka hala	Combined with the hala
O Ha'imoeipo,	Of Ha'imoeipo,
Ku'u ipo 'ilihi,	My sweetheart (sweet as) sandalwood,
Ke pukonakona,	A stalwart person,
A o Ki'ilae nei.	Here in Ki'ilae.

Ilio Cave, or the Cave of the Dog, leading to the well Wai-ku'i-o-Kekela, we found to be a refuge cave with three entrances or exits inland. We have traced its outlines roughly on map 7. The uppermost entrance led by an artificially narrowed passage into a shelter the floor of which we excavated for an analyses of its content and for charcoal for a radiocarbon date. This charcoal is now at the Yale University Geophysics Laboratory for dating. Our report on this cave will appear eventually among our reports of archaeological excavations. Although it lies outside the proposed park area, its study can throw important light on the life of those who inhabited this part of the coast.

The house platform of Kekela is one of the finest examples extant of a foundation for a Hawaiian house, with its pavings of large, flat,

waterworn stones and of beach pebbles.

Kekahuna, according to his interpretative map, received information that the two small structures east and south of Kekela's platform were heiaus. The one on the east named Pua-hala, serving as a heiau for the increase of food (heiau hooulu 'ai) and the one on the east as an astronomical (heiau, kilo hoku heiau). He recognizes more divisions and features than we could find. The structure on the south had coral incorporated into it and is what we would be likely to regard as a ko'a or fisherman's shrine.

Across the old highway from the well is the house site of one named Pawai. In front of it is a stone slab, 3.5 by 5 feet, identified by Kekahuna as used in the pounding of poi. North of this house site is an old terrace faced with a line of heavy boulders, and north of this a small enclosure, fronted by a paved terrace, which Kekahuna calls a ku'ula, or fisherman's shrine. North of this is finely built platform with an upper terrace and waterworn stone slabs forming a pathway. This structure was given the name Heiau Ka'apua, by Kekahuna's informant. In the top of a

lava mound back of the heiau and ku'ula is an old, artificial poho or basin, 2 feet in diameter and a foot deep, with stones placed around it set in concrete. Horses could be watered here.

Further north are the remnants of two ancient house platforms, the northernmost one having been occupied into historic times as evidenced by rotting timbers and broken crockery.

Going now to the boundary mark K+K, we cross over a small lava tube which opens out onto the sea cliff from an opening across the road on the inland side. This is used by fishermen to store their bamboo poles.

Following up the boundary line now marked by a wire fence put in during a year or two previously, we pass the disrupted pavements of two small houses, a small cave shelter, and then at a distance of 400 feet from the shore, come upon a very rough pavement designated by Kekahuna as Kumu-ko'a Heiau, where "students received graduate training for the priesthood." We found it quite impossible to trace out the divisions he makes for this platform on his map of August 14, 1956, and his house foundation for the priests which he placed a few feet to the northwest appeared as no more than

an outcrop of loose stones. East of "Kumu-ko'a" heiau a small, rough platform has been named Kole-aka Heiau by Kekahuna's informant, who claimed that here priests received their preliminary training before going on to Kumu-ko'a. We observed a small fire-place framed by stones set one edge, in the middle of this platform.

In the northwest part of the proposed park area is an old platform which seems to have been a house platform paved with some waterworn slabs. This platform has been converted into a burial place.

Following down the old Kilaë trail from upland, we pass large walled enclosures on both sides, serving now as pasture enclosures.

On the north a cluster of three small platforms, rising in two tiers and paved with coral stones, marks graves of recent date, as shown by the mortar holding retaining walls together. When the trail passes through a gate, we come to a level space on its north adjoining a depression used as a pen. Here a house once stood, as indicated by some paving. Across the wall to its north is an ancient platform paved with large waterworn stones and rising in three terraces. We note on Kekahuna's map that he

links this platform with one lower down in an assemblage with many divisions which he calls "Hale 'A'ama Heiau". We know of a heiau of that name at Holualoa, in north Kona. A frame house had stood on the lower platform, its timbers not entirely rotted away, and broken crockery lay on its surface.

North of the enclosure of the two above platforms, in the adjacent enclosure, is an old house platform as well made and preserved as the Kekela house platform. A frame house had been built on this also, and Kekahuna has notes that this was a house site of Manunu. The concrete tomb on its north and broken crockery again indicate its occupation until recent times.

Returning to the Kiilae trail, in the first lot on its south is a neat enclosure back of a paved terrace, which Kekahuna's informant says was a Heiau Kuku-kapa (Tapa-making Shrine), and behind it a very rough rectangular pavement. To the south a paved area lies in front of a knoll, and towards the front of the lot a house foundation in two levels faces on a wide terrace.

The lot to the south of the last contains in its upper half a very

rough platform and two small pens, and across the wall in front of it the remains of an old and nicely paved house platform in two levels. The concrete tombs at the southwest corner of this enclosure have no names or dates upon them.

## Copy of Chamberlin's memorandum

The venerated and deified bones of former kings and chiefs of Hawaii, which had been deposited at Honaunau in the house of Keawe, have recently been removed, the wrappers taken off, and the bones deposited in two coffins and buried in a cave at Kaawaloa.

List.In one coffin.

Keohokuna  
Okua  
Unioopa  
Keawelusole  
Keaweakapeleamoku  
Kusialii  
Kaaloa  
Lonoakolii  
Kaleioku.

In the other coffin.

Kala'imamahu *brother of K.I.*  
Kaoleioku *son of "*  
Okana'loa'ika'iwi'lewa  
Keawe *king of Hawaii*  
Kunakoa  
Lono'ikaha'upu *high Kaula chief*  
*(high Kaula chief)*  
Hukihe  
Kekomano  
Keaweakanaha  
Ni'ula  
Kowaini'ulani  
Lono'amoana  
Lono'honua'kini  
Aha'ula.

Five or six more were brought over from the house of Liloa at Waipio. At the setting of every post and the placing of every rafter, a man was sacrificed, and at the thatching of every

where a man was offered as a sacrifice.



Appendix (Chamberlin's memorandum

Okua

Kaoleioku

*son of "*

Unioopa

Okanaoiaikawilewa

Keaweluaoie

Keawe

*King of Hawaii*

Keawekapeleamoku

Kunukoa

Kuaialii

Lonoikahaupu

*High Kaula chief  
(High Kaula chief)*

Kaaloa

Hakihe

Lonoakolii

Kekoamano

Kaleioku.

Keawekanuha

Miula

Kewainiulani

Lonoamoaana

Lonohonuakini

Ahaua.

*son of ...  
... of ...*

Five or six more were brought over from the house of Liloa at Waipio. At the setting of every post and the placing of every rafter, a man was sacrificed, and at the thatching of every wa, a man was offered as a sacrifice.

In regard to those at Honaunau, at the pulling off the flesh, at the putting up of the bones, at the putting on of the kapa, and at the winding on of the string(sennit), the same with regard to those at Waipio; and also in the making of the basket in which the bones of Liloa, Lonoikamakahiki were deposited, a human sacrifice was made at the different stages of the work.

The above is a copy of a memorandum made by L. Chamberlain, Sen.

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