

NĀ MĀHŪ HAHĀU HOHOA O HĀ'ENA: THE FIERCE & FABULOUS IN HAWAIIAN MO'OLELO

J. Hau'oli Lorenzo-Elarco

Wielding hohoa (a kapa-making implement) as weapons of warfare, the Māhū of Hā'ena nearly seized control of Kaua'i from its ruling chief, Manouli—until Kamaakamahi'ai, called in a dream, arrives at Wailua, armed with supernatural abilities and a sacred ancestral war club to defend his grandfather's kingdom. “Ka Moolelo o Kamaakamahiai,” documented by J. W. K. Kaulilinoe and serialized in the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* from 1870 to 1871, is one of the few known mo'olelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian narratives) that feature māhū.

This paper centers on the epic battle scene within this mo'olelo to expand and enrich Kanaka perspectives on māhū through traditional Hawaiian-language narratives. It foregrounds the fierce and fabulous qualities of māhū warriorship and villainy in Hawaiian mo'olelo, analyzing their cultural roles and representations to support, challenge, and inform current conceptualizations of māhū identities. By examining kūlana māhū (characteristics of māhū) and pae māhū (leagues of māhū in a particular context) as

they appear in mo‘olelo Hawai‘i drawn from Hawaiian-language archival materials, this research invites the remembering, retelling, and revitalizing mo‘olelo māhū as stories of strength, beauty, power, and resilience—offered as inspiration for our own identity, defiance, and reclamation.

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“E ANA E HUAINA”:¹ HE ‘ŌLELO HO‘OLAUNA

Ua kāka‘ikahi loa nō nā mo‘olelo ku‘una Hawai‘i e pili ana i ka po‘e māhū o ka wā i hala loa aku, a ‘o kekahi o ia ‘ano mo‘olelo ke kumuhana nui o kēia pepa nei. E kau ana nō ho‘i nā maka heluhelu i nā hohoa a kekahi mau *Māhū* o Hā‘ena, Kaua‘i, mai ka mo‘olelo mai nō ‘o Kamaakamahi‘ai, i kākau ‘ia e J. W. K. Kauililinoe no Luheikawai, Mānoa, a pa‘i ‘ia maila i *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* i ka MH 1870 a i ka MH 1871.² He wahi māhele pōkole wale nō ko ua mau Māhū nei i loko o ka mo‘olelo holo‘oko‘a. A, he waiwai nō na‘e nā hune ‘ike e loa‘a mai ana i ke kālailai hāiki ‘ana aku i ia māhele no ka ‘ike ku‘una Hawai‘i e ho‘ākāka hou ‘ia aku ana nā mana‘o ‘o ke kūlana māhū (nā hi‘ohi‘ona pili i ka māhū) a me ka pae māhū (he ‘āuna māhū nona kekahi ‘ano kuleana ma kekahi ‘oihana, he ‘alaneo paha). He mau ‘ōlelo kahiko ia e ho‘ōla ‘ia mai nei i loko o ka ‘imi ‘ana i ka pono o ka po‘e māhū i kēia au nei.

I kēia au e ne‘e nei, ua hele a pilikia loa nō ka po‘e māhū i ka hana ‘ino ‘ia, ka hō‘oia mau kanaka, ke olakino, a me ka ho‘opa‘ahao ‘ia, a aia nō kekahi kumu o ia pilikia ‘ana i ke au ho‘okolonaio ‘ana i ka nohona, ke kaiapili, ke kānāwai, ka ho‘omana, a me ke kuana‘ike Kanaka o Hawai‘i nei (Zanghellini, 2013; Young, 2015; Alvarez mā, 2020; Kahikina, 2024). E like loa nō me ko‘u mo‘olelo pono‘ī, ua lilo ia hua ‘ōlelo ‘o *māhū* he pula makawelawela, nemanema, a ‘ino‘ino loa, a no ia kumu i loli nui ai kona mana‘o ku‘una. ‘Imi aku kēia pepa i ka ho‘ohemokolonaio i ia mau mana‘o me ka papalena ‘ana aku i ia mau papahana kolonaio i mea e ho‘ōla hou ‘ia ai ka mana‘o kumu o ia mea he māhū.

He Mau Loina Kākau o Kēia Pepa Nei

E ka mea heluhelu, e ‘ike ana nō ‘oe i ka ma‘aka ‘ana o *Māhū* ma kekahi mau māhele, a me ka na‘ina‘i ‘ana o *māhū* ma kekahi mau māhele. He loina kākau nō ia a Kauililinoe, a ‘o ka‘u mea nō ia e mālama nei ma kēia pepa. ‘O ia ma‘aka ‘ana ho‘i, he wahi hō‘ailona ia no kekahi hāme‘e nui me ka inoa i hea ‘ole ‘ia. I akāka nā loina o kēia pepa, inā pela ‘ia ‘o *Māhū* me ka hua ma‘aka, ua pili hāiki nō i nā Māhū o ka mo‘olelo o Kamaakamahi‘ai, ma ke ‘ano ho‘i he mau hāme‘e maoli o ka mo‘olelo. Inā pela ‘ia nō na‘e ‘o *māhū* me ka hua na‘ina‘i, ua pili laulā nō i ka po‘e māhū, ma ke ‘ano ho‘i he kikino.

Eia he wahi pula iki e pa‘a i kō maka no ka pela inoa ‘ana ma kēia pepa nei. ‘Oiai he pepa ho‘ona‘auao Lāhui Hawai‘i nō kēia, ua ho‘oholo ka mea kākau nei i ka pela aku i nā inoa me ka ‘okina a me ke kahakō, e like loa nō ho‘i me ka mea e ‘ike le‘a ‘ia mai nei. Ua lohe ‘ia nō nā ‘ano ‘ōlelo like ‘ole a ka po‘e ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i e kū‘e ana i ka ‘okina me ke kahakō ma nā inoa kupuna, a ‘o ke kumu nui i kuhikuhi pinepine ‘ia, ‘a‘ole pēlā ko nā kūpuna pela ‘ana i ko lākou mau inoa, e la‘a ho‘i me Mary Kawena Pukui.³ Wahi a ka lohe, ‘a‘ohe ona makemake iki i ka pela ‘ia o kona inoa male me ka ‘okina a me ke kahakō, ‘oiai, ‘a‘ole pēlā ka hana a kona ‘ohana male nona ia inoa. Mai no‘ono‘o iki nō na‘e kāua, e ka mea heluhelu, he kāmāwai ka ‘okina me ke kahakō e pela pololei ‘ia ai ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, ‘a‘ole loa. He ko‘oko‘o nō ia mau māka e kōkua i ka mea heluhelu ma ka puana pololei ‘ana, o pōina auane‘i—a pau pū ka mana‘o pololei o ka inoa—i ka ‘ike ‘ole ‘ia o ka puana ‘ana. He mānaleo ua ‘o Kawena nei, a ua ‘ike le‘a ‘o ia i ka puana ‘ana o kona inoa male, a ‘o ke kumu nō paha ia i mana‘o ai ‘o ia he maha‘oi ka ‘okina me ke kahakō ma ka pela ‘oko‘a ‘ana i ka inoa ‘ohana o kāna kāne. No kākou na‘e o nei au me ko mua aku, ‘a‘ohe paha ‘ike le‘a.

No laila, ma kēia pepa nei, me ka mana‘olana e lilo ana ia he ko‘oko‘o e kōkua i ka po‘e make‘e ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, e hō‘ano ‘ia ana nō kekahi mau inoa e like me *Kamaakamahi‘ai*, *Kānepu‘u*, *Pūku‘i*, a pēlā aku, i ‘ike le‘a ‘ia mai ai ka puana pololei. No nā inoa ‘ike le‘a ‘ole ‘ia o ka puana pololei ‘ana, i ka wā i kū mua ai ma kēia pepa, e pela ‘ia ma ke ‘ano i ‘ike ‘ia ma ke kumu, a laila, ho‘okomo ‘ia ko‘u kuhi i loko o nā kahaapo kihikihi e like me kēia nei: *Pu-ki* [*Pūkī*]. Inā na‘e he puana‘ī paha mai ke kumu, a he ha‘akuhi paha i kekahi kumu ‘ike, e pela ‘ia ana nō e like loa me ke ‘ano ma ke kumu.

“UA INAINA AU I KELA MAU MAHU”:⁴ HE MAU HUNE ‘IKE O KA MANA‘O, KE KŪLANA, A ME KA PAE O IA MEA HE MĀHŪ

No ko‘u ‘ano paha, ua ho‘oma‘au nui ‘ia mai au i ko‘u wā ‘ōpiopio, i mua o ko‘u alo a i hope o ko‘u kua, i loko o ka lumi papa, ke kahua pā‘ani, ke kime pōpeku, a me ka pō‘ai ‘ohana pū kekahi, a ua kapa ‘ia mai au he *māhū*, a me nā ‘ano inoa kūamuamu ‘ino‘ino a nemanema loa a kūpono ‘ole ke helu ‘ia ma ‘ane‘i nei. E like ana nō ho‘i me kā Kamaakamahi‘ai ‘ōlelo e kau ana i luna iki a‘e nei—“ua inaina au i kela mau mahu” (Kauaililinoe, 1870–1871, Kepakemapa 3, 1870, ‘a. 4)—ia wā

ho'i, 'a'ole o'u mahalo iki i ia hua 'ōlelo. Ia wā pū nō ho'i, 'a'ole paha au i 'ike maoli, he 'ōlelo Hawai'i nō ia hua 'ōlelo, a pēlā nō paha ko'u 'ike mālani (me nā mea 'ino e kūamuamu mai ana) no ka 'ai wale 'ana i ka i'a hi'u kahi o ke kai pāpā'u. A hiki loa mai nō na'e i kēia lā e ne'e nei, mau aku ko'u 'imi 'ana i ia mana'o 'oia'i'o o ia mea he māhū me ona mau palena i pale ai ke kuana'ike Hawai'i maoli me ke kuana'ike 'ē mai waho mai. He hō'ike'ike nō kēia māhele nei o ia 'imi 'ana.

No Ia Mea he Māhū

Ua 'ike 'ia nō ia mea he māhū i loko o ka mo'olelo Hawai'i iō kikilo loa mai, e la'a ho'i ka pule ho'ola'a ali'i he Kumulipo.⁵ I loko nō na'e o ko ua hua 'ōlelo nei 'ano kahiko loa i loko o ka mo'omeheu Hawai'i, 'a'ole akāka loa kona mana'o maoli a ku'una ho'i. Wehewehe 'ia 'o *māhū* ma kekahi puke wehewehe 'ōlelo Hawai'i, penei; "Homosexual, of either sex; hermaphrodite" (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, 'a. 220). 'O kekahi mana'o hou, 'o ia ho'i he "transvestite, an individual, not necessarily homosexual, who wears clothing of the opposite sex."⁶ Ma ka 'ōlelo Kanaka, e like me ka mea i 'ike a lohe 'ia a hiki i kēia mau lā nei, ho'ohui 'ia nō ia mau mea 'ekolu—he *homosexual*, he *hermaphrodite*, a he *transvestite*—ma lalo o ho'okahi hua 'ōlelo 'o *māhū*. Ma ka 'ōlelo Pelekānia nō na'e, 'oko'a 'o *homosexual*, a 'oko'a nō 'o *hermaphrodite*, a 'oko'a ho'i 'o *transvestite*—'ekolu hua 'ōlelo 'oko'a, a 'ekolu mana'o 'oko'a.

Ma kēia pepa nei, ke kuhi 'ia 'o *māhū*, kuhi 'ia nō kekahi o ia mau mana'o. Aia nō ho'i ka ho'opuka 'ia o *māhū* i ka pō'aiapili o ke kālailaina. I mea ho'i e mālama 'ia ai he pepa 'ōlelo Kanaka piha e like loa me ka pono, a i akāka loa nō ho'i kēia kālailaina, na'u e hāpai mai i kēia mau 'ōlelo wehewehena ma ka 'ōlelo makuahine e pili ana i kēia mau hua 'ōlelo 'ekolu. Pēia ma ka pepa nei: 'o *homosexual*, he *kāne moe kāne* a he *wahine moe wahine* paha; a 'o *hermaphrodite*, he *kanaka nona kekahi 'ano hi'ona ma'i kāne a me kekahi 'ano hi'ona ma'i wahine*; a 'o *transvestite*, he *kāne kohu nānaina 'ano wahine* a he *wahine kohu nānaina 'ano kāne* paha.

'O ka nīnau ko'iko'i e kau nui mai nei i ka maka, eia mai nō ia: he 'oia'i'o maoli anei ia mau wehewehena 'ekolu i loko o ke kuana'ike Hawai'i ku'una no ia mea he māhū? Ma ka noi'i 'ana i nā kumu 'ike no ka ho'opuka 'ia 'ana o *māhū* me ka 'ike e pili pū ana, pēlā e hō'ole ai.

‘O kekahi kumu ‘ike, ua pa‘i ‘ia ma waenakonu o ka ‘ao‘ao mua ma *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* i ka makahiki (MH) 1920 e wehewehe ana no ka pa‘a i ka hopu ‘ia o kekahi kāne me kāna “wahine” he māhū, ‘o Mr. a me Mrs. Florincio Loriozo wahine. Pa‘i pū ‘ia he ki‘i o lāua me ka ‘ōlelo wehewehena, penei, “He mau Pilipino o ka mare ana mamua koke aku nei, eia ka auanei o Mrs. Loirozo [pn] i manaoia he wahine, he kane no oia, i komo nae i ka lole wahine me na lako e ae o ka wahine no kekahi mau makahiki lehulehu” (Mr. ame Mrs. Florincio Loriozo, 1920, ‘a. 1).⁷ Ua pa‘a male ‘ia ‘o “Florincio Loriozo” [pn] (kapa ‘ia he kāne ma ka ‘atikala) a me Benito Oeho (kapa ‘ia he māhū ma ka ‘atikala) i ka lā 8 o Iulai, 1920, ma ‘Aiea e ke kahu ‘o John Matthews i kekahi mau pule ma mua iki aku o ko lāua ho‘opa‘a hopu ‘ia a me ke pa‘i ‘ia o ia ‘atikala ma ka nūpepa. Penei i wehewehe ‘ia ai ua ‘o Oeho lā:

He kulana mahu maoli...a no kekahi mau makahiki loihi,
ua kuhihewa maoli ia no kela Pilipino he wahine, no ka
mea e komo ana oia i ka lole wahine, me na komolima ma
kona mau manamanalima, me na kula pepeiao hoi ma
kona mau pepeiao, a o ka mea i oi aku ai ke kuhihewaia, oia
no ka loloa o kona lauoho, me ka hanaia a like loa me ka
lauoho o na wahine.

Waiho ‘ia akula he mau hō‘ike i mua o ka ‘oihana māka‘i o ‘Ewa, a ‘o ka huli akula nō ia i loko o ka hale o lāua no nā mea e ‘oia‘i‘o ai ia mau hō‘ike. I ka ‘ike le‘a ‘ia he mau kāne nō, ua ho‘opa‘a ‘ia lāua me ka mana‘o o ka po‘e māka‘i, “Aole he pololei o ka mareia ana o kela mau Pilipino” (Mr. ame Mrs. Florincio Loriozo, 1920, ‘a. 1). ‘A‘ohe wahi ho‘opi‘i e kū‘ē ana i ka male ‘ana o ia mau Pilipino ‘elua, akā, ua ‘imi ‘ia nō na‘e ke ala e ho‘iho‘i hou ‘ia ai ia mau Pilipino i ko lāua ‘āina pono‘ī, me ka mana‘o pū, ‘a‘ole e noho hou mai i Hawai‘i nei. Pau ka ‘atikala ma ka ‘ōlelo ‘ana penei, “I ka ikeia ana ae la o ke kulana oiaio loa o keia Pilipino mahu, e okiia ana kona lauoho, me kona hookomoia aku i ka lole o na kane, pela hoi ke kiolaia ana o kona mau kahiko o ka wahine, [pn] ana e hokoheoheo [pn: ho‘okōheoheo] mau ana i na manawa ae nei i hala.”

Ma ia mo‘olelo, he “kulana mahu maoli” ko Oeho, a ‘o ka mea e ‘ike ‘ia ai he kulanā māhū—‘o ka mea ho‘i ia e māhū ai kona kulanā—‘o ia ke kohu loa o kona nānaina i ka wahine ma kona lole, kona komo lima, kona kula pepeiao, a me kona lauoho. E la‘a ho‘i me ka wehewehena no Oeho no kona kulanā māhū maoli, ua kūlike

nō ia me kā Pūku'i, Haertig, me Lee wehewehena no ka mähū ma ke 'ano ho'i he kāne kohu nānaina 'ano wahine. No laila ho'i, no ia mea he mähū, e like nō me ka mea i 'ike 'ia ma ia 'atikala, he kāne nō ma ka hānau 'ia 'ana, a koho 'o ia i ke 'ano nānaina wahine, a he wahine nō ma ka nānā 'ana.

Inā hahai 'ia ka mana'o o ia 'atikala no Oeho mā, he mähū nō ua 'o Oeho nei ma o ke 'ano o kona nānaina, 'a'ole ke 'ano o kona moe 'ana, a i ka maka o ka po'e māka'i, he mau kāne maoli nō 'o Florincio lāua 'o Oeho. Eia ho'i, 'a'ole i kuhi 'ia he mähū 'o Florincio, he kāne nō, a 'ike le'a 'ia pēlā ma kona nānaina. Mau nō ko Florincio kulanā he kāne i loko nō o kona moe a male 'ana i kekahi mähū. 'A'ole 'o ia he mähū. 'O Oeho wale nō ka i kuhikuhi 'ia he mähū no kona 'ano nānaina kohu wahine.

Wahi a kēia kuana'ike ma ka 'atikala, inā moe kekahi kāne me kekahi kāne, a kohu kāne ka nānaina, he mau kāne nō lāua, 'a'ole nō lāua e mana'o 'ia he mau mähū. No laila, pili 'ole ia kulanā mähū i ke kāne moe kāne (a kāne moe mähū paha) e like me kekahi wehewehena a Pūku'i lāua 'o Elbert, a 'a'ole paha pili ka mähū i ke keka o ke kanaka. Eia kekahi, 'a'ole paha pili ka mana'o o ia mea he mähū i ke 'ano pālūa o kona ma'i he hi'ona kāne, he hi'ona wahine. 'Oiai, ma ua 'atikala lā, 'a'ole i kuhi pono 'ia ke 'ano i hō'ōia 'ia ai ko Oeho hi'ona kāne, a 'a'ole ho'i i kuhi 'ia ke 'ano hi'ona o kona ma'i, no laila, 'a'ole paha hiki ke kuhi wale aku, 'o Oeho kekahi *kanaka nona kekahi 'ano hi'ona ma'i kāne a me kekahi 'ano hi'ona ma'i wahine*, a i 'ole, ua like 'o mähū me kēia 'ōlelo o luna.

No Ia Mea he Mähū mai ka Mähū mai o ke Au Nei

Ma ka ho'olauna o kēia māhele nei, ua mo'olelo pōkole aku au no ko'u kapa 'ia 'ana he mähū i ko'u wā 'ōpiopio, ma ke 'ano nō na'e, he 'ōlelo 'ino a nemanema loa. Ua kapa 'ia au pēlā e ka po'e 'ike 'ole i ka 'ike Hawai'i, a 'a'ole lākou he mau mähū. No laila ke 'ano nui o kēia māhele nei, 'o ia ka wehewehe pōkole 'ana i ia mana'o o ka mähū mai ka waha mai nō o kekahi mähū o ke au nei, nona kekahi 'ano 'ike hohonu a ka Hawai'i.

'O Hinalaimoana Wong-Kalu kekahi mähū Hawai'i o ke au nei e kū ha'aheo ana no ka pono o ka Lāhui Hawai'i, he keu ho'i ka pono o ka mähū.⁸ Ho'ākāka maila 'o ia i loko o kona kuana'ike ma ke 'ano he Kanaka a he mähū maoli o ke au nei, 'o ka mähū ke keka 'ekolu o ke kanaka—'o ia ho'i 1) ke kāne, 2) ka wahine, a me 3) ka mähū, a he kū nō ka mähū ma waena o ke kāne a me ka wahine, a

no ia ‘ano kūlana o waena, ili mai i ka māhū ke ‘ano kāne me ke ‘ano wahine a ho’okino ‘ia mai. ‘O ia ‘ano e kuhi ‘ia nei, ‘o ia ka lawena, ke kuleana, ka no’ono’o, ka nānaina, a ia ‘ano, a ia ‘ano aku nō e pa’a ai he kūlana kāne a he kūlana wahine (Wong-Kalu mā, 2014). Eia kekahi, wehewehe hou aku ua ‘o Wong-Kalu nei i loko o kekahi papahana ha’i hou i ka mo’olelo māhū ‘o *Kapaemāhū* penei, “Aole he tane, aole he wahine. He mau mahu lakou [‘o Kapaemāhū mā, ‘o nā hāme’e ho’i lākou o ka mo’olelo]. He palua no hoi lakou [‘o ka po’e māhū] ma ka naau me ka noonoo, a ma na ano a pau.”⁹ Kāko’o ‘ia akula kona mana’o e Stacey Ka’au’a, he māhū a he kumu hula ‘o ia, me ka wehewehe hou aku nō penei, “A māhū is able to traverse between two worlds—between male and female” (Google, 2017).

Ia’u e no’ono’o nui ana no nā ‘ano wehewehena o ka māhū e like loa me ke kūlana i ‘ike ‘ia ma nā mo’olelo Hawai’i, a me ka ‘ike ho’i a ka po’e māhū Hawai’i o ke au nei e ho’omana’o mai ana iā kākou no ka pilina ko’iko’i o ka māhū me ka ‘ao’ao kāne me ka ‘ao’ao wahine, he launa ‘ole paha ia kuana’ike Hawai’i me ko ka mea ‘ōlelo ‘ino’ino mai i ko’u wā ‘ōpiopio. ‘O *māhū* ka hohoa a ia mau mea ‘ōlelo ‘ino’ino i hahau mai ai ia’u, kohu mea lā he mea e ‘ino ai ka na’au. Eia kā, ‘o ia mea nō he māhū o ka wā kahiko, he mea nō e ola ai ka na’au (Wong-Kalu mā, 2020). No laila ka mea nui o ka noi’i hou ‘ana aku i nā mo’olelo Hawai’i, a ‘o kā kākou mo’olelo e noi’i ana ‘o “Ka Moolelo o Kamaakamahiai” me kona mau hoa kaua ‘o nā Māhū hahau hohoa o Hā’ena, i ho’ākea ‘ia ai ke kuana’ike Hawai’i o’u (a o kākou paha) no ka māhū, a i mea nō ho’i e lapa’au ai i nā ‘ino’ino o ka na’au.

“NA HIHIPEA O KEIA MOOLELO:”¹⁰ HE HŌ‘ULU‘ULU MO‘OLELO NO KAMAAMAHIAI

Ua palapala ‘ia “Ka Moolelo o Kamaakamahiai, ka Niuhi Ai Humuhumu o Kahului i Maui, ke Puhi Nau Okaoka hoi o Kona Mau La Koa, ka Hiluhilu hoi o Kona Wa Ui” e J. W. K. Kaulilinoe, a pa’i ‘ia ma *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* i ka lā 18 o Iune, 1870, a hiki i ka lā 21 o Ianuali, 1871. He iwakāluakūmākahi ona pukana, a ‘o ka mea lō’ihi loa ia a J. W. K. Kaulilinoe i kākau ai i loko o nā nūpepa ‘ōlelo Hawai’i. He mo’olelo mīkololohua maoli nō kēia i hihipe’a i nā ‘ano hana wiwo ‘ole, nā hāme’e kupanaha ha’oha’o a āiwaiwa, nā hakakā pūkonakona, nā kaua weliweli, nā mele ho’onanea, a me ka ‘ike na’auao lehulehu a manomano o ko kākou po’e kūpuna o ke au kahiko. Ua pa’i ‘ia akula ia mo’olelo he ‘elua pule ma hope mai o ka pau ‘ana o kāna mo’olelo no Kalelealuaka (Kaulilinoe, 1870).

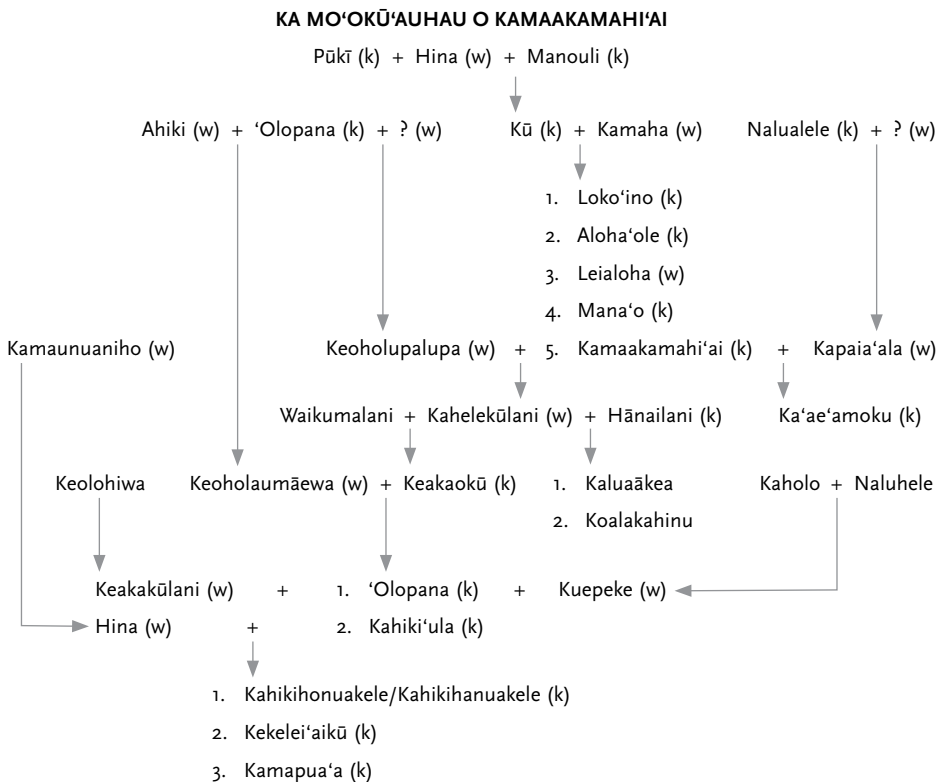
‘Oiai, he inoa maka peni nō ua ‘o Kauaililinoe nei, ‘a’ole nui ka ‘ike no kona mo’olelo kanaka ma waho a’e o kona ‘ano he mea kākau.¹¹ He kāne Hawai‘i nō ‘o ia e noho ana i Luheikawai, i ke awāwa ‘o Mānoa, O‘ahu, mai ka MH 1867 a hiki i ka MH 1880. ‘O ka ho‘olono nūhou, ke kālailai mo’olelo, a me ka nane kekahi mau kumuhana ‘ē a’e āna i kākau ai, a ‘o kāna ka mea mua loa i kākau ‘ia no nā mo’olelo Hawai‘i ku‘una o Kalelealuaka a me Kamaakamahi‘ai. No laila, ma mua o kona palapala ‘ana, ua ili ia mau mo’olelo mai ka waha wale mai nō paha o nā kūpuna (Lorenzo-Elarco, 2021, ‘a. 170–207).

Ua pa‘i ‘ia kekahi mana hou aku o ka mo’olelo no Kamaakamahi‘ai ma ke po‘o inoa ‘o “Moolelo Hoonau Puuwai no Kama.A.Ka.Mahiai Ka Hi‘apa‘iole o ka Ikaika o ke Kai Huki Hee Nehu o Kahului” i loko o ka nūpepa ‘o *Ke Aloha Aina* i ka lā 7 o ‘Aukake, 1909, a hiki loa i ka lā 11 o Malaki, 1911, e Ho‘oulumāhiehie. Mai laila mai, ua ho‘omau ‘ia ka mo’olelo ma lalo o ke po‘o inoa like, akā, ‘o ke koena o ia mau pukana hou aku, ua pili nō na‘e ia i kā Kamaakamahi‘ai pua nani o ke Ko‘olau, ‘o ia ho‘i kāna keiki ‘o Kahelekūlani, a hiki i ka pau ‘ana o ka mo’olelo i ka lā 12 o Kēkēmapa, 1911. Eia ho‘i, ‘o Na-Hau-o-Maihi-Au-Ana-i-ke-Kai ka inoa maka peni o ka mea nāna i kākau i ia māhele mo’olelo (Na-Hau-o-Maihi-Au-Ana-i-ke-Kai, 1911, ‘a. 3). A laila, ho‘omau ‘ia akula ka mo’olelo no ka mo‘opuna a Kamaakamahi‘ai ma loko o *Ke Aloha Aina* i ka lā 3 o Pepeluali a i ka lā 18 o Mei, 1912, ma ke po‘o inoa ho‘i ‘o “Ka Moolelo Hooni Puuwai no Keakaoku, ka Moopuna Leo Ole a Kamaakamahiai, a o ke Koa Nana i Wehe i na Pu Kaula a Makalii” (Na-Hau-o-Maihi-Au-Ana-i-ke-Kai, 1912, ‘a. 3).¹² ‘A’ohe mana hou aku ma ka ‘ōlelo Kanaka a ‘ōlelo haole paha ma waho o kēia mau mana i kuhikuhi ‘ia i luna a’e nei.

Ma kā Kauaililinoe mana o ka mo’olelo, aia nō ia i ka wā iā Kamalālāwalu, ‘Olopana, me Manouli e noho ali‘i ana ma ko lākou aupuni pono‘ī, ‘o Maui, O‘ahu, a me Kaua‘i. He mo’olelo nō ia i pili i kekahi hapa o ka pae ‘āina, ‘o ia ho‘i, mai Hawai‘i Nui o Keawe a hiki loa aku i ka home pōhai a nā manu i Ka‘ula. He 160 a ‘oi loa aku mau pana ‘āina i kuhi ‘ia i ka mo’olelo. A, he ‘ehiku mau hanauna kanaka o ia mo’olelo—mai nā kūpuna mai o Kamaakamahi‘ai a hiki mai i kā ia nei mau mo‘opuna kualua. Mai kekahi hanauna a kekahi hanauna aku, ua nui ‘ino nā mo’olelo hoihoi o nā ‘ano me‘e like ‘ole i kākau ‘ia, a he 100 a ‘oi iki a’e paha mau inoa me‘e o ia mo’olelo nui.¹³ He 59 ho‘i mau mele ma ia mo’olelo, a ua haku ‘ia nō ka hapa nui o ia mau mele e ‘elua mau hāme‘e, ke kāhuli leo le‘a ho‘i ‘o Kahelekūlani a me kāna keiki leo kapu ‘o Keakaokū.¹⁴

Ua noho nō a kupa ko Mary Kawena Pūku'i mau maka i nā 'ao'ao lahilahi maoli o nā nūpepa nona kā Kauaililinoe mana o Kamaakamahi'ai, 'oiai, nāna nō i unuhi i ia mo'olelo mai ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i a i ka 'ōlelo haole. Aia i ka waihona palapala kahiko o ka Hale Hō'ike'ike o Kamehameha kāna i unuhi ai (Pukui, 'am). Mali'a, he kumu 'ike nō paha 'o kā Kauaililinoe mana mo'olelo no kā Pūku'i puke ho'āhu 'ōlelo no'eau, no ka mea, 'o kekahi 'ōlelo no'eau i loko o ua mo'olelo nei, aia nō i ia puke 'ōlelo no'eau, e la'a ho'i 'o "Aohe pahuna hala a ka maluakele" (Kauaililinoe, 1870–1871, Nowemapa 26, 1870, 'a. 1; Pukui, 1983, 'a. 24, #201).

KI'I 1: Ka Mo'okū'auhau o Kamaakamahi'ai



“O ko Keiki na Waiwai, Ola na Iwi, no ka Mea he Keiki Ikaika a Koa Hoi”¹⁵

Welo like ka ‘ōmaka o kēia mo‘olelo no Kamaakamahi‘ai na Kauaililinoe me nā ‘ano mo‘olelo ku‘una aku o Hawai‘i nei, ‘o ia ho‘i, ma ka meiwi mo‘okū‘auhau nō i ho‘okahua ‘ia ai ka mo‘olelo (e huli aku a nānā i ke ki‘i 1).¹⁶ Ma kinohi o ia mo‘okū‘auhau o luna, noho kua‘āina mai ‘o Pūkī lāua ‘o Hina i Kahului, Maui. He ikaika ‘ino nō ‘o Pūkī, a ‘eleu nō ho‘i ‘o ia i ka ‘oihana mahi ‘ai. ‘A‘ohe a lāua keiki a i ka hiki ‘ana mai o ke ali‘i nui o Kaua‘i, ‘o Manouli kona inoa. Ua noho pū lāua ‘o Hina a pu‘u a‘ela ka ‘ōpū o ua wahine nei. Hā‘awi akula ua ‘o Manouli nei i nā mea waiwai mana nui a ke ali‘i i kāna wahine iā Hina, e la‘a ka lei niho palaoa, ka ‘ahu ‘ula, a me ke ko‘oko‘o no kāna keiki i mea e ‘ike ‘ia ai ke kulanā ali‘i o ia keiki ke hiki mai ka wā kūpono o ka hui hou mai o lāua he lūau‘i makua kāne me kāna keiki, a ‘o ka ha‘alele akula nō ia o ia ali‘i nui iā Maui. Mai ko lākou pūhaka mai—‘oiai he punalua nō ho‘i ‘o Pūkī lāua ‘o Manouli—i hānau ‘ia ai ‘o Kū, he kāne. He keiki kupaianaha ‘o ia i ke kū mau o ka pūnohu me ka helele‘i maila o ka uakoko, a kupaianaha pū nō kona ‘ano he pupuka launa ‘ole. I loko nō na‘e o ka hilahila o kona mau mākuā i kona ‘ano pupuka loa, ua noho pū ua ‘o Kū nei iā Kamaha. Mai ia hihia makau mai o ke aloha i hānau ‘ia ai he ‘elima mau keiki: ‘o Loko‘ino (kāne), ‘o Aloha‘ole (kāne), ‘o Leialoha (wahine), ‘o Mana‘o (kāne), a ‘o ka me‘e hiluhilu hiapa‘i‘ole ‘o Kamaakamahi‘ai (kāne), ka muli ho‘i.

I ko Kamaakamahi‘ai hānau ‘ia ‘ana mai, ho‘opuka mana‘o ‘o ia mai kona waha mai. He mau kino nō ho‘i kona: he kino kamali‘i, he kino keiki, a he kino makua nō ho‘i. ‘O kekahi mana ona ka hiki ke lele mai kekahi pe‘a a i kekahi pe‘a mamao loa aku o ka ‘āina. ‘O ka mea kupaianaha loa ka ikaika launa ‘ole a me ka wiwo ‘ole o ua “manō hae” nei, a ‘ike ‘ia nō ia ‘ano mai kona wā e kamali‘i ana, iā ia ho‘i i hāpai a‘e ai i kekahi palaoa pae a lawe ‘ia a‘ela i uka. ‘O Kūka‘ō‘ō kāna lā‘au pālau mana nui mai kona po‘e ‘aumākua mai. ‘Elua ka‘au anana ka loa o ia lā‘au, ‘o ia paha he ‘ehā haneli kanawalu mau kapua‘i. He no‘ono‘o ko ua ‘o Kūka‘ō‘ō nei kohu mea lā he kanaka. Kauoha akula ‘o Kamaakamahi‘ai iā Kūka‘ō‘ō e ho‘okō i kekahi ‘ano hana, a ua hiki nō i ua lā‘au nei ke no‘ono‘o nona iho no ka hana pono e kō ai ia kauoha.

Eia kekahi, hiki nō iā Kūka‘ō‘ō ke ho‘omāhele lua iā ia iho a i kino lā‘au a i kino kanaka ho‘i. No ka ikaika ‘oi loa o Kamaakamahi‘ai, ‘ōwili wale aku nō ‘o ia i ka lā‘au i kona lima, a ho‘opi‘o wale akula nō ‘o ia i ka lā‘au a ho‘oku‘u aku e ho‘omake aku i kona po‘e hoa kaua. Me Kūka‘ō‘ō nō ‘o ia i komo ai i nā ‘ano kaua like ‘ole mai

Hawai‘i a Ka‘ula, a lanakila ma luna o nā ‘ano mea he loko ‘ino, he aloha ‘ole, a he ho‘ohuli aupuni, a ho‘iho‘i hou ‘ia aku ka mana i nā ali‘i nui o ka ‘āina. ‘O nā Māhū hahau hohoa o Hā‘ena kekahi o kona mau hoa kaua ikaika ‘ino.

“He Mau Mahu Aia La i Kauai”:¹⁷ No ke Kaua ‘Ana me nā Māhū

A hō‘ea maila kāua, e ku‘u mea heluhelu, i ka māhele nui o ka mo‘olelo e kau nui ana ma ko kāua mana‘o, ‘o ka hō‘ea nō ia o nā Māhū o Hā‘ena. He hō‘ea a ha‘alele koke nō ho‘i ko ua Māhū nei i loko o ho‘okahi wale nō pukana nūpepa o ka mo‘olelo, ‘o ka pukana ‘eiwa nō ia. Ma ia pukana, ua kāhea ‘ia ‘o Kamaakamahi‘ai i loko o kekahi “moe hewa” e hele i Kaua‘i a e kaua pū me nā Māhū o Hā‘ena, ka mea āna i kapa aku ai he mau “kupu ino” no ko lāua ho‘opilikia ‘ana i ka ‘āina o kona kupuna kāne. No ia kaua nō na‘e, “Aole kela he kaua na ke kanaka, aka, he kaua na ke kupua” (Kauaililinoe, 1870, Kepakemapa 3, 1870, ‘a. 4). Ua ‘ane pau loa ka ‘āina o kona kupuna kāne ‘o Manouli, ke ali‘i nui o Kaua‘i, i ka ‘ai ‘ia e kēia mau Māhū, koe wale nō ‘o Wailua, ka ‘āina ho‘okahi o ia kupuna kāne e koe ana. He “enemy” ikaika launa ‘ole nō ho‘i kēia po‘e kupua Māhū. ‘O ka hohoa kā lāua mau mea kaua (e wehewehe hou ‘ia aku ana kēia mana‘o ma lalo nei). ‘A‘ohe mea lanakila o Kaua‘i ma luna o lāua.

Ua kāhea moemoeā ‘ia ‘o Kamaakamahi‘ai e kaua i Kaua‘i a kū ka mākaia o kona kupuna kāne ‘o Manouli, a ma hope o ke kipa ‘ana i kona ‘ohana kaiko‘eke ma Maui no ka liuliu kaua ‘ana, ua lele a‘e ‘o Kamaakamahi‘ai a pae koke i Kaua‘i. A ma hope mai, hō‘ea pū akula ka wa‘a o kona mau kaiko‘eke ‘elua, nā keiki ho‘i a ‘Olopana. Ua hō‘oia ‘ia ka pilina ‘ohana ma waena o ua ‘o Kamaakamahi‘ai nei me Manouli i ko ke ali‘i ‘ike ‘ana i nā waiwai ali‘i āna i waiho ai me Hina no kā lāua keiki ‘o Kū (ko Kamaakamahi‘ai makua kāne), a ‘o ko lākou pā‘ina akula nō ia a mā‘ona ka ‘ōpū. Ua pō ke ao, a i ke ao ‘ana a‘e, halulu ana nā Māhū, aia i waho o kahi i hina ai nā kaiko‘eke o Kamaakamahi‘ai i ka moe. Puka akula ua mau kaiko‘eke nei i waho me ka ‘ōwili ‘ana i kā lāua mau lā‘au kaua. Kaena akula ia mau kama ali‘i no O‘ahu, a ku‘u a‘ela ka lā‘au a kekahi keiki a ‘Olopana, a ‘o ka peku wale akula nō ia o kekahi Māhū i ka lā‘au a hala loa akula i kahi ‘ē. Ua ‘oi loa a‘e ka ikaika o kēia po‘e Māhū ma mua o nā keiki Ko‘olau.

E olowalu ana nā leo kūmākena maka‘u o nā maka‘āinana o Kaua‘i, a ‘o ka puka a‘ela nō ia o Kamaakamahi‘ai mai kona wahi i moe ai. ‘Ike akula ia mau Māhū iā ia, a ‘olelo akula lāua penei, “E lealea auanei me Kamaakamahiai i keia la” (Kauaililinoe, 1870–1871, Kepakemapa 3, 1870, ‘a. 4). Pau ia kaena ‘ana o nā Māhū, a

‘o ka wala akula nō ia o kekahi hohoa a ka Māhū iā Kamaakamahi‘ai. I ko ia nei ‘ike ‘ana i ka lele ‘ana mai o ua hohoa nei, lele a‘ela ‘o ia i luna loa a hala akula ia hohoa. A laila, kāhea akula kēia i kona po‘e ‘aumākua e ki‘i i kāna lā‘au nui, iā Kūka‘ō‘ō. ‘A‘ohe i ‘ū iki a kapalili ana ua ‘o Kūka‘ō‘ō nei i ka lima o Kamaakamahi‘ai. Lelele a‘ela nā Māhū, a kēnā akula ua ‘eu‘eu nei no Maui i kāna wahi lā‘au kupaianaha e hahai pono aku nō i ia mau Māhū me ka ho‘i hou ‘ole a aia a pepehi a make nō ho‘i nā kupu ‘ino. Lele a‘ela ua po‘e Māhū nei, a lele pū nō ‘o Kūka‘ō‘ō i ke alualu aku iā lāua. Ua lele nō lākou a puni ‘o Kaua‘i a hiki loa i Makana, Hā‘ena, kahi ho‘i i noho ai ia po‘e Māhū i loko o kekahi ana. Kāhea a‘ela kekahi Māhū i ke ana o lāua me ka ‘ōlelo ‘ana, “E ana e huaina,” a ‘o ka wehe a‘ela nō ia o ka waha o ke ana.¹⁸ E kokokomo ana ua mau Māhū nei i loko o ke ana, a i ke kāhea ‘ana aku, “E ana e umokina,” pani a pa‘a ihola ka waha o ke ana.

He ‘elua anahulu a ‘oi iki a‘e ka lō‘ihi o ko Kūka‘ō‘ō kali ‘ana ma waho o ke ana i ka puka hou ‘ana o ua po‘e Māhū nei. Ua nō‘ono‘o ua lā‘au kalakupua nei a ho‘oholo ‘ia e ho‘omāhele lua i kona kino—ho‘okahi kino kanaka, a ho‘okahi kino lā‘au. Kāhea akula ke kino kanaka i ke ana e hua‘ina a‘e, a ‘o ka hāmama a‘ela nō ia o ke ana. ‘Ike ‘ia akula nā Māhū a kēnā koke akula lāua i ke ana e pani koke hou. Ua ko‘o nō na‘e ke kino lā‘au i ka waha o ia ana a ua hiki ‘ole ke pani ‘ia ke ana a pa‘a pono. No ka ho‘omaopopo ‘ana paha i ka palena o ko lāua mana, puoho a‘ela nā Māhū me ka ‘ōlelo ‘ana iā Kūka‘ō‘ō, penei, “E ola maua, i loa ke kipa ana a kou haku, ke noho a kulia e ka manao hele mai ma keia wahi, ua loa hoi ka makamaka o keia wahi o maua, aole hoi e kulelewi ka noho ana, ea mai he ai ia maua he i-a ia maua ola ka noho ana” (Kauaililinoe, 1870–1871, Kepakemapa 3, 1870, ‘a. 4). Akā, no Kūka‘ō‘ō, ‘a‘ole nō pēlā ka ‘ōlelo kauoha a kona haku, ‘o Kamaakamahi‘ai ho‘i, ua hiki ‘ole i kēia lā‘au kalakupua ke ho‘i hou a aia a make nō ho‘i ia po‘e Māhū. A laila, ‘ōwili ‘ia nā po‘o o ua mau Māhū nei a moku, a pau nō ho‘i lāua i ka make. Ho‘i hou akula ‘o Kūka‘ō‘ō me nā po‘o o ia mau Māhū i kahi o kona haku, a laila, ho‘iho‘i hou ‘ia akula ke aupuni o Kaua‘i iā Manouli.

He Ho‘ohālikelike Pōkole no Kā Kauaililinoe me Kā Ho‘oulumāhiehie

He ka‘au makahiki ko waena o ke pa‘i ‘ia o kā Kauaililinoe mana me kā Ho‘oulumāhiehie mana no ke kaua ‘ana o nā Māhū o Hā‘ena me Kamaakamahi‘ai mā. Ua pa‘i ‘ia kā Kauaililinoe i loko o ho‘okahi pukana, a he mano hua ‘ōlelo a ‘oi iki a‘e kona (Kauaililinoe, 1870–1871, Kepakemapa 3, 1870, ‘a. 4). No kā Ho‘oulumāhiehie, he ‘elua ona pukana me 3,600 hua ‘ōlelo a ‘oi iki a‘e (Hooulumahiehie, 1909–1911, Iulai 23, 1910, ‘a. 3; Hooulumahiehie, 1909–1911, Iulai 30, 1910, ‘a. 4). Ma ka laulā loa,

na ia mau mana ‘elua e hō‘ike pū i ia kaua ‘ana me nā Māhū, a like akula nā hanana ma ka mo‘olelo i hō‘ulu‘ulu ‘ia i luna a’e nei. No kā Kaulilinoe mana, aia nō ke kālele nui i ke kaua ‘ana o Kamaakamahi‘ai—a me kāna lā‘au ‘o Kūka‘ō‘ō—me nā Māhū. No kā Ho‘oulumāhiehie mana nō na’e, ua ‘oko‘a iki: he ola kalakupua ko nā hohoa o nā Māhū, a ua ‘ōlelo ‘ia, he mau “Mahu holo-wale” nō nā Māhū, a waiho ‘ia nā hohoa na lāua nō e kaua pū me ka lā‘au a Kamaakamahi‘ai, a me he mea lā ma ia mana, ua lilo nā Māhū i mea ‘u‘uku wale, a he mea ‘ano nui nō nā hohoa. Inā he pepa kālailai kēia i nā hohoa ma ke ‘ano he mau hāme‘e nui o ka mo‘olelo, ‘oi a’e paha ka waiwai o kā Ho‘oulumāhiehie. Aia na’e ke kilo nui i nā Māhū, a no ia kumu a no kēia kālailaina nei, ‘oi loa a’e kā Kaulilinoe. Ho‘okahi nō paha mea i ‘oi iki a’e ai kā Ho‘oulumāhiehie e pili ana i nā Māhū—ua ho‘olako ‘ia mai ko lāua mau inoa, ‘o ia ho‘i ‘o Kiaua lāua ‘o Maioho (Hooulumahiehie, 1909–1911, Iulai 30, 1910, ‘a. 4).

“KOKOKOMO UA MAU MAHU NEI ILOKO O KE ANA”:¹⁹ HE KĀLAILAINA NO KE KŪLANA MĀHŪ O KA MO‘OLELO

Ua kāka‘ikahi nā mo‘olelo Hawai‘i e pili ana i ka po‘e māhū, a ‘o kekahi mea nō ia e waiwai loa ai a e makepono ai ke kālailai ‘ana i kēia mo‘olelo kahiko a J. W. K. Kaulilinoe i kākau ai, i loko nō na’e o ka hopena make o ia mau Māhū o ia mo‘olelo a me ka pōkole loa o ia māhele. A, e like nō ho‘i me ke ana o ia po‘e Māhū i noho palekana ai, ke hāpai ‘ia a’e nei kēia wahi māhele ma ke ‘ano he ana palekana e kokokomo mai ai nā ‘ano mana‘o no ia mea he māhū e ho‘onui ‘ia a’e ai ko kākou ‘ike. He ho‘ākāka nō kēia māhele nei ma ke kia nui ‘ana i ka pae a me ke kūlana o ka māhū e like me ka mea i ‘ike ‘ia ma ka mo‘olelo o Kamaakamahi‘ai. He mau hō‘oia nō ho‘i kēia mau ho‘ākāka ‘ana no ke ‘ano o ka mana‘o ‘ana no ia mea he māhū ma ka wā o ka mo‘olelo, ‘o ia ho‘i, ‘o ka wā ia iā Kamalālāwalu mā. Wahi a Patrick Vinton Kirch i kālailai ai, aia paha ia wā o ua Kamalālāwalu lā ma kahi o ka MH 1610 (Kirch, 2019, ‘a. 83). No laila, he mau hune ‘ike nō paha kēia i mālama ‘ia ma ia wā kahiko loa.

‘Aole wehewehe iki ‘ia mai nā ‘ano hi‘ohi‘ona kino o nā Māhū ma ia mo‘olelo. Eia na’e, no nā mea e heluhelu maoli ana i ka mo‘olelo ma loko o ka nūpepa, ua ‘ike maka ‘ia nō ke ‘ano nui a ko‘iko‘i o nā Māhū ma muli loa nō o ke ‘ano pa‘i ‘ia o ia hua ‘ōlelo ‘o *Māhū*, ‘o ia ho‘i, me ka ma‘aka a me ka ho‘ohiō ‘ia i nā manawa a pau

i puka a'e ai, e like me kēia la'ana nei mai ka mo'olelo mai, "He mau *Mahu* aia la i Kauai, ua Kaua [pn] ia kuu kupunakane...." (Kauaililinoe, 1870–1871, Kepakemapa 3, 1870, 'a. 4). 'A'ole akāka loa ke kumu i kākau 'ia ai pēlā, hiki na'e ke ho'ohuoi a'e i 'elua 'ano kumu. 'Akahi, he hō'ailona paha ka ma'aka 'ana o kekahi mau hua 'ōlelo no kekahi hāme'e maoli he 'ano nui me ka inoa hea 'ole 'ia ma ka mo'olelo. Pēia like nō me nā hāme'e 'ē a'e o kēia mo'olelo, e la'a ka Uhu a me ka Pūkaua nui o Pueonuiokona (Kauaililinoe, 1870–1871, Iune 25, 1870, 'a. 1; Kauaililinoe, 1870–1871, 'Aukake 6, 1870, 'a. 4). 'Alua, he mea nō ia e hō'ike le'a 'ia a'e ai, 'o *Māhū* nō ka mana'o pololei i makemake 'ia, i 'ole ho'i e kuhi hewa a'e ka mea heluhelu, 'oiai, he nui aku ka mana'o o *mahu*—aia nō na'e ia mau mana'o i ka puana 'ana (māhu | mahū | māhū).²⁰

'A'ole nui loa ka 'ōlelo waha a nā Māhū i ka mo'olelo, eia na'e, ma kā lāua 'ōlelo i lilo i puana'i li'i li'i ma ia mo'olelo, hiki nō paha ke 'ike 'ia ke 'ano lawena o ia mau Māhū. 'O kekahi la'ana, ua 'ōlelo kekahi Māhū i ka launa mua 'ana me Kamaakamahi'ai, "U, e lealea auanei me Kamaakamahiai i keia la." 'O ka 'ōlelo mua nō ia a kekahi Māhū i 'ōlelo aku ai iā Kamaakamahi'ai, he 'ōlelo kaena ke 'ano. He kaena na'e ia o ke 'ano he le'ale'a a he 'āpiki paha, a pēlā pū nō paha ke 'ano maoli o nā Māhū nāna ka 'ōlelo. Eia ho'i, kaena pū ho'i 'o Kamaakamahi'ai no kona 'ano ikaika nui launa 'ole, penei, "A hiki aku au ka nalu halehale o ka moana wali na iwi o olua ia'u, koala ia na onohi o olua i ke ahi i mea ai na o'u aumakua" (Kauaililinoe, 1870–1871, Kepakemapa 3, 1870, 'a. 4).

Ke ho'ohālikelike 'ia nā 'ano 'elua o ke kaena 'ana, 'a'ole paha like iki ke 'ano kaena o ka po'e Māhū; he 'ano 'āpiki a ma'alea nō paha ke kaena 'ana o lāua, a he 'ano ha'akoi a ho'omaka'u paha ko Kamaakamahi'ai. Kohu mea lā, 'a'ole paha ia he mea nui i ka po'e Māhū e hō'ike aku i ko lāua 'ano ikaika ma ke kaena 'ana, no ka mea, i ko lāua mana'o paha ke 'ike aku iā Kamaakamahi'ai, he 'ano nāwaliwali ko lāua hoa paio, no laila, he le'ale'a wale nō ke kaua, ka ho'opāpā, a me ka ho'okūkū 'ana. No Kamaakamahi'ai na'e, 'o ke kaua he ho'oponopono aupuni, a he pono kona lanakila i mau ai ka mana o kona kupuna kāne me nā 'aumākua nāna i kōkua i kēia me'e ma ke kaua 'ana.

E ho'omana'o kāua, e ka mea heluhelu, i kekahi 'ano o ka po'e Māhū no Kaua'i ma ka mo'olelo o Lauka'ie'ie, 'o ia ho'i, "he poe Olohe hula a he poe hoi e hiki ole aku ai kahi poe ke hoopapa aku i ko lakou ike hula a me kahi mau ike e ae he nui wale" (Manu, 1895, 'a. 1). No kēia po'e Māhū na'e ma ko Kamaakamahi'ai, 'o ke kaua 'ana nō paha ko lāua 'ike 'ōlohe i hiki 'ole ke ho'opāpā 'ia aku e ko Kaua'i. Ma ia manawa

o ka mo'olelo, ua kaulana loa 'o Kamaakamahi'ai a puni ka pae 'āina holo'oko'a i kona ikaika launa 'ole ma o kona lanakila 'ana ma nā 'ano kaua like 'ole. Mali'a paha, ua 'a'a nō nā Māhū iā Kamaakamahi'ai, me ka mana'o, he mea le'ale'a ia kaua 'ana i mea e hō'ōia mai ana i ko lāua 'ano loea 'ike kaua.

'A'ole nō i hō'ike le'a 'ia ke 'ano ikaika loa o ia mau Māhū, ua kākāuha nō na'e ia 'ano ikaika i ko lāua 'ane na'i pau loa 'ana iā Kaua'i, 'oiai, "ua lilo ka aina apau, koe wale o Wailua" mai nā lima ali'i aku o Manouli (Manu, 1895, 'a. 1). 'Ike lihi 'ia nō paha ke 'ano ikaika loa o ia mau Māhū ma kekahi mau māhele iki o ka mo'olelo, e la'a ko Kamaakamahi'ai 'ike maka 'ana i kona 'ohana no Maui me O'ahu ma mua o ko ia nei lele 'ana i ke kaua i Kaua'i. Pēlā nō paha ko Kamaakamahi'ai hana 'ana, 'oiai, "he kaua no hoi i oi loa aku o ka ikaika, a aole kela he kaua na ke kanaka, aka, he kaua na ke kupua" (Kauaililinoe, 1870–1871, Kepakemapa 3, 1870, 'a. 4).

A, 'o nā kumu e kupua ai ko Kamaakamahi'ai hoa paio, 'o nā Māhū ho'i, 'o ia nō paha ko lāua 'ano ikaika me ko lāua mana o ka hiki ke lele. Wahi a ka puana'i o luna, ua ho'omaopopo mai ua 'o Kamaakamahi'ai nei i ka ikaika mana nui loa a me ka 'ike akamai hohonu o ia mau Māhū ma ke kaua 'ana—'a'ole ma ke kaena wale aku—a no ko lāua kūlana he kupua (a he māhū paha). No laila, 'o ke kumu o kona launa 'ohana 'ana i Maui ma mua o ke kaua 'ana, he hana ia e liuliu pono ai 'o Kamaakamahi'ai ma o ka mana nui o kona 'ohana no ka lele a me ka lanakila 'ana i ke kaua kupua 'ana i Kaua'i.

No ke Kūlana Kupu 'Ino

Ma ka puana'i i hō'ike 'ia iho nei, ho'omana'o 'ia ke 'ano kūlana he kupua (he *kupu* nō kekahi 'ano 'olelo 'ana) 'o Kamaakamahi'ai a me nā Māhū hahau hohoa o Hā'ena. He kupu 'ino nō kekahi mea i kapa 'ia ai nā Māhū e ke "Kupueu o ka la Koa," e Kamaakamahi'ai ho'i, ma kona kauoha 'ana aku iā Kūka'ō'ō penei, "Ke kauoha aku nei au ia oe e Kukao, e lele oe a kela mau *Mahu* e noho mai la, pepehi oe a make loa, ina laua e lele iluna, e lele pu no oukou, aia no kou hoi mai a make kela mau *kupu ino*, alaila, oluolu iho kuu manao" (Kauaililinoe, 1870–1871, Kepakemapa 3, 1870, 'a. 4). He ho'opōkole 'ia nō 'o *kupu* no *kupua*—he 'ano mea ia nona ka mana nui a ua kohu like kona 'ano me kona mana paha me kekahi akua.²¹ 'O 'ino, 'o ia kekahi mea maika'i 'ole paha, mea hewa paha, mea makemake 'ole 'ia paha, mea lapuwale paha, a kekahi mea paha e huluhia ai ka nohona (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, 'a. 101). Mali'a, he kupu 'ino nā Māhū i loko o kēia mo'olelo ma muli wale o ko lāua hana 'ino 'ana i ke aupuni ali'i o Kaua'i, iā Manouli mā nō ho'i. 'A'ole

nō paha pili ko lāua 'ano 'ino i ko lāua kūlana mähū, 'oiai, 'a'ole i ho'okae iki 'ia ko lāua kūlana mähū ma ka mo'olelo, ho'okae 'ia na'e ko lāua hana kipi 'ana i ko Manouli noho ali'i 'ana. Ua mōakāka i ke kuana'ike ku'una, hewa ke kanaka i kāna hana kūpono 'ole i koho ai, a hewa 'ole ho'i i ke kūlana i ili wale mai ai.

I ka mo'olelo Hawai'i, aia nō nā ali'i maika'i me nā ali'i 'ino, nā kupua maika'i me nā kupua 'ino, a me nā manō maika'i me nā manō 'ino, a he nui hou aku nā la'ana (Kamakau, 1870, 'a. 1; Pukui & Green, 1995, 'a. 131–133). 'Akahi, ma ka mo'olelo o 'Aukelenuiaikū, ua kaua ua 'o 'Aukelenuiaikū nei me Kūwahailo. Ku'u akula 'o Kūwahailo i kekahi mea make āna, 'o ia nā momoku ahi 'o Kukuena lāua 'o Mahuia a me nā pōhaku kō'ele'ele 'o 'Ikuā lāua 'o Welehu, a he mau hekili ikaika loa nō ia, me ka mana'o ho'i, e ho'omake aku iā 'Aukelenuiaikū. Ua kapa 'ia ua mau mea make nei he mau kupu 'ino (Kaunamano, 1862, 'a. 1). 'Alua, ma ka mo'olelo o Kau'ilani, he kupu 'ino nō ke akua pehu 'ale no ka 'ulupā 'ana (ma ka pehu 'ale 'ana ho'i) i ka po'e Kānaka o Kaua'i (Kapohu, 1869, 'a. 1). 'Akolu, i ka MH 1843, ua lawe 'ia ke ea o Hawai'i e ka lima kākāuha pākaha 'āina o Keoki Pauleke (George Paulet) no Pelekāne Nui.²² No ko ua Pauleke hana 'ino 'ana iā Hawai'i, ua haku 'ia he mele no ka Hae Hawai'i ma ke 'ano he mea e ho'omana'o 'ia mai ai ke kū'oko'a o Hawai'i ma ka welo mau o kona hae. Penei kekahi lālani, "Ku koo iho no oe, i naueue ole, i ka ino a ko Farani, a me Keoki Pauleke, na *Kupu ino* o Kahiko" (He Mele no ka Hae, 1862, 'a. 1). 'A'ole 'o ia he akua, akā, he kāpena 'ano mana nui 'o ia no ke aupuni Pelekāne Nui, a no ia mana nui, 'o ia nō paha ka mea i kapa 'ia ai 'o ia he kupu. No laila, aia nō i kā lākou mau hana 'ino nā mea i mana'o 'ia ai he 'ino o ua mau kupu lā—mai nā Mähū o Hā'ena a hiki iā Keoki Pauleke—e pono 'ole ai kekahi kanaka, aupuni, a 'āina paha.

Ma ka 'ēko'a o ia mau Mähū kupu 'ino, aia nō ua kupu'eu nei 'o Kamaakamahi'ai. 'O 'eu, 'o ia kekahi mea 'ano kolohe a 'ano me'e ho'i i kona mau hana. Eia kekahi po'e kupu'eu o ka mo'olelo Hawai'i. 'Akahi, ma ka mo'olelo ka'ao Hawai'i no Kamapua'a, ua kapa pū 'ia ua 'o Kamapua'a nei lāua 'o Pele he mau kupu'eu i ko lāua kaua pū 'ana kekahi i kekahi (He Moololo Kaa Hawaii, 1928, 'a. 3). 'Alua, 'o ke kupua 'o Kaleikini, ua kapa 'ia he kupu'eu no kona ikaika pāpālua a me kāna mau hana āiawaiwa po'okela e like me ka pani 'ana i nā puhi makani 'ino ho'omalo'o mea kanu o uka (Kaohuhaaheoinakuahiwiekolu, 1923, 'a. 3). 'Akolu, 'o ka me'e kaulana 'o Māui, he kupu'eu nō 'o ia no kona ho'olo'u 'ana i ke ā o Pīmo'e, ka i'a 'ai moku o ka moana (Wise, 1912, 'a. 27). 'Ahā, 'o Kūhaimoana, he kupu'eu nō ho'i 'o ia i nā lā kaua o nā manō ma ka nuku o Pu'uloa ma 'Ewa (Manu, 1894, 'a. 28). E like nō me Kamaakamahi'ai, he mana ko ke kupu'eu, a he kolohe paha ma kekahi 'ano,

akā, no ka nui a'e o ka manawa, he mana nō kona no ka pono ho'i o kekahi mea aku. No ke kupu 'ino, he mana nō ho'i kona kekahi. Eia kā, kohu mea lā, he mana nō ia no ka pono 'ole o kekahi mea, no kona pono iho nō. No laila, kū 'ēko'a nō nā kupu 'o Kamaakamahi'ai me ua mau Māhū nei i loko o kēia mo'olelo e kālailai 'ia nei; aia 'o Kamaakamahi'ai ma ka 'ao'ao he 'eu, a 'o nā Māhū ma ka 'ao'ao he 'ino.

Eia kekahi, 'elua mana'o hou aku o *kupu*. 'O kekahi mana'o, 'o ka ho'opi'i honua a'e ia o kekahi mea i kona kūlana a ki'eki'e loa.²³ Pēlā like nō paha 'o Kamaakamahi'ai me nā Māhū o Hā'ena, a me nā kupu 'ino a kupu'eu ho'i i kuhikuhi iki 'ia aku nei. No Kamaakamahi'ai, 'o ia ka muli o ka 'ohana. No kona mana nui, ua ho'okahuli aku i kona mau kaikua'ana 'ino, a lilo 'o ia he mea nui loa ma kona 'ohana e ola pono ai nā iwi. I kona hana 'ana pēlā, ua hele a laha loa kona ikaika a puni ka pae 'āina, a kāhea 'ia maila 'o ia e nā ali'i o nā mokupuni e kaua aku i nā 'ino o ka 'āina. No laila, ma kekahi 'ano, ua kupu koke a'ela kona kūlana a ki'eki'e loa i mua o ko Hawai'i pae 'āina ma ke 'ano ho'i he wiwo 'ole. No nā Māhū o Hā'ena, i ko lāua 'ane na'i 'ana iā Kaua'i, a lilo akula iā lāua ka moku a pau loa (koe 'o Wailua), ua lilo pū nō he kūlana mana nui loa a ki'eki'e ma luna o Kaua'i a ma mua ho'i o ke ali'i nui o ia 'āina, 'o Manouli. He kupu'eu nō 'o Kamaakamahi'ai i ka hō'eu'eu 'ana a'e i ka po'e ma kona papalena 'ana aku i ka 'ino, a he kupu 'ino nō ho'i ua mau Māhū nei i ka hana 'ino 'ana i ke aupuni o ka 'āina.

'O kekahi mana'o o *kupu*, 'o ia ho'i ka ulu 'ana o ka nāhelehele a lā'au paha (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, 'a. 186). 'O ke kupu 'ino, ua pili paha ia i ka uluāhewa o ka nāhelehele ma luna o ka 'āina, a inā kahihi ka nāhelehele i ka 'āina, 'a'ole hiki i nā 'ono o ka 'āina ke ulu pono, 'a'ohe ola pono o ka 'āina kupu 'ino. 'O ke kupu'eu, he kupu ia e hō'eu'eu i ke ola no ka pono o ka 'āina. He kū hō'ailona nō ho'i ia kupu 'ino a kupu'eu ho'i, 'o ia ho'i he lā'au 'ino a he lā'au 'eu, no nā Māhū o Hā'ena a me Kamaakamahi'ai. A 'o ke kumu nō paha ia o ko Kaulililinoe kākau 'ana pēlā i mea e kau 'ēko'a ai ia mau hāme'e o ka mo'olelo.

No nā Hohoa a nā Māhū

I loko o ka mo'olelo, he *hohoa* nō nā mea kaua a nā Māhū i wala ai no ka na'i 'ana iā Kaua'i a me ke kaua pū 'ana iā Kamaakamahi'ai (Kaulililinoe, 1870–1871, Kepakemapa 3, 1870, 'a. 4). No ia mea he hohoa, e like loa nō paha me ke 'ano pālua o ka māhū, he pālua nō ho'i kona mau pono, 'o ia ho'i, he pono hana lā'au o ka 'oihana kapa, a he pono hana lā'au o ka 'oihana kaua (Andrews, 1865, 'a. 211; Andrews, 1922, 'a. 163; Pukui & Elbert, 1986, 'a. 75; Brigham, 1911, 'a. 216). Ma kā

Kaualilinoe mana o ka mo'olelo na'e, 'a'ole wehewehe iki 'ia ke 'ano o nā hohoa a ua mau Māhū nei. 'Ike 'ia nō ho'i ia mau hohoa i loko o ka mana a Ho'oulumāhiehie, a kuhi 'ia, he "hohoa kuku kapa" (Hooulumahiehie, 1909–1911, 'Okakopa 15, 1920, 'a. 3). Ma kēia māhele nei o ka'u pepa, e ho'ākāka 'ia ana nō ke 'ano e kū hō'ailona kūpono ana ia hohoa no kēia mea he māhū ma o ke kālailai hāiki 'ana i ko ka hohoa mau pono pālua i loko o ka pō'aiapili o ia mo'olelo o Kamaakamahi'ai, a i loko o kēia kālailai 'ana e 'ike pū 'ia ai kekahi 'ano kuleana o ka pae māhū ma ka 'oihana kapa o ke au i hala loa.

Wehewehe 'ia ka hana kapa 'ana e John F. Pokuea (Pogue), David Malo, a me Samuel Kamakau (Pokuea, 1858, 'a. 1; Pokuea, 1896, 'a. 7; Malo, 2020, 'a. 219; Kamakau, 1870, Iauali 27, 'a. 1). Ma ka laulā, ua lōkahi like ko lākou wehewehe 'ana i ka hana 'ana i ke kapa. Pēia ho'i, ua kanu 'ia a mālama 'ia nā lau lole a mākaukau.²⁴ Ke mākaukau, kua ka lā'au, a holehole ka 'ili a pau, a kolikoli ka 'i'o o loko. Waiho 'ia ma ka ipu kai a mākaukau no ka ho'omo'omo'o 'ia 'ana. Hohoa aku me ka hohoa a wali a palupalu. Kaula'i a'e a ke'oke'o maika'i i ka lā. Ki'i hou 'ia a ho'oma'u i ka wai a pulu. Aia a wali 'ae'ae maika'i, kūkulu 'ia ka mo'omo'o a kuku aku me ka i'e kuku a pa'a ke kapa me nā nao o ia i'e kuku. Kaula'i hou a malo'o pono. A laila, 'o ka wā nō ia e ho'olu'u ai a e kūpenupenu ai i ke kapa. I ka ho'olu'u 'ana a malo'o, hele a ka'e'e ke kapa i ke ki'olena 'ana. Ki'i hou 'ia mai ka hohoa a hohoa aku i ke kapa a nahenahe pono, a laila, e kāpalapala a nini'o e like me ka makemake.

Aia ka nui o ke kuleana o ka 'oihana kapa i nā lima kuku o ka pae wahine (Pokuea, 1858, 'a. 1; Malo, 2020, 'a. 219–223; Kamakau, 1870, Ianuali 27, 'a. 1). I ko Pokuea wehewehe pōkole 'ana e pili ana i ua 'oihana nei, 'ōlelo maila 'o ia, "Na na wahine ke kapa i kuku, aole no na kane keia hana" (Pokuea, 1858, 'a. 1). 'O Pokuea, he kumu a po'o kumu ho'i 'o ia ma ke Kulanui o Lahainaluna i nā MH 1850. Ua hō'ili'ili 'ia ka 'ike o kāna mea i pa'i ai—e like nō ho'i me kāna wehewehena no ka 'oihana kapa—e kekahi mau haumāna o ia kulanui (Joerger, 1978, 'a. x–xii). He 'ike kiko'i ko Pokuea mā no ke komo 'ole o nā kāne ma ka māhele kuku o ka 'oihana kapa. Mali'a paha, pēlā nō i 'ike maka ai nā kānaka o kēlā wā, 'a'ole i kuku kapa ke kāne. Akā, ua 'auamo nō nā kāne i kuleana 'ē a'e ma ka 'oihana kapa ma waho aku nō o ke kuku, e la'a ka mahi 'ana i ka wauke a me nā 'ano lau lole 'ē a'e (Krauss, 1993, 'a. 60). A, wahi a Malo, "na ke kane e kua ka wauke" (Malo, 2020, 'a. 219). Wehewehe pū mai nō 'o Kamakau i ke komo 'ana o kekahi mau kāne ma ka 'oihana kapa ma ka māhele ho'olu'u a kāpalapala ho'i i ke kapa, "O na kane no hoi kekahi poe loea ma ke ano hana malo a me ka pau wahine—He poe hapa no

nae ka poe i ao ia ma ia aoao, ua kapaia lakou o ka poe hooluu a kapalapala a Ehu” (Kamakau, 1867, ‘a. 1). Kuhi pū mai ‘o Pūku‘i, penei: “Men who were disinclined to follow manly pursuits were taught to be experts in making loincloths and women’s skirts, and were called ‘dyers and printers of Ehu”” (Pukui mā, 1972, ‘a. 110). No ke kapa kiko‘ī ‘ia ‘ana o kēia ‘ano kāne pēlā me ke kākā‘ikahi o ia po‘e kāne i a‘o ‘ia ma ia māhele hana, he hō‘ailona nō ia e hō‘ike aku penei, he mea ‘ano nui a kūikawā nō ia ‘ano kāne ma ka ‘oihana kapa.

No kekahi ‘ano mea nui o ua mau kāne nei a ‘Ehu, e no‘ono‘o hou kāua, e ka mea heluhelu, i ka mo‘olelo o Florincio lāua ‘o Oeho Loriozo. He mau kāne moe kāne lāua, akā ‘o Oeho wale nō ka i kapa ‘ia he māhū, ‘a‘ole ‘o Florincio. A pēlā nō kona kapa ‘ia he māhū no ke ‘ano ho‘i o kona ho‘okohu wahine ‘ana, ‘a‘ole no ke ‘ano o kona moe kāne ‘ana. Inā ho‘opili pū ia mana‘o o *māhū* no Oeho, ua mana‘o ‘ia paha i ka wā i hala loa penei: he mau māhū anei ka po‘e kāne ho‘olu‘u a kāpalapala a ‘Ehu no ke komo ‘ana i ka māhele hana a ka wahine? Ma ‘ane‘i nō e hahau mai ai nā hohoa a nā hoa kaua māhū ‘elua o Kamaakamahi‘ai e hō‘oia mai ai i ia mahu‘i ‘ana.

Ua hiki ke kuhi ‘ia, he mau Māhū hana kapa nā Māhū o Hā‘ena no ka loa‘a mai o kekahi mau hohoa iā lāua, a, ‘oiai, wahi a Ho‘oulumāhiehie, he hohoa kuku kapa kā lāua, no lāua paha kekahi kuleana ma ka ‘oihana kapa. He aha ia kuleana? Ua wehewehe mai ‘o Kamakau lāua ‘o Pokuea i ka pono o ka hohoa ma ka māhele hana a ka pae wahine i loko o ka ‘oihana kapa, penei: 1) ka mea e ho‘omo‘omo‘o i ke kapa a me 2) ka mea e ho‘onahenahe i ke kapa i ke ka‘e‘e i ka ho‘olu‘u ‘ia (Kamakau, 1870, Ianuali 27, ‘a. 1; Pokuea, 1858, ‘a. 7). He hiki nō ke mahu‘i a‘e, ‘o ke kuleana nō paha ia o ua mau Māhū nei o Hā‘ena i loko o ka ‘oihana kapa. Inā pēlā, ua hiki ho‘i ke kuhi ‘ia, ua komo pū ka māhū i ia mau māhele hana holo‘oko‘a o ka ‘oihana kapa, ‘o ia ho‘i ka ho‘omākaukau mo‘omo‘o a me ka ho‘olu‘u kapa, ‘a‘ole ‘o ka hohoa wale ‘ana aku nō. He mau māhele hana nō ho‘i ia i ‘auamo ma‘amau ‘ia e ka pae wahine o ka ‘oihana kapa, akā, he māhele hana nō na‘e ia i komo kūikawā ai ka po‘e ho‘olu‘u a ‘Ehu. ‘A‘ohe wahi hune ‘ike kiko‘ī no nā mea i māhū ai nā Māhū o Hā‘ena, eia kā, inā mālama ‘ia ko Oeho ‘ano no ia mea he māhū—komo ke kāne ma ke kūlana wahine (ma ka nānaina a ho‘okohukohu wahine paha)—mali‘a, he mau māhū nō paha lāua no ko lāua kuleana me ka hohoa ma ka māhele hana a ka wahine i loko o ka ‘oihana kapa. Inā ‘o ia maoli nō kekahi kumu i kapa ‘ia ai lāua

he mau māhū, he mau māhū like nō paha ia mau kāne a Kamakau i kuhikuhi ai nāna i komo i ka māhele ho'olu'u a kāpalapala o ka 'oihana kapa. Inā pēlā, he 'ano 'ike ko'iko'i kēia i ka ho'omaopopo pono 'ana i kekahi 'ano kuleana o ka pae māhū i ka wā ma mua.

Ua akāka, he komo nō ka pae kāne, ka pae māhū, a me ka pae wahine i ka 'oihana kapa. Na ke kāne nō i mahi a ho'omākaukau i nā lau lolo, a na ka wahine nō i kuku me nā 'ano hana e pili pū ana a pa'a he kapa. No kekahi po'e kāne i komo ma ka māhele hana a ka pae wahine, 'o ka ho'olu'u a kāpalapala kapa ho'i, ua mana'o 'ia paha lākou he mau māhū, a na lākou nō ka hohoa no ia mau kuleana. Eia kou wahi mea kākau ke mahu'i a'e nei, he mau kuleana kiko'i nō ko ka māhū me kāna hohoa ma nā wā *kū waena* o ka 'oihana kapa—i waena o ka wā ho'olu'u 'ole 'ia *a* i ka wā ho'olu'u 'ia o ke kapa; i waena ho'i o ka wā ka'e'e *a* i ka wā nahenahe o ke kapa. 'O ua mau *a* i ho'ohiō 'ia o ka hopuna'olelo iho nei, 'o ka māhū me kāna hohoa nō ia e ho'opili ana i nā 'ao'ao 'ēko'a 'elua, a like loa nō ho'i me nā māhū kū waena nona ka 'ike o ka 'ao'ao kāne me ka 'ike o ka 'ao'ao wahine, aia nō he wā kū waena e ka'e'e a nahenahe like ana ke kapa, a aia nō ho'i he wā e 'ano ho'olu'u 'ole 'ia a 'ano ho'olu'u 'ia ana ke kapa. No laila, 'o ia kūlana kū waena o nā 'ēko'a paha kekahi kumu i ho'okuleana 'ia ai ka māhū a me ka hohoa i ia mau 'ano hana o ka 'oihana kapa.

I ka 'oihana kaua na'e, he lā'au kālai 'ia ka hohoa e hohoa ai i ke po'o o ka hoa kaua (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, 'a. 75). Ua 'olelo 'ia, ua uhai like nō nā wāhine i ke kaua i mea e hānai ai i nā kāne e kaua ana, a ke pono, ua ho'ouka kaua pū ka wahine ma ka 'ao'ao o kāna kāne ma ke kahua kaua.²⁵ Pēlā pū paha ka māhū? Ke pono, ua hele anei 'o ia i ke kaua me kāna hohoa e wala ana a e hoahoa ana i nā po'o o nā hoa kaua? Inā nō pēlā, he hō'oua hou nō 'o nā Māhū o Hā'ena e hō'ike le'a 'ia ana ke 'ano "palua...ma ka naau me ka noonoo, a ma na ano a pau" o ka māhū me kāna hohoa, 'o ia ho'i, he mau loea pālualua maoli nō ia ma ka 'oihana kapa a me ka 'oihana kaua. Hiki i ka māhū ke ho'ohana i kāna hohoa ma ka 'oihana kapa, a ke pono, e 'a'e aku ma waho o ke kuleana a me ke kapu o ia hohoa, a ho'ohana pū 'ia ka hohoa ma ka 'oihana kaua. He mau 'ēko'a pū paha kekahi ia mau 'oihana o ka hohoa, 'oi ai, pili ka 'oihana kaua—i kia'i nui 'ia e ka pae kāne—i ka make me ka ho'okahuli nohona, a pili nō ho'i ka 'oihana kapa—i kia'i nui 'ia e ka pae wahine—i ke ola me ka hō'olu'olu nohona.

“E ANA E UMOKINA”:²⁶ HE ‘ŌLELO PANINA

Ma ke kālailai ‘ana i nā mo‘olelo i pa‘i ‘ia i loko o nā nūpepa e waiho mai nei i loko o nā waihona palapala kahiko, pēlā nō e maopopo pono ai ke kuana‘ike Hawai‘i maoli, ke kuana‘ike o nā Kānaka o ia wā i hala loa no ke kulanā mähū (‘o nā mea ia i ‘ike ‘ia ai he mähū) a me ka pae mähū (he mau ‘ōlohe o ke kulanā mähū nona kekahi ‘ano kuleana i loko o kekahi ‘ano hui kanaka). Ma o ia maopopo ‘ana mai o ia mau mana‘o ‘elua, pēlā nō i kālailai ‘ia ai ke kulanā me ka pae o nā Mähū hahau hohoa o ka mo‘olelo o Kamaakamahi‘ai, na J. W. K. Kaulilinoe i palapala i ka MH 1870–1871. E like nō ho‘i me ka hohoa i kālailai nui ‘ia ma kēia pepa nei, he wahi hō‘oia nō ho‘i kēia pepa nei no kekahi mau mana‘o ku‘una o ia mea he mähū e like me ka mea i ‘ike ‘ia ma nā waihona ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, ‘o ia ho‘i, he pālūa nō ho‘i ke ‘ano o ka hohoa, a he pālūa nō ho‘i ke ‘ano o ka po‘e mähū. He kilo nō ho‘i kēia no ke ‘ano loa me ke ‘ano laulā o ka po‘e mähū ma ka mo‘olelo Hawai‘i ma ke ‘ano he mau loa o ka ‘oihana kapa a ma ke ‘ano ho‘i he mau kupu ‘ino weliweli o ka ‘oihana kaua.

He nui nō nā ‘ano palena o kēia pepa kālailai nei, akā, he pepa nō kēia e ho‘ākāka pono ana i ka ‘ane na‘i pau ‘ana o ka papahana kolonaio i nā mo‘olelo kahiko e pili ana i ka po‘e mähū Hawai‘i. Ua mau nō na‘e ke ō o kekahi ‘ike hune iki i loko o kekahi mau mo‘olelo Hawai‘i, a he koe mai nei nō nā noi‘ina hou aku ma nā waihona palapala kahiko, a pēlā nō e ho‘onui hou aku ai i ko kākou ‘ike a pa‘a hou mai he kuana‘ike Hawai‘i maoli, a pēlā pū nō e hi‘i ai a mālama pono ai i ka po‘e mähū me nā mo‘olelo e pili pū ana, a kū ha‘aheo nō ho‘i nā ‘ano pae mähū like ‘ole i loko o nā ‘ano hui kanaka like ‘ole e ho‘okō kuleana ana no ka pono o ka Lāhui holo‘oko‘a.

He leo ualo kēia pepa i nā ‘ōlohe o ka ‘oihana noi‘i mo‘olelo Hawai‘i: e ku‘upau like kākou ma ka ho‘omanawanui ‘ana i loko o ia mau waihona palapala kahiko i mea e kālailai hou aku ai i ke kulanā mähū me ka pae mähū. E like loa nō me ka‘u i wehewehe ai no nā mea e mähū ai ka pae mähū o nā ‘oihana kapa ma kekahi mo‘olelo Hawai‘i, e noi‘i nō paha kekahi i ka po‘e mähū a kekahi po‘e ‘oihana kahiko i helu ‘ia ma kēia pepa nei, ‘o ka hula ‘oe, ‘o ka lā‘au lapa‘au ‘oe, ‘o ka noho ali‘i ‘oe, ‘o ka ‘oihana kahuna ‘oe, a ia ‘oihana, a ia ‘oihana aku nō. Mali‘a ho‘i, e kālailai ‘ia nā mo‘olelo mähū no Ki‘i, ka mähū mua o ka pule ho‘ola‘a ali‘i he Kumulipo (*He Pule Hoolaa Alii*, 1889; Young, 2020); no nā ali‘i mähū ‘o Kauholanui mähū (Malo, *The Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i*) me Kaumakoa (Fornander); no Kapaemähū, Kinohi,

Kapuni, Kahāloa, a me 'Alaneo mā, he mau kāhuna lapa'au (Boyd, "Tradition of the Wizard Stones," 139–41; Pukui lāua 'o Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 18; Pukui, Mookini, a me Elbert, *Place Names of Hawaii*, 173); no Kiaua a me Maioho, he mau hoa kaua (Ho'oulumāhie, 1910). He waiwai loa pū nō nā noi'ina e pili ana i nā mo'olelo māhū i ke au 'ana o ka manawa ma Hawai'i nei e like me Mr. a me Mrs. Florincio Loriozo mā (1920, 'a. 1). 'Ike pū 'ia nō nā māhū ma nā inoa 'āina, e la'a 'o Kamahualele [Kamāhūalele], 'o Leinaomahu [Leinaomāhū], a 'o Ka Pae Māhū o Wailua, a he mea minamina loa ka 'imi 'ana i nā mea e pana 'ia ai ia 'āina i ka māhū.²⁷ Pehea auane'i he noi'ina no kahi e launa ai a launa 'ole ai ke kūlana māhū me ke kūlana aikāne? 'O kekahi kumuhana nui paha e ho'ākea 'ia ai ke kuana'ike Hawai'i, 'o ia ka noi'i 'ana i ke kūlana māhū i loko o ke ao kūlohelohe Hawai'i, 'o ia ho'i, he pili anei ke kūlana māhū i ke kanaka wale nō? A i 'ole, he pili pū nō ia i nā mea ola e like paha me ka uhu, he i'a kupaianaha ho'i i hiki ke ho'ololi i kona 'ano i uhu kāne, uhu wahine, ke pono. He māhū anei ia i'a?²⁸

Me he hohoa lā, wala kēia pepa ma luna o ke kahua pa'a o ka 'imi noi'i 'ana i nā 'ano waihona palapala 'ōlelo Hawai'i, i mea ho'i e hohoa aku ai i nā po'o ho'okolonaio 'ia nāna e ho'oka'e'e nei i ko kākou nohona i nā 'ano 'ao'ao 'ino'ino 'ae'a hewa no nā pae māhū. Aia pū nō ka mana'olana i ka lilo 'ana o kēia wahi pepa, 'o ia kekahi kapa nahenahe hiehie a nini'o loa o ka 'ike kilohana o nā po'e kūpuna Hawai'i, no kākou ho'i e 'a'ahu mai ai, 'o ko kākou kapa nō ia e kīpuni 'ia ai ka 'ohana a pau, 'o nā wāhine, nā kāne, me nā māhū ho'i. Keu loa aku nō ho'i ma kēia au nei e loli nei ko kākou kuana'ike, e 'imi ikaika na'e kākou i ka ho'ōla hou 'ana i ke kūlana māhū a me nā pae māhū ma luna pololei nō o ke kuana'ike Hawai'i maoli—no ka pono nō ho'i o ka māhū.

HE PAPA HUA 'ŌLELO A 'ŌLELO PŌKOLE

Inoa maka peni He inoa kapakapa o kekahi mea kākau.

Ha'akuhi I kuhi aku i kekahi kumu 'ike.

Kanaka nona kekahi 'ano hi'ona ma'i kāne a me kekahi 'ano hi'ona ma'i wahine Hermaphrodite.

Kāne kohu nānaina 'ano wahine a he wahine kohu nānaina 'ano kāne Transvestite.

Kāne moe kāne a he wahine moe wahine Homosexual.

Kūlana mähū Nā hi'ohi'ona e mähū ai ka mähū.

Mā Ho'ohana 'ia ma kahi o "et al."

Pae kāne He 'āuna kāne nona kekahi 'ano kuleana ma kekahi 'oihana.

Pae mähū He 'āuna mähū nona kekahi 'ano kuleana ma kekahi 'oihana.

Pae wahine He 'āuna wahine nona kekahi 'ano kuleana ma kekahi 'oihana.

Pn He ho'opōkole 'ia o "pēlā nō ma ke kumu" ma kahi o "sic."

'A He ho'opōkole 'ia o "'ao'ao."

'Am He ho'opōkole 'ia o "'a'ohē manawa" ma kahi o "no date" ke akāka 'ole ka manawa pa'i.

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HE PAPA KUHIA O LALO

- 1 Aia kēia 'ōlelo ma kā Kauaililinoe “Ka Moolelo o Kamaakamahiai” (1870–1871, Kepakemapa 3, 1870, ‘a. 4).
- 2 Pela ‘ia ‘o māhū penei ma ka mo’olelo e kuhi ‘ia nei ma ‘ane’i (Kauaililinoe, 1870–1871).
- 3 Ma kēia pepa, pela ‘ia ‘o “Pukui” penei, ma nā kuhia o lalo, no ke kuhi ‘ana i ke ‘ano i pa’i ‘ia ai kona inoa ma kāna mau mea i kākai ai. No “Pūku’i,” pela ‘ia penei, ma waho a’e o ka ha’akuhi ‘ana i kona inoa kākau, no ke kama’āina ‘ana o ka mea heluhelu i ke ‘ano e puana ‘ia ai kona inoa.
- 4 Aia kēia 'ōlelo ma kā Kauaililinoe “Ka Moolelo o Kamaakamahiai” (1870–1871, Kepakemapa 3, 1870, ‘a. 4).

5 Ho'omaka ka wā 'umi o ia mea he Kumulipo, penei: "O mai la, o La'ila'i ka paia, O Kane a Kapokinikini ka pou, o Ki'i ka mahu." Ua ha'alele 'o La'ila'i iā Ki'i, a pili pū me Kāne (*He Pule Hoolaa Alii*, 1889). Ma kona kālailai 'ana i ia māhele o ia mea he Kumulipo, kuhi 'o Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa (1999), he māhū paha 'o Ki'i, a he māhū ho'i ma ke 'ano he kāne moe kāne.

6 "Only *māhū* with both syllables marked, has directly sexual meanings: those of the homosexual by nature and practice, and the physical hermaphrodite. It is this *māhū* we discuss here. A present-day, perhaps regional usage, also gives *māhū* the meaning of transvestite, an individual, not necessarily homosexual, who wears clothing of the opposite sex" (Pukui mā, 1972, 'a. 109).

7 Pela 'oko'a 'ia 'o Loriozo i kēlā me kēia manawa (Loriozo, Loirozo, Lorioza). He hopena paha ia pela 'oko'a 'ana i ke 'ano o ka no'ono'o o ia wā, 'o ia ho'i, 'a'ole 'ano nānā iki 'ia ka po'e māhū?

8 He hua'ōlelo hou kēia i pili i ka pilina lāhui o ka po'e māhū (Kahikina, 2024, 'a. 515–516).

9 Mo'olelo maila 'ia no ka po'e māhū ma ka 'ōlelo Kanaka o Ni'ihau (Wong-Kalu mā, 2020).

10 Aia kēia 'ōlelo ma kā Kauaililinoe "Ka Moolelo o Kamaakamahiai" (1870–1871, Iune 18, 1870, 'a. 1).

11 He 'ano inoa kapakapa ka inoa maka peni, pili pono nō na'e ia 'ano inoa ma ka peni, 'o ia ho'i he inoa kapakapa i ho'ohana 'ia ma ke kākau 'ana (Lorenzo-Elarco, 2021, 'a. 4).

12 Kuhi maila 'o Noenoe Silva, he inoa maka peni nō ho'i 'o Na-Hau-o-Maihi-Au-Ana-i-ke-Kai no Ho'oulumāhiehie, a he inoa maka peni ho'i 'o Ho'oulumāhiehie no Joseph Moku'ōhai Poepoe a me kona po'e hoa 'imi mo'olelo. 'O ua Poepoe nei nō ka luna ho'oponopono nūpepa o *Ke Aloha Aina* i ia manawa (Silva, 2017, 'a. 146–147).

13 'O ka po'e mo'o akua kekahi kumuhana i kālailai nui 'ia mai ka mo'olelo mai o Kamaakamahi'ai (Brown, 2022).

14 Ua kālailai nui ‘ia e Kīhei de Silva ka mo’olelo o ia po’e mele i loko o ka mo’olelo o Kamaakamahi‘ai, a ua lilo ia ‘o kekahi mea nui i ulu a’e ai ka hoi i loko ona e haku i mele aloha ‘āina hou no kona ‘āina aloha, i ho’ōla hou i nā mo’olelo o kona ‘āina, a i mau nā ha’awina nui o ka mo’olelo i loko o kona ‘ohana a me kona kaiāulu (de Silva, 2014, 2017).

15 Aia kēia ‘ōlelo ma kā Kaulilinoe “Ka Moolelo o Kamaakamahiai” (1870–1871, Iune 25, 1870, ‘a. 1).

16 He meiwi ka mo’okū’auhau, ‘o ia ho’i, “He helu ho’i i nā inoa me nā ‘āina nui o nā hāme’e nui o ka mo’olelo o ke ‘ano mo’okū’auhau kama‘āina; i ka nui loa aku o ka manawa a keu, ‘o kēia ka meiwi ho’omaka i ka mo’olelo Hawai‘i” (Perreira, 2013, ‘a. 63). Eia kekahi mau la’ana mo’olelo Hawai‘i hou aku me ka meiwi mo’okū’auhau i ka ‘ōmaka o ka mo’olelo: Dwight, 1867; Kaluaikoolau lāua ‘o Kelekona, 1906, ‘a. 5; He Molelo [pn] Kaao, 1891, ‘a. 4; Ho’oulumāhiehie, 2009, ‘a. 40–42.

17 Aia kēia ‘ōlelo ma kā Kaulilinoe “Ka Moolelo o Kamaakamahiai” (1870–1871, Kepakemapa 3, 1870, ‘a. 4).

18 Ua hiō ‘o *ana* ma ka mo’olelo kumu i pa’i ‘ia ma ka nūpepa (Kaulilinoe, 1870–1871, Kepakemapa 3, 1870, ‘a. 4).

19 Aia kēia ‘ōlelo ma kā Ho’oulumāhiehie “Moolelo Hoonaue Puuwai” (1901–1911, Iulai 30, 1910, ‘a. 4).

20 ‘O *hermaphrodites* ka unuhina ma kā Pūku‘i. Eia he la’ana: “He [Kamaakamahi‘ai] awoke suddenly, looked about and said, ‘What indeed! There are two hermaphrodites on Kaua‘i. They have made war on my grandfather and now he is almost defeated’” (Pukui, ‘am, ‘a. 48).

21 Wehewehe ‘ia ‘o *kupua* penei, “Demigod or culture hero, especially a supernatural being possessing several forms (as Kamapua‘a and Laenihi); one possessing mana; to possess kupua (magic) powers.” Wehewehe ‘ia ‘o *kupu* penei, “Spirit, supernatural being” (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, ‘a. 186).

22 I ka ho’iho‘i ‘ana i ke ea iā Hawai‘i, ua lilo ia he lā ho’omana‘o nui ‘ia ‘o ia ka Lā Ho’iho‘i Ea (Beamer, 2014, ‘a. 135–138).

23 Ma lalo o ka wehewehena no *kupu*, “Upstart, as one rising suddenly and conspicuously to high position” (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, ‘a. 186).

24 'O ka lau lolo, 'o ia nā lā'au e hana 'ia ai he kapa, e la'a me ka wauke, ka ma'aloa, ka māmaki, a me ka pō'ulu.

25 "King Kalākaua wrote of an army, 'followed by two or three hundred women, bearing food, water, extra weapons, and a variety of camp necessities.' Mrs. Pukui relates: 'These were women trained in warfare. They went with their men, and when the men were fighting, the women prepared their food, though cooking was usually man's work. They nursed their wounded. And if they had to fight, they fought. They asked to become nā koa wāhine and the men trained them. Their pā'ū (skirts) got in the way so they tied them up, something like a malo'" (Pukui mā, 1972, 'a. 110).

26 Aia kēia 'ōlelo ma kā Kauaililinoe "Ka Moolelo o Kamaakamahiai" (1870–1871, Kepakemapa 3, 1870, 'a. 4).

27 "I loa i na alii i ke kau ae, a ke hele nei no lakou e kau iluna o na waa, waiho mai la ke Kupueu o ka la Koa i kana olelo i ka poe o ka hale aloha oukou la e-a, a o ko ia la nalo aku la no ia, a ke hele nei hoi na Keiki alii a kau iluna o na waa, a kau ae la ka pea, a lawe aku la ka makani malanai o ua Koolau la, a i ka makani hoi i na hoe waa, 'Oili pulelo ke ahi o ka maile, lele hoaka no iluna o Kamahualele' o keia wa a lakou e holo nui nei, ua mehana ae ka la ia manawa" (Kauaililinoe, 1870–1871, Kepakemapa 3, 1870, 'a. 4; Pukui mā, 1976, 'a. 173; *Hawaiian Place Names*, 2024).

28 Ua hāpai 'ia ia mana'o no ka i'a mähū e Kahala Johnson ("Mauna Kea Series").