

**Ke Ao O Kukuipahu:
A Research Inventory of Kukuipahu Heiau in North Kohala**
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Abstract

Kukuipahu Heiau is a fully intact wahi kūpuna that has a distinct connection with Hawaiian culture, understanding of ‘āina, and the history of the Kukuipahu ahupua‘a, the Kohala moku, and Hawai‘i Island. However, on a surface level, sources related to Kukuipahu are scarce. To aid in the process of remembering, this project aims to capture memories shared about this heiau, compile information from different resources, and re-spark that ao or light of consciousness for Kukuipahu Heiau. By inventorying sources related to Kukuipahu Heiau from various ethnohistorical resources, online repositories and conducting community ethnography, we can begin to gain insight on specific people connected to this ‘āina, gather documented information that is available, share the gaps in knowledge, as well as begin to gain a better understanding of the previous functions of this heiau over time. In sharing this inventory and insight in the form of a website, the Kohala Community can not only utilize this resource to aid in current and future stewardship efforts of this sacred site, but also continue the process of restoring the identity and mana this heiau holds.

Keywords: Kukuipahu, Heiau, Wahi Kūpuna, ‘Āina, Ao, Mana

Introduction

When I came to Hawai'i Island for the first time in the summer of 2018 and visited Kohala, I was intrigued by how much historic sites and features there were still intact, especially within the leeward region, Kohala i waho. Being one who is fascinated with heiau and historic Hawaiian sites, I began to research different heiau in Kohala. Kukuipahu became the heiau that caught my attention, as it was repeatedly mentioned to me by community members, my mother, and my hoapapa when I brought up heiau in Kohala i waho. However, not a lot of information was recovered when I did a general search about the heiau, and it was this that began driving the focus of my research project.

Throughout this research process, I have found that Kukuipahu Heiau has a distinct connection with Hawaiian culture, understanding the 'āina, and the history of Kohala, Hawai'i. Because not much is known today about this heiau, providing more insight about this place could allow the community to build pilina with Kukuipahu Heiau and gain a deeper understanding of its significance to Kohala. Understanding the history of thi heiau could potentially be beneficial in future stewardship and restoration efforts of Kukuipahu Heiau. I wanted to create a way the community could not only learn more about this heiau, but aid in the process of restoring it's identity and mana. Therefore, this project begins to build a research inventory with information pulled from my community ethnographies and various online documents. To further ensure the memory of this heiau remains within the minds of the community, I created a website that the community is able to gather knowledge from and interact with.

Background

Importance of Heiau

In general, a heiau as described by Pukui & Elbert (1986) is a "Pre-Christian place of worship, shrine; some heiau were elaborately constructed stone platforms, others simple earth terraces". Many heiau are still preserved today and serve as some of the oldest traditional Hawaiian stone structures. Similar to other religious temples, a heiau was a place that connected one to the greater beings above. A heiau could have many different functions overtime and were strategically constructed based on its purpose and surrounding environment. Heiau were also dedicated or rededicated to certain gods for various reasons. Hawaiian religion incorporates thousands of gods and demi-gods, however there are four main akua that are commonly worshipped and work into almost every aspect of Hawaiian life: Kāne, Kanaloa, Kū, and Lono.

According to Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui, a caretaker of Kukuipahu Heiau, Kānenuiākea is a classification of several gods under Kāne and is connected to many major heiau including Kukuipahu. Kānenuiākea is closely associated with the sun and known to bring forth enlightenment. As originally recorded by Malo and translated many times by other scholars, this akua would speak directly to high prophets sharing the critical future events of one's kingdom such as the fall of a ruler or death of a chief. These prophets would then speak to their ali'i about their prophecies in riddles (Lyon 2013). Different heiau were dedicated to certain gods based on their function as each harnessed or protected specific characteristics such as fresh water, ocean, prosperity, fertility, etc. According to Valeri (1985), most war and fishing heiau were dedicated to Kū and agricultural heiau were dedicated to Lono or Kāne. Kanaloa and Kāne were also closely associated and were often dedicated to heiau of medicine and sorcery. Being that heiau are sacred spiritual spaces dedicated to various Hawaiian akua imbued with mana, they play a significant role in the culture and history of the Hawaiian people therefore deserving of the utmost respect.

Desecration Overtime and Loss of Knowledge

Over the last century, many heiau across our pae ‘āina have faced desecration, modification and removal for various reasons. Some of the physical issues that heiau have faced over time are development, modification, removal, and gentrification. Kukuipahu Heiau has faced many of these issues over time. One of the most unique features about Kukuipahu Heiau is its cut and dressed stones. More recently, these special rocks have been taken and added into other development projects. There are even speculations that some of these rocks were harvested from the heiau and paved into the homes of nearby residences. However, physically relocating these pōhaku from their original spaces often invokes negative incidents to occur. In Hawaiian culture, when stones such as these are disrespected and stolen from its rightful place, there will be spiritual warfare until the stones are returned. Although there are still stones missing from this heiau, Aunty Lehua confirms some have been returned due to these types of occurrences.

Prior to the recent removal of rocks, it is believed that perhaps the memory of Kukuipahu Heiau was erased from the people. Generally, reasons why information cannot be found about a cultural site or heiau is because the place is forgotten, tucked away, built over, or destroyed completely. During the coming of Tahitian priest Pa‘ao, the Kapu system was introduced along with new heiau construction, gods, and lines of royalty (Cordy 2000). Pa‘ao built his main heiau, Mo‘okini, not far from Kukuipahu on the northern tip of Hawai‘i Island in Pu‘uepa. Being that Kukuipahu Heiau is significantly older than Mo‘okini Heiau and was regarded as a major heiau, it could have been seen as a threat to Pa‘ao’s new religious structure. As explained by Uncle Fred Cachola, a possible reason that Kukuipahu is not well known today could be due to the arrival of Pa‘ao. He states, “My hypothesis is that when Pa‘ao came and restructured the whole religious political power structure among the ali‘i, he created a whole new religious dynasty, a whole new religious structure and he wanted everyone to forget about the past. I believe Pa‘ao made Kukuipahu kapu.” Since then, Kukuipahu Heiau has become a place that either no one really knows about or cannot openly talk about. This could be why it is barely documented or mentioned in oral histories.

Fortunately, many sites such as Kukuipahu remain intact and continue to be actively stewarded and used for spiritual observances throughout Hawai‘i today. However, there has been recent concern with future development affecting the heiau. In a 2019 Annual Review of Grants From the Land Conservation Fund by the State of Hawai‘i Department of Land and Natural Resources, the importance of having adequate buffer zones to protect the site from future development was mentioned as "in the future, it is expected that Kukuipahu will be surrounded by modern development" due to Surety Kohala Corporation and Parker Ranch Inc/ Samuel Parker Trust consolidating, subdividing, and selling lands their lands within the ahupua‘a. Therefore, it is very important to protect the area and its buffer zones to ensure the proper use and function.

Kukuipahu Heiau and Conducting a General Review

Of the cultural sites still being stewarded today is Kukuipahu Heiau, located in the upland region of the Kukuipahu ahupua‘a, in the moku of (North) Kohala, on the island of Hawai‘i. It is often regarded as one of the major heiau in leeward North Kohala. On May 22, 1972, this heiau was placed on the Hawai‘i Register of Historic Places in which the State of Hawai‘i brought this historic site under specific preservation laws. Despite being a state site, little information is presented by the State about the history, cultural significance, and future stewardship endeavors of Kukuipahu Heiau. Additionally, in conducting an initial review of commonly used and general resource books, skimming ethnohistorical documents and historic maps, information about Kukuipahu was scarce. For instance, Kukuipahu is not mentioned in the commonly used *Heiau of the Island of Hawai‘i* by Stokes (1991). In an interview with Uncle Fred Cachola, he stated “when he [Stokes]

came to Kohala, nobody shared with him any information about Kukuipahu. . . even today, I don't know anybody who can say anything about Kukuipahu”.

Despite this lack of knowledge, in 1999 the Luhiau ‘ohana, a family with lineal connections to Kukuipahu Heiau, became the soul caretakers for the next ten years. In 2011, the Luhiau family teamed up with the Kuamo‘o Foundation who established themselves as a co-caretaker. The Kuamo‘o foundation is a family organization founded by Aunty Lehua and Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui who also have a lineal relationship with this heiau. Since then, these stewards have been sharing their ‘ike and engaging in physical and cultural restoration efforts to one day restore Kukuipahu Heiau.

Methods

To create a research inventory for Kukuipahu, my first method was looking through online databases to find relevant information. I began searching in multiple online repositories for different documents related to Kukuipahu Heiau and the Kukuipahu ahupua‘a. These online repositories included Ulukau, Papakilo, and the Department of General Accounting and Finance. These repositories had multiple other databases attached to it which allowed me to access a variety of related mo‘olelo, articles, archaeological reports, government records, and historical documents. I recorded and sorted each relevant resource along the way so that I could eventually compile all the information into a digital inventory.

The second method was interviewing kūpuna of Kohala to hear their mana‘o about Kukuipahu Heiau. I conducted community ethnographies with Uncle Fred Cachola, Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui, and Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui. On June 21st, I interviewed Uncle Fred Cachola, a longtime educator who has lived in Kohala, Hawai‘i for most of his life. A few days later, on June 23rd, I interviewed Aunty Lehua and Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui who are caretakers of the heiau. Because I wasn’t able to conduct community ethnographies in person due to the coronavirus pandemic, interviews were carried out and recorded through Zoom. To transcribe these interviews, I used a website application called Temi to go over the recording and clean up the transcription. In order to be able to use the content within these interviews, forms of consent were made either through an online document or verbally. After it was confirmed that the interview could be used in my paper and website, the next step was to make sure that their voices were properly represented. To do this, I polished up the transcriptions and sent them out to my interviewees for corrections and approval.

The third method was to compile a search hit inventory of Kukuipahu related documents from the various online repositories I had been using. I first created a document with links to each database and color-coded search terms that correlated with the number of hits per repository. I focused on five search terms that I felt provided a good amount of related resources to look at. These search terms included “Kukuipahu”, “Kukuipahu Heiau”, “Kuupapaulau”, “Kamapiikai”, and “Kanenuiakea”. After choosing the search terms, I needed to further compile the information into an organized table that would provide a visual representation of the search inventory. To do this, I organized a spreadsheet by search terms, databases, and search hits. To further break down this information, I created separate google sheets for each online repository and included the information and links for each relevant resource I reviewed in that database (See Table 1-8). In order to better observe the “gaps” in resources, I sorted each resource by the publication year instead of the author or title. I felt this was important because information is often reused so this would help track the original reference as well as visualize the timeline of related published materials.

The fourth method was to design a website for my project. The website was created to capture memories shared about this heiau, compile information from different resources, and re-spark that a little of consciousness for Kukuipahu Heiau in the minds of the community. I used Wix, a free and easy website builder to create my platform. The pages on the website include 1) Home, 2) About, 3) Maps and Photos, 4) Research Inventory, and 5) Stewardship. The home page includes the purpose statement and a button that directs viewers to the Stewardship page so that the caretakers of the heiau can be recognized. Additionally, the Home page includes an art piece by Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui pertaining to the events they have experienced at the heiau since their caretakership. The About page of the website gives a general overview of Kukuipahu Heiau along with four other sub-pages: Inoa (name), Kūkulu (construction), Kuleana (function), and Mo'olelo (stories). The Maps and Photos page includes recent photos provided by Aunty and Uncle Kaulukukui, as well as maps and aerial photos provided by online map repositories and MAGIS, the University of Hawai'i at Manoa's Maps, Aerials, and Geographic Location System. The Resource Inventory page includes a table of my search hit data with buttons that are linked to each online repository sub-page. Similarly, each title on the sub-pages are also buttons that link to the actual online repository website. Lastly, the Stewardship page acknowledges Aunty Lehua and Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui's family organization, the Kuamo'o Foundation, as well as their work as stewards of Kukuipahu Heiau. A brief overview of what they do and their goals for the future are provided on this page along with a donation button and contact subpage so the community has different ways to get involved. Being that the Kuamo'o Foundation is a non-profit family owned organization, community donations are one way to financially support restoration and preservation efforts of this place. Including the contact page was another way to get community members to reach out and get involved as well.

Analysis

Mana'o Shared from Interviews

In the duration of my internship, I was able to interview Kohala community members Uncle Fred Cachola, Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui and Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui. My first interview was with Uncle Fred Cachola. Born and raised in the small, close knit community of Kohala, Uncle Fred has a strong connection to his land, culture, and Hawaiian community. He is a long time educator and has a particular interest in Kukuipahu Heiau obtaining his own 'ike and mana'o about the heiau's origins and functions. My second interview was with Aunty Lehua and Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui, caretakers of Kukuipahu Heiau who have been involved with the heiau for over ten years through their family organization, the Kuamo'o Foundation. Uncle Fred, Aunty Lehua and Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui are examples of kūpuna in Kohala that strive to preserve and protect their kulaiwi, or native land. Below are some key mana'o shared by these community members covering the connection Kukuipahu Heiau has with 'āina, kūpuna, and mo'olelo. The questions below are not necessarily the exact questions I asked during each interview as the mana'o and questions differed depending on who I was talking with. Instead, I chose questions that were answered through the mana'o received in both interviews.

From my ethnographies, the words often used to describe his heiau were intriguing, unique, and special. From the community perspective, Kukuipahu Heiau is a place that not much people know of or can speak about. I was able to gain even more insight by talking with these kūpuna of Kohala. The topic of this heiau brought much excitement to Uncle Fred, as he has heard mo'olelo growing up, visited the site in the past, and did his own research on the history of the heiau. For Aunty Lehua and Uncle Kanani, they were also very excited to share their 'ike as they've done their own research over the years and are working with a state archaeologist to aid in the restoration of the

heiau. Although all kūpuna acknowledged a scarcity in documents, there were many possibilities that arose from piecing together different information from oral histories and ethnohistorical documents as mentioned throughout the interviews.

Some of the key questions and mana‘o mentioned in my community ethnographies include (For Full Transcription, See appendix A):

- 1) What mo‘olelo about Kukuipahu Heiau have you learned or heard of over the years?

Uncle Fred says:

“I have hypothesized that Kukuipahu is probably one of the oldest heiau on this island. In fact in Kohala, it's probably much older than any of the other heiau. . . There's still a lot of hypotheses about what it is, when it was built, and so forth. But, why did the people of Kohala not even mention Kukuipahu? Because it wasn't even in their mind, he just erased it. But it's still there, it was so kapu for them to share it, I think they decided they would not share it. I wish we could do more than just hypothesize about this because if you look at Kukuipahu and you look at Mo‘okini, they're very close. And there might've been a reason why they're that close and why Pa‘ao built it at Pu‘uepa. Because he wanted Mo‘okini Heiau to overshadow, to overwhelm Kukuipahu. The closer you are and the more you overwhelm it, then the power that goes with Kukuipahu, the mana is lost. And this is what I believe Pa‘ao was trying to do. He changed the style of architecture, he built walls, he did so many other things to change and he did not want anyone to even think about this other heiau.”

Aunty Lehua shares:

“Kukuipahu is the ahupua‘a and also a king of Kohala. However, there has been documentation that the name of the heiau is Ku‘upapaulau. K U U P A P A U L A U. Ku‘upapaulau. So you might want to look at that also. There are mo‘olelo pertaining to Kukuipahu ahupua‘a such as Kepakailiula. There are mo‘olelo that state that certain individuals were trained in the art of ho‘opāpā in the Kukuipahu ahupua‘a. The only logical place that this would happen would be at the only major heiau. And then you'll also find that there is documentation that the heiau is dedicated to Kānenuiākea. Kānenuiākea being one to elevate intelligence.”

Uncle Kanani also shares:

“Aunty Lehua was uniki as a kumu hula up at Kukuipahu Heiau, because that also ties into Lohiau and Hi‘iaka. After he got killed the second time by Pele, Hi‘iaka resurrected him. According to Aunty Darlene's oral family history, they lived the rest of their life up at Kukuipahu. So the pā, that's there it's like a pā hula. That's where he would play his pahu and she would dance. So that has a significance to do with hula also. And if you look at the heiau it's multi-functional.”

- 2) What is your mana‘o on the heiau's affiliation with other Polynesian islands?

Uncle Fred says:

“I think there is a relationship. I think that the heiau, there were several migrations that came from the South. From the Marquesas from Tahiti came up to Hawai‘i and it was years of inter-travel. So I believe the heiau at Kukuipahu would be very similar to some of the early migrations that came up. If you can study the architecture of heiau in the Marquesas, whether Tahiti and the Tuamotu, I think you might find some similarities between the architecture of Kukuipahu and the architecture of marae in Tahiti, the Tuamotus and the Marquesas. And yes, I believe there is a relationship with the South Pacific Islands down there.”

Uncle Kanani also confirms that “because of the amount of cut stones, it's associated with Marquesan design and it's all low-walled.”

- 3) What do you think is the reason behind the scarcity of available and known information about Kukuipahu Heiau?

Uncle Fred Says:

“I hypothesized, when Stokes went around the Island collecting information about all the heiau. When he came to Kohala, nobody shared with him any information about Kukuipahu. He doesn't have one word about Kukuipahu. Why? Why did the people of Kohala not say anything about Kukuipahu? My hypothesis is that when Pa‘ao came and restructured the whole religious political power structure among the ali‘i, he created a whole new religious dynasty, a whole new religious structure and he wanted everyone to forget about the past. I believe Pa‘ao made Kukuipahu kapu. I believe he wanted to erase Kukuipahu from the memories of people in Kohala, from the memories of everybody. So even today, I don't know anybody who can say anything about Kukuipahu.”

Aunty Lehua agrees that the scarcity of knowledge about this heiau is due to a combination of the Kukuipahu community not remembering, knowing enough, or protecting the heiau’s information. She also says:

“The heiau is only accessible through locked gates. And so therefore, because all of the gates are locked, it's kind of just out of sight, out of mind. There are lots of Kohala people, born and raised in Kohala, that say, "There's one heiau up there, somewhere." But they don't really know anything about it.”

About the Search Terms

I first started with the search term Kukuipahu Heiau to see what information I could pull from documented sources. However, there wasn't much information that I could find besides a brief mention of the heiau that have been recycled throughout various archaeological reports and ethnohistorical documents. Because information was brief, I had to find other relevant search terms that could give me more detail and allow me to piece information together. Because Kukuipahu is the name of the heiau of the ahupua‘a, this became its own search term to provide a bigger scope of the whole ahupua‘a. In doing this, I found that Kukuipahu was also a chief and that the heiau’s real name was likely not Kukuipahu, but Ku‘upapaulau (Tomonari-Tuggle 1981). Perhaps the heiau was only named after this chief and ahupua‘a because the traditional inoa became erased or forgotten overtime. Being that I was able to uncover the traditional name of the heiau through the first two search terms, Ku‘upapaulau immediately became another search term. Through further searching the terms used above, I was able to find the name of a priest who was most likely associated with this heiau, Kamapi‘ikai. Ellis (1833), recorded that Kamapi‘ikai was a

caretaker of “a temple in Kohala, dedicated to Kanenuiākea”. He was included as a search term for this inventory because he was most likely a priest of Kukuipahu Heiau and was skilled in navigation being later known for voyaging to other Polynesian Islands such as Tahiti and the Marquesas with directions received to him from his akua. The story of Kamapi‘ikai then brought me to my final search term, Kānenuiākea. Being that Kānenuiākea is associated with this heiau, this became another necessary search term to include. Knowing more about this akua would also provide a better understanding of the heiau’s function. In a way, this research process was like making a lei; I had to twine different pieces of information together to create one beautiful lei of ‘ike about Kukuipahu Heiau.

Kukuipahu Resource Inventory & Search Hit Data

Below is a series of tables put together for my research inventory of Kukuipahu Heiau. In the first table, it is organized by the number of search hits per search term and online repository. This table visualises the number of times a term is mentioned in a document within that database. Tables 2-8 are organized by repository with each source chronologically sorted by date to observe the gaps in documented information. For each resource listed there is a brief description of the relevance to Kukuipahu Heiau as well as the URL link. Tables 9 and 10 are pictures instead of the traditional tables due to the types of material discovered within that repository.

In the process of organizing these tables, I learned that being able to note when things were published, who was writing it, and its connection of relevance gives more insight into the subject and scarcity of information. There were not many challenges in making this inventory, besides the plethora of documents that had to be looked at and scarcity of relevant information. However, I wasn’t able to look at every document because my research is derived from online sources due to the inability to obtain physical documents due to the coronavirus pandemic. There are also many references in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i and mahele documents that were not included in this inventory due to my lack of fluency in Hawaiian Language and small window of time in this program.

Below is a table of my search hit data. Search hit data is the amount of times a search term is listed within these specific databases. Search terms are the words used in the search box within databases. This table includes the five key terms and ten online repositories that were used to complete this research inventory for Kukuipahu Heiau. Boxes with ‘---’ indicate that there were no results available for that search term. In the case of State Historic Preservation, boxes with ‘X’ indicate that there were results, but no exact number available.

Table 1. [Kukuipahu Search Hit Data]

	Kukuipahu	Kukuipahu Heiau	Kuupapaulau	Kamapiikai	Kanenuiākea
Ulukau	166	1	---	3	17
Place Names (Ulukau)	22	---	---	---	---
Bishop Museum Collection	1	---	---	---	---
Hawai‘i State Archive Collection	18	---	---	---	---
Kipuka	4	---	---	---	---

Historic Sites Database	4	1	---	---	---
Hawaiian Mission House Newspaper	3	---	---	---	2
Mahele Index Records	146	---	1	---	21
State Historic Preservation	76	---	---	---	1
	x	x	---	---	4

The table below shows all the resources I was able to collect within Ulukau related to the key terms "Kukuipahu", "Kukuipahu Heiau", "Kamapiikai", and "Kanenuiakea". Because Ulukau has so many resources to look through, I was not able to view them all. Ulukau also holds many Hawaiian language materials that I was not able to review. Most of my resources are either originally written in English or translated from Hawaiian to English. Looking at Hawaiian Language documents would be a good place to start to continue this research inventory.

Table 2. [Table of Kukuipahu Resources for Ulukau]

Year	Resource	Author	Page	Reference to Kukuipahu	URL
1878	An Account of the Polynesian Race: Its Origins and Migrations and The Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I, Vol. II	Abraham Fornander	171, 377, 391	Pg. 171: Mentions when Captain Cook sailed from Maui to Kukuipahu noting that the people thought Cook and his crew were gods because they were eating an unfamiliar fruit and burning pipes and cigars in their mouths. Pg. 377 & 391: Kukuipahu mentioned in long chant titled "Ka Inoa O Kualii" in line 290 in both Hawaiian and the translated English version. The line reads "Here is the torch-lighter of Kukuipahu, the woman with the red mouth, who eats the sea eggs of Makakuku".	Fornander 1878
1890	Polk 1890: Directory and Hand-book of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, 1890	Claus Spreckles & Co.	437, 505	List of people with their occupation and residency in Kukuipahu. Pg. 437: Mentions a person named Heiau who was a laborer. Pg. 505: Also mentions two people, Pononui who was a laborer and Pononui J D who was a landowner.	Polk 1890
1916	Fornander collection of Hawaiian antiquities and folk-lore. Vol. 4	Abraham Fornander, Thomas Thrum (translation/comme	313-315, 380-381, 506-511,	Includes stories that mention Kukuipahu the ahupua'a and as well as the chief.	Fornander, Thrum 1916

		ntary)	562-565, 575		
1918	Fornander collection of Hawaiian antiquities and folk-lore. Vol. 5	Abraham Fornander, Thomas Thrum (translation/commentary)	214-221, 388-291, 394-395	Includes stories that mention Kukuipahu as an ahupua'a and chief.	Fornander, Thrum 1918
1920	Fornander collection of Hawaiian antiquities and folk-lore. Vol. 6	Abraham Fornander, Thomas Thrum (translation/commentary)	170, 171, 382	Pg. 170: Story of Kapaihipilipili, a man noted in agriculture born in Kukuipahu who was good at farming and cooking. He would barter cooked food for fish, and on credit too. When he would get fish, he would dry it and trade it again. When fishermen saw this, they left the fish out to dry for him, but he asked not to do it again because he saw they didn't do it right. Pg.171: Hawaiian version. Pg. 382: Chant describing the mana Ali'i Kukuipahu possessed when taking over Hawai'i.	Fornander, Thrum 1920
1935	A Gazetteer at the Territory of Hawai'i	John Wesley Coulter	42	Kukuipahu is listed as a land section in the Kohala quadrangle. The coordinates are listed as 20.13 North and 155.52 West.	Coulter 1935
1970	Hawaiian Mythology	Martha Beckwith	132, 404, 419, 423, 524	Pg. 132: Mo'olelo about an ali'i, Kukuipahu, being swallowed by a shark during the times of Kakaalaneo of Maui and returning upon the shores of Hāna bald and alive. He is said to have survived due to his faithfulness to the gods and lived in Hāna with a wife after that. Pg. 409: Gives credit to Kukuipahu of Kohala as a kupua, or mythical figure. Pg. 419: Legend of Kapunohu, born in Kukuipahu under the reign of Kukuipahu. After the ali'i insults Kapunohu, Kapunohu goes on to retrieve the district for Kukuipahu's rival Niuli'i. Kukuipahu is killed at Kapaau along with 3200 others and their capes taken afterwards. Pg. 423: "Many Kupua stories center about the court of Kukuipahu in Kohala district on Hawai'i, and that	Beckwith 1970

				<p>chief is a favorite figure in kupua extravaganzas. In the story of Kaipalaoa the riddler, Kukui-pahu's wife is Kalena-i-hele-auau and it is she who instructs her nephew in riddling. In that of the riddler Kapunohu, the kupua's sister becomes Kukui-pahu's wife. In the story of Kepakailiula, Kukui-pahu marries his daughter to the red-skinned kupua."</p> <p>Pg. 524: Kukuipahu's daughter flirting and entertaining Halemano in which they become married. She always leaves him so he learns a hula to win her back. Upon her return, he grew wary of her love. She returned home with her former lovers.</p>	
1992	Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i: Revised Edition	Samuel M. Kamakau	98	<p>Captain Cook sailed the channel between Maui and Hawai'i close to Kohala landing at Kukuipahu. This was December 2nd, when Mauna Loa and Mauna Kea were capped with snow. People from different ahupua'a gathered at the coast of Kukuipahu to greet the ship. Iron and gifts were exchanged between Cook and the chiefs.</p>	Kamakau 1992
2000	Kamehameha and his Warrior Kekūhaupi'o	Stephen L. Delsha, Frances N. Frazier (translator)	63	<p>Kamehameha and Kekūhaupi'o sailed to Hawai'i Island and landed at Kukuipahu, a place they suspected to have been a canoe landing for chiefs in the ancient times. Upon his arrival, heaps of people gathered and waited at the site of their beloved chief's canoe.</p>	Delsha, Frazier 2000
2003	A history of fishing practices and marine fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands	Kepa Maly, Onaona Maly	330, 332	<p>Collection of fishery resources and native practices described in boundary commission testimonies from 1865-1915 including the Kukuipahu ahupua'a.</p> <p>Pg. 330: Ku and Kaneihalau note their knowledge of Kukuipahu boundaries. Ku says that the boundaries are from Kepioholowai to the shore where fishing rights extend to the sea. Kaneihalau says that he has heard that Kukuipahu and Kaauhuhu join and are bounded by the sea where ancient fishing rights</p>	Maly 2003

				extend. Pg. 332: Description of the boundaries of Pu'uepa: "Hukiaa 3rd bounds Puuepa 1st on the east side; Kukuipahu mauka and Puuepa 2nd on the northside. . .".	
2004	Ho'oulu: our time of becoming: Hawaiian epistemology and early writings	Manulani Aluli Meyer	118	Describes the importance of how words were used in the art of ho'opāpā. Pg. 118: Mentions Kaipalaoa story from Fornander's Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities. Includes an excerpt with the instructions he was given by his aunt to go to Kohala and find his other aunt, the wife of Kukuipahu, to complete his ho'opāpā education. Meyer goes on to provide commentary on this story and ho'opāpā until page 121.	Meyer 2004

According to the Kukuipahu Search Hits Data, Hawaiian Mission house had a total of 5 search hits for the search terms "Kukuipahu" and "Kanenuiakea". However, listed in this repository is a total of 4 related sources. This simply means that a search term was listed twice in a single resource. Although there are only four documents, they can be analyzed and connected to other historical documents to further understand its relevance to Kukuipahu Heiau.

Table 3. [Table of Resources for Hawaiian Mission Houses]

Year	Resource	Author	Page	Reference to Kukuipahu	URL
1865	Reign of Umi	The Friend (Newspaper)	14	Articles describe 'Umi's reign as king up until his death as well as feats he has accomplished and people who were close to him. A unique thing about 'Umi was his construction style. He is perhaps the only Hawaiian king to build with cut stone and have a cross layout with four distinct sections drawn out and theorized by Kama. However, Kuupapaulau and Aiaikamahina Heiau in Kukuipahu did not have this characteristic.	The Friend
1930	Hawaiian almanac and annual for 1930	Thomas George Thrum	67, 92	Pg. 67: Description of Hono ceremony. A prayer tied to the manaiakalani constellation mentions Kānenuiākea along with other gods that is said by the chief while presenting the gods their sacrifice. Pg 86: Story "Reminiscences of Gideon Laanui", reared in the train of Kamehameha I, 1800-1819, translated from "Kumu Hawai'i "	Thrum 1930

				spring 1838. La'anui recounts his lifetime as a member in the king's government. He mentions living in Kukuipahu for a time being towards the end of the story where they hear of a gifted man named Kapihe while they were catching flying fish.	
1999	Battle for Wai'apuka School: One Round of an Epic Contest	Patricia M. Alvarez	9	Father Gregory Archambaux abandoned Kailua in 1849 due to school agent Paku turning down Kohala teacher nominees and noting scholars "below par". Father Archambaux taught in the villages of Hālawa, Kamano, and Kukuipahu instead.	Alvarez 1999
2013	Malo's Mo'olelo Hawai'i: The Lost Translation	Jeffrey Lyon	48	The writings of David Malo, Lorrin Andrews, N.B. Emerson, and Langlas-Lyon are compared side by side with the same excerpt. Kānenuiākea is mentioned as being a god that speaks to kāula, or prophets, so that they know when the king dies and when his kingdom falls. These prophets had supernatural power greater than a kahuna and would speak in riddles to the king about their prophecies.	Lyon 2013

There was only a total of 4 search results for Kukuipahu in the Kipuka database. I was able to find a bit more information on the people connected to this ahupua'a through Land Commission Award documents and visualize the boundaries and locations of Kukuipahu through Kipuka's GIS mapping. A helpful thing to note about this repository is that it has other related links available on every page and the community is allowed to add commentary and submit data to the database. There was only one page that had this type of data embedded in it and it was from the IARII, International Archaeological Research Institute, Inc.

Table 4. [Table of Kukuipahu Resources for Kipuka]

Year	Page	Contributor	Reference to Kukuipahu	URL
	Ahupua'a of Kukuipahu	-	This page allows you to see the outline of the Kukuipahu ahupua'a on a satellite view of North Kohala. There are also links to other land claimants in this ahupua'a, including the names of the ones unmapped. There is also a list of historic sites within Kukuipahu. Kukuipahu Heiau is included in the list, there are also some	Kukuipahu Ahupuaa

			that just have numbers and no name.	
	Wahi Pana - Kukuipahu		Most of the tabs on this page are empty. There is only a link to Kakauonohi's claim. The dot charted on the map is not located. Little information presented.	Kukuipahu Wahi Pana
	Wahi Pana-Kukuipahu Habitation Complex		Habitation site makai of Kukuipahu Heiau. Described as a large burial complex with enclosing walls, platforms, and an associated trail. Site is about 13,000 square meters. Includes site numbers and link to Kekauonohi land claim.	Kukuipahu Habitation Complex
1994	Wahi Pana - Heiau in Kukuipahu	International Archaeological Research Institute, Inc. (IARII)	Kakauonohi was a chief who claimed the whole ahupua'a of Kukuipahu. The mahele documents for Kakauonohi are linked on this page. The status of the heiau was reportedly destroyed in 1994. The function is listed as a heiau and the form is undetermined. Described by IARII as consisting of "stone remains".	Heiau in Kukuipahu

There were only 5 search results for the Historical Sites Database on Papakilo for the key terms "Kukuipahu" and "Kukuipahu Heiau". This tab showed 4 related archaeological resources listed in their inventory taken from SHPD records, State Historic Preservation Division. Their documents were not attached and not available to view so I wasn't able to look into these resources. However, I included them in this inventory because they would be great documents to look into in the future.

Table 5. [Table of Resources for Historical Sites Database]

Year	Resource	Author	Page	Reference to Kukuipahu	URL
1974	Report on the Archaeological Walk-Through Survey of a Coastal Portion of Kukuipahu, North Kohala, Hawai'i Island.	Paul Rosendahl		Source link not available. Unable to view online. Published by Bishop Museum and in SHPD records.	URL

1974	Archaeological Walk-Through Survey of Proposed Kawaihae and Kukuipahu Power Plant Areas, Island of Hawai'i.	Margaret L. K. Luscomb		Source link not available. Unable to view online. Published by Bishop Museum and in SHPD records.	URL
1984	Archaeological Reconnaissance of Approximately 1700 Acres at Maliu, North Kohala, Hawai'i.			Source link not available. Unable to view online. Published by Bishop Museum and in SHPD records. Locality is Kukuipahu Heiau.	URL
1994	Archaeological Inventory Survey, Upland Portions of Kukuipahu and Awalua, North Kohala, Hawai'i.	Jim Adams, J. Stephen Athens		Source link not available. Unable to view online. Published by Bishop Museum and in SHPD records.	URL

In order to really get a good scope of resources in the Nūpepa, one must be proficient in Hawaiian Language. Because I am still learning, I did not look into much Hawaiian language documents. However, there were some that I looked into that were either not so language intensive or translated into English. Note there are two resources listed that do not have anything written in the description. These are Hawaiian Language documents that would be a good place to continue building on this research inventory.

Table 7. [Table of Kukuipahu Nūpepa Resources]

Year	Resource	Publisher	Page	Reference to Kukuipahu	URL
9 Dec 1835	Ka Helu Ana O Nakanaka. Hawaii.	Ke Kumu Hawaii	Book 1, Paper 25, Page 193	This seems to be a like a census counting kane, wahine, and kamali'i in each ahupua'a. The total number of people counted in Kukuipahu at this time was 319: 70 kane, 82 wahine, 167 kamali'i.	Ke Kumu Hawaii
17 July 1848	(No Title)	Ka Elele Hawaii	Book 4, Paper 4, Page 17	List of ahupua'a and 'ili throughout the Hawaiian Islands. Kukuipahu isn't listed as an ahupua'a, Lahuiki is listed as being an 'ili in Kukuipahu.	Ka Elele Hawaii
26 Aug 1848	(No Title)	Ka Elele Hawaii	Book 4, Paper 7, Page 25	List of ahupua'a throughout Hawai'i Island. Kukuipahu is listed once.	Ka Elele Hawaii
22 May 1865	Ke Au Ia Umi	Ke Au Okoa	Book 1, Paper 5, Page 4	References Kuupapaulau as a heiau.	Ke Au Okoa
22 Feb	Na Hiohiona	Nupepa Kuokoa	Book 7,		Nupepa

1868	O Kohala		Paper 8, Page 3		Kuokoa
11 Dec 1924	E Lawe Nui I Ka Nupepa Kuokoa I Ka A.D. 1925	Nupepa Kuokoa	Book 63, Paper 50, Page 5		Nupepa Kuokoa

The State Historic Preservation Division holds many documents on Kukuipahu Heiau that are fairly recent. Because the heiau was listed on the State and National Historical Sites Registers and is a part of the State Parks as a Kohala Historical State Monument, there were many related documents that I could pull from their search engine. Although I wasn't able to get a definite amount of search hit numbers as seen on the Kukuipahu Search Hits Data, there were still many valuable resources. SHPD has their own library and archive collection which sometimes requires researchers to ask for access and pay certain fees, however these documents were obtained through their search engine rather than their archive which is more convenient as it is easier to access and free of charge to the general public.

Table 8. [Table of Resources for State Historic Preservation Division]

Year	Resource	Author	Page	Reference to Kukuipahu	URL
	National and State Register of Historic Places		5	Spreadsheet of the National and State Register of Historic Places. Kukuipahu Heiau listed as site number 10 02 4135 with Tax Map Key 5-6-001:075. The date recorded on the Hawai'i State Register is August 29 1994 and on the National Register it was recorded on May 24 1973.	National and State Register of Historic Places
18 Jan 1983	County of Hawai'i - State of Hawai'i Resolution (No. 517 83)	County Council, County of Hawai'i	1-3	This record states the acknowledgment of Kukuipahu Heiau as a site of preservation as it was listed on the Hawai'i Register of Historic Places on May 22 1972. History of ownership is also briefly displayed as the site is owned by the Kohala Corporation and is agreeing to transfer land titles to the State regarding the buffer zones within 100 feet from the site. The main concern with the buffer zone and preservation plan was to get rid of the "destructive growth of Christmas berry shrubs on the heiau walls". It is also stated that the DLNR welcomes proposals of restoration if done by private initiative or the county.	County of Hawaii - State of Hawaii Resolution (No. 517 83)
April 1995	Archaeological Inventory Survey	Maly, Kepā	397-398	Story of Kamiki and Maka'iole who traveled along the alaloha-alahahele	Maly 1995

	Kahua Makai/Kahua Shores Coastal Parcels, Supplementary Historical Documentary Research			trail challenging ‘olohe and dishonorable priests harnessing their supernatural abilities. This story is set in the time of Hikapoloa and Kapa‘auikiakalana, first co-rulers of the Kohala district. Kukuipahu was one of the lands and or chiefs who were subordinates of Hikapoloa. He was also married to the “chiefess Kukuipahu” whose child was Kepakailiula. Hikapoloa is also known to love games and would regularly call upon people of Kohala to partake in competitions.	
Dec 2002	Planning for Sustainable Tourism, Part II: Infrastructure Overview Study	Carter & Burgess, Inc.	51	Under a list titled "Funds Required For Reconstruction Of Park Facilities (2002-2012)", Kukuipahu Heiau is listed as a Kohala Historical Sites State Monument. Things in need of funding included parking, roadway, fencing, and walkways.	Planning for Sustainable Tourism
2003	Senate Journal - Standing Committee Reports		151,5 52, 685	Pg. 151 & 552: S.B. 1615 and 1613 on Water, Land, and Agriculture includes a paragraph: "Your Committee finds that purchasing land to provide public access and buffers for the Kohala Historic Monument, which includes the Kamehameha birth site, Kukuipahu heiau, and Mo'okini Luakini, would ensure the protection of three very significant sites in Kohala. . . The Kukuipahu heiau is so old that not much is known about it. . ." Pg. 685: Similar paragraph under S.B 1613 on Ways and Means: "Your Committee finds that Act 166, Session Laws of Hawai'i 1992, now codified as section 6E-38.5, Hawai'i Revised Statutes, established the Kohala historical sites state monument, a collection of historic sites in North Kohala, Hawai'i, including the Mo'okini Luakini, Kamehameha birth site, Kukuipahu Heiau, and historic sites at Mahukona. Act 166 further mandated that certain additional parcels of land were to be acquired through gifts or land exchanges to	Senate Journal

				provide access and buffer areas for the monument."	
2007	H.B. 1104, 24th Legislature §6E-38.5	House of Representatives Twenty-Fourth Legislature	1-3	HB 1104: bill for an act relating to historic preservation. Refers to HRS section 6E-38.5 including Kukuipahu Heiau as one of four historical sites being amended with a Kohala Historic Sites States Monument administered by the DLNR. No further mention of the heiau besides that it was included in this group of historic sites. The state recognized the significance of this heiau and declared it a historic site. However, little information is adequately presented on the history of this heiau as a "historic site".	H.B. 1104
2 Mar 2007	Re: S.B. No. 1816, S.D. 1	Russell S. Kokubun	1	This letter requests that section 6E-38.5 of the Hawai'i Revised Statutes amends to codify language in land deed that directs state to consult with Kahuna Nui of Mo'okini Heiau for all matter pertaining to Mo'okini and the three other historical sites including Kamehameha's birthsite and Kukuipahu Heiau.	S.B. No. 1816
Nov 2009	Annual Report to the Twenty-Fifth Legislature Regular Session of 2010 Relating to the Land Conservation Fund and the Legacy Land Conservation Program	State of Hawai'i Department of Land and Natural Resources	4-5	In response to section 173A-5 of the Hawai'i Revised Statutes. Highlights the requested financial support for Kukuipahu Heiau buffer zones. According to the file, the seven acre buffer surrounding three sides of the parcel is acquired by Chalon International Hawai'i Inc. by the state with the aid of \$960,00 land donation from the owner. The Division of State Parks will be the entity to maintain these boundaries as a "protective and scenic buffer" for the heiau.	Annual Report to the Twenty-Fifth Legislature Regular Session of 2010
18 Dec 2009	Minutes of the December 18, 2009, Legacy Land Conservation Commission Meeting	Legacy Land Conservation Commission	21-22	Minutes provided more detail on the potential cultural significance and land buffer acquisition of Kukuipahu Heiau. The heiau had a 100 ft buffer zone which proved unsatisfactory in other sites. This record also includes mana'o from Papa Henry Auwae and Clive Luhiau about ceremonies they remembered from 1916 to 1918 at	https://dlnr.hawaii.gov/ecosystems/files/2013/08/Minutes-LLCC-2008Dec18-final.pdf

				<p>Kukuipahu Heiau. They state that the heiau was active up into the early 1900s and was a place where mostly healers gathered. Thatched hale were present for ho'okupu, prayer to the gods, and to house other caretakers and gardens. He also had mentioned four kukui torches being stationed at the corners and the walls being four feet high. There was also concern on the buffer and surrounding subdivisions of land and development.</p>	
13 March 2015	Agreement for Kukuipahu SHS (Item E-2)	Division of State Parks, Department of Land and Natural Resources	1-14	<p>Curator agreement between State Historic Preservation Division and Kuamo'o Foundation. Includes brief information on "ownership" history of heiau, a map of Kukuipahu heiau and it's buffer zones as well as a sketch of the heiau drawn by the State Parks in 1995. The curator program was initiated in 1987 by SHPD and the Division of State Parks to encourage community stewardship and involvement. Kukuipahu Heiau State Historic Site (SHS) is a 3 acre parcel of buffer zones. In 1999 a curator agreement was formed with the Luhiau 'ohana and renewed in 2010. The next year Kuamo'o Foundation joined the Luhiau 'ohana in their goal to mālama, restore, and preserve the heiau.</p>	<p>https://files.hawaii.gov/dlnr/meeting/submittals/150313/E-2.pdf</p>
25 Jan 2019	Annual Review of Grants From the Land Conservation Fund for Each Project That Has Been Pending For Over Five Years	State of Hawai'i Department of Land and Natural Resources	1-4	<p>Acknowledges item C-2 of an approved \$7,000 grant from the Land Conservation Fund for seven acres of protective and scenic buffer for Kukuipahu Heiau as part of the North Kohala Historic Sites State Monument. Mentions the importance of having these buffers to protect the site from future development as "in the future, it is expected that Kukuipahu will be surrounded by modern development" due to Surety Kohala Corporation and Parker Ranch Inc/Samuel Parker Trust consolidating, subdividing, and selling lands their</p>	<p>https://dlnr.hawaii.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/C-1.pdf</p>

				lands in the Kukuipahu ahupua'a. Also includes acreage of Kukuipahu Heiau (3.056 acre parcel) and Buffer lands (7.003 acre).	
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On my website, this repository included a total of eighteen land indexes provided by the Hawai'i State Archives. Similar to a card catalog, these indexes are used when searching for individual documents in the archive. Generally, indexes used for libraries, catalogs, and archives are used to store small amounts of discrete data. Each index is attached to one single source in the Hawai'i State Archives. Below is the first out of eighteen land indexes as seen on the website (refer to website to see full references).

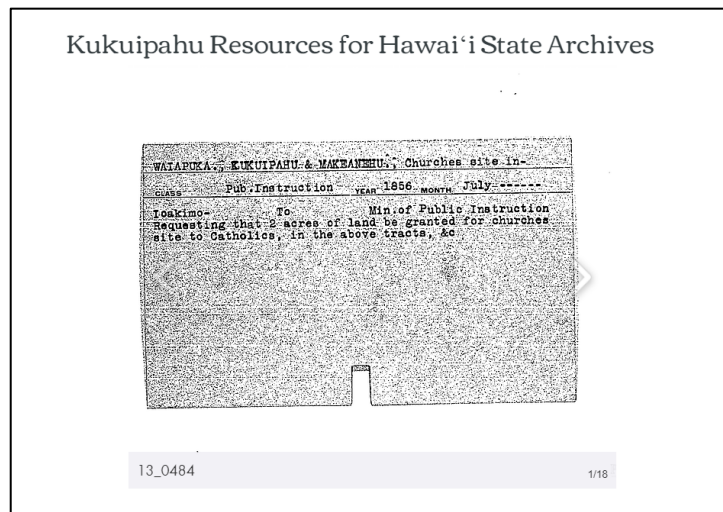


Figure 1. [Kukuipahu Resources for Hawai'i State Archives]

I was only able to find one resource on this online archive that mentions Kukuipahu once in a mo'olelo published in the nūpepa. This resource is presented below as seen on the website. Although this source does not mention anything about Kukuipahu Heiau, it does provide a poetic description of the sun vanishing over Kukuipahu ahupua'a as it is ready to set. Bishop Museum likely holds more relevant information in their physical archives which is another great place to start to continue to build on this research inventory.

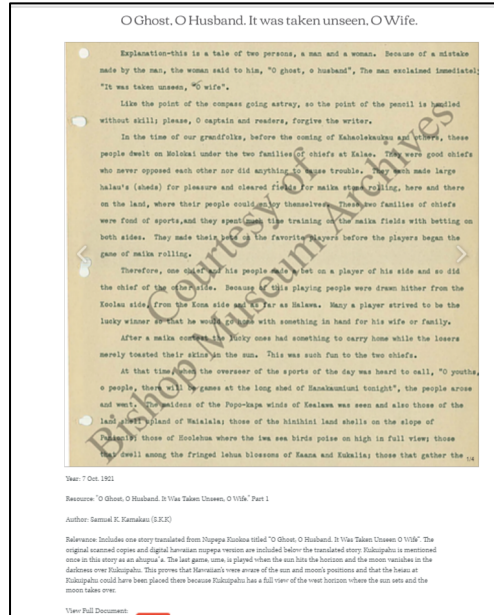


Figure 2. [Kukuipahu Resource for Bishop Museum]

Gaps in Research

From the start I knew that Kukuipahu Heiau was a place with very little information presented about it. There was rarely any new information documented about Kukuipahu Heiau from the late 1800s to 1900s. However, from creating these tables have I discovered that there is more available information than what I originally thought. There is also various information that is not documented, but rather preserved in oral family histories. Through research and mana'o gained from my community ethnographies, I am convinced that Kukuipahu Heiau was not documented because the memory was slowly erased from the minds of the people and the stories that remained were kept within certain families to protect which could be why Stokes and many other scholars over time were able to record little to no information about Kukuipahu Heiau.

Kukuipahu Heiau started to become a historic place of National and State interest beginning from the Hawaiian Renaissance period in the 1970s with its name listed on the National Register in 1973 and the State Register in 1994. Although there is not much documented information on the function of the heiau during this time, I found that Kukuipahu Heiau was active during the 1990s through meeting minutes from a 2009 Legacy Land Conservation Commission. As told by Papa Henry Auwae and Clive Luhiau, at that time the heiau was a place where healers gathered, ceremonies were held, and structures such as thatched houses and gardens were present. However, in these meeting minutes it is also acknowledged that little is known today about this area such as the reason behind the name Kukuipahu. Since 2009, much more has been discovered yet there is still much to research and uncover. The most recent publication pertaining exclusively to Kukuipahu Heiau is an archaeological study done by Patrick Kirch in 2019, yet there are still many unanswered questions and new theories that require further research.

Functions Overtime & My Understanding of Kukuipahu Heiau

When I began this research about Kukuipahu, I knew little to nothing about this heiau. Through the material I could find related to Kukuipahu Heiau, I've learned more about the people

connected to this 'āina, scarcity in documents, and its functions over time. Ancestors from South Polynesia are most likely to have built the original site as the construction style is very similar to that of the Marquesas, Tahiti, and Rapa Nui. The style of cut and dressed stone as well as raised ki'i is uncommon in heiau of Hawai'i and is seen extensively throughout South Polynesian islands. According to Kirch's 2019 report, at least two separate constructions: the first was a terrace platform with strategically placed rocks and the second added dry stacked walls commonly seen in heiau throughout Hawai'i. He also acknowledges that there may be astronomical correlations to the rock placements stating that "there is reason to think that the early phase at Kukuipahu Heiau was intentionally oriented to the east, in such a manner that it falls within 2°–3° of the equinoctial rising of the "great sun of Kāne". Because the physical stature and function of this heiau was likely altered overtime with the change of ali'i and caretakers, perhaps the heiau was once used for astronomy to observe the heavens and predict future events. Kukuipahu Heiau is connected to ali'i such as Kukuipahu and 'Umi-a-Liloa as well as priests such as Kamapi'ikai and Kuamo'o. Therefore, another possible function could have been navigational because in the story of Kamapi'ikai, he was a priest of a "temple in Kohala dedicated to Kāne" and was famous for his voyages to Tahiti in which he received dreams from his god (Ellis 1833). Being that Kukuipahu Heiau is a temple in Kohala dedicated to Kānenuiākea, an akua noted to reveal truth to prophets, perhaps Kukuipahu Heiau could have been where he received his instructions.

Additionally, I was able to discover through community ethnography that this heiau also may have had an agricultural function. According to Aunty Lehua, Kukuipahu Heiau "is the only major heiau within the Kukuipahu ahupua'a and within the entire Kohala Field System". The Kohala System is a vast Native Hawaiian agricultural system utilizing a multitude of traditional techniques to produce a maximum yield of crops in dryer conditions. Uncle Fred even mentioned that the Kohala Field System begins at Kukuipahu Heiau continuing for another nine miles. Being that this heiau is the only major heiau in the Leeward Kohala Field System, it may have been used as an agricultural heiau at one point in time. Also, Uncle Kanani mentioned Peter Vitousek, who has done extensive research on the Kohala Field System, stated that the field system begins at the heiau complex and spans the distance between North Kohala and Waimea.

Aunty Lehua and Uncle Kanani also shared that this heiau played a role in hula as mentioned in a family oral history about Hi'iaka and Lohiau told to them by Aunty Darlene Luhiau Badua, the original curator of Kukuipahu Heiau. In learning about all these possible functions, my perspective about Kukuipahu has definitely changed as I have come to uncover so much information I did not know before. It baffles me that the exact reason behind the construction of this heiau is unknown yet there are so many possibilities. What makes this particular heiau so special is that it is perhaps one of the oldest heiau in Hawai'i, it is a multifunctional structure, and there is none other like it anywhere else.

Conclusion

In my quest to learn more about heiau in the leeward region of Kohala, Kukuipahu Heiau became the one that caught my attention as it was the most intriguing and mysterious heiau. Due to the scarcity of information when conducting a general review, I chose to create a resource inventory that would give the community an opportunity to learn more about this heiau and get involved. These ancient structures are not just ruins of the past, but a place of spiritual connection between humans and the earthly and heavenly things. I think it is really important for people of Kohala to know about sacred sites like these so the identity and mana is not forgotten or lost. By restoring the identity of the heiau, the community can protect and preserve the sacredness of this place.

In order to create the research inventory, I chose a list of five search terms to input into ten different online databases to see what kind of information I could pull out. By creating spreadsheets of my search hits and resources, I was able to analyze my information better and organize it into my website. In this process, I discovered that there wasn't much information on Kukuipahu Heiau. However, through what I did find and piece together, the heiau plays a unique role in Kohala's history. Unlike other Hawaiian heiau, Kukuipahu Heiau consists of cut and dressed scoria and stone and raised petroglyphs which are similar to marae in South Polynesia. Perhaps one of the oldest heiau in all Hawai'i, Kukuipahu Heiau isn't remembered by its traditional name and is affiliated with other cultures said to have migrated to early Hawai'i. In my understanding, Kukuipahu Heiau is a special place so rich with culture, history, and mana that deserves to be preserved and protected.

Next Steps

Since this research project was planned and executed within about a month, there were many documents that I was not able to look at and resources that still are in need of more review. The resources that I was not able to look for this project include:

- Mahele records
- 'Ōlelo Hawaii documents
- Nūpepa articles
- Physical records

To continue this project, I plan to work with Auntie Lehua and Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui of Kuamo'o Foundation to take over the website I created and use it for stewardship and future restoration efforts. Having them take over this website will ensure that the light of Kukuipahu remains for the Kohala Community and encourages them to get involved in projects pertaining to Kukuipahu Heiau. If my work were to be continued by someone other than myself, these are the types of documents that can be added to the tables I have already created. The tables available on my website were made through Wix and can be altered by the owner of the site. Since I will be working to get this website under the direction of the Kuamo'o Foundation, Auntie Lehua and Uncle Kanani would have to be contacted to be able to add more research to the inventory. In this way, we can all learn and work together as a community to bring back the memory of this wahi kūpuna.

Reflection

This summer of 2020 I was blessed with the opportunity of being an intern of the Wahi Kūpuna Internship Program (WKIP) learning Cultural Resource Management (CRM) in the moku of Kohala on Hawai'i Island. However, this year has brought upon many obstacles and challenges, especially in the WKIP 'Ohana. Usually, this program is an intensive outdoor five week CRM internship that is 'āina and community based. Due to Coronavirus, the WKIP had to readjust and come up with an online experience that sufficiently encompassed the usual breath of 'ike and experience interns normally receive. Despite having to readjust into an online format this summer due to the Coronavirus pandemic, within the four weeks of the 2020 Wahi Kūpuna Internship Program, I have gained so much valuable 'ike, experience, and connections. There were many challenges that came with learning 'āina based education online like not being able to connect physically with 'āina or each other, juggling tasks of our daily lives while doing the internship, bad internet connection, and a shorter duration of the program. However, there were many good parts of this experience that made up for the challenges as we were paired with individual mentors who

guided us through our projects, had more time to research, had an awesome website made just for this program, and we were still able to get connected with resource specialists and community members from Kohala via Zoom. I think the most valuable thing I took away from the lessons and internship was how to look for different types of information on various online repositories as well as conduct research in a way that is meaningful to the community. This has definitely helped me learn more about how I can gather the information I need in order to conduct future research projects. The experience that I got listening to all the knowledge packed presentations, conducting online community ethnographies, as well as bonding with my hoa papa and WKIP 'ohana is one that I will cherish and remember fondly.

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APPENDIX A

7/21/20 Interview with Uncle Fred Cachola via Zoom

TAHITI ([01:12:36](#)):

Aloha ‘anakala, how you feeling?

Uncle Fred ([01:12:39](#)):

How are you Tahiti?

TAHITI ([01:12:43](#)):

I'm good. Before I dive into any questions specifically about Kukuipahu Heiau, what does a heiau mean or represent to you?

Uncle Fred ([01:13:02](#)):

Wow, you know that's almost like, I don't want to call it church because you know that's the Western version and then as you know there were many kinds of heiau, right? And sometimes it may or may not be, I think in my mind when we say "heiau" you know we should say more than just Hale o Ka'ili Heiau or Pu'ukoholā Heiau. It's become a generic term. And to me, it's more than just a generic term like a church is a church. It's a church, but there were many different churches built in many different ways, built for many different purposes. I would encourage you to look at heiau not just from the generic sense, but from the cultural sense of that particular heiau. To me, it's almost it's not complete

Uncle Fred ([01:14:35](#)):

to just say Pu'ukoholā Heiau, you got to tell a story. You got to say more than that. Pu'ukoholā heiau, was built by Kamehameha under the instructions of Kapo'okahi, for these following reasons. You've got to say that so that we don't look at a heiau as a heiau. It's much more than just a heiau, but in order for you to really get a meaning, you have to know more about it. So I don't know if I'm trying to answer your question, because I think your question asked, heiau, it's like, it's a generic term. Like what is a church? Then we can answer that question in many different ways. Same thing with a heiau. But regardless, there are some things that we have that most heiau have in common: they were built for a very, very special purpose.

Uncle Fred ([01:15:55](#)):

They were built to do certain things. They were very, very important for different people. And you could call it a pu'uhonua. You could call it a place of worship. You could call it a connecting point with the 'aumakua for getting new spiritual guidance together. It can mean all that, but I do hope that when we use the word, heiau, if we're speaking of a particular heiau, then okay, what are the common things that were built? By certain people for certain places? In fact, sometimes at a very special place. And so it's a difficult question for me to answer generic. It has to be to me, what I hear you talking about, for example, Kukuipahu, that's one of the most intriguing heiau in all of Kohala. I'm so happy, Tahiti, that

Uncle Fred ([01:17:26](#)):

you're trying to learn more about that. Please do. You got to tell us more. You got to take samples of the red rock. Go to Pu'u 'Ula and see that their the same. Make it certain that yes, you know the samples are exactly the same because you have proven that. You took samples from Kukuipahu Heiau, you went to the pu'u, well, not even half a mile away to Pu'u 'Ula, and you found the same color rock. Look at it's location, why? Why was it built there? Because that's the beginning of that whole field system begins right from there going nine miles you know. And it was, it was such a special place. And the architecture of that heiau, it's nothing like any other heiau I've seen. Of course, there's no two heiau alike. But that one is real significant because it has the architecture of that heiau is more like a marae. And the way the pōhaku is constructed, I've never seen a pōhaku and that kind of petroglyphs that they found there. They're all found in like other parts of Polynesia. So my feeling is that heiau would have an entirely different kind of meaning. So I'm sorry if I can't answer your question about what is a heiau. To me, it means so much. But there are some commonalities that it is a very special place that well our kupuna went to connect spiritually with other things around it. And in that sense, it was a connector between the human being and the spirit of everything else.

TAHITI ([01:19:45](#)):

Mahalo Uncle. It's a really thought provoking question. You can answer it so many different ways. It's just kind of like asking, you know, what is a church, what is a heiau? But since it is such a generic term, used now, I just really wanted to get, your mana'o on it. And it is a hard thing to define, but mahalo for that. My next question goes more into the heiau. So are there any mo'olelo regarding Kukuipahu heiau that you've been told or have learned over the years?

Uncle Fred ([01:20:27](#)):

I have hypothesized that Kukuipahu is probably one of the oldest heiau on this island. In fact in Kohala, it's probably much older than any of the other heiau. And I hypothesized, when Stokes went around the Island collecting information about all the heiau. When he came to Kohala, nobody shared with him any information about Kukuipahu. He doesn't have one word about Kukuipahu. Why? Why did the people of Kohala not say anything about Kukuipahu? My hypothesis is that when Pa'ao came and restructured the whole religious political power structure among the ali'i, he created a whole new religious dynasty, a whole new religious structure and he wanted everyone to forget about the past. I believe Pa'ao made Kukuipahu kapu.

Uncle Fred ([01:22:14](#)):

I believe he wanted to erase Kukuipahu from the memories of people in Kohala, from the memories of everybody. So even today, I don't know anybody who can say anything about Kukuipahu. There's still a lot of hypotheses about what it is, when it was built, and so forth. But, why did the people of Kohala not even mention Kukuipahu? Because it wasn't even in their mind, he just erased it. But it's still there, it was so kapu for them to share it, I think they decided they would not share it. I wish we could do more than just hypothesize about this because if you look at Kukuipahu and you look at Mo'okini, they're very close. And there might've been reasons

Uncle Fred ([01:23:37](#)):

why they're that close and why Pa'ao built it at Pu'uepa. Because he wanted Mo'okini Heiau to overshadow, to overwhelm Kukuipahu. The closer you are and the more you overwhelm it, then the power that goes with Kukuipahu, the mana is lost. And this is what I believe Pa'ao was trying

to do. He changed the style of architecture, he built walls, he did so many other things to change and he did not want anyone to even think about this other heiau. Really kapu. But now people like you and others are saying, "Let's go find out more." And unfortunately, Heloke, he never told me. There's not one kupuna in Kohala except Sonny Soloman that said anything to me about Kukuipahu. And Sonny took me up there and we talked a little bit, but it was more just hypotheses. It's a very unusual heiau, Tahiti, and I'm glad you're studying it. I'm anxious to see what you find out.

TAHITI ([01:25:31](#)):

Mahalo. Yes, I'm really stoked to find out more information and present it to the people of Kohala because sites like this, you don't want them to get lost. So mahalo for that 'anakala. Because the heiau is so different, I've read that the heiau has affiliations with other islands in Eastern Polynesia. What is your mana'o on this relationship?

Uncle Fred ([01:26:02](#)):

I think there is a relationship.

Uncle Fred ([01:26:05](#)):

I think that the heiau, there were several migrations that came from the South. From the Marquesas from Tahiti came up to Hawai'i and it was years of inter-travel. So I believe the heiau at Kukuipahu would be very similar to some of the early migrations that came up. If you can study the architecture of heiau in the Marquesas, whether Tahiti and the Tuamotu, I think you might find some similarities between the architecture of Kukuipahu and the architecture of marae in Tahiti, the Tuamotus and the Marquesas. And yes, I believe there is a relationship with South Pacific Islands down there. Yes.

TAHITI ([01:27:25](#)):

Mahalo. I just have one more quick question. I know you mentioned that the name of Kukuipahu or that the people didn't really know that much about it. That information was lost. Kukuipahu is the name I think it's kind of more of a name tagged on to the heiau. But I know that Kukuipahu was an ali'i as well. Does the heiau have any relationship to this ali'i or 'a'ole?

Uncle Fred ([01:27:54](#)):

You know, Ali'i Kukuipahu, he came from that area, it's a huge area. If you look at the ahupua'a of Kukuipahu it's huge. And we know he lost the battle with Kohala i waho against Kohala i loko. Niuli'i and Kukuipahu were fighting and he lost that battle. But I think the name of that heiau probably came from that chief because no one knew what the name was and they gave it a name because it was in that ahupua'a. And it could be because that's where the fiefdom, that was the land area associated with konohiki of Kukuipahu. I think there is a relationship, but that doesn't mean that that's the name of the heiau. I think that's a tag on that came later.

TAHITI ([01:29:23](#)):

Yes, definitely. Mahalo uncle for that 'ike. You really got me thinking about other things that I can look into and research to bring to the people of Kohala. So Mahalo, and I'm going to hand this off to our next haumana.

7/23/2020 Interview with Aunty Lehua and Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui Via Zoom

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:00:00](#)):

That I was working out of the LT (Lili'uokalani Trust) or QLT (Queen Lili'uokalani Trust) office in Waimea doing outreach for KS (Kamehameha Schools). And so, I was using their office space and one of the LT social worker, Jeanette Bento, was hosting a group called Mālama Tūtū, it's for tūtū caregivers - orphan and indigent keiki. In the Mālama Tūtū group, she was also working on genealogy and then there was a genealogist who came from North Kohala, her name is Aunty Darlene Luhiau Badua. Jeanette invited me to be a part of the group and I went to the first meeting, introduced myself, and of course, working on genealogy, we had to say who our 'ohana is so I shared that. Towards the end of the meeting, Aunty Darlene actually pulled me aside and told me that she has information to share about the Kuamo'ō 'Ohana, which is on my great grandmother's side of the family.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:01:24](#)):

My great grandmother is a Kuamo'ō, married to Isaac Keli'ipio, senior. She shared with me that they have been, the Luhiau family, has been caring for the heiau in Kohala for years and just waiting for a member of the Kuamo'ō family to reveal themselves. Aunty Darlene gave me kuleana and she says "Do you know Willie Kuamo'ō?" And she says, "They call him Willie the eye of Kuamo'ō". And she shared with us a story about how the Kuamo'ō 'Ohana were the peacekeepers of the valleys between Pololū and Waipi'ō. I'll share with you more about this later at the heiau when we're actually there on site. But I'm just kind of giving you an overview right now. She shared with me that Kuamo'ō at one time was the kahuna nui of the heiau. And that they, Aunty Darlene, had involved a cousin of mine, Willie Kuamo'ō, who is the eye of Kuamo'ō. I didn't know Willie at the time. So she gave me a kuleana to go find and seek out Willie. This is a long story so I'm trying to condense the story, but, it wouldn't do the story justice if I condensed it. So I called a cousin of mine in Hilo and then asked her if she knew Willie. And she said she doesn't know Willie. But she said, "Uncle Moke and the brother, Kili, work at Malia Puka O Ka Lani Church in Hilo. They take care of the church."

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:03:42](#)):

And so through my cousin, we set up a meeting with Uncle Moke and with Kili. We went to Hilo, to Malia Puka O Ka Lani, in their hall and Uncle Moke had set up huge genealogy charts. On the table in front of us were about a dozen or so genealogy books. He told us the genealogy and shared with us from Kuamo'ō, then Pa'ao, and just all the way down. Basically Uncle Moke said, "This is us and who are you?" I told Uncle Moke, "My mother, Norma Keli'ipio." Right then and there, I could just stop because my mother was born and raised in Keaukaha and they all grew up together. So he immediately knew my mother and from there, I didn't have to say anymore.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:04:52](#)):

Uncle Moke said, "Willie lives by K's Drive-In in Hilo. I'll go and contact Willie, set up the meeting for us." Eventually we met Willie. Jumping forward from meeting Willie, he shared information with us about his caretakership of the heiau and also sharing he had lots of genealogy also. Jumping forward, we actually formed the family foundation, the Kuamo'ō Foundation. At the time though, Willie was not well, he was ill. He was on kidney dialysis and he had other health issues. In one of our family foundation meetings, Willie was sitting across the table from me, Willie had a set of keys that were in front of him. During the meeting, Willie picked up the keys, tossed it across the table, and the set of keys landed right in front of me. In front of family members who

are witnesses, he said that the heiau was his watch for many years and that because we (Aunty Lehua) live on the west side near where the heiau was located. He says, "Now, it's your watch. I passing the watch to you, cousin." I was in shock because I knew the kuleana that was involved, a huge kuleana. That was over 10 years ago. The heiau itself is actually under the State Parks. We are in a curatorship agreement with the State Parks, so basically we just mālama the heiau. Because I'm working from home, Uncle Kanani is usually the one to go up every other week to go cut the grass, trim trees, and do some weeding. Every so often, we do host groups at the heiau. Just this past Saturday night, we were there with some members of Na Kalai Wa'a. So I'm not sure if you're familiar with Pua Lincoln. So Pua was there, Aunty Patty Ann Solomon, and Pua pointed out significant star lines in alignment with the heiau. We never did compass readings or anything like that, but we always had an inkling that the heiau is situated on a North, South, East, West axis. At the heiau on Saturday night, Pua showed us how the red altar on the East side of the heiau is in full alignment with the Southern Cross. There are huge cut stones, or what is scientifically called scoria or red cinder block, that form the Eastern wall of the heiau. One month ago, on the summer solstice, the red cinder wall would have been in direct alignment with the Southern cross. On Saturday, the Southern cross lay on its side, but she said back in a summer solstice, that cross would have been straight up and down. The shape of the Milky Way that evening resembled the shape of the heiau and traveled directly above the heiau. We know the major constellations, but its a totally different experience to be there with someone who knows the alignment to constellations. The Equinox on September 19-21 will be another good time to read the alignments.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:10:29](#)):

During the last hula conference, the heiau was a huaka'i site for Hālauaola. It was going to be a huaka'i site for the Kohala reunion this summer, however, the Kohala reunion was canceled.

La'akea Ai ([00:11:03](#)):

Thank you. First, I want to ask is it just you folks, like, are there other core people that help you? Do you guys have a small hui? Or is it just you two?

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:11:19](#)):

It is basically just the two of us. My son lives in Kona. He's always busy doing something else.

Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui ([00:11:37](#)):

I can say something?

La'akea Ai ([00:11:40](#)):

Yes, please.

Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui ([00:11:40](#)):

My involvement, I got involved because she gets involved, but also because I love heiau. My first love is heiau. It started way back in the sixties with the pyramids of Egypt and also with Pu'ukoholā Heiau. But I love researching pyramids, not only Egypt, but South America, the Mayan, Incan, Aztecs, all that and down back home. So coming back home, I finally got to work at Pu'ukoholā as a Park Aid for nine months with the National Park Service. I did a lot of reading over there being involved with the heiau and the alignments with everything like the pyramids of Egypt. It's all North, South, East, West. It's all astronomically aligned. That's when I started coming back,

looking at all the major heiau, Mo'okini, Waha'ula. They're all lined up. All these connections. So that's why when she (Aunty Lehua) says heiau I said, "Shoots, I'm in!"

Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui ([00:12:54](#)):

Because of the amount of cut stones, it's associated with Marquesan design and it's all low-walled. Keali'i Reichel is also a Kuamo'o family member and we told him about the heiau so he came up. We asked him, "What did you see?" He said, "This is the first heiau that looks back at you, because there are a lot of faces that are carved in the rocks. There's a lot of cut slabs. It's multi-purpose, multi-functional. It is amazing!" Willie Kuamo'o also said "This heiau was built in year one." In other words, he's saying this is older than Mo'okini, this is older than Pa'ao. Even Patrick Kirch, when he came up. He's interested. He wants to come up and do something. They are actually setting something up and coming up to work with some of the students that are looking at this heiau. So yes, this is special. My Kaulukukui family comes from Kohala, on my dad's side. Somebody told me "Your family from Honokānenui. Grandma was born in Kahei." So there's this Kohala connection and it just goes on and on. Bottom line: she (Aunty Lehua) wants to restore this heiau and we're in it. We're working with Tracy Tam Sing and that's the ultimate goal is to restore this heiau to what it used to be.

Aunty Lehua ([00:14:50](#)):

Tracy Tam Sing is the State Archaeologist and we work closely with him. Tracy is the one that introduced us to Pat Kirch. I shared the paper that Pat recently wrote. You all saw that paper, yes? For the Rapa Nui Journal. Pat's take on it was that he sees so many similarities of the marae in Rapa Nui. And he said that it's like a group of people from Rapa Nui came and sailed to Hawai'i and then built the heiau. Where that red scoria is, Pat believes/surmises that it could have even been the royal residence of 'Umi. Because of the amount of cut stones that are there. There's no other heiau I would say in the State of Hawai'i that has that many cut stones. Also where the red scoria is, that's where Pat believes (just ma uka up there) would have been 'Umi's residence. So Pat is wanting to come up not this year, but probably next year, 2021, and then do some test pits to dig down to test his theory.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:16:26](#)):

Tahiti, mahalo for your interest, you're the first intern to take on a project like this for this special wahi kūpuna. We have never worked with an intern before or hosted an intern for the heiau. It was actually Natalie Kurashima that gave us the mana'o of perhaps an intern can do the research on the 'ōlelo Hawai'i research of anything connected or associated with the heiau. Will that be your area of focus, Tahiti? I'm not sure?

Tahiti Ahsam ([00:17:07](#)):

Basically I'm just looking at different online resources, pulling in anything that ties into the Kukuipahu Heiau. My goal is to create like a digital resource for your hui to utilize that has all this information that I've uncovered about the heiau through like online accessible, publicly accessible databases.

La'akea Ai ([00:17:47](#)):

I was just going to say, we only have Tahiti for a short amount of time. Her internship technically ends with us around next week, but we have her a little bit into the fall semester. But we're really trying to help her again to go through all of these resources and just find exactly where we get any

Kukuipahu hits. Even if maybe she can't go through every nūpepa that we find, but at least we'll have a list of where you can find all of the nūpepa that have information about Kukuipahu in it.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:18:25](#)):

In your research, Tahiti, Kukuipahu is the ahupua'a and also a king of Kohala. However, there has been documentation that the name of the heiau is Ku'upapaulau. K U U P A P A U L A U. Ku'upapaulau. So you might want to look at that also. There are mo'olelo pertaining to Kukuipahu ahupua'a such as Kepakailiula. There are mo'olelo that state that certain individuals were trained in the art of ho'opāpā in the Kukuipahu ahupua'a. The only logical place that this would happen would be at the only major heiau. And then you'll also find that there is documentation that the heiau is dedicated to Kānenuiākea. Kānenuiākea being one to elevate intelligence. I've also found native testimony too for my great tūtū Kuamo'o being there at Kukuipahu also. How long is your internship again? Three months?

Tahiti Ahsam ([00:20:36](#)):

No, it's almost ending. So the internship is four weeks because of the whole COVID thing. And they had to condense it an online format. But I'll still be working on the research and the paper beyond the time scheduled out for the WKIP internship specifically. It ends pretty soon.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:21:09](#)):

What date?

La'akea Ai ([00:21:14](#)):

So, technically all the interns end with us next week. Friday is their last day. Then we have a hō'ike scheduled a couple of weeks after that. But they're doing this internship as a dual credit for college classes. So it's going to continue into the Fall semester. Their research is supposed to continue, but we're just not going to be able to meet with them every single day. We will still be guiding them throughout the next couple of months until they complete their research.

Aunty Lehua ([00:21:52](#)):

Okay.

La'akea Ai ([00:21:52](#)):

We're hoping one day that if everything's clear that we can all come to Kohala, fingers crossed.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:21:59](#)):

Yes.

Uncle Kanani ([00:21:59](#)):

That'd be great, even though this is an internship. Right now, there's just a certain period of time, but knowledge is always ongoing like I'm seventy and I'm still learning. So never stop because this is a very unique site and the more you know and continue because we'll always be here as long as we can. Walk around, go up there, cut the grass, and do whatever. Stay in touch, not because your internship ends. I mean, it's not pau. It's never pau. So don't be afraid to contact us at any time.

Like Aunty Lehua was saying, we want to see that thing come to fruition. Even it takes the next 10, 15 years. It's going to go. Even Peter Vitousek, we took him up to the Kohala field system and he said the field systems starts there at Kukuipahu and works its way over. So you have all these individuals coming and adding stuff, finding out, this is major, this is big time. Continue on, no give up, no stop!

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:23:16](#)):

Mahalo for that. I say you have to come up, you know?

Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui ([00:23:21](#)):

Yes, you have to experience the place.

La'akea Ai ([00:23:25](#)):

I know that we'd have a much better experience interviewing you right now if we were walking around the heiau. I wish we could have, but this is the second best thing that we can do right now.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:23:41](#)):

Oh, the other story is the story of Kaipalaoa and then there's another one. Did you find those stories, Tahiti, in your research? Kepakailiula, Kaipalaoa, and there's another one too.

Tahiti Ahsam ([00:23:57](#)):

Yes, I found the Kaipalaoa one when they went to Kukuipahu's wife to learn the art of ho'opāpā.

Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui ([00:24:03](#)):

And also Aunty Lehua was uniki as a kumu hula up at Kukuipahu Heiau, because that also ties into Lohiau and Hi'iaka. After he got killed the second time by Pele, Hi'iaka resurrected him. According to Aunty Darlene's oral family history, they lived the rest of their life up at Kukuipahu. So the pā, that's there it's like a pā hula. That's where he would play his pahu and she would dance. So that has a significance to do with hula also. And if you look at the heiau it's multi-functional.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:25:00](#)):

Kukuipahu Heiau has a connection with Lapakahi. The art of healing was practiced at both locations. Within the heiau, there are several different rooms and one of the rooms was for birthing practices. It is the only major heiau within the Kukuipahu ahupua'a and within the entire Kohala field system.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:25:00](#)):

Auntie Darlene's family name is Luhiau, but it changed over time. They're actually the family of Lohiau. Her tūtū had a hale in one corner of the heiau and was one of the caretakers. So that oral family history that uncle just shared with you about Hi'iaka and Lohiau, that's their family oral history, which I had shared with Aunty Pua Kanaka'ole Kanahale. Aunty Pua said that all of those family oral history stories are very, very important. Even though the story that we know of today does not include that portion, she said that all the family stories are true, viable, and needs to be

documented. Tahiti, I hope you can document that too, because I have not documented that. And it would be perfect since you are doing the research to include Auntie Darlene's mo'olelo.

Tahiti Ahsam ([00:26:56](#)):

Yes, of course. I will honor that request.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:27:01](#)):

Mahalo, I appreciate that.

Tahiti Ahsam ([00:27:15](#)):

Mahalo for sharing. I've been pulling different resources, but from hearing what you have to say, your 'ike and mana'o really gives me more to look into and find different things that maybe I couldn't have really gathered from pieces by itself. Mahalo for that.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:27:49](#)):

Family mo'olelo, those are like jewels, little treasures that you're not going to find anywhere. My cousin Willie told us that there's protocol to approach and enter the heiau. You start at the ocean, you kapu kai, then you take the old trail coming up to the heiau, then you oli kâhea, and then come into this sacred space. Right below the heiau, there's an ancient, old village that has a unique way of how they collected water. Like uncle mentioned with Peter Vitousek who did research on the Kohala field system, came up with his wife and he actually showed us right outside the heiau, on the north side, is where the Kohala field system starts. And then we took a little hike there and showed us where it's the only major heiau within the field system itself. So, like uncle said, that it had to be multi-functional at different points in time. Probably having to be connected with agriculture because of the field system. And then there's a birthing room and that will not be in any mo'olelo. Aunty Darlene said that there was a stone that the wahine would lie on top to give birth, but that stone has now been taken.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:33:46](#)):

It's just that you have to come and experience. And Uncle can describe all but you have to be there to see it. And how funny because as we're on this Zoom call the State archaeologist is calling me and texting me.

Aunty Lehua & Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui ([00:34:09](#)):

Laughing

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:34:09](#)):

So something is in alignment here.

La'akea Ai ([00:34:19](#)):

Tahiti, do you have any more questions?

Tahiti Ahsam ([00:34:21](#)):

Yes, because you went over-- you just give so much rich 'ike, you kind of covered a lot of my questions that I wanted to ask already. But through my research, this heiau isn't mentioned in Stokes list of heiau and it's very briefly mentioned in earlier archaeological documents. What is your mana'o on this? Do you believe it's because maybe the community didn't want to share this information? Was it kapu or perhaps they didn't remember or know enough information at the time?

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:35:10](#)):

I think it's a combination of all of that. The heiau is only accessible through locked gates. And so therefore, because all of the gates are locked, it's kind of just out of sight, out of mind. There are lots of Kohala people, born and raised in Kohala, that say, "There's one heiau up there, somewhere." But they don't really know anything about it. For Aunty Darlene, who's been with the heiau for quite some time, she is actually hesitant. In the very beginning, Aunty Darlene was hesitant about sharing the heiau with groups and with the community. We kind of had to help coax her out of that.

Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui ([00:36:57](#)):

Also maybe I can tell about Kuamo'o. This can probably help answer your question. There was a priest called Kuamo'o who came to Kohala. So the Kuamo'o was up at Kukuipahu Heiau. There's a story with Kamehameha growing up, he was brought up in 'Awini and he was being protected. He comes and learns, from the Kuamo'o line, on how you do things because the Kuamo'o had this ability, they call it the 'eye of Kuamo'o' to be able to just look at you and they can drop you where you stand. They don't have to touch you. So Kamehameha goes, he learns from them, but he fails the test. He says, "Sorry, you can't continue, so you have to go." He goes to Ke'ei and meets up with Kekuhaupi'o. Now everybody knows that story, but he wants knows the secret of the Kuamo'o line. Kuamo'o leaves Kohala and moves to Puna. So a lot of Kuamo'o now, they say when you ask them "Where your family line from?" They say, "Puna." Technically, no. He said, "You're from Kohala because originally you were Kuamo'o, they're the priests."

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:38:56](#)):

Aunty Darlene has been there throughout the times that stones were taken from the heiau and they're very, very unique stones. And so that's another reason why Aunty Darlene did not want to open the heiau up to a lot of people because unique features of the heiau have ended up missing. We went down to one house in Alalai, just right below the gas station in Kohala in Hāwī town and Aunty Darlene believes that the stones of this home's driveway and also part of their staircase going up, were all stones that were taken from the heiau. So that's another reason why that Auntie Darlene just didn't want people to come.

Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui ([00:40:01](#)):

Sometimes it's good that it's landlocked, it's in the ranch, and there's limited access.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:40:20](#)):

There are people that walk in also, and Aunty Darlene was saying that people were leaving their trash there and there are no facilities there so you'd find toilet paper or whatever it is. I look forward to the day, Tahiti, when we all can meet there. I look forward to that day. Anytime you'd like go, just let us know. I mean, we don't have to wait until semester or hō'ike.

Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui ([00:41:04](#)):

So if I'm retired, I'm open. Lehua's now working from home, we can make the time. Doesn't matter what the day, just let us know when you can and we can make it happen.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:41:15](#)):

So where are you guys located?

Tahiti Ahsam ([00:41:16](#)):

Now, I'm on Maui in Lahaina. But I'm going back to Hilo for school, so I'll be in the Big Island pretty soon.

La'akea Ai ([00:41:32](#)):

I'm on O'ahu.

Kaile Luga ([00:41:34](#)):

I'm on O'ahu.

Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui ([00:41:37](#)):

You're spread out.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:41:38](#)):

Where are you from Kaile?

Kaile Luga ([00:41:42](#)):

I'm from Waipi'o, O'ahu from Mililani area.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:41:46](#)):

Oh my goodness. I thought you were all here on Hawai'i Island. Well when you come up, we have to do a video and then share it with you guys or something.

La'akea Ai ([00:42:07](#)):

Yes, please. We look forward to it. But again, thank you guys for being so 'olu'olu and for agreeing to meet with us and sharing all of your wonderful and scary and giving me goosebumps kind of experiences that you guys have. And I know that we all look forward to the day that we can come and visit. Hopefully soon, as soon as all of this is over and we can bring our interns and everybody that's learning about Kohala can see the space. Tahiti keeps talking about every single time we all get together.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:42:45](#)):

Tahiti will you be on Island on September 19th during the equinox?

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:42:53](#)):

We go up nighttime to see the star lines. So if you can, please join us.

Tahiti Ahsam ([00:43:11](#)):

I would love to come up and go to the heiau during the time of the equinox and see how they line up, because it's really interesting to me. I feel that's such a vital important piece of the heiau.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:43:31](#)):

We could actually meet there, prior to sunset in the afternoon. It's really nice, not too hot. It's a good time to visit in the afternoon when the sun is setting and then we can just stay until nighttime. What we do is we have dinner up there. So we all just bring something to share and I know it's kind of different in time of COVID now.

Uncle Kanani Kaulukukui ([00:44:00](#)):

Bring something for you, come up, and just share. It's going to be a sharing time and everybody has something to share. I'm sure you have a lot to share too. And when you're up there, that heiau makes you talk. We have a lot of people that's like "Oh there's something spooky about this." No, it's only spooky if you make it spooky. The heiau will let you know. We have guys come up there, they just walk to the gate and they're crying already because it speaks to them. It will speak to you.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:44:37](#)):

Even the members of Nā Kālai Wa'a, they're either from Kohala or roots in Kohala, but live in Waimea. First time to the heiau this past Saturday, and they said, "The energy is really good." These Nā Kalai Wa'a people, they take care of the navigational heiau at Mahukona. They're ma'a.

La'akea Ai ([00:45:13](#)):

Mahalo. Anything else you wanted to ask or say, Tahiti, before we go?

Tahiti Ahsam ([00:45:21](#)):

I just wanted to say mahalo nui for coming and sharing with us and being so'olu'olu. Trying your best to provide me with more information and to help get this resource out to all of you.

Aunty Lehua Kaulukukui ([00:45:43](#)):

And you know Tahiti, this is really important for us, the work that you're doing. So we mahalo you too. The State archaeologist, Tracy, he's actually working on the AIS right now for the heiau, which our ultimate goal is first stabilization and then restoration. And so your work will probably be included in the AIS when we go for stabilization and restoration for the heiau. I just cannot thank you enough for the work that you're doing. It's important. We know that it's going to take a lot of work and funding and all of that, but according to Pat Kirch, he says don't worry about funding. He knows funding sources. So it's an exciting time going forward now for the heiau.