

Hewa

The Wrong Way of Living

Malcolm Nāea Chun

Ka Wana Series



Pihana Nā Mamo

Heiwa

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Curriculum Research & Development Group
University of Hawai'i

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The Wrong Way of Living

Ka 'Ōlelo Mua

Foreword

For more than fifteen years, Pihana Nā Mamo, a project funded by the U.S. Department of Education through the Native Hawaiian Education Act, has been actively involved with Hawai'i Department of Education schools in improving educational results for Hawaiian children and youth. We have witnessed the powerful role that our rich Hawaiian culture and heritage, and in particular the revival of interest in Native Hawaiian culture and the desire to practice Hawaiian customs appropriately, play in motivating our students to learn and excel.

The first step to ensure such an outcome is to gain a deeper understanding of the historical and cultural basis for the many Hawaiian customs and traditions. To this end, Malcolm Nāea Chun, a cultural specialist with the Curriculum Research & Development Group (CRDG) of the University of Hawai'i, has researched and compiled valuable information on several Hawaiian cultural traditions and practices.

Chun intentionally chose *Heʻewa* to be the last volume in the *Ka Wana* series. He wanted to show, first, the many positive aspects of Hawaiian culture as Dr. Donald Kilohana Mitchell did when he chose to highlight several Hawaiian arts and crafts, such as kapa making, that surpassed those of other Pacific Island cultures.

However, Chun also wanted us to know that, as is the case with other cultures, there are faults and frailties to be found in Hawaiian culture, which is neither perfect nor paradise found. He stresses, throughout the *Ka Wana* series, the importance of being pono as an ideal—a goal we should strive for—and he notes how we all fall short of it at times, which is why we have

a process called ho‘oponopono to restore us to a state of being pono. In that process, he tells us, failure is not an end, but can be a positive point both for life learning and for forgiveness.

Hewa is a disturbing subject, but it is a subject we need to know about fully. In the examples given here, we can clearly see cultural responses, reactions that we still see today, particularly in response to shame and humiliation. We need to understand the roots of abuse—physical, mental, and emotional—if we are to heal oppressed people and cultures, especially each other, oppressor and oppressed.

Chun pointed out in *Ola* and *Ho‘oponopono* that to be able to heal or restore yourself, someone else, or a family, you need to recognize the root problem, not merely the symptoms. How can we recognize pono in ourselves if we do not know what we did as hewa?

This book is part of the Ka Wana series, a set of publications developed through Pihana Nā Mamo and designed to assist parents, teachers, students, and staff in their study and modern-day application of Hawaiian customs and traditions.

Pihana Nā Mamo is a joint project of the CRDG and the Hawai‘i Department of Education, and production of the Ka Wana series represents the work of many collaborators. Mahalo to the many who have assisted in the production of *Hewa*: Project Co-Directors Gloria S. Kishi and Hugh H. Dunn; the Pihana Nā Mamo ‘ohana of the Hawai‘i Department of Education and the Curriculum Research & Development Group, College of Education, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, and the U.S. Department of Education, which provided the funding for Pihana Nā Mamo.

Morris K. Lai, Principal Investigator
Pihana Nā Mamo

‘Ōlelo Ha‘i Mua

Preface

Do you believe I'm wearing a kukui lei?
It's Hawaiian in looks—it's plastic made in Hong Kong.
That's what became of a lot of our beliefs.
I wore this on purpose. I wanted you to know this is kukui nut.
It's not kukui nut, but it's Hawaiian, but it's Hawaiian made in
Hong Kong of plastic, and that's the way a lot of our beliefs
and customs have become.
attributed to Mary Kawena Pukui



Cultural revival and identification have gone beyond academic and intellectual arguments to a reality in communities and families and are now part of the political landscape of the islands. In asking the question “Who are we?” people are really asking how they see the world differently from others and how this affects the way they make decisions. These are questions about a people’s world view—how they see the world around them, and ultimately, how they see themselves.

In the 1960s, social workers at the Queen Lili‘uokalani Children’s Center, a trust created to benefit orphaned and destitute Native Hawaiian children, began to notice behaviors of their children and families that were quite different from the textbook cases they had studied in school. In response, the center initiated a project to identify Hawaiian cultural and social practices and behaviors, and to study them as they contrasted

with their Western counterparts. The impact and influence of the resulting books, entitled *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, are still felt in Native Hawaiian communities, where the books are now a standard reference.

By 1992 *Nānā I Ke Kumu* was considered historical information, and as the cultural specialist for the Queen Lili‘uokalani Children’s Center, I became involved in a project to update it. We were still seeing cases that involved Hawaiian cultural practices and behaviors foreign to both Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian workers that needed to be considered in any programs designed to help. We were having to re-adapt traditional healing practices like ho‘oponopono to accommodate changes such as family schedules, misunderstanding or not knowing Hawaiian language and concepts, and having non-Hawaiian family members. We realized that there was, once again, a great need for a series that would examine, in depth, key concepts and values for Native Hawaiians to understand and practice today.

This series is intended to fill that need. Each title is supported by historical and cultural examples taken from our oral and written literature, in most cases directly from primary sources that recorded how Hawaiians acted, reacted, responded, and behaved in different situations. Our goal is to make this knowledge more accessible to teachers, parents, and students.

Knowing how our ancestors behaved begs the question of whether we are doing the same. If we are practicing our culture in a way similar to how they did, then we know that Hawaiian culture is very much alive today. If we do things differently, we have to ask if those changes have been to our benefit, and whether we can reclaim what has been forgotten, lost, or suppressed.



The king was the one who did wrong, but fault was put on an innocent person. Perhaps the king's conscience within him knew that what he had done was wrong and that he should repent, thus shortening the matter and letting it end.

John Papa 'Īī

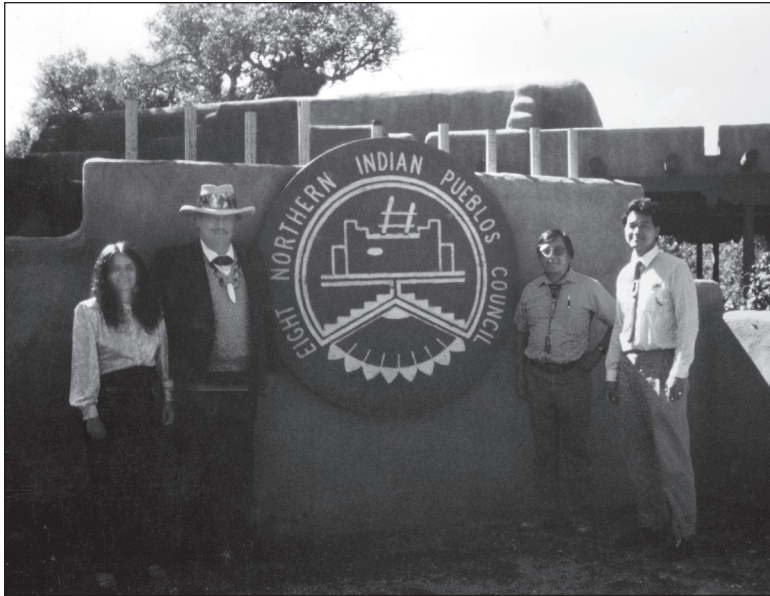
Though he alone was thought to have committed the misdeed, the whole family was held guilty.

John Papa 'Īī



In 1985 I had the opportunity to travel with Moses Keale, Sr., chairman of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), to visit the northern Pueblo (Tewa) peoples. New federal funds were being released for a Native Hawaiian arts and crafts program, and we went to New Mexico to visit their similarly funded program in Santa Fe. After lunch with representatives of the Eight Northern Pueblos, they informed us that there was a celebration beyond the mesas, in the mountains at Taos. They said there was a traditional Native Hawaiian dance group being honored there. Before we left, one of them told us, half jesting and half warning, to beware of the clowns, the *koshare*, during the celebrations as they tended to pick on the obvious tourists.

We got to Taos Pueblo and saw the crowd gathered in a very large semicircle at the main plaza. I spotted the Hawaiians sitting down on the dirt on the other side of the circle. We heard loud laughter and shouting, and a cry of anguish. The clowns had



The author and Moses Keale (in his Tahitian baby palm hat) with staff of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

entered the crowd, and one had put a large watermelon up the shirt of an unsuspecting tourist to make him look pregnant. The clowns were painted in black and white stripes, and some had two long pointed tips on their heads. As they came along the semicircle, that's when Moses indicated it was time to go. He had his beautiful, white, Tahitian baby palm hat on, and it was not going to a clown.

The tradition of clowns and clowning around is found in many Native American cultures. Some traditions speak of this group as formerly being a very powerful priesthood that did something wrong and, thereafter, had to lead a life of misbehavior or doing things backwards. At these feast days, their task of comedy, sometimes becoming very pointed abuse, is to point out, by providing a mirror image of the world, how things really

should be done. If their victims know the difference between good and bad behavior, then their shame is revealed through embarrassment, and the public display might be all that is needed to have misbehavior corrected. In Hawai'i, we don't have the role of clowns in our traditions, but we do have some characters who acted like clowns or tricksters.

We find tricksters, such as the coyote or rabbit in the southwest United States, in indigenous cultures throughout the world. Tricksters are a little bit different than clowns. Their bad behavior is more likely to be intentional. They not only use trickery to get what they want; they lie, deceive, cheat, and even seem to do magical feats.

The stories in Hawai'i most closely belonging to this form are the traditions Beckwith called "kupua stories." She wrote that they had "a regular pattern" (404).

The kupua is born in some nonhuman form, but detected and saved by his grandparents, generally on the mother's side, who discern his divine nature. He is precocious, becomes speedily a great eater, predatory and mischievous. (404)

Even though she states that "Kupua stories are admittedly fiction, although often credited as fact" (404), we recognize that causes for the child's bad behavior range from rejection at birth to identification with a missing parent, in these cases the father. What is thought of as rascal or mischievous behavior inherent to the child, what some today would call "acting up," is evidently based upon the child's early experiences trying to establish some sense of belonging and relationship to others.

The tradition of 'Ōpelemoemoe and his son, Kalelealuaka, is one of these kupua stories. The son's bad behavior and tricks are a

sign of his vying for attention that underscores his deep desire to know who his father is and, therefore, who he is himself.

Hele aku la keia [Opelemoemoe] a hiki i ka wahine, noho iho la laua, a hala he mau anahulu, hapai ka wahine i ke keiki.

I loko o keia wa, olelo aku o Opelemoemoe: “E, ke hoi nei au i Oahu; eia ka‘u kauoha ia oe, i hanau ae he keiki kane, kapa oe i kona inoa, o Kalelealuaka, a i manao e imi ae ia‘u, eia ka maka la, he ihe.” Noho aku la ka wahine o Kalikookalauae, a hanau he keiki kane, kapa iho la i ka inoa o Kalelealuaka, hanai iho la a nui. He keu ke kolohe a me ka eu; mimi iho la kela i ka umeke a me ka ipukai, pela ka hana mau ana. Nolaila, lele aku ka makuakane kolea papai ia Kalelealuaka, uwe kela a olelo aku ia Kalikookalauae ka makuahine: “Ea! E kuu makuahine, e hai mai oe i ko‘u makuakane;” hoole aku ka makuahine, aole ou makuakane e ae, o kou makuakane iho la no ia. No ke koi pinepine o Kalelealuaka i ka makuahine, e hai mai i kona makuakane. Hai aku o Kalikookalauae ia Kalelealuaka: “Ae, he makuakane kou, o Opelemoemoe ka inoa. (Fornander, 1918, 171)

‘Opelemoemoe went to the woman and they lived together. After several weeks (anahulu) had passed she was pregnant with child.

During that time ‘Opelemoemoe said, “Oh, I have to go back to O‘ahu. I have to tell you this, if a boy is born give him the name of Kalelealuaka, and when he wants to find me this is the sign of my love for him, a spear.” This woman, Kaliliko‘okalaua‘e remained there, and she gave birth to a son and called him Kalelealuaka and raised him up until he was mature. But he was a rascal full of energy. He even urinated in the food bowls and did all sorts of things like that. Therefore his stepfather (makuakane kolea) beat Kalelealuaka, and he cried and spoke to his mother, Kaliliko‘okalaua‘e. “Mom! Tell me who my real father is.” His mother refused to and told him he had no other father

but his stepfather. Kalelealuaka didn't give up and kept asking his mother until she finally told him who his real father was. Kaliliko'okalaua'e told Kalelealuaka, "Yes, you have a real father whose name is 'Ōpelemoemoe. (Author's translation)

The most renowned kupua in Hawaiian traditions is Māui, whom Martha Warren Beckwith, first anthropologist-folklorist in the islands to study and translate traditional Hawaiian stories, named as our master trickster. Later, in 1955, her successor in the field, Katherine Luomala, renamed Māui as a "South Sea Superman." She gave this description of this pan-Polynesian kupua or demi-god.

When the world was still new, Maui turned the already hide-bound social order topsyturvy, and according to the insulted gods, he tried to dissolve the entire physical and social universe into its original chaos. His exasperated parents, who thought him a bad boy, called him with obvious restraint "that nasty joker" and "that revolting child." His lawlessness made him so unpopular in his village that he finally had to move to the underworld until gossip and anger died away. The gods, who had long since abandoned him, were as anxious as the villagers about what to expect next from this semidivine juvenile delinquent who tried to usurp their power and privileges and whose misbehavior was on a cosmic scale. The gods were disturbed because Maui had learned magic from them after they had rescued him, an ugly misbirth cast away by his mother with a prayer, and had tenderly reared him until he decided to return to the earth to seek his mother and other relatives. Maui spent his brief but eventful life in trying to prove to the gods that he knew more magic than they did and in trying to impress the homefolks by his adventures. Instead, he angered and alarmed everyone, until at last only a flock of silly, chattering little birds would have anything to do with him. (85)



Some of Māui's feats are well known, while others are less well known. This print by Dietrich Varez shows Māui lassoing the sun in order to slow it down. Courtesy of Bishop Museum.

We are all too familiar with the acts of Māui: snaring the sun to slow down the day, fishing up the islands, or obtaining fire because all of these helped our ancestors' miserable plight. Those stories have been told and retold, especially in children's books. They play to our desire to see the lowly triumphing over the mighty and powerful. However, Māui's epic tradition involved other feats as well. He also separated the sky and earth. He rescued his mother from an eel, and his wife from an eight-eyed bat. He had to be rescued from being sacrificed by his mother and younger sibling. These stories, and there are many variants of them, make Māui seem like the Superman we are more familiar with who is there to look after and protect the weak and lowly. But Māui is no Clark Kent, and the story of his death, which comes because he had made himself "unpopular with his tricks" (Beckwith 233), underscores his motivation for all these feats—his need to receive attention and a sense of belonging, perhaps even love, that he misses from his relatives.

Maui goes to live in Hilo on Hawaii and makes himself unpopular with his tricks. He one day visits the home of Kane and Kanaloa and their party at Alakahi in Waipio valley and attempts to spear with a sharp stick the bananas they are roasting by the fire. He is detected and his brains dashed out. They color the side of Alakahi peak and tinge red the shrimps in the stream. A rainbow is formed of his blood. (Beckwith 233–234)

Examining what happens in the stories of Māui's feats sheds a little more light on why Luomala uses the term juvenile delinquency to describe Māui's use of his super powers.

Obtaining fire from the mud hens is his first feat. He first had to catch one of them, and then to threaten the little bird to convince it to reveal the secret. He then "rubs a red streak on the mud hen's head out of revenge for her trickery before letting the bird escape" (Beckwith 230).

His second feat is to slow down the sun by lassoing the sun's rays until eventually the sun has to plead for its life. In one version of the story, after accomplishing his task Māui “then turns to punish Moemoe, who has derided his effort. Moemoe flees until overtaken north of Lahaina, where he is transformed into the long rock beside the road today” (Beckwith 231).

When Māui goes fishing with his brothers they hook a giant fish in order to make the islands one. In some versions a canoe bailer found floating on the water is involved, which turns into a beautiful woman. In one version, Māui's mother had warned about this bailer; however, he picks it up anyway, causing his brothers to turn and look, and resulting in the fish getting away and islands not being united (Beckwith 232).

In the West Maui versions, Māui's mother and her young child, who is an owl, come to rescue Māui from being offered as a sacrifice. His half-brother, the owl, gets Māui and sets him free so that Māui's mother “sits down, covers him with her clothing and pretends to pick fleas. Thus he is saved” (Beckwith 231). In the O'ahu versions, it is Māui who saves his wife from the eight-eyed bat, Pe'ape'amakawalu. Māui “cuts off the chief's head and flies away with his wife to Oahu, where he drains all eight of the bat's eyes in a cup of awa” (Beckwith 233).

In the traditions, Māui may punish the mud hens for deceiving him by rubbing the bird's forehead so hard it turns red, but in the following stories of the chiefs the violence has deadly results, and they are playing for keeps. We see in these traditions how the concept of hewa intensifies from mischief and misbehavior of a child to deceit and plotting, jealousy, and physical violence of adults.

Several generations before the 1779 arrival of Captain James Cook on the island of Hawai'i, these mythical traditions of

kupua, younger and older brothers, and tricksters entered historical reality when the paramount chief Līloa had another son, whom he named ‘Umi.

‘Umi had been conceived through an affair with a woman named ‘ĀkahiaKuleana. As if patterned after the ‘Ōpelemoemoe story, Līloa had left her with child and with personal items to symbolize his paternity: his own clothes, whale’s tooth pendant, and war club.

Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau tells us that Davida Malo recorded an early, perhaps the earliest, written account of ‘Umi while they were members of the first Hawaiian Historical Society in Lāhaināluna (Malo xiv–xv). This is Malo’s account.

While he [Līloa] was staying there, he went to bathe in the stream of Kahoea, This area is close to Kealakaha. He found ‘Akahi[a]Kuleana there. She was coming back from bathing to purify herself as she was over her period. (Later she was to join her husband, that was the way women of that time did things) and her female kauwā stayed at the embankment of the water to bring her pā‘ū (*clothing*).

Līloa saw a beautiful woman and Līloa desired this woman. He seized her and said, “We must sleep together.” The woman saw Līloa and consented.

The two slept together and when they were finished sleeping, Līloa saw that she had been menstruating (*pohā*). Līloa asked this woman, “Say, are you not menstruating?” She said, “Yes, I am. I have been for a while (‘o ko‘u mau ana maila nō ia.)”

Līloa said to her, “You are probably pregnant.” She thought so, too. Then Līloa asked her, “Who are you? What is your name?” She told him, “I am ‘Akahi[a]Kuleana. My parent is Kuleanakapiko.” Līloa said, “Then you may be a ‘sister’ of mine.” And she said, “That may be so.”

Then Liloa instructed her about the child, “If the child born is ours, if it is a girl, well, you will name her after your side, but if it is a boy, then you will call him ‘Umi.’”

‘AkahiaKuleana said, “What will be their [the boy or girl’s] sign that will readily indicate that they are your children as an ali‘i?”

Liloa gave [her] his malo (*loin cloth*), his niho palaoa (*Whale’s tooth pendant*) and his club, saying, “These are the sign of our child and when he or she grows up, you will give these things to him or her.” Then, ‘AkahiaKuleana agreed to Liloa(s) instruction and ‘AkahiaKuleana gave [the objects] to her kauwā to take care of the symbols of Liloa to be given to the child.

When this conversation was over, Liloa went and made a Kī leaf malo for himself and he put it on.

When he returned to his hale, his people saw that he was wearing a Kī leaf malo and not his own malo. They said, “Liloa has gone mad. He does not have his own malo on. He is wearing a Kī leaf malo.”

Liloa stayed there until the relaxing of the kapu of the heiau [Maninini] was complete. Then he returned to Waipi‘o to his permanent residence.

After these days, ‘AkahiaKuleana was indeed pregnant with ‘Umi. Her real husband thought that it was his child and he did not know that the child was Liloa(s).

When the child was born, the mother named him, ‘Umi, because that is what Liloa wanted the child to be called after he had conceived (wai kō ai) the child [with ‘AkahiaKuleana].

This child, ‘Umi was raised up until he was mature. It was said when ‘Umi(s) [step] father [the husband of

‘AkahiaKuleana] went to farm and came back that he found ‘Umi had eaten up all the food, so he beat ‘Umi up.

‘Umi was beaten by his step-father (ka makua kōlea ona) as ‘Umi had eaten up all the food, i‘a (*f/sb*) and everything else. The step-father abused him (hana ‘ino), because he thought that he was the real father of the boy. ‘Umi was very depressed as was ‘Akahiakuleana at ‘Umi(s) beatings.

Therefore, ‘Umi secretly asked ‘AkahiaKuleana, “Do I have another father? Is this my only father?”

‘AkahiaKuleana told him, “Your father is in Waipi‘o. His name is Liloa.” ‘Umi said, “I must go to my [real] father.” His mother said, “Yes, you should go.”

When ‘Umi had eaten all the food, the step-father again beat him up. Then ‘AkahiaKuleana said, “My husband, this is not your son you are beating.”

Her husband was angry and sarcastically said, “Who is the father of your son, is it Liloa?” ‘AkahiaKuleana said, “Yes, Liloa is [the father] of my son.”

The husband said, “Where are the signs that this child is Liloa(s)? This is my son, because you are my wife.”

‘AkahiaKuleana called her kauwā, “Bring [me] the objects of Liloa(s) that were left for ‘Umi.”

‘AkahiaKuleana said to her husband, “Now do you know who the father of the child is.” And he saw [the objects and realized] that he was not the father of the child.

After this conversation, ‘AkahiaKuleana carefully advised ‘Umi about his journey to Waipi‘o to [see] Liloa.

‘AkahiaKuleana put Liloa(s) malo on ‘Umi. She place the palaoa on ‘Umi and [gave him] the club. (198–200)

Like ‘Ōpelemoemoe, ‘Umi is mistreated and abused by his stepfather. He asks his mother if he has another father, and even after he is claimed by Līloa, ‘Umi still has to endure the abuse of his older half-brother, Hākau. Malo does not give us a lot of details about the relationship between the two brothers, but he does say “His [Hākau’s] na’au (*lit., intestines, fig., heart*) was angry at ‘Umi. Hākau spoke rudely to ‘Umi while Līloa was still alive. Līloa was sadden[ed] for ‘Umi because of Hākau(s) anger.” Malo also tells us that “Hākau mistreated ‘Umi so that he could drive ‘Umi away” (202). A good portion of the tradition now is devoted to how ‘Umi is able to emerge from obscurity to claim the chieftdom and triumph over Hākau, and it is this part of ‘Umi’s story that is mostly remembered today. Beckwith placed him among the “usurping chiefs” (389). Anthropologist Valerio Valeri recognizes that ‘Umi’s life starts off as “an impure but extraordinary birth. His powers are manifested at first in the form of disordered, ‘mischievous’ behavior” (278). Valeri also describes ‘Umi as “the usurper and conqueror par excellence” (211). ‘Umi’s story is of “the conquering enemy” transformed into a “legitimate king” (279).

This interpretation of a political struggle is important, too, but I do not believe it is the most compelling reason to tell this story, unless you happen to be the younger relative of a weak ruler. ‘Umi’s story is important because it is about relationships: his relationship with his mother and stepfather, establishing a relationship with his biological father, with his half-brother, with his friends and allies, and more importantly, with himself by discovering his own identity.

This type of tradition is not new. It is the same story that has enraptured adults and young adults alike in Tolkien’s *Lord of the Rings* trilogy and that thrills young readers in Rowling’s *Harry Potter* series.

Like them, ‘Umi’s story is also about doing the right thing. I don’t believe ‘Umi set out to overturn the prevailing order of things as Māui did. ‘Umi was not out to destroy his older bother. In Kamakau’s version of the story, Hākau actually started his reign well-intentioned and “lived a just life.” But then he changed.

After Liloa’s death, Hakau took over the government, and the chief [‘Umi] lived under him. In the first years of his reign Hakau observed the teachings of his father, the kahunas, and counselors, and lived a just life. [. . .] But in the later years of his rule he was lost in pleasure, mistreated the chiefs, beat those who were not guilty of any wrongdoing, and abused the priests of the heiaus of his god and the chiefs of his own government. ‘Umi was also abused by Hakau and was called the child of a low-born slave. [. . .] Hakau was jealous because ‘Umi-a-Liloa was handsome and good. (1992, 9–10)

Eventually, he developed into an abusive leader to his loyal followers, as demonstrated by the following event that caused two of his own priests to turn against him.

At one time the old men, Nunu and Ka-kohe, were indisposed through taking a purge. They sent a man to ask Hakau to send them food, fish, and ‘awa. Hakau answered with insulting words, reviling them in such a way as to humiliate them. The old men began to plot to give the kingdom to someone else. (Kamakau, 1992, 12)

After remaining there a few days the old men went home pretending friendship for their lord and nursing hatred and grudge in their hearts. Nunu and Ka-kohe were high priests of the priestly class of Lono. (Kamakau, 1992, 14)

Abuse, mistreatment, unnecessary beatings, and jealousy are the causes that legitimized 'Umi's violent overthrow of his older brother and later invoked fear in high chiefs about the potential danger of younger relatives.

Some of the causes of 'Umi's difficult relationship with his older brother are to be found in this excerpt from the paragraphs Davida Malo uses to describe the term hewa in his chapter concerning what was hewa and pono.

3. If the eyes of a person see something to covet, but the heart does not desire it, then the hewa will not remain (pili). But when the eyes see something and the heart desires it, then the thought will increase there [in the heart]. The source of this is kuko (*desire*), li'a (*a strong desire*), ulukū (*nervousness*), ho'okaha (*to extort*), ho'omakauli'i (*avarice*), 'i'ini (*craving*), and halaiwi (*to look at longingly*) with the idea to secretly take and acquire the object. These hewa were called 'aihue (*theft, to steal*).
4. Furthermore, there were many reasons for desiring another person's wealth. There was ho'ohalu (*to stare wide eyed*), maka'ala (*watchful*), kia'i (*to look at*), ho'okalakupua (*elusive*), ho'oeleiki (*to bear a grudge*), ho'opa'ewa (*to cause wrong*), and ho'opā'ē'ē (*to cause one to go astray*). And with these ideas one could kill someone at some lonely spot to get that person's wealth. These hewa were called pōwā (*robbery*) and murder was the means to do so.
5. Furthermore, if a person decided to increase his or her possessions by taking someone else's, who had much more, then the first thought was to pākaha (*to cheat*),

lawe (*to take*), kipa (*entice*), hao (*plunder*), uhuki (*to pull up or uproot*), kā'ili (*snatch*) and 'ālunu (*greed*). There were many other types of hewa.

6. Furthermore, if a person let another know what was going on or the truth of the matter, and it turned out not to be so after they were through talking to each other, then there were many reasons for this to have occurred [in the heart]: ho'opunipuni (*lying*), wahahe'e [*deceit*], 'alapahi (*falsehood*), pālau (*to tell tall tales*), kūkahekahe (*jest*), palolo (*gossip*), kokahe [*“the lie unclothed,”* Emerson's translation], pahilau (*to tell lies*), and other such numerous thoughts.
7. Furthermore, if a person decided to do hewa to another, then there were many thoughts there [in the heart]. The first was 'aki (*malign*), 'aki'aki (*slander*), ni'ani'a (*false accusations*), holoholo'ōlelo (*gossip*), makauli'i (*covet*), ka'ameha'i (*elusive*), kuene [*“belittling,”* Emerson's translation], poupou noho nio (*pretense to knowledge or skill*), ho'owalewale (*tempting*), luahele (*seduce*), kumakaia (*to betray*), ho'olawehala 'ōpū 'ino'ino (*malicious accusation*), lawe 'ōlelo (*tattle*), and pūonioni (*contentious*) and there were other similar and numerous thoughts.
8. If a person thought badly of another, then there were many thoughts there [in the heart]. The first is huhū (*anger*), inaina (*temper*), 'a'aka (*bad temper*), kē'ē (*shrieking angrily*), nanā (*quarrelsome*), kūkona (*being crossed*), nāhoa (*defiant*), mākona (*nasty*), kala'ea (*rude*), ho'olili (*provoking jealousy*), ho'omāku'e (*to scowl*), ho'oko'iko'i (*to treat harshly*), ho'oweliweli (*to threaten*), and other similar thoughts which were so numerous.

9. Furthermore, if a person decided to kill someone due to a fault (*hala*), then there were many thoughts there [in the heart]. The first was *pepehi* (*murder*), *hailuku* (*stoning*), *hahau* (*beating*), *kula'i* (*pushing over*), *'umi* (*strangulation*), *ku'iku'i* (*fighting*), *papa'i* (*bitting*), *hāko'oko'o* (*leaning on*), *ho'okonokono* (*to entice*), and other similar thoughts which were so numerous.
10. This was a person of *hewa*. (English Translation 58–59)

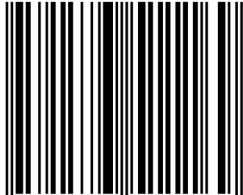
This is an amazingly descriptive and long list of what was observed and recognized as bad behavior. *Hewa* is manifested as jealousy, anger, and mistrust; as a cycle of escalating violence between perpetrators and victims that results in abuse both physical and emotional, shame, humiliation, and revenge. We can see all of these played out in the traditions of chiefs.



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