

# KONA, MAI KA PU'U O KAPŪKAKĪ A KA PU'U A KAWAIHOA

*Kona, from Kapūkakī to Kawaihoa*

## KONA 'ĀINA INVENTORY

### Kuli'ou'ou Palena, Waimānalo Ahupua'a, Moku o Kona



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# KULI'OU'OU PALENA (WAIMĀNALO AHUPUA'A)

## **The knee to which the drum is attached is the kuli-ouou**

*Kuli: knee; ouou: the sound of a drum when struck*<sup>37</sup>

This chapter documents the significant Hawaiian cultural and natural resources in Kuli'ou'ou Palena (Waimānalo Ahupua'a) as well as known community groups engaged in education, restoration and other place-based activities in the palena. The main objective of this chapter is to create a comprehensive database of practical information about community initiatives dedicated to enhancing the lives of Native Hawaiians in Kuli'ou'ou, both on KS and non-KS land.

Figure 136 and Figure 137 are aerial image and USGS map depictions, respectively, of Kuli'ou'ou Palena. As described in the Introduction, some of the land divisions in this study are referred to as palena (boundary or partitioning or piece) of ahupua'a, in this case, Waimānalo Ahupua'a.<sup>38</sup> Kuli'ou'ou, although it is considered a palena for the purposes of this study, is exceptional in that it is configured like a true ahupua'a (although it is not very large in overall size). For example, its upper (mauka) limits reach the Ko'olau ridgeline; and, its lower (makai) limits do, indeed, reach the ocean. By all measures, its resources are sufficiently abundant and diverse by Hawaiian standards.<sup>39</sup> As stated, however, for the purposes of consistency, we have chosen to use the 1881 Hawaiian Kingdom government boundaries, which consider Kuli'ou'ou to be a palena of Waimānalo.



Referring to well-known landmarks such as neighborhoods, roads and other infrastructures, the current (modern) boundaries of Kuli'ou'ou Palena, which is today synonymous with the Kuli'ou'ou Homesteads residential subdivision, are as follows. Starting from the south (makai) end on the eastern (Koko Head) side, the boundary starts at the sea shore at the Kuli'ou'ou Beach Park, and heads north (mauka) over Kalaniana'ole Highway and up through undeveloped forest reserve land to the Ko'olau ridgeline summit at Pu'u'okona (2,200 ft. elevation), where it turns to the west-southwest and follows the Ko'olaupoko District boundary for a short distance; after turning back south (mauka), the boundary heads down through undeveloped lands, back over the highway, and to the seashore near Holy Trinity School.

Table 27 is a summary of the significant wahi pana in Kuli'ou'ou Palena. Figure 138 is a GIS map depiction of Kuli'ou'ou's wahi pana. The table of wahi pana is organized generally from makai to mauka.

## **Overview – Hawaiian Cultural Landscape of Kuli'ou'ou**

Other than the residential subdivision in the lowermost (makai) section of Kuli'ou'ou Valley, this palena is almost entirely undeveloped, with an extensive upland forest. Kuli'ou'ou literally means “sounding knee (referring to a knee drum [*pūniu*] attached to the knee.”

One main drainage, Kuli'ou'ou Gulch, drains the valley from the base of the Ko'olau ridgeline down to the ocean.

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<sup>37</sup> Pukui et al. (1953).

<sup>38</sup> As explained in the Introduction, the boundaries of palena in this study are based on the 1881 Hawaiian Kingdom survey.

<sup>39</sup> In the Nu'uānu chapter of this study, we discuss this point, and some historical specifics about “old O'ahu” (prior to the invasions from Maui by Kahekili, and Hawai'i by Kamehameha) in more detail that is not repeated in this chapter.

A heiau, which may have been named Kauliula.<sup>40</sup> Regardless of its name, given its location just upslope, on the west side of the valley, remnants of this temple likely still exist.

Handy (1940) described a couple possible old cultivation areas inland (mauka) of the ocean:

Portions of the flatland about a half mile inland show low elevated ridges of soil which look like old terraces, but I am told that they are probably where Andrade formerly experimented with growing alfalfa. In one place on the western side of the valley there is a sizable flat with a facing of small stones about a foot wide along the lower side. All the land is now dry, and I am told that it is too porous to hold water even were water available for terraces. Presumably in earlier times there was a steady flow from the stream leading down from the verdant gulch or from springs (Handy 1940:73).

Two named, near-shore (reef) fisheries, Kuli'ou'ou 1 and Kuli'ou'ou 2, were once along the sea shore. No fishponds were known from this palena.

Like other ahupua'a in Kona Moku, the upland forest in Kuli'ou'ou was a reliable source of various native, endemic, and Polynesian-introduced plants. These upland resources provided not only food products—especially when famine struck—but also medicinal plants, wa'a (canoe) trees, and other needed items (e.g., for religious practices, hula, and so on). High-quality basalt for making tools such as ko'i (adzes) could also be obtained in the upper forest region.



## Mo'olelo

The palena of Kuli'ou'ou was the site of large coastal wet lands, the famous spring of 'Elelupe and the 'awa grove. Many of the mo'olelo of Kuli'ou'ou refer to these wet lands as such in the story of Kāne and Kanaloa. The gods traveled the Wai'alae coast. According to some rough notes made by the ethnographer Emma Beckley:

When they reached **Kuli'ou'ou**, Kanaloa took some 'awa from the sacred grove at the base of **Kuli'ou'ou** Ridge. This grove was watched over by a mo'o, a supernatural creature that could change form (a form like a crocodile) called Lupe. Thus, the spring was called 'Elelupe, the 'ele of Lupe. The word 'ele means "a water hole, dark spring covered with growth" (Pukui and Elbert 1986:40). This is probably the same spring Frank (1958:22) called **Kānewai** ("the water of Kāne"). Kanaloa took some of the 'awa he got from Lupe's 'awa grove and traveled to **Wailupe**. (Emma Beckley, n.d.)

This ravine on old 'awa land is said to have belonged to the chiefs at **'Elelupe**, Kuli'ou'ou. The spring or pond **'Elelupe** is also said to have been placed on kapu by Kamehameha I for the precious resource of drinking water. This kapu continued through Kamehameha V's reign who sent his servants from Hanauma to fetch this water. The penalty for breaking the kapu was death. According to Makea a native kama'āina stated in the Claimant's Brief Land Court Application 578, "the water was for the king, his men and the people. This tabu water was sacred and kept for drinking. It was not to be contaminated by the commoners (by bathing). Only his majesty could give the right (to take the water). On the **Niu** side was awa and on the other side of the water hole was a clump of bamboo".

When Hi'iaka's travels through Southeastern O'ahu with her traveling companions Wahine'ōmao'o and Lohiau, she defeats several monsters in the uplands of Kaimukī in Pālolo Valley. In the mo'olelo

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<sup>40</sup> Archaeologist, McAllister (1933), wrote in the early 1930s that there was uncertainty as to the name of this old heiau, which may also have been called Ahukini.

they descended to the coast to meet up with the chief Kaulanakalā, who had agreed to carry them in his canoe to Molokai.

... *huli akula kēia i kai o **Wai‘alae** a ‘ike akula kēia i ka wa‘a o Kaulanaokalā e holo a‘e ana, a laila, ha‘alele lākou nei i **Kaimukī** a hele akula no lākou nei a hala ‘o **Wai‘alae**, a hala ‘o **Wailupe**, a hō‘ea lākou nei i **Maunaluā**, a hala ia wahi i hope, hō‘ea lākou nei i **Niu**, i **Kuli‘ou‘ou**; i nānā aku ka hana o lākou nei, e lawai‘a mai ana kekahi mau wāhine, ‘o ka pāpa‘i me ka ‘ōhune kā lāua i‘e e ulawai‘a ana.*

... [Hi‘iaka] turned to look seaward of **Wai‘alae** and saw Kaulanaokalā’s canoe sailing along. They departed **Kaimukī** and traveled past **Wai‘alae**, past **Wailupe**, and reached **Maunaluā**. When that area had fallen behind them, they arrived in **Niu**, then **Kuli‘ou‘ou**. They looked about, and saw some women fishing for ‘ōhune [goby] fish and crabs. (Ho‘oulumāhie 2006a:295; Ho‘oulumāhie 2006b:317)

At Kuli‘ou‘ou, Hi‘iaka requested some fish from the local women, but they answered rudely, telling her that she should collect her own fish. In response to this rudeness, Hi‘iaka offered the following mele (chant):

<i>He makani Holo‘uha A Holo‘uha,</i>	a wind that comes to nothing
<i>Ko Ka‘eleke‘i Paukū</i>	Blows at Ka‘eleke‘i of <b>Paukū</b>
<i>Pau wale ho‘i ke aho i ke noi ‘ana</i>	Breath is wasted on a request
<i>‘O ka lā ho‘i ē.</i>	Like asking for the sun.

Nathaniel Emerson’s version of the Hi‘iaka story has a slightly different translation of this mele, with some suggestions for its interpretation. Hi‘iaka talked to a woman working in the ponds catching fish and crabs, asking her to share a portion of her catch. The woman rebuffed Hi‘iaka and advised her it would be better for Hi‘iaka to do her own fishing. Hi‘iaka would not let this insult go unpunished and uttered to the woman:

<i>He makani holo uhā (a)</i>	Here’s a blast shall posset the blood,
<i>Ko Ka-ele-kei a Pau-kua (b)</i>	As the chant of kahuna the back.
<i>Pau wale ke aho i ka noi ana,</i>	Our patience exhausts with delay;
<i>O ka loa ho‘i, e!</i>	We’re famished from the length of the way.

(a) Makani holo-uha. The allusion is to a cold wind that chills the naked legs of the fisherfolk.

(b) Pau-kua, a place-name, meaning consumed in the back – a clear reference to the fact that the kahuna’s black art very frequently made its fatal ravages by attacking first the back [Emerson 1993:186-187].

When the chant was completed, Hi‘iaka and her friends turned away, and when they were out of sight, the women fell dead.

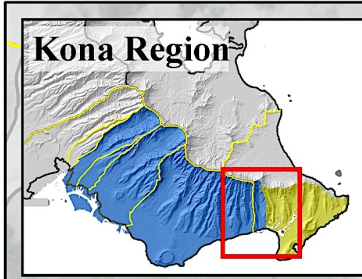
Kuli‘ou‘ou is also mentioned in the story of Kamapua‘a. An elder resident of the Lunalilo Home, named George Po‘olua, wrote about the events and places in the history of O‘ahu. In an account titled *Na Anoaia o Oahu Nei*, published in *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* in 1930, Po‘olua provided readers with additional information about Kamapua‘a and events around the flood he caused at Kaliuwa‘a. Of interest in this account, we learn that Kamapua‘a and his grandmother Kamaunuanoho first land on the shores of Kuli‘ou‘ou.

...*Mai Hawaii o Kamapuaa a me ke kupunawahine, Kamaunuanoho i holo mai ai laua a pae ma **Kulioou, Oahu**. Ke kupunawahine Kamaunuanoho, ua hele aku oia no*

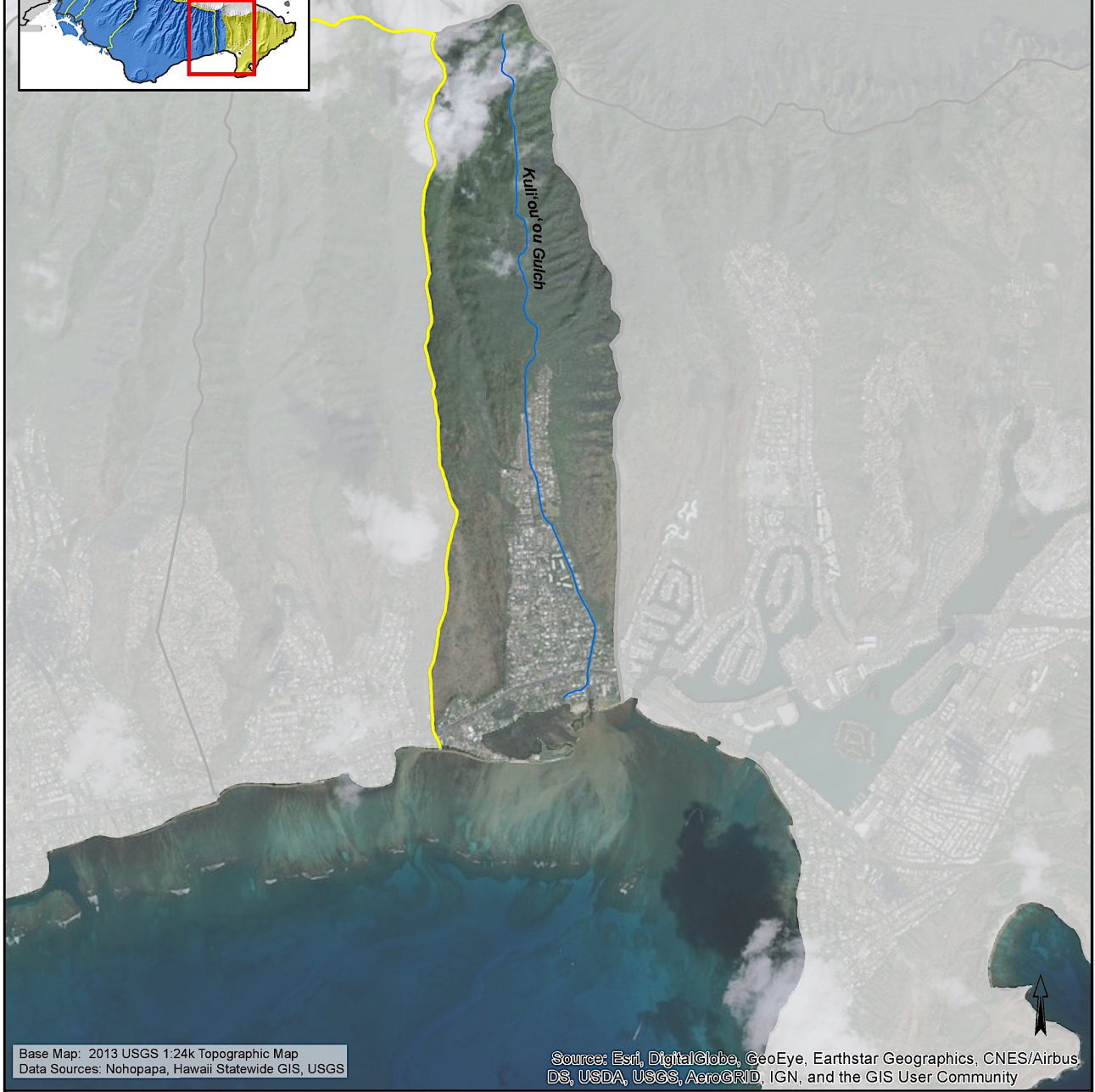
***Honolulu, Ewa, a hoes i luna o **Kaala** kuahiwi a noho ai oia. Kamapuaa, hele oia ma **Makapuu** a huli ma na **Koolaupoko**, huli ma **Koolauloa** a hoes i **Laiewai**. Huli ma kela aoao o **Kaniakamoa** e noho ana ke Alii Olopana o ke alanui kahiko a hanai moa ana oia a pau.***

Kamapuaa and his grandmother, Kamaunuanoho came from Hawaii, and they landed at **Kuliouou**, Oahu. The grandmother, Kamaunuanoho, then went to Honolulu, Ewa, and then to the top of Mount **Kaala**, where she stayed. Kamapuaa went to **Makapuu**, and then traveled along the Koolaupoko and Koolauloa ranges, until he arrived at **Laiewai**. He then turned to the side of **Kaniakamoa**, where lived the King, Olopana, along the ancient trail, and where he kept all of his chickens.





# Por. of Waimānalo Ahupua‘a Palena of Kuli‘ou‘ou



Base Map: 2013 USGS 1:24k Topographic Map  
Data Sources: Nohopapa, Hawaii Statewide GIS, USGS

Source: Esri, DigitalGlobe, GeoEye, Earthstar Geographics, CNES/Airbus DS, USDA, USGS, AeroGRID, IGN, and the GIS User Community

**Legend**

- Ahupua'a Bdry.
- Kahawai
- Palena Bdry.

0 0.5 1 Kilometers

0 0.5 1 Miles



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Figure 136. Aerial image of Kuli‘ou‘ou Palena

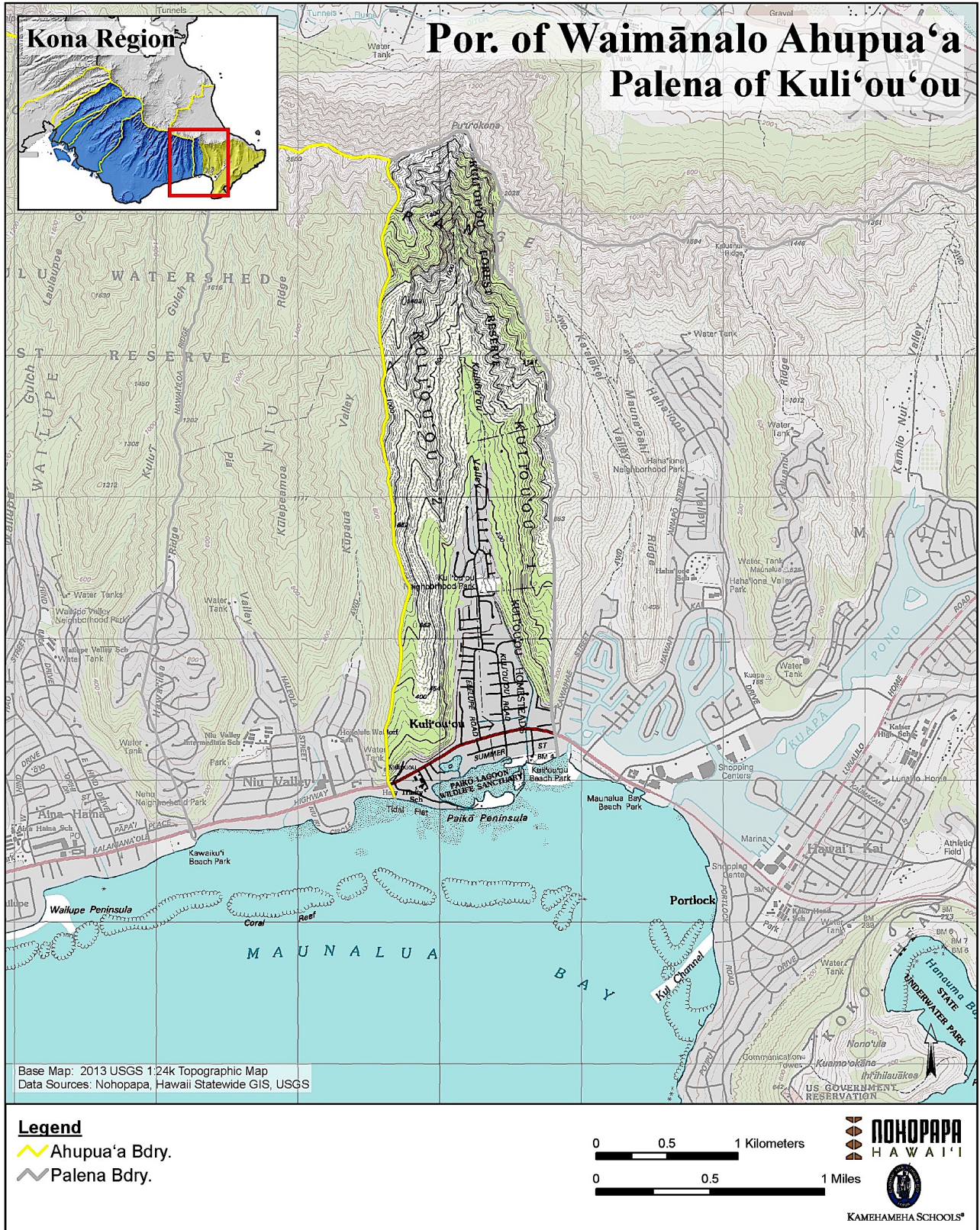


Figure 137. USGS map of Kuli'ou'ou Palena



Table 27. Summary of Selected Wahi Pana in Kuli'ou'ou

Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Kuli'ou'ou Fishery (1 <sup>st</sup> & 2 <sup>nd</sup> )	Near-shore (reef) fishing grounds	Fronting Kuli'ou'ou kai	--	While greatly depleted and altered by modern development, this fishery is still there	--
Loko Kaluaokaha'iha'i	Fishpond (pu'uone [inland] type)	Currently residential neighborhood Just makai of Kalaniana'ole Highway	--	Filled in long ago by development	--
Kuli'ou'ou Bluff Shelter	Rockshelter with cultural material remains	East face of ridge that separates Kuli'ou'ou from Niu	--	Rockshelter, itself, is still there; most or all of its archaeology has been excavated and analyzed	Archaeological site is famous for being the first in Hawai'i to be radiocarbon-dated (results showed that occupation of the rockshelter was about 1,000 years ago)
Makaniolu (or Makani'olu) Cave Shelter	Rockshelter with cultural material remains	East end of ridge which forms east boundary of Kuli'ou'ou Valley overlooking Maunalua Bay	--	Presumably intact above residential development	Place name literally means "cool wind"; cave shelter named by archaeologist Kenneth Emory for its proximity to the street of the same name (in 1950s)

Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Kawekiu (or Kawēkiu) Cave Shelter	Rockshelter with cultural material remains	Above the residential neighborhood near Kawekiu Street	--	Presumably intact above residential development	Plane name means “the summit”); cave shelter named by archaeologist Kenneth Emory for its proximity to street of same name (in 1950s); Emory recounts his knowledge of this site being looted and plundered by local residents in the 1950s
Kauiliula Heiau (or Ahukini Heiau, see Comments to right)	Heiau	Upper reaches of the residential portion of the valley, on west side, and above, residences	--	Remnant portions of this heiau structure are still there	Originally described (in early 1930s) around 100 years ago (by Thrum) as “A square heiau about 50 feet in size, little of which now remains; archaeologist McAllister (in early 1930s) suggests this heiau may be Ahukini Heiau
Pu'u'okona (2,200 ft. elevation)	Natural feature/pu'u along Ko'olau ridgeline	Boundary marker between Kuli'ou'ou and Ko'olaupoko district (Waimānalo Ahupua'a)	--	Presumably intact given its remote location	Literally, “hill of leeward”

Notes:

<sup>1</sup> References for more information on “Associated mo'olelo/other oral history” are listed in this column, where applicable.

<sup>2</sup> General references used in compiling information in this table include McAllister (1933), Pukui et al. (1974), Sterling and Summers (1978).

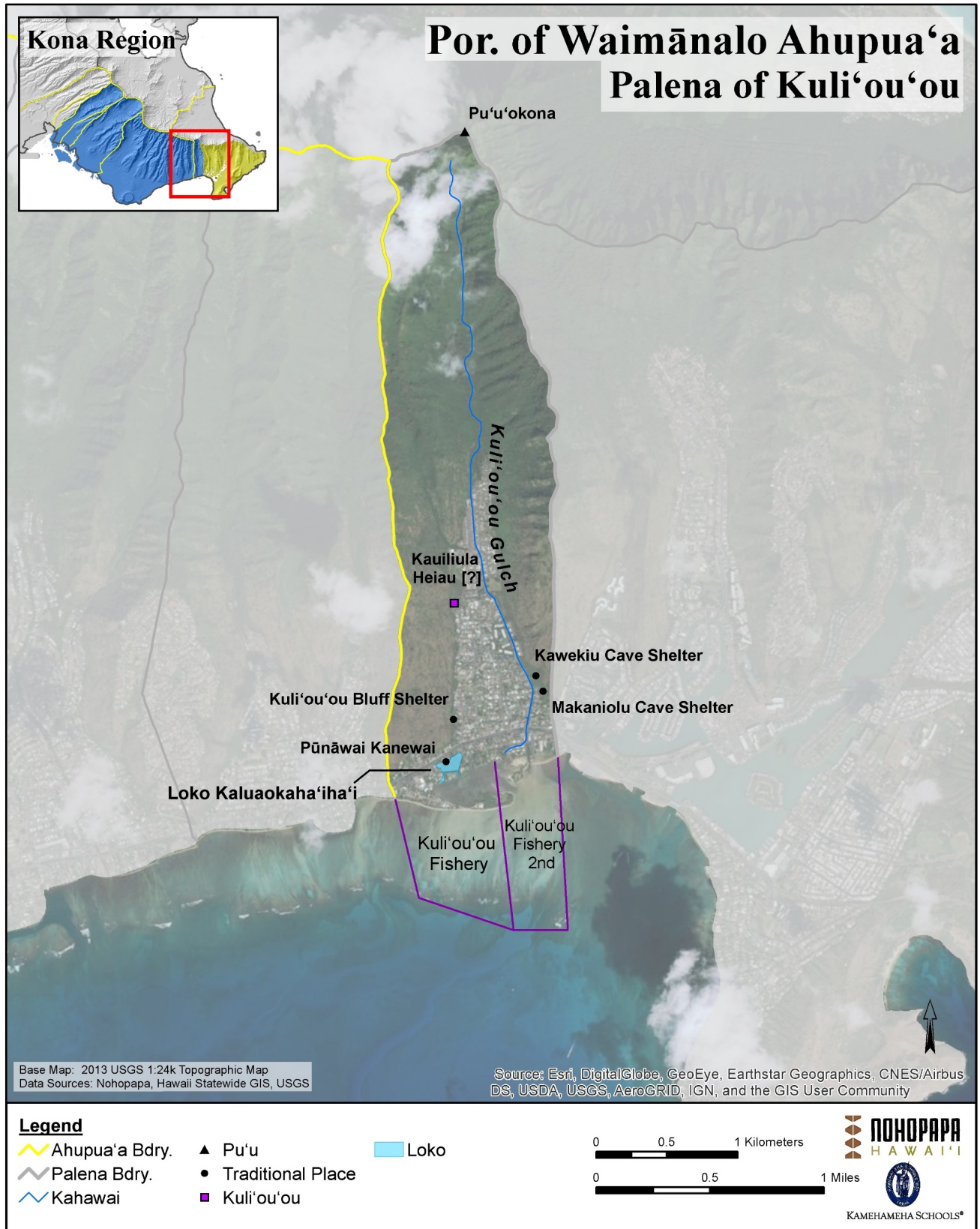


Figure 138. GIS map depiction of significant Hawaiian cultural and natural resources in Kuli‘ou‘ou Palena (Waimānalo Ahupua‘a)



Figure 139. ca 1920-1930's photo of Paiko Lagoon, Kuli'ou'ou (Bishop Museum Archives 108639)



Figure 140. ca. 1925 photo of Kuli'ou'ou (Bishop Museum Archives N51165)



Figure 141. ca. 1931 photo of Paiko Lagoon, Kuli'ou'ou (Bishop Museum Archives CF108832).



Figure 142. ca. 1931 photo of Paiko peninsula, Kuli'ou'ou (Bishop Museum Archives SP118957)



Figure 143. 1935 photo of Paiko pond with “Koko Head” in the background, Kuli’ou’ou (Bishop Museum Archives Image CE40287)



Figure 144. Paiko Lagoon in Kuli’ou’ou (Bishop Museum Archives SP202143)

## Community Groups in Kuli'ou'ou

This section provides a summary of the community groups in Kuli'ou'ou, including details about their organizational profile, activities and services they provide, target audiences they service, new and existing partnerships, and strengths, opportunities, challenges, and needs of the organization. More specific information on the organizations capacity (such as planning and assessment, staffing, funding and resources, communication, and site access, management, and security) can be found in the table in Appendix D.

### Maunalua Fishpond Heritage Center

In 2008, the Maunalua Fishpond Heritage Center (MFHC) was formed to preserve and steward two of the last open freshwater sources of Maunalua - Kalauha'eha'e loko i'a and Kānewai Spring and loko i'a. Their mission is "E ho'ōla kākou i nā loko i'a a Maunalua – let us properly preserve the fishponds of Maunalua for the purpose of cultural and environmental preservation and revitalization for generations to come." MFHC short-term vision for Kalauha'eha'e loko i'a, "Convert the existing right-of-entry to a long-term management lease from the Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR). Continue restoration and management of the spring which will continue to restore freshwater to Maunalua Bay, and help to restore ecological balance and revitalization to bring back native limu and fish." Their long-term vision, "Continue restoration and management work, restore the flow of underground water that was cut off during the widening of Kalaniana'ole Highway so this site will be a cultural, natural and educational resource in perpetuity." MFHC short and long-term vision for Kānewai Spring, "Manage the spring as is and continue to educate students and volunteers. Demolish the existing house to build a culturally appropriate structure to serve as an education and heritage center in perpetuity."



Figure 145. MFHC volunteers clearing vegetation at Kalauha'eha'e loko i'a (Photo credit: MFHC)



Figure 146. MFHC volunteers at Kānewai Spring loko i'a (Photo credit: MFHC)

## Community Outreach & Survey Results

### Organization Profile:

Contact person	Angela Correa-Pei
Address	643 Papahehi Place, Kuli'ou'ou, HI 96821
Phone number	(808) 382-8336
Email	correapei@gmail.com
Website/Social media	<a href="http://maunaluafishpond.org">http://maunaluafishpond.org</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/Maunaluafishpond">https://www.facebook.com/Maunaluafishpond</a>
Year organization formed	2008
501c3 status	Yes

### Services, Target Audiences, & Partnerships:

Sites they mālama	Kalauha'eha'e loko i'a in Niu, O'ahu and Kānewai spring, Kānewai loko i'a in Kuli'ou'ou, O'ahu
Services provided	Community engagement, Cultural development (i.e. cultural activities, crafts, practices), Cultural resource management, Education, Family Engagement, Food production & security, Marine resource management, Natural resource management, Research, Sustainability, and Teacher Professional Development.  Specific programs and activities include schools and community groups who come to volunteer and learn about the cultural and natural resources of these sites including the broader area.
Use of place based curriculum?	Yes, maps, mo'olelo, oral histories, research (pictures, videos).



Use of cultural protocols, activities, and practices?	Yes, mele, oli planting, dry stack wall building, mahi'ai (niu, 'uala, native plants).
Public volunteer work days?	Yes, standing community workdays are the third Saturday of the month and other days are scheduled. As a condition of receiving funding from the City & County of Honolulu's Clean Water and Natural Lands Fund, the City required that our on-site activities be limited to three-times a month and that no more than 30 people are on site at a time. This condition was a result of neighboring private homeowners petitioning the City to deny funding as the neighbors did not want a non-profit community based program in their neighborhood.
Student School groups (& ages) they service	0-4 years (Pre K), 5-8 years (K-3rd grade), 9-13 years (4th-8th grade), 14-18 years (9th-12th grade), 18+ years (Post-secondary)
Community groups they service	Yes, MFHC works with many schools but one regular school is Mālama Honua.
Existing organizational partners	Yes, Mālama Mauanalua, NOAA, Huli, Kaiser High School, Waldorf, Holy Trinity Church, UH - West O'ahu, 'Iolani School, Paepae o He'eia, and many more.
Organizations wanting to partner with in the future	Yes



**Additional Mana'o:** All of the MFHC board member, many of their families have been in Kuli'ou'ou and Niu for generations, are forever committed to these wahi pana and the work of their organization.

## Additional Resources for Kuli‘ou‘ou Palena

Table 28 is an annotated summary of additional resources for readers seeking additional details regarding the natural and cultural resources of Kuli‘ou‘ou Palena, Waimānalo Ahupua‘a.

Table 28. Sample of Resources for Kuli‘ou‘ou Palena\*

Author & Year	Title	Summary of Key Content
Ka‘ilikapuolono Metcalf Beckley Nakuina, Emma (1893, 1904)	<i>Hawaii: Its People, Their Legends (1904)</i>	<p>Ka‘ilikapuolono Metcalf Beckley Nakuina was a well-educated professional and Hawaiian scholar (Hopkins 2012:1,2). The first female judge in Hawai‘i, and also a water commissioner, Ka‘ilikapuolono Metcalf Beckley wrote a series of legal, newspaper, and other articles, as well as a book-length pamphlet.</p> <p>In 1893, Nakuina published her first article, “The Punahou Spring,” which recounted the story of the creation of Kānewai and Punahou springs on O‘ahu (Nakuina in Thrum 1893:104; Hopkins 2012:6).</p> <p>Nakuina’s single book, <i>Hawaii: Its People, Their Legends</i>, was published in 1904 and features Hawaiian legends, myths, and stories (Nakuina 1904; Hopkins 2012:2, 96, 97). Nakuina’s book was commissioned in order to encourage tourism, which Nakuina employed as a vehicle to include a collection of her revised, previously published legends, united under her discussion of the greatness of the Hawaiian people and nation (ibid.).</p>
Emerson (1915)	<i>Pele and Hi‘iaka- A Myth from Hawai‘i</i>	Nathaniel Emerson authored this work in the early twentieth century as his translation of <i>The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole</i> , described by Emerson as “a story regarding Pele and her sister Hi‘iaka” (1915: preface). Emerson cites the resources he used in his translation of the story as articles published in Hawaiian language newspapers, interviews, and Hawaiian scholars. Emerson’s copies and transcriptions of select excerpts of the legend is informative and engaging, as well as the “Index of First Lines” included in the book.
Handy (1940)	<i>The Hawaiian Planter, Volume 1. His Plants, Methods and Areas of Cultivation</i>	The Hawaiian Planter, Volume 1, published in 1940, catalogued what Handy perceived as Native Hawaiian agricultural traditions defined by Handy as planting and cultivation. Handy identified and discussed the plants raised by Hawaiians, the types of locality and areas in which they were planted, and the different varieties, methods of cultivation, and uses of the plants.
Ho‘oulumahiehie (2006)	<i>The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole As Told by Ho‘oulumāhiehie</i>	Authorship of this story is credited to Ho‘oulumāhiehie - an enigmatic name and person. In the journal <i>Hawaii Aloha</i> , where the opening of this version of <i>The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole</i> was published, no author was named, but at the completion of the story in <i>Ka Na‘i Aupuna</i> , Ho‘oulumāhiehie was acknowledged as the author. Meaning “to inspire delight,” this name is

Author & Year	Title	Summary of Key Content
		sometimes printed as “Ho’oulumāhiehieika’onimāliepualilalanaikawai, “to inspire delight in the gentle movement of the water lilies.” This person is credited in several newspapers of the period as the author of major Hawaiian stories such as “Kawelo” and “Kamehameha I”; as well as the translator of foreign stories, such as “Hawila” and “Alamira”; and the writer or translator of occasional short articles as well. Though no personal history has been found for Ho’oulumāhiehie, there appears to be a strong link to J.M. Poepoe, the editor of <i>Ka Na’i Aupuni</i> .
Maly and Maly (2003)	<i>Ka Hana Lawai’a a me Nā Ko’a o Na Kai ‘Ewalu: A History of Fishing Practices and Marine Fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands</i>	This study details archival historical documentary research, and oral history interviews to identify and document, traditional knowledge of Hawaiian fisheries—including those extending from mountain streams to the beaches, estuaries and near-shore, and extending out to the deep sea—and changes in the nature of fishery resources of the Hawaiian Islands as recorded in both written and oral histories. The resources cited in this study were compiled through archival and ethnographic research conducted by Kepā and Onaona Maly over the last 30 years, and from additional research with specific emphasis on fisheries, conducted between August 2002 and May 2003.
Takemoto et al. (1975)	<i>Historical/Cultural Essay Report on the Kuapā Pond Area</i>	This report documents historical activities and cultural resources in the Kuapā Pond area prior to Hawai’i statehood in 1959. It includes a reconnaissance survey of the literature, archival material, and other historical knowledge of Kuli’ou’ou Beach, Ka’alakei Valley up to Kalama Valley. The study features place names, historic maps, early photographs, and other historical accounts.

\* This table does not include general references that apply to all of the ahupua’a in this study, including Sterling and Summers’ (1978) *Sites of Oahu*, McAllister’s (1933) *Archaeology of Oahu*, and Pukui et al.’s (1974) *Place Names of Hawai’i*.

\*Resources listed in alphabetical order.