

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

*Kona, from Kapūkakī to Kawaihoa*

## KONA ‘ĀINA INVENTORY

### Pauoa Palena, Honolulu Ahupua‘a, Moku o Kona



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## PAUOA PALENA (HONOLULU AHUPUA‘A)

### **Kupanihi – Old name for Pacific Heights, name of a supernatural pig who had a taro patch in Pauoa Valley, and who gave birth to a human<sup>13</sup>**

This chapter documents the significant Hawaiian cultural and natural resources in Pauoa Palena (Honolulu 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 Pauoa, both on KS and non-KS land.

Figure 61 and Figure 62 are aerial image and USGS map depictions, respectively, of Pauoa Palena. As described in the Introduction, some of the land divisions in this study near Honolulu—including Pauoa—are atypical as ahupua‘a, and are referred to here as palena (boundary or partitioning or piece) of Honolulu Ahupua‘a.<sup>14</sup> Pauoa is a relatively small land division, and its upper (mauka) limits do not reach the Ko‘olau ridgeline; likewise, its lower limits do not reach the ocean—but start just above Pūowaina (Punchbowl), which is considered part of Honolulu Ahupua‘a in this study.

Referring to well-known landmarks such as neighborhoods, roads and other infrastructures, the current (modern) boundaries of Pauoa Palena are as follows. Starting from the south (makai) end on the eastern (Diamond Head) side, the boundary starts near the entrance to the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific (Punchbowl) and near the intersection of Puowaina Drive and Auwaiolimu Street; the boundary heads northeast and mauka, running through portions of the Papakōlea residential neighborhood (which is also in neighboring Makiki), along Moreira Street and then up along the base of the undeveloped ridge known as Kalāwahine; the boundary continues mauka to the northeast, just along (but not touching) the switch-back turns of Tantalus Drive (which is wholly within neighboring Makiki); the boundary continues up above and beyond the mauka limits of Tantalus to a point at approximately 1,800 ft. elevation, where Nu‘uanu and Mānoa meet. The Pauoa boundary then heads back down to the southwest and makai, passing again through undeveloped forest lands, then through the Pacific Heights residential neighborhood, lower Pacific Heights Road, and ending near the intersection of the Pali Highway and the west end of Auwaiolimu Street, just above Punchbowl.

Table 9 is a summary of the significant wahi pana in Pauoa Palena. Figure 63 is a GIS map depiction of Pauoa’s wahi pana. The table of wahi pana is organized generally from makai to mauka.


### **Overview – Hawaiian Cultural Landscape of Pauoa**

While much of the lower portion of Pauoa has been heavily modified by residential development, including the Pacific Heights and Papakōlea neighborhoods, most of Pauoa is undeveloped forest lands. One main stream, Pauoa, runs down through the center of this palena, between two ridges (Kalāwahine [literally, the day (of) women] to the east, and Akaukukui [possibly ‘Ākaukukui] to the west).<sup>15</sup> Pauoa Stream wraps around the northwest side of Pūowaina (Punchbowl), and eventually empties into the lower reaches of Nu‘uanu Stream (in lower Nu‘uanu Ahupua‘a, near Beretania Street). Pauoa Stream above Pūowaina (and within lower Pauoa Palena) once watered an extensive lo‘i kalo and settlement area covering much of the current Pacific Heights neighborhood. Several pūnāwai (fresh-water springs) are located along the length of Pauoa Stream including (from lowest/makai to

<sup>13</sup> Pukui et al. (1974:125)

<sup>14</sup> As explained in the Introduction, the boundaries of palena in this study are based on the 1881 Hawaiian Kingdom survey.

<sup>15</sup> Unless stated otherwise, Hawaiian place-name translations are from Pukui et al. (1974).



highest/mauka): Kaikahi, an unnamed spring, Kahuawai, and Booth. Pukui et al. (1974) do not provide translation/interpretations for the Hawaiian-named springs, but noted—in reference to a park and street—that Booth referred to Charles W. Booth (1866-1910) who gave part of the land in Pauoa to the park.<sup>16</sup> The upper reaches of Pauoa do not end along the ridgeline of the Ko‘olau—like many other lands in Kona Moku, but rather are overtaken by neighboring Nu‘uanu and Mānoa. Above the source of Pauoa Stream is a natural landscape feature known as Pauoa Flats.

Pukui et al. (1974) do not provide a translation for Pauoa, but Lyons (in 1901) stated the “Pauoa is an ‘ear,’ or side valley to Nuuanu” (Sterling and Summers 1978:291). A lot of mo‘olelo about Pauoa is associated with Pūowaina, which we discuss in the Honolulu Ahupua‘a chapter of this study. There is also some mo‘olelo associated with Papakōlea, which is in both Pauoa and Makiki.

In his study of native planters in Hawai‘i, Handy (1940; Handy and Handy 1972) talked about two areas of important for cultivation in Pauoa. The first was along its main stream, and was described in the following two quotes:

This little valley [Pauoa] had its streams, and the entire flatland in and below the valley was terraced for wet taro. All this land is now covered by subdivisions, streets, and some commercial buildings. (Handy and Handy 1972:478)

The flatland in the bottom of Pauoa Valley above Punchbowl was completely developed in terraces. About half of the old terrace area [by 1940] is now covered by streets and school and dwelling houses. Of the upper portion a considerable area is still [in 1940] under cultivation. (Handy 1940:78)

The second area of cultivation in Pauoa discussed by Handy was the slopes of Pūowaina, some of which is within, or just adjacent to, Pauoa:

Punchbowl Crater (Puowaina), on both the inner and outer slopes, was also famous in ancient times as a sweet potato locality. The planting was especially good on the inland side near the present Hawaiian homestead of Papakolea. (Handy 1940:156)

According to the archaeologist McAllister (writing in the early 1930s and quoting earlier work by chronicler of Hawaiiana, Thomas Thrum), two old heiau, Hale-wa and Kahuoi, were once located in Pauoa. Both were said to have been destroyed by the middle nineteenth century, and their locations are currently indeterminate.

Kamakau (1992:136) described Pauoa as one of the locations involved in important battles between Maui’s Kahekili (circa 1783) and O‘ahu’s Kahahana, which eventually resulted in the taking of O‘ahu (and Moloka‘i) by Kahekili.

## Mo‘olelo

Compared to other palena in the Kona Moku, there are relatively few mo‘olelo that refer specifically to places in Pauoa. In many well known mo‘olelo such as the Ka‘ao no Pumaia, Ka‘ao no Kahalaopuna, Ka‘ao no Peapea, **Pauoa** is mentioned as a place of passing. Two of Pauoa’s most well known features highlighted in mo‘olelo include the crater of Pūowaina and the heiau of Kaheiki.

In a series of articles titled, *No ke Kaapuni Makaikai i na Wahi Kaulana a me na Kupua a me Na‘ili Kahiko mai Hawaii a Niihau* (Famous Places to be Seen, Supernatural Beings and the Chiefs of old

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<sup>16</sup> There is also a Kahuawai (diving and swimming) pool in Kalauao Ahupua‘a in ‘Ewa Moku, which is described as a sacred waterfall reserved for the chiefs.

from Hawai'i to Niihau), Kamakau presented readers with a series of traditions which adds to our understanding of important places, customs, beliefs, and events in history. In the narrative collection are found accounts from the lands of Kewalo, **Kukuluāe'o**, **Kalia** and **Waikīkī** making mention of **Pauoa**.

*No Kapo'i.*

*He kanaka o Kapo'i no ka aina i Kahehuna i Honolulu. I ka hele ana o Kapo'i i ka uhuki pili i Kewalo, maluna aku o **Pauoa**, loa ia iho la iaia kekahi mau hua pueo, a hoi mai la ia. A hiki i ke ahiahi, hoomakaukau iho la oia e pulehu. Kau ana ka pueo ma ka puka o ka hale, a kahea maila ka pueo "E Kapo'i --- E, ho mai au hua," Ninau aku la o Kapo'i: "Ehia hua?" "E hua hiku." Olelo mai la ka pueo; "E Kapo'i -- e homai au hua;" "E pulehu ana au i keia mau hua;"*

*Olelo aku la o ka pueo; "Aloha ole oe e Kapo'i i ka haawi ole mai i o'u mau hua." Olelo aku la o Kapo'i, "e kii mai i ko hua."*

*Ka lilo ana o ka pueo i akua no Kapo'i.*

About Kapo'i.

Kapo'i was a man of the land in Kahehuna in Honolulu. When Kapo'i went to gather pili grass at Kewalo, there around **Pauoa**, he found some owl eggs and then he returned home. In the evening he prepared to cook them. An owl landed at the entrance of his house, and the owl called out, "O Kapo'i return my eggs to me." Kapo'i asked, "How many eggs?" "Seven eggs". Kapo'i said, "I'm cooking these for me to eat."

The owl said, "Kapo'i, you have no compassion if you do not return my eggs to me." Kapo'i then told the owl, "Come get your eggs."

The owl becomes a god of Kapo'i.

In Ka'ao no Puamaia or the legend of Pumaia, tells how the spirit of a dead man whose bones are worshiped may force the chief Kualii himself to respect a vow made to a god. When Kualii builds the heiau of Kapua'a to his god Kanenui-(a)k(e)a, he demands the hogs of Pumaia, a hog raiser at Pukoula adjoining Waiahao in Kona district, Oahu, to use for sacrifice. Pumaia keeps back one favorite pig, which he has vowed shall die a natural death. Kualii sends messengers to demand this last hog, but Pumaia kills each messenger until none are left. Finally Kualii catches, binds, and kills Pumaia and throws his bones into the pit with others. Pumaia's spirit advises his wife where to find his bones.

*Pi'i aku la lakou mai **Pukoula** aku a ka uakee o **Pauoa** e hele la a hiki i ka wai o **Alekoki**, ma laila aku a **Maemae**, pela lakou i pii ai a owakawaka kai ao o ke kakahiaka nui, hiki lakou i **Nuuanu**.*

After the body had been dug up, they left **Pukoula** and walked toward the mountains along the road leading to the junction of **Pauoa** and the road leads to **Alekoki** pool. They then continued on up toward **Maemae**, and by dawn [of the next day] they reached **Nuuanu**. (Forander 1916-1917 Vol.IV: 475)

She and her daughter hide in a cave at the top of the left-hand peak of the **Nuuanu** pali and worship his bones until Pumaia as a spirit is stronger than when he was alive. Food and treasure are stolen from Kualii's men, and the chief has no peace until he has built three houses, one for the wife and daughter, one for their possessions, and a third for the bones of Pumaia. The kahuna then prays over the bones and restores them to life.

In *He Ka'ao no Kahalaopuna* (the Legend of Kahalaopuna), the divine wind and rain gave birth to a child known as Kahalaopuna. She lived in the Mānoa Valley. There, she danced across the rocks and sky, painting a rainbow bridge of colors. Kahalaopuna was so lovely that two chiefs fell in love with her -- Kauhi of Waikīkī and Mahana of Kamō'ili'ili. Kauhi belonged to the family of the shark god, and he was jealous and cruel. When Kahalaopuna refused to marry him, he became furious. He decided that if he could not be her husband, no one could. And so he killed her and buried her in a place that he was sure no one would find her.

*Pii a maila a Kauhi a loa a Kahalaopuna ma **Manoa**, oelo aku ia ia e hele i **Pohakea**, ma uka o **Ewa**, e pili la me ke kuaiwi o **Kaala**. I ko laua hele ana, noonoo iho la o Kahalaopuna i ke kumu o keia hele ana. Ma keia o hele ana o laua, ma ka uka pili kanaka ole, ma ka uka o **Pauoa** a me **Waolani**, malaila, ma uka o **Kalihi**, pela ko laua hele ana, a **Manana** moe ana. (Fornander 1918-1919 Vol:5:189)*

Kauhi came up to **Manoa** and found Kahalaopuna, and asked her to go with him to **Pohakea**, a place above **Ewa** lying close to **Kaala** mountain. While on their way, she meditated to herself as to the probable cause of this journey. In going, they took the upper road where people seldom passed, passing along **Pauoa**, **Waolani**, then along upper **Kalihi** and so on to **Manana** where they spent the night. (Fornander 1918-1919 Vol:V:188)

In *Kaao no Peapea* (The story of Peapea), Peapea is a famed warrior. This story tells of his victory over Kahahanas forces, Kekuapo of rare beauty, and Peapea display of courage.

*A lohe o Peapea, haalelo iho la iai ka wahine a holo mai la ma uka mai o **Ualaka'a**, **Makiki**, **Pauoa**, **Kaheiki**, e pili la me **Maemae**. Ilaila loa iaia ka maka mua o na kanaka o Kahekili. A o ko Kahahana aoao hoi, i Waolani ka poe, i **Maemae** ka maka mua e iho mai ana. A hiki i Peapea ma waena o ko Kahekili mau koa a me ko Kahahana mau koa, ku iho la ia e pani. (Fornander 1918-1919 Vol:5: 459-461)*

When Peapea heard this he left his wife and ran above **Ualaka'a**, **Makiki Pauoa**, and **Kaheiki**, which is adjacent to **Maemae**. There he met the van of the army of Kahekili. As to the forces of Kahahana, the main army was at Waolani, while the front was descending from **Maemae**. When Peapea arrived between Kahekili and Kahahanas warriors he stood to defy [the advance]. (Fornander 1918-1919 Vol:5 458-460)

One of the most famous landmarks in Pauoa is **Pu'u-o-Waina** or **Pūowaina**, and old name for today's "Punchbowl Crater". Pūowaina is hill of placing [human sacrifices] (for which the hill was famous), a contraction of Pu'u-o-waiho-ana. It is also said to have been the dwelling place of menehune, with **Pauoa** serving as their excrement pit (Kamakau in McAllister 1933:82). Above **Pu'u-o-Waina** on what is now Pacific Heights there were apparently two heiaus: **Kahuoi**, mentioned only by Thrum (1922:79), who says it was of husbandry class, but destroyed about 1850; and **Kaheiki**, a famous heiau mentioned in several legends MacAllister (1933:82). Kamakau (1961:49) remarks:

There is **Kaheiki** at **Keoihuihu** on the ridge between **Nuuanu** and **Pauoa**. It is a temple built by the Menehunes for Kahanaiakeakua. But when the government was taken by the dog Kaupe, Kahilonu the guardian of the dog resided at **Kaheiki**.

**Pauoa** and the heiau of **Kaheiki** are mentioned in Kahekili's invasion of O'ahu. In 1867, Kamakau wrote an account of this invasion stating that in January 1783, a decisive battle was fought with Kahekili and his forces were divided up in two companies, one under Hō'eu's leadership stationed at **Kānelā'au** and **Kapapakōlea** back of **Pūowaina** and the other under this own command stationed from above **Hekili** to **Kahēhuna** and **'Auwaiolimu**. 'Auwaiolimu is the mouth of Pauoa Valley and

translates as “ditch of moss,” because the hair of a mo’o that bathed there resembled moss (Pukui et. al 1974:14).

*Ma kēia ho’ouka kaua ‘ana, ua lilo ka wai o ke kahawai o **Kaheiki** i koko, no ke āhau lālā kukui o ka heana i ka wai, no ka mea ua kūmano ‘ia ke kahawai i ke kino o nā kānaka i make i ke kaua. ‘O ke kaua ma luna iho o ka haiau ‘o **Kaheiki** ke kaua i he’e ai, no ka mea, ua pi’i a’ela kekahi kaua ma ke kualapa pili o **Pauoa**, a iho ma **Kapena**, a uluāo’a a’ela ka ho’ouka ‘ana o ke kaua . . . Lilo iholā ke aupuni o O’ahu a me Moloka’i. (Kamakau, Ka Nūpepa Kū’oko’a, March, 30, 1867)*

In this battle the waters of the stream of **Kaheiki** ran red with blood from the heaps of broken corpses . . . on the ridge facing **Pauoa** and from thence down to **Kapena** another attack was made against the defense stationed back of the heiau of **Kaheiki** . . . thus O’ahu and Molokai were taken. (Kamakau 1992:135–137)

## Mele

### **Pauoa Ka Liko Lehua**

Composer: Bush, Emma, 1892-1957

Aia i Pauoa ka liko lehua  
Ka iini pau ole a ka makemake  
Makemake no wau la ike lihi  
I ka lawe haaheo o ke kikala  
Palua, pakolu i ke kekona  
I ka hoi akau hoi i ka hema  
Hemahema ka pilina ua lololole  
Ua ewa ka palena me ka nihoniho  
Nihoniho mai nei ko pelekoki  
I ka iho makawalu o ka lihilihi  
A he lihi kuleana kou i laila  
I ka lou umii a ka huapala  
He aloha kahi wai o Auwaiolimu  
Ia wai lomi lima me kuu aloha  
Haina ia mai ana ka puana  
Aia i Pauoa ka liko lehua

There at **Pauoa** is the lehua budding  
The endless yearning of desire  
How I yearn to catch a glimpse  
The sassy sashaying of the hips  
Twice, thrice in a second  
Was the swishing from right to left  
Awkward was the fit so uneven  
The hem was sagging with scallops  
Scalloped was her petticoat  
Down to the eight folded lace edging  
Trifle was my interest there  
As the young, pretty one bent over sharply  
Beloved is the water of **Auwaiolimu**  
This stream where hands were fondled with my love  
The story is told  
There at **Pauoa** is the lehua budding

### **Kaulana Pauoa**

Composer: Keaulana, Kimo Alama, 1955

Kaulana Pauoa liko ka lehua  
O ka pua kaulana ao Pauoa  
Kaulana Manoa maile lau lii  
O ka ua kilihune ao Manoa  
Kaulana Waikiki i ka hokele  
He moani ke ala o ka lipoa  
Haina ia mai ana ka puana  
O ka pua kaulana ao Pauoa

Famous is **Pauoa** for the lehua budding  
The well-known flower of **Pauoa**  
Famous is **Manoa** for the small leave maile  
The lightly showering rain of Manoa  
Famous is **Waikiki** for the hotel  
In the air lingers the fragrance of lipoa  
The story is told  
Of the well-known flower of **Pauoa**

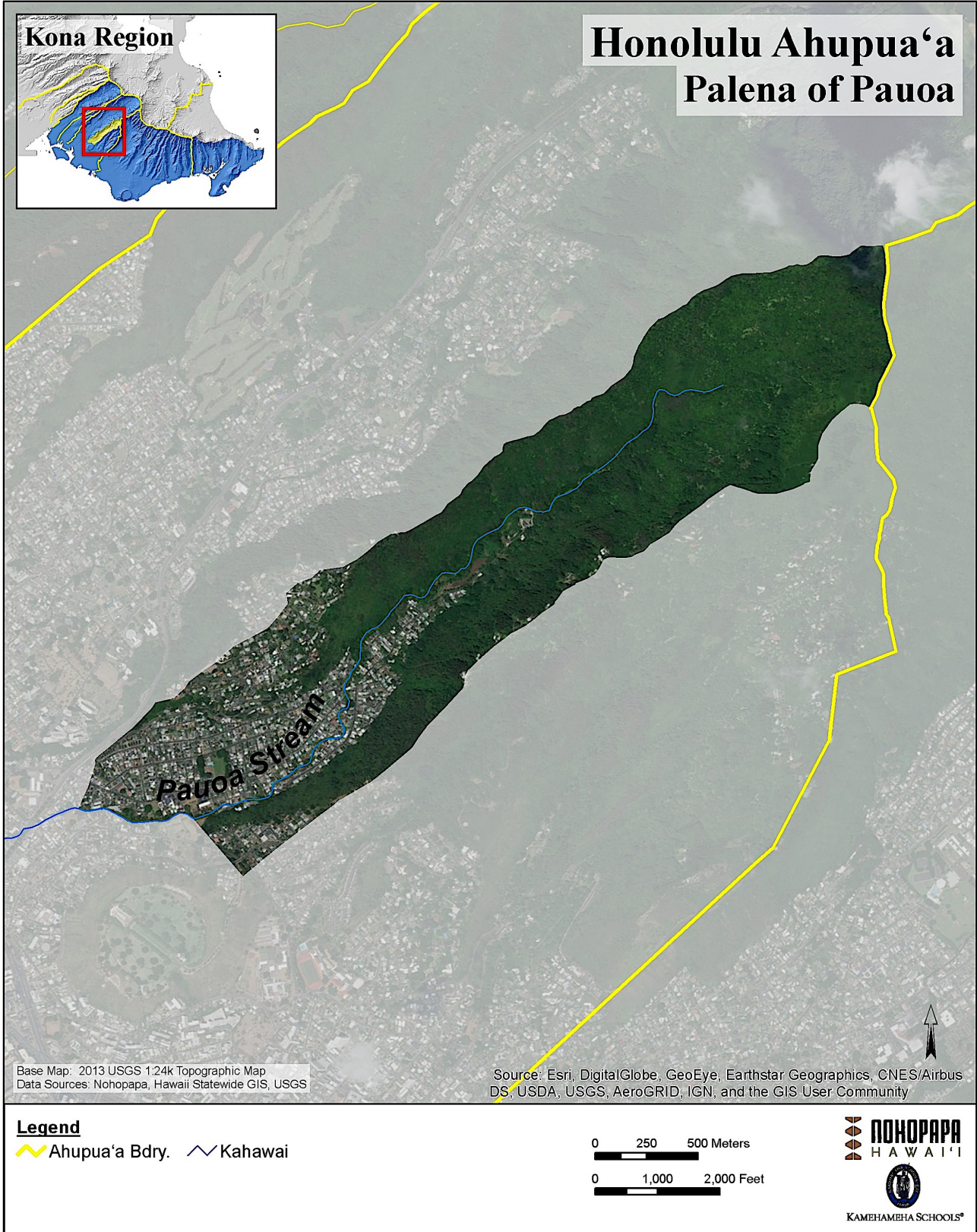


Figure 61. Aerial image of Pauoa Palena



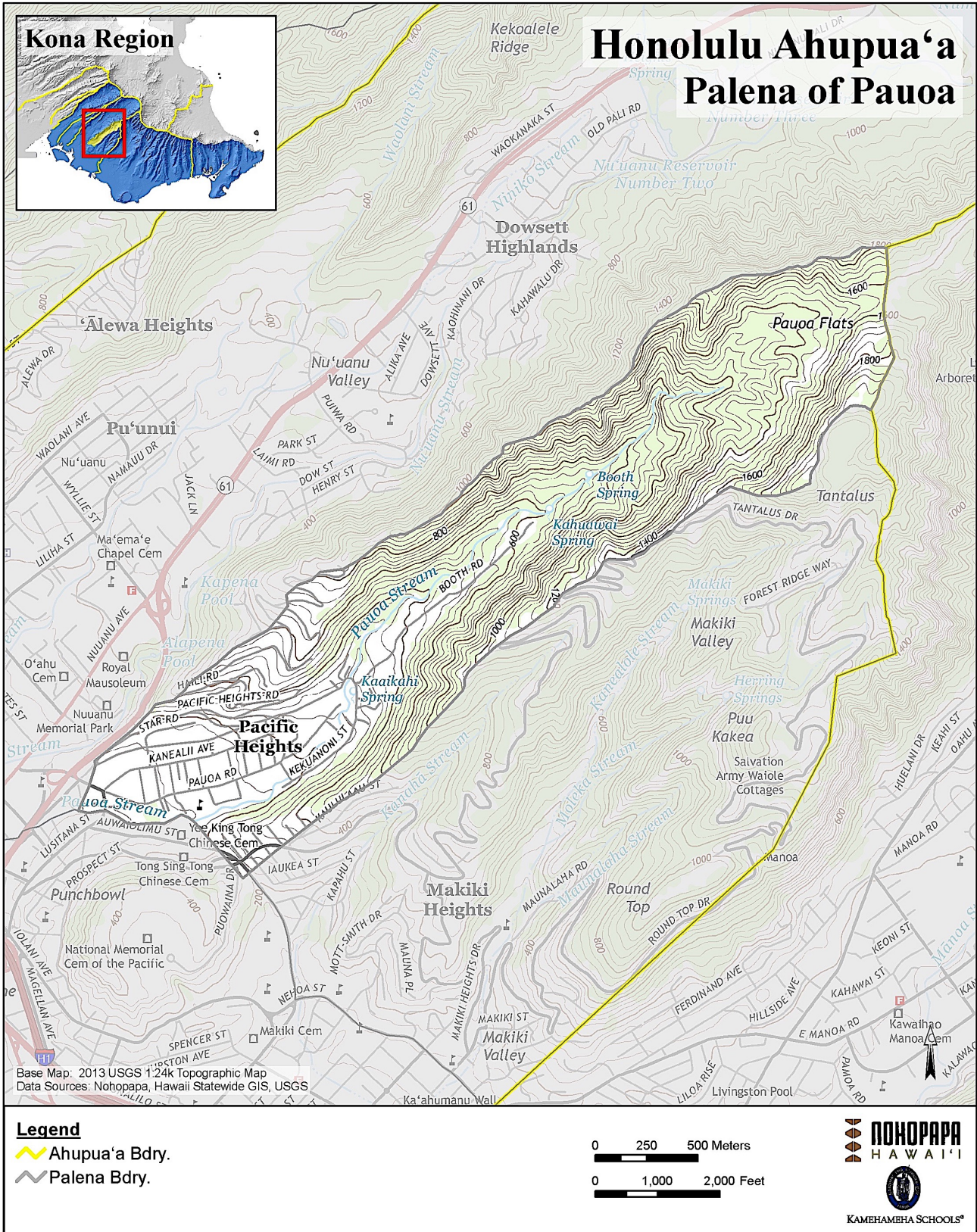


Figure 62. USGS map of Pauoa palena

Table 9. Summary of Selected Wahi Pana in Pauoa Palena

Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Lower Pauoa Stream Lo'i & Settlement Area	Lo'i kalo (irrigated taro) & House sites	Kapaloa (or Kapāloa) & Kapiwai (or Kāpīwai) (see Comments)	Nearby Auwaiolimu (or 'Auwaiolimu) (literally, "ditch of moss") is associated with the "Long hair of a <i>mo'o</i> [supernatural water spirit] woman (some say she was Ka-hala-o- Puna), bathing there at a ditch, resembled moss" (Pukui et al. 1974:14)	Filled in and over by residential development	Kapāloa is literally, "the long fence" or "the long enclosure," and Kāpīwai is literally "sprinkling water," perhaps a reference to the pūnāwai in this area
Kaikahi	Pūnāwai (fresh- water spring)	Area once known Kapāloa or Kāpīwai (see row above)	--	Developed over by urbanization	--
Unnamed Spring	Pūnāwai (fresh- water spring)	Area once known Kāpīwai (see above)	--	Developed over by urbanization	--
Kahuawai	Pūnāwai (fresh- water spring)	Upper Pauoa Stream	--	Indeterminate – possibly still there, given its location in undeveloped portion of the valley	--
Booth Spring (traditional name unknown)	Pūnāwai (fresh- water spring)	Upper Pauoa Stream	Associated with a malihini (foreigner) named Charles W. Booth (1866-1910)	Indeterminate – possibly still there, given its location in undeveloped portion of the valley	--
Kahuoi	Natural rock (outcrop) feature – palena/ahupua'a boundary marker	Ridgeline between Pauoa & Nu'uaniu	--	Presumably still exists, given its remote location on undeveloped land	Kahuoi is also the name of an old, now destroyed heiau whose exact location is indeterminate (see narrative text above)

Wahi Pana	Type	Location/ Place Name	Associated Mo'olelo/ Other Oral History <sup>1</sup>	Current Disposition	Comments <sup>2</sup>
Nahuina	Natural rock (outcrop) feature – palena/ahupua'a boundary marker	Ridgeline between Pauoa & Makiki	--	Presumably still exists, given its remote location on undeveloped land	--
Pu'u 'Ōhi'a (also known as "Mount Tantalus")	Natural feature: palena/ahupua'a boundary marker	Pu'u (peak) between Pauoa & Makiki	Tantalus named given by Punahou students in later historic times	Presumably still exists, given its remote location on undeveloped land	Literally, 'Ōhi'a tree hill"
Kaumuhonu	Natural rock (outcrop) feature – palena/ahupua'a boundary marker	Intersection of Pauoa, Nu'uaniu & Mānoa	--	Presumably still exists, given its remote location on undeveloped land	Literally, "the turtle oven," and described by Pukui et al. (1974:95) as a place in Ni'ihau

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).

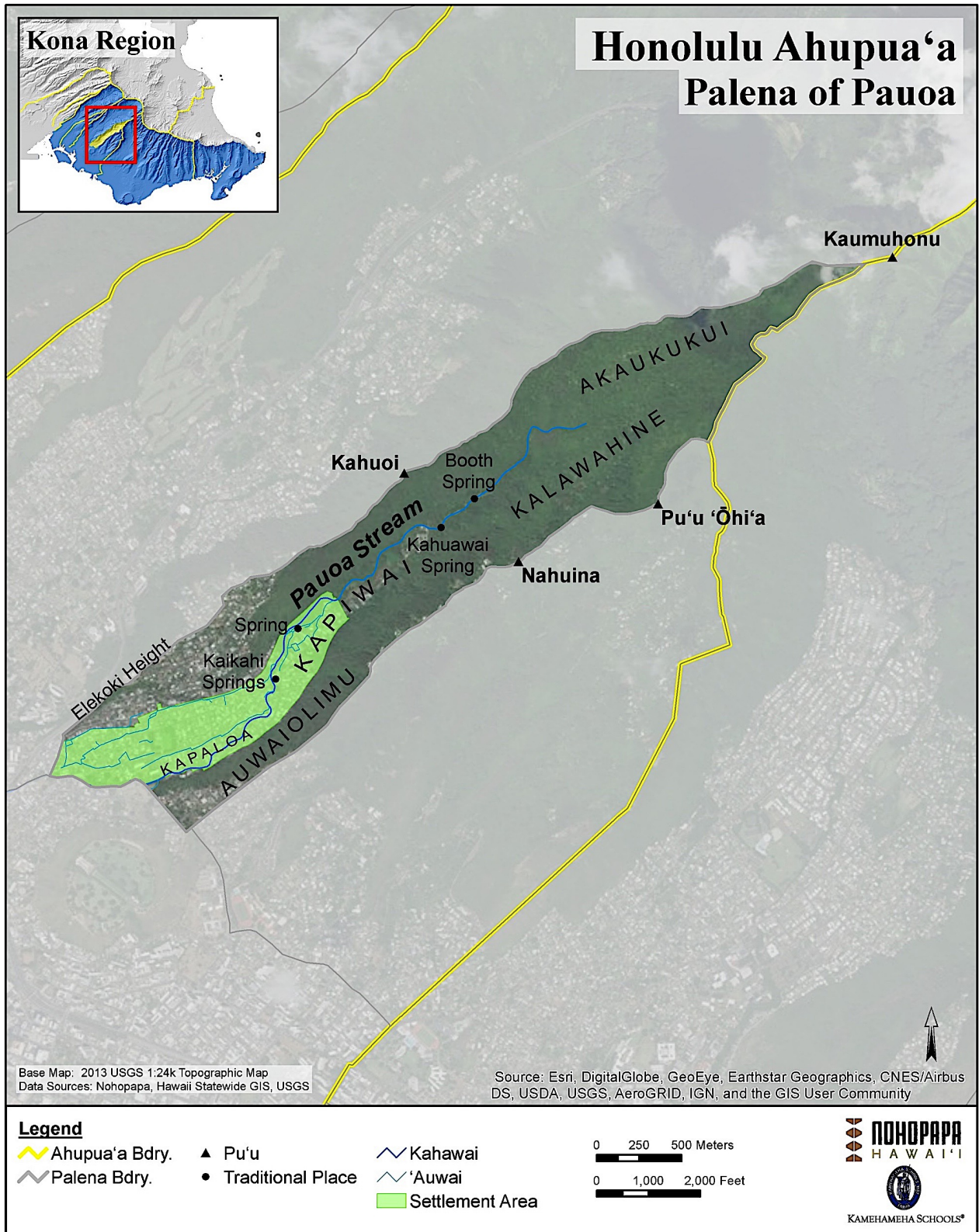


Figure 63. GIS map depiction of significant Hawaiian cultural and natural resources in Pauoa Palena (Honolulu Ahupua'a)



Figure 64. 1930 Pauoa Valley seen from Pacific Heights. Photograph by Elias Shura. (Bishop Museum Archives SN10875)

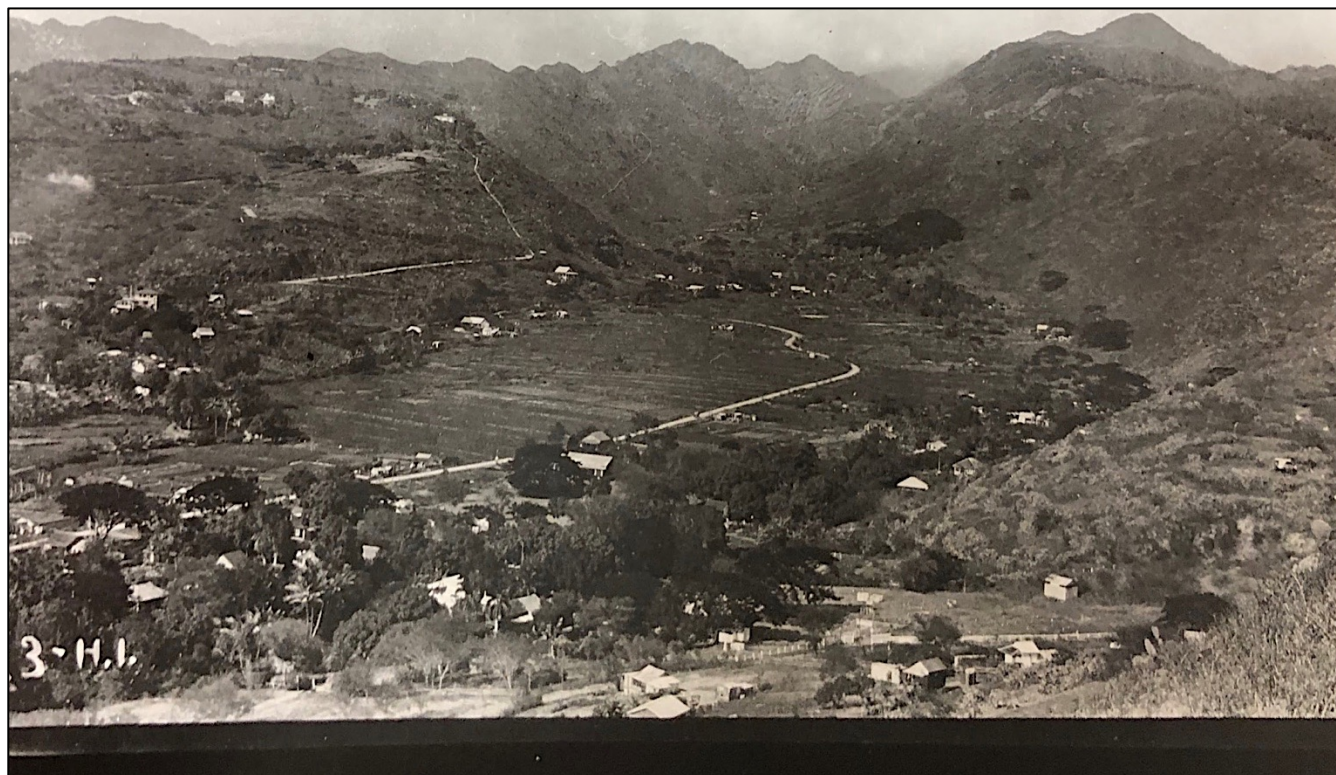


Figure 65. 1930 Pauoa Valley seen from Punchbowl Crater, Honolulu. (Bishop Museum Archives CP108793)



Figure 66. 1900-1910, Looking into Pauoa Valley from Tantalus (Bishop Museum Archives Call No. CP90710)



Figure 67. Pauoa Valley no date given. (Bishop Museum Archives Call No. 1970.41)



Figure 68. Looking at Pūowaina (Punchbowl) from Pauoa (Bishop Museum Archives Call No. 1981.509)

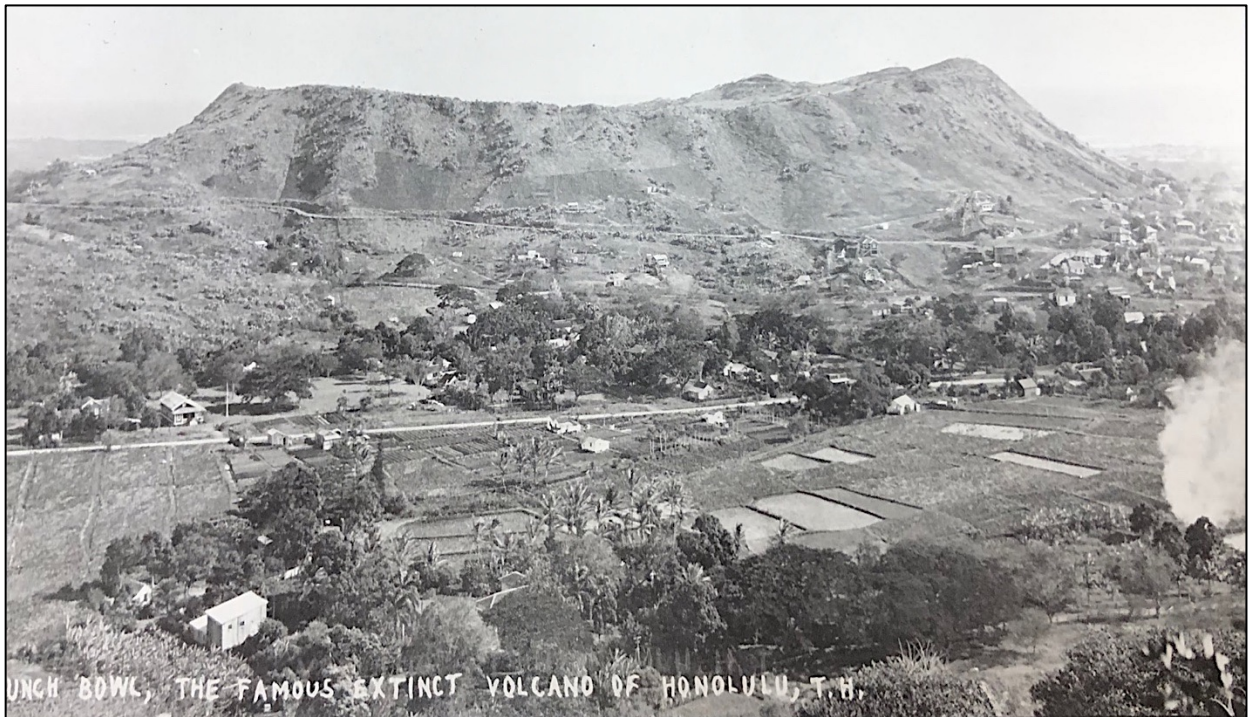


Figure 69. 1930 photo of Pūowaina (Punchbowl) from Pacific Heights (Bishop Museum Archives SN108669)



Figure 70. Pauoa Valley from Pūowaina (Punchbowl) with view of taro patches in background. No date given. (Bishop Museum Archives 1987.164)



Figure 71. Pauoa Valley from Punchbowl toward taro patches in background. No date given. (Bishop Museum Archives SP1140)





**Community Groups in Pauoa**

At the time of this study Nohopapa Hawai'i could not connect with any Hawaiian cultural based community groups in Pauoa. See the Honolulu and Makiki chapters for community organizations that are doing work in the neighboring ahupua'a.



## Additional Resources for Pauoa Palena

Table 10 is an annotated summary of additional resources for readers looking for more details on the natural and cultural resources of Pauoa Palena, Honolulu Ahupua'a.

Table 10. Sample of Resources for Pauoa Palena\*

Author & Year	Title	Summary of Key Content
Fornander (1918-1919)	<i>Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore: The Hawaiians Account of the Formation of Their Islands and Origin of Their Race, with the Traditions of Their Migrations, as Gathered from Original Sources</i>	This second edition of Fornander's four-volume <i>Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore</i> , includes more important and prominent legends. Fornander's work is a compilation of oral historical information and narratives drawn from ethnohistorical and ethnographic sources. Different versions exist of the most popular legends; this collection features a few legends featuring individuals with similar names, indicating different versions of the same story. The work closes with sketches of other myths and traditional characters composed by students at Lahinaluna School, Maui.
Handy (1940)	<i>The Hawaiian Planter, Volume 1. His Plants, Methods and Areas of Cultivation</i>	The <i>Hawaiian Planter</i> , 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.
Handy, Handy with Pukui (1972)	<i>Native Planters in Old Hawaii: Their Life, Lore, and Environment</i>	Produced in collaboration with Mary Kawena Pukui, this work is a revised version of Handy and Handy's original 1940 <i>The Hawaiian Planter Volume 1</i> . The revised edition offers an expanded discussion of Hawaiian biocultural resources, foodways, and landscape management strategies. The work draws on ethnohistorical, scientific, and archaeological lines of evidence. It also includes observations and discussions of Hawaiian political and social conventions, material culture, language, lore, and religion, dancing, the graphic arts, games and sports, war, society, and other aspects of culture.
Kamakau (1976)	<i>The Works of the People of Old: Na Hana a ka Po'e Kahiko</i>	<i>Na Hana a ka Po'e Kahiko</i> is a sequel to <i>Ka Po'e Kahiko</i> (Kamakau 1964). Both works are translations from Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau's series of newspaper articles which ran from October 14, 1869, through November 3, 1870, in <i>Ke Au 'Oko'a</i> . Kamakau called this series 'Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i', which is heavily referenced throughout in the literature on Hawaiian culture. Most of these references are quotations or paraphrases from the manuscript housed in the Bishop Museum, which was translated and edited by Martha Warren Beckwith and Mary Kawena Pukui in 1934.
Maly and	<i>Ka Hana Lawai'a a me Na Ko'a o Na Kai 'Ewalu: A History of</i>	This study details archival historical documentary research, and oral history interviews to identify and document, traditional knowledge of Hawaiian

Author & Year	Title	Summary of Key Content
Maly (2003)	<i>Fishing Practices and Marine Fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands</i>	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.
Thrum (1920)	<i>The Pali and Battle of Nu‘uanu. Kaliuwa‘a falls and Kamapua‘a, the Demigod</i>	There were numerous battles in Nu‘uanu throughout the eighteenth century due to interisland conflicts between rival ruling chiefs. Warriors used the Pali pass to conduct raids into each other’s territories. The most significant and well-known of those battles took place in 1795 between two chiefs, Kamehameha I and Kalanikūpule and marked a pivotal event in Hawaiian history. This work is comprised of content from Thrum’s other publications – his Hawaiian annual series and book of Hawaiian folktales, which were frequently aggregations of information gleaned from contemporary sources like Fornander (1919-1919) and McAllister (1933). The book consists of mythological and traditional accounts of the Pali and Battle of Nu‘uanu, Kaliuwa‘a Falls and Kamapua‘a.

\* 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.