KA WAIMAKA LEHUA:

MENSTRUATION THROUGH A HAWAIIAN EPISTEMOLOGY

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Dedication

I nā wāhine kapu; e kahe mau ka waimaka o ka lehua a palalauhala. He puna-wai kahe wale.

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Abstract: Ka Lehua

Within Western patriarchal discourse, menstruation has been stigmatized to be defiled, gross, and lewd. However, menstruation in a Hawaiian epistemology is sacred and should be fostered within the modern 'ohana Hawai'i. To promote Hawaiian well-being, this thesis explores the Hawaiian epistemology of menstruation, blood, and the purpose, function, and meaning of the hale pe'a: menstrual house.

This thesis contextualizes menstruation through a Hawaiian epistemology and outlines the importance and difference of said epistemology to dominant Western patriarchal discourse on this subject. This thesis analyzes the literature and discourse of both Hawaiian language and English language primary and secondary resources. The research for this thesis also includes a focus group with a 'ohana Hawai'i who conduct their own menarche ceremony. The findings of this research will inform families and young women on traditions and practices, both new and old, that may be utilized to honor and care for menstruation.

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Chapter 1: Welina

1.1 Introduction: Ua Kulu ka Waimaka o ka Lehua

Sweat beads bubble on my forehead, carpet burn breaks shoulder skin, and a fork stabs my stomach, or was that my back with a knife? What is happening? I remember it like it was yesterday, but it was actually 2004 and I am still confused, slightly scarred, and in absolute awe. As I drag myself across the house to the bathroom then climb the tall toilet, I bow to look between my legs, and red *mim*... blood. Is that blood? Am I going to die? Is this the end of me? What's happening?

I never believed in the idiom, "ignorance is bliss," and this picture that I paint for you is the reason. The ignorance of my own body has inspired this research and at my age now I can only pity young Makana. At 10 years-old it was innocence, but what truly happened can be examined by the past and its apparent reoccurrence in the present, continuously rewritten by scholars, reinforced by "street-talk" and therefore synonymous with reality. My ignorance can be attributed to the history of Hawai'i's "colonial" past, the distortion thereof and as a result, my parent's floundering attempt to clarify the meaning of blood, menstrual blood to be exact.

When my period arrived, I didn't have a name for it, but Hawaiians called it, amongst many other things, "ka wā haumia," loosely translating to, 'the time of haumia.' Haumia being defined as: "Uncleanliness, filth, defilement, abomination; defiled, indecent, obscene, vile, lewd, unclean... contaminated, sordid."¹ The translation of haumia has left me puzzled, confused and

¹ Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary: Revised and Enlarged Edition* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 61 (hereafter cited in the text and footnotes as *HD*). Refer to section 2.2.2 for a discussion on the use of Hawaiian language in this paper.

curious, did Hawaiians really think that menstruation was "defiling" and "vile?"² How could this be true when powerful female figures of Hawai'i like Haumea – the female goddess of the universe, Ka'ahumanu – the first supreme regent of all of Hawai'i, and Hi'iakaikapoliopele – a spiritual and physical healer are all continuously praised for their amazement?

The definition of menstruation as haumia is not the problem. Rather, the Western connotations of words like defiled, vile, and filth that are attached to haumia is destructive and has altered our modern epistemologies to stigmatize menstruation as gross and disgusting. Menstruation, through a Hawaiian epistemology, is sacred and should be fostered within the modern 'ohana Hawai'i to promote well-being of 'ohana.³

Following Dr. Robert J. Morris, who writes about the mistranslation and misinterpretation of Hawaiian history, I argue that historians like Thomas G. Thrum and biblical texts have defined menstruation as unclean, impure, and defiled. He writes, "By the acts of interlinear mistranslation, bowdlerization, and gloss under consideration here, Thrum and others historicized both Hawaiian and English texts in a way that... screened the truth of the texts and vilified the body."⁴ Dr. Morris argues that intentional misinterpretations of these sorts of texts are a "form of patriarchal control of others."⁵ The "others" of this research who have been subjected to the Western patriarchal pen is menstruation and the vilification thereof.

² This thesis uses a variety of terms to describe the aboriginal people of ka pae 'āina o Hawai'i (the Hawaiian archipelago). A few terms used here are Kanaka/Kānaka Maoli, Kanaka, 'Ōiwi, Kanaka 'Ōiwi, Hawai'i, po'e Hawai'i, lāhui kanaka, Hawaiian, and Native/native Hawaiian.
³ 'Ohana is translated to family, however, the nuclear type of family is not the type of family that is addressed here. 'Ohana members include extended family members that include cousins of all degrees, aunties and uncles of all degrees, and the many generations of ancestors and grandchildren both seen and unseen.

⁴ Robert J. Morris, "Translators, Traitors, and Traducers," *Journal of Homosexuality* 51, no. 3 (October 17, 2008): 242.

⁵ Morris, 232.

Dr. Sharon Moloney talks about Western patriarchy in direct correlation to menstruation and menarche.⁶ She states that, "In Western industrialized society, menstruation and birth are commonly seen as unstable, pathological processes requiring medical control."⁷ Furthermore,

In Western patriarchal societies, however, these uniquely female experiences seem to have been drained of their meaning and spirituality. They are commonly seen as medical concerns, dubious processes requiring surveillance and control.... Menarche usually occurs as a private event without social acknowledgment or celebration... menstruation has become associated with pathology, shame, and the profane.⁸

Dr. Moloney directly points to the westernization of menstruation by interpreters such as Thrum while simultaneously exposing a historical understanding that menstruation is a source of defilement. Within Western patriarchy, menstruation is an unstable and pathological process that needs to be controlled by medical intervention. Such processes vilify the body in distancing spiritual, social, and physical recognition of menstruation and menarche from 'ohana and an individual.

In complete contrast, this thesis addresses menstruation as female divinity and a Hawaiian well-being. Menstrual well-being is an understanding of the spiritual and physical

⁶ When this thesis refers to Western, it refers to an occidental worldview as elaborated by Edward Said. The Western worldview, in most cases, contrasts Hawaiian and/or indigenous/aboriginal epistemologies. Edward Said in *Orientalism* describes the Orient and the Occident, the latter being of European origin and the former of anything "other." The Occident carries an impinging connotation of social superiority. Edward Said, introduction to *Orientalism*, 1st ed., (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 1-28.

⁷ Sharon Moloney, "Mothers and Daughters at Menarche: An Indigenous-Inspired Quiet Revolution," *Journal of the Association for Research on Mothering* 10, no. 2 (2008): 112. ⁸ Moloney, 113.

connection that 'ohana have to the menstrual cycle.⁹ When a woman menstruates, she is participating in a deified cycle. When girls menstruate, she signifies a continuation of the deified cycle that she will continue in place of her mother and grandmother. Their role as women is to hold space for the continuity of the sacred in 'ohana as a metaphoric stream that is ever flowing. Fathers know their role in relation to menstruating women as he acknowledges a woman's sacredness while setting an example for his son. And a boy's role as son, brother, and future father and husband is then to mimic his spiritually-conscious father in celebrating and holding space for menstruation in their home.

Thankfully, my period arrived during the beginning of summer break, so, I had time to adjust to this life-changing thing. But, when I had returned to school I was afraid that a friend would know that I was, you know, bleeding. I had no friends who were going through the same thing, well if I did then I didn't know because we didn't talk about it. However, Hawaiians had what is called a hale pe'a to where women would retire during their menses.¹⁰ In this hale pe'a, "The woman was restricted by the kapu from taking part of any outside activities, thus forcing her to take care of herself during that period."¹¹ There are many texts that address a Hawaiian practice of menstrual restrictions however, there is no type of concentrated resource that addresses menstrual physicality and spirituality through a Hawaiian epistemology.

⁹ This thesis unfortunately does not address non-hetero relationships and the possibility of menstrual identity of other-gendered people. There is much research to be done on menstruation and the relationship of other-gendered individuals to their menses. This thesis also holds space for conversations regarding women who are unable to menstruate for any reason without engaging in direct discussion of that matter.

¹⁰ Hale pe'a is a menstrual house. *HD*, 53.

¹¹ E. S. Craighill Handy and Mary Kawena Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1998), 10.

1.2 Research Questions: Aia i Hea ka Wai Lehua?

This research project is concerned with the proliferation of the Hawaiian culture and the sustenance of a once-thriving and flourishing nation. More specifically, this project engages an understanding of our reproducing bodies, both somatic and spiritual, to raise a conscious lāhui.¹² To accomplish this goal, a few questions will be raised, pondered, and answered.

'How is menstrual blood understood through a Hawaiian epistemology?' In this context, menstrual blood refers specifically to the monthly "bleeding" of a woman as a part of her menstrual cycle.¹³ Blood has varying degrees of cultural understanding and this section of the thesis will focus on post-natal, placenta, and menstrual blood.

The Hawaiian literary cannon to the best of our knowledge has paired menstruation with a hale pe'a that was a part of the larger kauhale.¹⁴ The hale pe'a is understood to be a built structure to where wahine waimaka lehua would retire monthly.¹⁵ Given the significance of the hale pe'a, 'What is the purpose, function and meaning of the hale pe'a?'

Through the journey of this thesis project, I met a 'ohana who conduct their own menarche ceremony.¹⁶ And, out of genuine curiosity, 'What has a 'ohana done as a 'aha kahe mua?' To investigate this question, this thesis includes a focus group with a 'ohana and this section of the thesis will discuss findings from the focus group.

¹² Nation, race, tribe, people, nationality. HD, 190

¹³ For a simple and informative video pertaining to the menstrual cycle, see: KidsHealth.org, *The Menstrual Cycle*, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vXrQ_FhZmos&t=65s.

¹⁴ Group of houses comprising a Hawaiian home. HD, 135.

¹⁵ 'Wāhine/wahine waimaka lehua' here refers to menstruating women. From here on, menstruating women will be referred to as wāhine/wahine waimaka lehua. Wahine is woman. Wāhine is women.

¹⁶ Typically, English grammar rules will precede 'ohana with an "an." However, words such as 'ohana and 'aha, those beginning with a 'okina will be preceded with an "a." Such practice indicates that the 'okina (') is a recognized consonant of the Hawaiian language.

1.3 Theoretical Framework – Kuana'ike Hawai'i: Hawaiian Epistemology

Hawaiian epistemology is the theoretical framework employed in this thesis and the key concepts of this framework are moʻokūʻauhau, moʻolelo, and akua.

Dr. Manulani Aluli Meyer, on Hawaiian epistemology says that, "Hawaiian epistemology is a radical remembering of our future as it highlights and honors all three domains of knowledge production; sensory, mental, and contemplative; body, mind, and spirit; gross, subtle, and casual."¹⁷ In her doctoral dissertation, Dr. Meyer advocates for an understanding of how Hawaiians know what we know while simultaneously critiquing her own work in hopes that she does not contribute to a homogenizing neo-colonial representation of a diverse people. In honoring the work by Dr. Meyer, this thesis demonstrates that Hawaiian epistemology is valuable beyond measure in understanding a Hawaiian truth.

I acknowledge that Hawaiian epistemology is a large concept and cultural understanding of the world. Therefore, this thesis specifically looks through the lens of moʻokūʻauhau, akua, and moʻolelo as refined theoretical frameworks of a larger understanding of Hawaiian epistemology. It is not my goal to reduce the vast understanding of my ancestors, but to utilize these three facets of understanding to begin to know more about menstruation. Each term will be defined in the coming pages.

According to Runes as cited by Dr. Meyer, epistemology is the "philosophical science of the nature of knowledge and truth."¹⁸ A Hawaiian epistemological approach acknowledges that Hawaiian truth is produced through mo'okū'auhau, mo'olelo, and akua. A Hawaiian truth is the

¹⁷ Manulani Aluli Meyer, "Foreword," in *Ho 'oulu: Our Time of Becoming* (Honolulu: 'Ai Pōhaku Press, 2003), VIII–XV.

¹⁸ Manulani Aluli Meyer, "Native Hawaiian Epistemology: Contemporary Narratives (Unedited Doctoral Thesis)," in *Ho* 'oulu: Our Time of Becoming (Honolulu: 'Ai Pōhaku Press, 2003), 77.

knowledge held by one who looks to the sequential past while planning for the sequential future. Dr. Meyer explains epistemology by situating it alongside the concepts of ontology – "the science of the essence of things", cosmology – the science of creation of universe and the change in universe, empiricism – "the doctrine which regards experience as the sole source of knowledge", and objectivity – to reduce to an object, while also being critical of "reason" and "representation."¹⁹ Dr. Meyer's groundbreaking work is a Palikū for this study and as a child reborn from Haumea, I contribute to a larger understanding that Hawaiian epistemology is a way to understand Hawaiian truth.²⁰

The foundation of this thesis is Hawaiian epistemology and the weapons used to engage the opposing narratives are moʻokūʻauhau, moʻolelo, and akua.²¹ Moʻokūʻauhau is translated as "Genealogical succession [and] pedigree" (*HD*, 254) however, moʻokūʻauhau is also the succession of knowledge in all forms from one archive to the next. This study concerns the intergenerational movement of knowledge vertically through generations and horizontally through disciplines and archives.

Mo'olelo as Dr. Alohalani Brown describes, are the 'iewe of Hawaiian understanding and through meaningful interpretation we today, many generations after the recording of these

¹⁹ Meyer, 77–80.

²⁰ "Ka Moolelo o Ko Wakea Ma Noho Ana Ma Kalihi – Ka Loaa Ana o Ke Akua Ulu o Kamehaikana" tells us that Haumea in reborn into every Hawaiian woman and her ancestral homeland, or foundation, is Palikū in Kualoa, Oʻahu. I use the moʻolelo of Haumea and her moʻokūʻauhau to poetically exemplify Hawaiian epistemology as the theoretical foundation of this theis, also known as a Palikū. In this moʻolelo, Haumea uses kukui nuts as weapons of war to defeat her opponent, and here the weapons of war to defeat the opposing narratives are the concepts stated above.

²¹ J. Moku'ōhai Poepoe, "Ka Moolelo O Ko Wakea Ma Noho Ana Ma Kalihi - Ka Loaa Ana O Ke Akua Ulu O Kameha'ikana," *Ka Na'i Aupuni*, May 2, 1906,

https://www.papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=p&p=home.

mo'olelo, are able to peer into the lives and understanding of our ancestors.²² Mo'olelo are the physical remnants of Hawaiian epistemology, and the mo'olelo that I preserve is for the future generations to understand their menses in a spiritual and physical capacity. The concept of mo'olelo is employed here as a tool for knowledge dissemination and reclamation.

Akua are commonly known as gods or goddesses (*HD*, 15) and as a theory, I propose that akua are the cycles of life. Dr. Joseph A. Salazar in his doctoral work involving the opposition of the thirty-meter-telescope on Mauna a Wākea interviewed Kumu Hula and Dr. Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahele.²³ Both Dr. Salazar and Dr. Kanahele argue that akua are the ever-present cycles of the universe and we as humans participate in the cycles and become akua ourselves. Dr. Salazar writes, "Because the cycle itself is the world of 'our elemental gods,' she (Kanahele) [*sic*] suggests we are being 'godlike' when we go mauka (to the mountains), pick from the forest, give birth, and engage with natural earth-human processes in this cycle of life."²⁴ This thesis utilizes akua as a lens to interpret menstruation as a life cycle and wahine as gods when we menstruate.

1.4 Chapter Conclusion: Ha'ina Mai ka Puana

This first chapter is an outline of the topic of menstruation and Chapter 2: Ka'ina elaborates on the method of this thesis. I have divided this thesis in three internal chapters.

²² Mo'olelo is story, tale, myth, history, traditional, literature, legend, journal. *HD*, 254. 'Iewe are afterbirth and placenta. 'Iewe are also known as ēwe and honua. *HD*, 94. Marie Alohalani Brown, *Facing The Spears of Change: The Life and Legacy of John Papa 'I'i*, Indigenous Pacifics (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016).

²³ A kumu hula is a trained individual who has gone through a series of ceremonies and many years of disciplined practice under the practice of hula. Kumu is translated as "base, foundation, main stalk of tree, teacher, model, origin." *HD*, 182.

²⁴ Joseph A. Salazar, "Multicultural Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Struggle in Hawai'i: The Politics of Astronomy on Mauna a Wākea" (University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2014), 175.

Chapter 3: Walewale discusses menstrual blood and how those substances are perceived through a Hawaiian epistemology. The walewale that has created this earth establishes the flow of this thesis. Such foundation is through the cultural concepts and dynamics of kapu and noa. Chapter 4: Hale Pe'a is a discovery of a menstrual built environment and how we can observe a Hawaiian menstrual practice through mo'olelo. The sorts of menstrual practice addressed in this chapter suggests that current menstrual practices should be reconsidered to mimic a Hawaiian epistemology. Finally, in Chapter 5: 'Aha Kahe Mua, this thesis explores menarche, the establishment of menstruation for a female, of a 'ohana who conduct their own menarche ceremony. Through their experiences with Hawaiian ceremony, they have designed and conducted an honorific and religious ceremony for their daughters. The following chapter will discuss the method of inquiry, data collection, and presentation of chapters.

Chapter 2: Ka'ina

The goal of the methods and methodology of this research is to hold true to Hawaiian values of ho'okipa and noi'i, to seek knowledge (*HD*, 270), by institutional rules and cultural norms. This chapter speaks to the methods of this thesis and the procedure of mo'olelo dissemination and reclamation.

2.1 Literature Review: Ke Ala Ma'a i ka Hele 'Ia

Ngāhuia Murphy's book, *Te Awa Atua: Menstruation in the Pre-Colonial Māori World*, was a reproduction of her Master's thesis from the University of Waikato. Murphy researched the Māori worldview of menstruation through interviews with respected wahine Māori community members, primary resource analysis of an ethnographic history of Aotearoa, and *pūrākau* Māori—an equivalent to mo'olelo Hawai'i.²⁵ Among her findings, Murphy discusses that menstrual blood and menstruation is *atua* which, is synonymous with akua in 'ōlelo Hawai'i.²⁶ Menstruation, through a Kaupapa Māori lens, an Indigenous understanding similar to a lens of Hawaiian epistemology, is divine and mimics the god-like phenomena of Hawai'i.

Murphy also produced *Waiwhero: The Red Waters* with illustrations by Regan Balzer. This 42-page illustrated book is, by my own definition, the visual component of *Te Awa Atua* that disseminates menstrual understanding to a wide community of wahine and 'ohana Māori. She poetically articulates menstrual rites, menarche ceremonies, and family customs that may be recreated in modernity.

²⁵ *Pūrākau* is myth, ancient legend, story. "Māori Dictionary," accessed March 13, 2017, http://maoridictionary.co.nz/.

²⁶ Ngāhuia Murphy, *Te Awa Atua: Menstruation in the Pre-Colonial Māori World* (Ngāruawahia, New Zealand: He Puna Manawa, 2013).

Waiwhero and *Te Awa Atua* are two leading examples of an Indigenous worldview of menstruation. However, said research and publications are specific to Aotearoa and Māori. Research similar to Murphy's is conducted here to honor a Hawaiian epistemology of menstruation.

The stigma of menstruation in Hawai'i has been manifested in the word haumia and has been defined to be defiled and gross. Said perspectives are culturally insensitive according to a mana wahine theory. Regarding mana wahine, Dr. Leonie Pihama writes in "Tīhei Mauri Ora: Honouring Our Voices, Mana Wahine as a Kaupapa Māori Theoretical Framework," that "Mana Wahine... is about exploring the complex ways that the intersection of colonisation, race, and gender has impacted upon us and has manipulated many of the fundamental beliefs and values about the roles and importance of Māori women."²⁷ A mana wahine perspective, Dr. Pihama argues, emphasizes wahine agency in Māori concepts which are synonymous to Hawaiian epistemologies of mo'okū'auhau, mo'olelo, and akua. The relativity of mana wahine that Dr. Pihama promotes and the Hawaiian epistemology that informs this qualitative data analysis is mo'okū'auhau (whakapapa), mo'olelo (pūrākau), and akua (atua). For example, Lu'ukia's words: "Mai komo mai oe maloko nei, ua hanawai wau, nolaila wau i kaawale ai me ke alii (Olopana)."²⁸ From a mana wahine perspective, I would interpret this text as, "You do not enter here, I am menstruating, thus I have separated from the chief (Olopana)." One may obviously interpret Lu'ukia's words as thus without applying a mana wahine approach. However, Thrum's

²⁷ Leonie E. Pihama, "Tīhei Mauri Ora: Honouring Our Voices, Mana Wahine as a Kaupapa Māori Theoretical Framework" (University of Auckland, 2001), 17.

²⁸ Lu'ukia is an ali'iwahine who lived in Waipi'o, Hawai'i. She is said to have brought hale pe'a traditions from Tahiti to Hawai'i. Abraham Fornander, "Ka Moolelo O Olopana, a Me Kana Wahine," in *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore*, vol. 4 (Honolulu, Hawaii: Bishop Museum Press, 1916), 159.

interpretation of the text is "Don't come in unto me, for I have *my period of infirmity*. [emphasis added] This is the reason why I am separated from Olopana the king."²⁹ Thrum interprets "hanawai" as "period of infirmity" which pushes an agenda of female weakness, one that aligns with Western patriarchy as elaborated by Dr. Morris and Dr. Moloney. This thesis combats a Western patriarchal understanding of women as feeble during menstruation.

Dr. Kekuewa Kikiloi, Assistant Professor of Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, in his article "Rebirth of an Archipelago: Sustaining a Hawaiian Cultural Identity for People and Homeland" argues that a Hawaiian sense of well-being is foremost solidified as a link of people to their homeland in remembering stories and traditions.³⁰ The act of remembering stories and traditions through ancestral memories have rooted Hawaiians to place and therefore, place within us.³¹ These connections contribute to a Hawaiian well-being, to which he states, "Hawaiian well-being is primarily dependent on our ability to viably sustain a Hawaiian cultural identity for both people and homeland."³² Through the mo'olelo of Papa and Wākea, Dr. Kikiloi exemplifies that a Hawaiian well-being is the well-being of all.

Their story takes place during a pivotal point in our native cosmology, when a remarkable shift is made toward the establishment of a progressive social order that would define our collective values and way of life here in these islands for generations. The union of this couple results in not just the "birthing" of the archipelago but also the "birthing" of a unified Hawaiian consciousness—a common ancestral lineage that forges

²⁹ Fornander, 158.

³⁰ Kekuewa Kikiloi, "Rebirth of an Archipelago: Sustaining a Hawaiian Cultural Identity for People and Homeland," *Hūlili* 6 (2010): 75.

³¹ Kikiloi, 74 & 108.

³² Kikiloi, 101.

links between the genealogies of both land and people. Since that point on in our history, this archipelago and its people became inseparable, as the well-being of one becomes invariably connected to the well-being of the other.³³

In support of Dr. Kikiloi's argument, this thesis will present menstrual awareness as a Hawaiian well-being. A Hawaiian well-being reflects a menstrual practice on the premise that menstruation and menarche are the extensions of the akua we are. The connection of the self-toself is an understanding of our physical and spiritual bodies and mimics a unified Hawaiian consciousness.

Dr. Noenoe Silva, in her book *The Power of the Steel-Tipped Pen*, a ground-breaking literary analysis of two public intellectuals and their lifework of preserving Hawaiian knowledge in newspapers, coins a term moʻokūʻauhau consciousness. She explains that moʻokūʻauhau consciousness is a remembering of one's genealogical and scholarly moʻokūʻauhau in producing moʻolelo for the coming generations. J. Mokuʻōhai Poepoe and J. Kānepuʻu are the two public intellectuals that she examines in their act of moʻokūʻahau conciousness through a commitment to producing countless moʻolelo through the newspapers, journals, and other modes of text production. Moʻokūhauʻau conciousness is excercised here when these moʻolelo, narratives, and data are left for the coming generations to understand waimaka lehua through a Hawaiian epistemology.

³³ Kikiloi, 76.

2.2 Methods: Ka'ina Hana

To properly organize my thoughts, procedures, and collected mo'olelo, this research process begins with pule to request ancestral guidance on the ceremonial remembering into the unknown.³⁴ A ceremony like this is essential to this research project in that it will either provide or deny access to knowledge on all levels of understanding. A pule set out by myself had opened doors, veils, and opportunities and in some cases, warned of the path ahead when uneasy and unsafe.

Before formal research began, *Waiwhero* was gifted to me by a role model of mine, Aunty Leonie. This beautifully illustrated book of bright colors and meaningful words depicted the sacred red waters of menstruation through a Kaupapa Māori lens.³⁵ I began to question my own Hawaiian culture and identity and recollected my menarche. I realized that it was traumatic beyond measure. I began to talk amongst the Hawaiian community and more questions surfaced and very few were answered. In this search for answers and clarification, I realized that I needed to take the leap of faith into the understudied realm of Hawaiian menstruation.

2.2.1 Institutional Review Board

The University of Hawai'i at Mānoa's (UHM) institutional review board (IRB) approved this thesis project and the proposed focus group. IRB approval is mandatory for any research project from UHM. In the case of this research, specifically in the procedure of the focus group, the IRB restricted my research by hindering my ability to be responsive to the focus group participants. Having said that, in future renditions of this thesis, more attention will be paid to the

³⁴ Pule: prayer, incantation. *HD*, 353.

³⁵ Ngāhuia Murphy, *Waiwhero: The Red Waters*, trans. Sean Ellison (New Zealand: He Puna Manawa, 2014).

politics and mechanics of the IRB process to properly serve my needs and the community I write to and for.

According to Dr. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, "The word itself, 'research,' is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world's vocabulary."³⁶ Throughout her book, she explains that the institutions of academia have become a hindrance to Indigenous communities and the history of misinterpreting mo'olelo, disrupting mo'okū'auhau, and demonizing akua. The imperialistic past of "research" has put a bad taste in the breasts of the writer and to stop the bosom of ink from destroying the taste of research in an Indigenous community, this project was conducted with as much attention to Hawaiian customs as it did to institutional procedures. Attention to customary practices such as ho'okipa—hosting guests (*HD*, 154), kuleana—responsibility (*HD*, 179), and hō'ihi—respect (*HD*, 94) is crucial to the procedures of this thesis.

2.2.2 Use of 'Ōlelo Hawai'i

As reflected thus far, 'ōlelo Hawai'i is held paramount in this study. To interpret Hawaiian concepts and ideas through a Hawaiian epistemology, Hawaiian terms are employed because, "Language, any language, has a dual character: it is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture."³⁷ Dr. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's ground-breaking work in "decolonizing" literature has raised new generations of scholars and activists who stand against Western patriarchy in an effort to de-colonize, meaning to remove the imposed concepts of an outside culture and embrace the concepts of one's own culture. Therefore, the incorporation of Hawaiian

³⁶ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 2nd ed. (London; New York: New York: Zed Books, 2012), 1.

³⁷ Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, "The Language of African Literature," in *Decolonising The Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (London: James Currey, 1997), 13.

terms is crucial to this research project. Dr. wa Thiong'o emphasizes a complete paradigm shift towards writing in a native language but I write in English and use Hawaiian terms to support arguments.

This research may speak to an audience who may not be privileged to know 'ōlelo Hawai'i well and the goal is not to alienate those 'ohana members but rather empower through knowledge. The goal is to disseminate information. I continue to use Hawaiian language terms because the translation of Hawaiian terms to English is problematic. Dr. Larry Kimura elaborates that the translation of terms from Hawaiian to English will automatically distort a Hawaiian concept.³⁸ One great example of the cultural distortion through translation is the word haumia, which this research project will address extensively.

Hawaiian Dictionary, Revised and Enlarged Edition by Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert is a very important resource to this thesis. According to *The Chicago Manual of Style Online*, print and online dictionaries are only cited in a footnote, however this research will regard the following print and online dictionaries with full book citations in the footnotes and in the bibliography. Once compared to English language dictionaries, these dictionaries are an encyclopedia of Hawaiian proverbs, prayers, place names, wind and rain names, and many other facets of the Hawaiian people. Thus, they will be honored with full citations. The print dictionaries that are consulted for this research are *Hawaiian Dictionary, Revised and Enlarged Edition* (1986) and *Hawaiian Dictionary* (1971). The online Hawaiian dictionaries that are consulted are *Andrews Dictionary* and *Parker Dictionary* accessed at wehewehe.org. Hawaiian terms will not be italicized in this study however, they will be defined the first time they appear

³⁸ Larry Kimura, *Native Hawaiian Study Commission Minority Report*, vol. 1 (Washington DC: Department of Interior, 1983), 177.

unless noted otherwise. When a Hawaiian term is italicized in a quotation, it mimics the original presentation of that text. When emphasis is added to a quotation with italics, I will note the added emphasis appropriately.

2.2.3 Translation

Throughout this thesis, I translate certain excerpts from Hawaiian to English. I understand the complexity of translation and carefully juggle the two ideals of translating or not translating. Some of these texts have already been translated by scholars and historians, however, some of these translations have become obsolete or incorrect. Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada: translator, and author, writes about the "unapologetic" Western translator who imposed their worldviews onto Hawaiian texts. Kuwada explains,

In much the same way that Western "orientalist" scholars constructed their own images of the "Orient" and then projected them upon Eastern cultures, Kamakau's writings were viewed through an unapologetically Western lens and translated to fit what Western scholars saw as Hawaiian history and culture.³⁹

He continues to outline that these imposed worldviews that were inserted into Hawaiian history have created the bulk of the Hawaiian canon. In much of the same fashion, I would consider translations done by Western patriarchs on works by David Malo and Abraham Fornander as projections of a Western patriarchal worldview onto a Hawaiian history. Therefore, I choose to

³⁹ Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada, "To Translate or Not to Translate: Revising the Translating of Hawaiian Language Texts," *Biography* 32, no. 1 (2009), 56.

translate the excerpts used in this thesis to portray what I would consider the truth of the original excerpt. However, one can never absolutely translate literally from one language to the next, especially when both languages culturally collide.

One sort of translation I make is from materials that are already public. A second sort of translation I make is from new material and data that have been collected for the sole purpose of this research: the focus group. Because the focus group was conducted in 'ōlelo Hawai'i, the excerpts that I choose to share are translated from Hawaiian to English.

In each instance of translating, the original: 'ōlelo Hawai'i, is the most important version of the data. It is the most important aspect because it portrays the original iteration of thought and intention. I emphasize the 'ōlelo Hawai'i by displaying the 'ōlelo Hawai'i first, then displaying my translation second. I do so to present that the original text is paramount. The English translation is a tool for the readers to understand where and how I translated and interpreted the data. In some cases, I narrate how and why I have translated a certain text and offer two or three different ways to interpret the same text in English. I hope to portray that translation is tricky and can be misleading while also being decisive in the translations I produce.

I went to a Hawaiian immersion preschool: Ka Pūnana Leo o Honolulu from age three to five then attended Ke Kula Kaiapuni o Nānākuli: a Hawaiian immersion grade-school, from age five to six. From the age of six to 11, I attended a Māori immersion school: Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi Marae in Aotearoa, New Zealand. From age three all the way to age 11, I was educated in indigenous schools of 'ōlelo Hawai'i and reo Māori. At the age of 12, I was admitted to Kamehameha Schools, Kapālama where I was educated primarily in English until my high school graduation. While at Kamehameha, I enrolled in 'ōlelo Hawai'i education at 12th grade and was one of 10 students to reach the highest level of 'ōlelo Hawai'i education at

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that institution: Hawaiian VI. When I was admitted to UHM, I was placed at the three-hundred level in Hawaiian language by the university Hawaiian language placement exam. I was also placed at the three-hundred level in Māori language. I majored in 'ōlelo Hawai'i and graduated with two Bachelor of Arts degrees: one in Hawaiian Language and a second in Hawaiian Studies. I also graduated with a certificate in Māori language from the Department of Indo-Pacific Languages and Literatures from UHM.

All in all, I consider myself an "unqualified translator" and have sought advice and counsel from Kalikoaloha Martin.⁴⁰ I consider myself an unqualified translator because there are certain techniques to translating that I have yet to formally learn. Martin is a junior translator trained by Awaiāulu, a non-profit organization who generates and builds Hawaiian language resources. Martin is currently an instructor of 'ōlelo Hawai'i at Kawaihuelani Center of Hawaiian Language at UHM.

My translation method emphasizes a need to extract information without distorting the voice of the original author. To do so, I sit, meditate, and carefully debate each excerpt and its translation. After two or three rounds of independently translating a certain excerpt, Martin and I review and debate the translation and the most appropriate way to interpret the information. When I was finally satisfied with a translation, then it was inserted to the thesis narrative.

When translating the chosen focus group material, this same sort of technique was used. In addition, however, when a final translation was decided, I sent the translations to the focus group participants so they may check for any errors or misinterpretations. I understand the political complexities of translation and have considered every aspect of translation, and even the

⁴⁰ Kuwada, 62.

addition of modern orthography to a text. I lay out all of my flaws, my considerations, and even the logic in my translations and strive for full transparency.

These Hawaiian language materials are vital carriers of culture and within them is a rich history, dynamic understanding of Hawaiian identity, and beautiful poetry. Therefore, I translate to bring as many 'ohana as I can to this 'ike. It is my goal that this work will inspire our people, my family, and absolute strangers to take care of their menses and learn to 'ōlelo Hawai'i.

2.2.4 Qualitative Research

This study employs qualitative research. Such type of research best suites this project because it addresses a "*research problem* in which you do not know the variables and need to explore."⁴¹ This qualitative research relies heavily on the data collected from primary resources like 19th and 20th century historians who wrote in 'ōlelo Hawai'i and also the data collected from focus group participants who spoke exclusively in 'ōlelo Hawai'i.

In qualitative research, a central phenomenon is identified in relation to the research problem. The central phenomenon of this research is menstruation through a Hawaiian epistemology. While using the example of teaching deaf children, John W. Creswell, a research theorist well-known for mixed-method research theory, explains central phenomenon in a qualitative research as followed:

A *central phenomenon* is the key concept idea or process studied in qualitative research. Thus, the research problem for the difficulty in teaching children who are deaf requires

⁴¹ John W. Creswell, "The Process of Conducting Research Using Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches," in *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research* (New Jersey: Pearson Education, 2015), 16.

both an exploration (because we need to better know how to teach these children) and an understanding (because of its complexity) of the process of teaching and learning.⁴²

To understand the central phenomenon and research problem of this qualitative research, I have re-written Creswell's quote to read:

A central phenomenon *(menstruation through a Hawaiian epistemology)* is the key concept idea or process studied in qualitative research. Thus, the research problem *of a gap of information on the Hawaiian epistemology of menstruation* requires both an exploration (because we need to better know how to *address menstruation through a Hawaiian epistemology*) and an understanding (because of its *cultural and historical* complexity) of the processes of *a Hawaiian menstrual practice and a menarche ceremony*.⁴³

Grounded theory techniques are consulted in the second half of this thesis which aids the focus group aspect of this thesis. Grounded theory is a variation of qualitative research.

2.2.5 Data Collection 1 – Literary Analysis

This research uses two types of data collection: first a literary analysis of public material, and second, a focus group with a 'ohana Hawai'i. The literary analysis is compartmentalized into themes and sub-themes of menstrual blood – elaborating on the social potency of female, male,

⁴² Creswell, 16.

⁴³ My rendition of Creswell, 16. Italics indicate the additional information I added in accordance to my own thesis topic.

and child blood; and hale pe'a – addressing the purpose, function and meaning of a hale pe'a. The theme of menstrual blood is further sub-themed into kapu, noa, haumia, walewale (bodily mucus), vaginal mucus, hāpu'u (tree-fern), pre-natal and post-natal blood, and waimaka lehua.

The themes of kapu, noa, and haumia are addressed by literary analysis and comparisons of texts *Ka Mo'olelo O Hi'iakaikapoliopele* as recorded by Ho'oulumāhiehie, "No Ka Ai Kapu Ana: Mokuna 11," by David Malo, "Traditional Hawaiian Metaphors" by Dr. Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, and *Facing the Spears of Change* by Dr. Brown. The two primary and two secondary resources create the discussion to further understand concepts such as kapu, noa, and haumia. From these concepts, I have created figures presented in Chapter 3.

Walewale and vaginal mucus are addressed by *The Kumulipo Mind: A Global Heritage in the Polynesian Creation Myth*, where "walewale" appears in the sixth line of the Kumulipo.⁴⁴ Walewale is defined by Henry H. Parker as, "one set apart as defiled, as a woman having given birth to a child. In her condition she was called walewale," and, "Menstruation."⁴⁵ Other subthemes of pre-natal and post-natal blood are addressed by Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau in "Ka Moolelo Hawaii Helu 17" and David Malo in "Ko na [A]lii Nui Hoomana ana no ke Keiki:

⁴⁴ Rubellite Kawena Johnson, *The Kumulipo Mind: A Global Heritage in the Polynesian Creation Myth*, 1st ed (Honolulu: Publisher not identified, 2000).

⁴⁵ Lorrin Andrews, "A Dictionary of The Hawaiian Language," Ulukau: Hawaiian Electronic Library, accessed April 9, 2017, http://wehewehe.org/gsdl2.85/cgi-bin/hdict?e=q-11000-00---off-0hdict--00-1---0-10-0---0-direct-10-ED--4----0-11p0--11-haw-Zz-1---Zz-1-home-walewale--00-3-1-00-0--4----0-0-11-00-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&d=D82140.

Mokuna 35" and "No Ka Ai Kapu Ana: Mokuna 11."⁴⁶ These texts explain how pre-natal, postnatal blood, 'iewe, and 'iewe blood are cared for after the birth of ali'i and/or maka'āinana.⁴⁷

The theme hale pe'a is further compartmentalized into sub-themes such as hi'uwai, huikala, and material culture. Huikala is discussed because after a woman's retirement to the hale pe'a, she purifies herself and therefore, informs the study of a menstrual practice. The sub-theme of hi'uwai is addressed by the mo'olelo of Akahiakuleana in "No Umi: Mokuna 51 [67]" recorded by Malo. The section of the mo'olelo when Akahiakuleana and Līloa meet for the first time is consulted in this thesis because it involves Akahiakuleana's menstruation. Moreover, Pukui writes in *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawai'i* about huikala as a ritual of cleansing and also the material culture of hale pe'a.⁴⁸

2.2.6 Data Collection 2 – Focus Group

According to Creswell, grounded theory is a "systematic, qualitative procedure used to generate a theory that explains, at a broad conceptual level, an action, or an interaction about a substantive topic."⁴⁹ This research project adopts grounded theory techniques to assist in analyzing the focus group data. Grounded theory research design techniques are appropriated for

⁴⁶ Samuel M. Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo Hawaii Helu 17," *Ke Au Okoa*, February 10, 1870, http://www.papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KAO18700210-01.2.3&srpos=&dliv=none&e=----en-20--1--txt-txIN%7ctxNU%7ctxTR------.

David Malo, "Ko Na [A]lii Nui Hoomana Ana No Ke Keiki: Mokuna 35," in *Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i: Hawaiian Traditions*, trans. Malcolm Nāea Chun (Honolulu, Hawaii: First People's Productions, 2006), 78–81.David Malo, "No Ka Ai Kapu Ana: Mokuna 11," in *Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i: Hawaiian Traditions*, trans. Malcolm Nāea Chun (Honolulu, Hawaii: First People's Productions, 2006), 17–20.

⁴⁷ Ali'i is chief, chiefess, officer, ruler, monarch. *HD*, 20. Maka'āinana is commoner, populace, people in general; citizen, subject. *HD*, 224.

⁴⁸ Handy and Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawai'i.*

⁴⁹ Creswell, "Grounded Theory Design," 423.

this research because said techniques emphasize the focus group and their moʻolelo. The focus group that was conducted for this thesis is presented in Chapter 5. A focus group is a qualitative research technique that gathers information from a representative group of people that are questioned regarding a specific topic, in this case a menarche ceremony.

Under grounded theory, there are three general design options to follow, all of which are very similar. Emerging design fits this study well in that such design stresses "the importance of letting a theory emerge from the data rather than using specific, preset categories."⁵⁰ Generating a theory from the data emerges from a "problem" that participants identify and the remedy that addresses such problem is specified by the focus group participants themselves.

'Ohana Lehua are the participants of the focus group and focus group participants are key-informants, a research method commonly used amongst anthropologists and ethnographers to gain insight from any professionals, renowned community members, and distinguished cultural practitioners of the topic matter.⁵¹ The reasoning for a focus group is that menarche, the establishment of a girl's menstruation, is an embodied experience that girls and 'ohana will experience. Focus group participation by a 'ohana is emphasized because it stresses the wholeness of an experience rather than the compartmentalization of just the girl's experience.

For this focus group, I used purposeful sampling. Purposeful sampling is a method in which "researchers intentionally select individuals and sites to learn or understand the central

⁵⁰ Creswell, 429.

⁵¹ The research conducted by Soon et al. is an exceptional example of key-informant participation in "Hawaiian" research project. "Unintended Pregnancy" was a combative narrative to Western techniques of "planning a family." Reni Soon et al., "Unintended Pregnancy in the Native Hawaiian Community: Key Informants' Perspectives," *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health* 47, no. 4 (December 2015): 163–70, https://doi.org/10.1363/47e5615.

phenomenon."⁵² 'Ohana Lehua was intentionally chosen to participate in this specific project because they were recommended to me by Kalikoaloha Martin and they are appropriate participants for this study. They are a 'ohana Hawai'i who conduct their own menarche ceremony. Their family values of 'ōlelo Hawai'i, empowering the lāhui Hawai'i, and raising their children with a foundation of understanding their bodies and kuleana align with this thesis. They are willing participants who have experienced menarche ceremonies.

'Ohana Lehua's participation in this study is crucial because they have experienced two menarche ceremonies; the first menarche ceremony in 2013 and the second in 2017 Between 2013 and today, there are five years of observations by parents and children with varying maturity levels. The experiences they share can point to effects and changes that are made over time. A possible limitation to this specific focus group may be that the short amount of time from the first ceremony to the second time. However, their participation is crucial to understand a menarche ceremony.

2.2.7 'Ohana Lehua

This 'ohana will remain anonymous under the pseudonym 'Ohana Lehua. There were four participants who are members of this 'ohana. The mother figure of this 'ohana is Wahine Lehua, whom I also refer to as Wahine in this study. The father figure of this 'ohana is Kāne Lehua, who I also refer to as Kāne in this study. The oldest child, and daughter is Hiapo Lehua. The middle child is Hua Lehua, and the final born child is Muli Lehua. There are five members

⁵² John W. Creswell, "Collective Qualitative Data," in *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research* (New Jersey: Pearson Education, 2015), 206.

of this 'ohana and the participating members are the two parents and two daughters. Their son Hua was mentioned numerous times and will be referred to in this thesis.

The contributing focus group participants are members of the Hawaiian community. They are institutional and non-institutional cultural practitioners who are personally known to me and with whom a reciprocal respect has been previously established. Said climate of respect is important in the Hawaiian community because a good working relationship is established through kinship both biological and non-biological and a sense of kuleana is apparent. A climate of respect through the values of 'ohana and kuleana assures the exchange of high-quality information.

During a hula retreat, I was pointed into the direction of 'ohana Lehua by community members whom I hold in high regards. One night during an informal gathering that involved hula, food, and friends, 'ohana Lehua and I began an informal conversation about waimaka lehua. These conversations were short and informal but inspiring and enlightening.

In the focus group, 'ohana Lehua was asked specific questions that were pre-approved by the IRB as presented in Figure 2.1. The focus group was conducted entirely in 'olelo Hawai'i and strict attention was paid during the focus group to remain close to the script. If 'ohana Lehua shared ideas that were beyond the scope of the question asked, it was their choice to share such information.

Figure 2.1 is a list of the questions that were approved by the IRB. The focus group was conducted in 'ōlelo Hawai'i therefore, the questions in the right column were asked to them directly. I provided English translations for the IRB application process.

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| Figure | 21 | Focus | Groun | Questions |
|--------|------|-------|-------|-----------|
| riguie | 4.1. | rocus | Oloup | Questions |

| | Figure 2.1. Focus Group Questions | | | | | | |
|------|--|-----|---|--|--|--|--|
| Engl | ish | Hav | vaiian | | | | |
| 1. | Tell me a little bit about your 'ohana. What is a typical day in your household? | 1. | E 'olu'olu, e mo'olelo mai no kou 'ohana. He aha ka hana mau o ka nohona 'ohana? | | | | |
| 2. | Tell me about the menstrual tradition created for your family? | 2. | Wehewehe mai ka'aha waimaka lehua o kou'ohana. | | | | |
| 3. | What made you want to make a menstrual tradition for your family? Did you see a deficiency in other families or your own upbringing? | 3. | I mea aha kēia 'aha waimaka lehua no kou 'ohana? Ua 'ike 'ia paha he nele ma loko o nā 'ohana 'ē a 'e a i 'ole kou hānai 'ia 'ana. | | | | |
| 4. | What have been the benefits of this tradition to your family? | 4. | Pehea i pono ai ka 'ohana mamuli o nei 'aha waimaka lehua? | | | | |
| 5. | What are some ways you will improve your menstrual tradition? | 5. | Pehea e hiki ai ke hoʻomaikaʻi i nei ʻaha waimaka lehua? | | | | |
| 6. | What type of families, and how are they able to apply this type of Hawaiian menstrual practice to their family traditions? | 6. | 'O ke 'ano 'ohana hea e hiki ai, a pehea e mālama 'ia ai nei 'aha waimaka lehua e lākou i 'aha 'ia ai ka 'ohana? | | | | |
| 7. | How has this tradition changed your own view-point of menstrual health in a family setting and a personal setting? | 7. | Pehea i 'oko'a ai, inā he oko'a, kou mana'o no ka waimaka lehua mai ke 'ano 'ohana a me kou nohona pono'ī? | | | | |
| 8. | Do you pair this Hawaiian menstrual practice to anything that you do for your son? Did one influence the other? | 8. | Pālua 'ia paha nei 'aha waimaka lehua me kekahi 'aha mālama i ke keikikāne? Ua paipai 'ia paha kekahi 'aha e kekahi 'aha paha? | | | | |
| 9. | What types of conversations do you have amongst your friends about your ceremonies? | 9. | He aha nā 'ano kūka'i kama'ilio a 'oukou e mālama ai me nā hoa no neia 'aha waimaka lehua? | | | | |

Once IRB approval was granted, 'ohana Lehua was contacted and a time and place were set for our meeting. We met in an enclosed room on a Sunday to ensure privacy and confidentiality. When 'ohana Lehua arrived, I presented each of them with a lei and healthy snacks were spread on the table for them to enjoy as they pleased. The lei and food were a symbol of appreciation for their time and willingness to share. I knew that day was a busy for them and was grateful for the time spent with 'ohana Lehua.

Before the formal focus group began, I received consent from the participating parents on behalf of their children and received notice of assent from each child. The assent form and signature help to assure that the participating minors understand what the focus group entails, how their words will be recorded and presented, and how their identity will be protected. At this time, 'ohana Lehua asked me about this research. I shared with them that this project involves menstruation and the menarche ceremony that they practice is important and should be documented.

The focus group was recorded on two separate devices for security measures. Each device is password protected and in my possession. Once the focus group ended, I presented a gift to 'ohana Lehua which they initially returned in humility. I insisted that such gifts were to reciprocate their time.

After the focus group ended, I transcribed the entire interaction on a password-secured laptop. I attempted to transcribe as much overlapping conversations and words however, nothing was transcribed when an overwhelming amount of words were shared. Throughout the focus group, some information was to remain private and when 'ohana Lehua quickly mentioned so, I did not transcribe those parts of the focus group. Once the transcription was complete, it was shared with 'ohana Lehua for them to review and edit. I notified them that the entire transcription will not be shared in the final rendition of this thesis and is made for coding processes only.

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In conducting this focus group, all members both wāhine and kāne sat together. A limitation of this sort of focus group could be that both genders are in one focus group. In the future, I would consider doing focus groups with wahine and kāne in different focus groups.

2.2.8 Coding

Grounded theory and emerging design calls for a coding process. Open coding is the first and base level of coding for grounded theory which "forms initial categories of information about the phenomenon being studied by segmenting information."⁵³ This data analysis includes open coding to allow for the mo'olelo of 'ohana Lehua to speak for itself rather than my own over-analyzed categories.

Through the focus group, themes such as hopohopo, ho'oulu, and mana'olana surfaced and through the narrative of Chapter 5, each of those themes will be addressed and highlighted.⁵⁴ When transcribing the focus group, I noted any re-occurring theme that was mentioned by the 'ohana. For example, if a particular theme was mentioned more than twice, then I would consider such theme as a category. The theme honua was mentioned eight separate times by both Wahine and Kāne Lehua.

When I began writing Chapter 5, general categories were presented and supported by the lived experiences shared by 'ohana Lehua. Using quotes by each member, these categories were explored and supported with their words and thoughts. Those quotes are first presented in 'olelo Hawai'i and translated by myself to English. Unlike the historians presented in the literary analysis section of this chapter such as Malo, Fornander, and Kamakau, 'ohana Lehua are living

⁵³ Creswell, "Grounded Theory Design," 424.

⁵⁴ Hopohopo is uncertainty. *HD*, 82. Ho'oulu is inspiration. *HD*, 368-9. Mana'olana is hope. *HD*, 237.

people who can clarify their thoughts and intentions when saying something specific. Therefore, the quotes and translations added to the narrative of Chapter 5 were sent to 'ohana Lehua for corrections to be made to any mistranslations or interpretations. At the completion of the thesis project, I will notify 'ohana Lehua when the public presentation will be conducted.

A follow-up notification within Hawaiian research is important for the researcher and participants because it brings closure to whatever was opened. Properly closing a ceremony, menstrual period, or research project is always important to achieve and maintain good rapport. It is the kuleana of the researcher to produce high-quality work just as the participants shared high-quality information. I cannot stress the importance of good rapport within a researcherparticipant relationship for these mo'olelo are an extension of our lives.

2.3 Chapter Conclusion: Ha'ina ka Puana

Combining Hawaiian customary practices and a qualitative research design is employed in this study to assure high-quality moʻokūʻauhau consciousness. The moʻolelo presented in the next few chapters are a reflection of my willingness to address a westernized history of menstruation and ultimately female physicality and spirituality. While doing so, I strive to abide by institutionalized procedures of governing research and bridge a community of lāhui Hawaiʻi to those academic realms. Each chapter is fronted by a moʻolelo to establish an emotional state for the reader to relate with me. These moʻolelo are invitations for you to address your own emotional, spiritual, and physical connections to this moʻolelo.

Chapter 3: Walewale

3.1 Introduction: Kanu

My father and I lay in the shade of our ancestral home 'Opihihale, and he recalls the caves in the cliff where our ancestors are buried. He smiles, laughs, and begins to tell the story of my honua, my 'iewe and where he buried it. 'But, not all families were allowed to take theirs home after giving birth in the hospital,' he tells me.

"What, no can? Who in the world would keep someone else's 'iewe?" I jump from my comfy seat and beg him to tell me more. So, he tells me the story of the hero who protected his daughter's 'iewe. The man snuck into the hospital refrigerator, snatched his daughter's 'iewe, and slowly walked out of there until he was discovered and began running for not only his life, but his daughter's life as well. He was eventually arrested or later turned himself in, something like that, but the way my dad talked about him was like a kid talking about Superman. A brave Hawaiian man who is willing to sacrifice so much to bring his baby home.

This thesis is dedicated to those families who are willing to do whatever it takes to properly care for our children and to set their foundation of understanding their bodies from the very beginning. This chapter will uncover the misconstrued topic of blood by elaborating on the Hawaiian epistemology of menstrual blood, female blood, and child blood. The mo'olelo that I tell you here is but one cultural collision that continues to keep our voices unheard and unrecognized.

3.2 Chapter Research Questions: He Uī, He Nīnau

The cultural collisions of history have led to an ignorance of the reproducing body and spirit. Therefore, 'How is menstrual blood understood through a Hawaiian epistemology?' To

properly analyze menstruation through a Hawaiian epistemology, this chapter discusses the cultural concepts that have outlined a unified Hawaiian consciousness: kapu, noa, and haumia.

'What is kapu and noa?' Concepts of kapu and noa have long been misconstrued by dominant Western patriarchal ideologies, exemplified by texts like the Christian bible and by text translators and interpreters like Thomas G. Thrum. Such actors in history have deemed men and women to belong to a hierarchal representation of kapu and noa and therefore, historically presented men as sacred and women as defiled. In an effort to undo what was done to the concepts of kapu and noa by Western patriarchs, this thesis will re-contextualize kapu and noa within a Hawaiian epistemology.

'What is haumia?' And, 'Where and how have kapu, noa, and haumia been misperceived in the face of Western patriarchy?' Haumia is commonly understood by a literal translation to 'defiled' and such translation is apparent in two specific historical instances. These instances are considered here as 'the face of Western patriarchy.' In the context of waimaka lehua, this chapter will analyze the word haumia and further dissect the literary history of that word.

Other than menstruating women, blood has also been considered haumia thus, 'What is the cultural context of blood?' There are many types of blood that have varying spiritual and cultural significance and this chapter will begin to contextualize menstrual blood to female postnatal blood and 'iewe blood.

3.2.1 Setting a Context

The contrasting worldviews of the West and Pacific are elaborated by Haunani-Kay Trask in her article, "Cultures in Collision: Hawai'i and England, 1778." In presenting the contrasting cultures of England and Hawai'i, Trask addresses polarized economic organization,

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social and political organization, as well as cultural and environmental valuation between the two countries. In doing so, she portrays the people of Hawai'i and England as distinct of one another. Due to these distinctions, she upon why they should not be compared. "It is these differences we must clarify before we can determine the source of cultural perceptions or judge their effects."⁵⁵ In this chapter, the Hawaiian cultural perceptions of blood will be elaborated to understand the Hawaiian epistemology of menstrual blood.

In 1983 Trask advocated for researchers to clarify cultural traditions. Less than a decade later, Dr. Kame'eleihiwa published her groundbreaking book, *Native Lands and Foreign Desires: Pehea La e Pono Ai*? In her book, she elaborates on a Hawaiian understanding of the religious structure in place in Hawai'i prior to Western contact as she writes, "The '*Aikapu* is a religion in which males and females are separated in the act of eating, males being *la'a* or 'sacred' and females *haumia* or 'defiling,' by virtue of menstruation."⁵⁶ Although her book did not solely focus on male and female gender roles in Hawaiian society, Dr. Kame'eleihiwa strikes intriguing discussions of kāne (man – *HD*, 128), and wahine (woman). If a woman is defiled by her menstruation, what exactly makes menstruation haumia, or 'defiled?' As groundwork, this chapter will address the topic of blood to understand how and what Dr. Kame'eleihiwa meant by "women are defiled by menstruation."

In addition, this chapter examines a general understanding of blood because according to *Nānā i Ke Kumu,* "man's immortality was manifest in his bones. Man's blood, even bright drops shed by the living, was *haumia* (defiled and defiling)."⁵⁷ Knowing that all blood is haumia, why

 ⁵⁵ Haunani-Kay Trask, *Cultures in Collision: Hawai'i and England, 1778*, 1983, 92.
 ⁵⁶ Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, "Traditional Hawaiian Metaphors," in *Native Land and Foreign*

Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai? (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 23.

⁵⁷ Mary Kawena Pukui, E. W. Haertig, and Catherine A. Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu: Look to The Source*, vol. I (Honolulu: Hui Hānai, 1972), 107.

is a woman defiled due to her menses when men also bleed? Is menstruation defiled because of blood? If so, then a man is also defiled and Dr. Kame'eleihiwa's statement that males are la'a or "sacred" and females haumia or "defiling," is untrue or may need further elaboration through Hawaiian epistemology.

3.3 Section I: Ka Lehua Kapu

Cultural collisions, misconstrued histories, and a misinterpreted female embodied experience has inspired this thesis. To understand all through a Hawaiian epistemology, this thesis will begin with a discussion of kapu and noa. 'What is kapu and noa?' These concepts, will be discussed in relation to waimaka lehua and how it is culturally understood as haumia.

3.3.1 Kapu and Noa

Kapu is defined as, "Taboo, prohibition; special privilege or exemption from ordinary taboo [noa]; sacredness; prohibited, forbidden; sacred, holy, consecrated." (*HD*, 132) Kapu is a state of being under which objects, people, and places may be. These people while in the state of kapu, are prohibited from touching or encountering others who are noa.

Noa is defined as, "Freed of taboo, released from restrictions, profane; freedom... Commoner... a person without rank or of possibly of *papa* rank." (*HD*, 268) Noa is also a state which objects, people, and places may be under.

These people in a state of noa may interact with other noa people but are prohibited from associating with what is kapu. What is kapu may also interact with what is kapu. However, what is kapu may not interact with what is noa and vice versa. When both of these concepts of kapu and noa are obeyed, the people are in a state of pono, or balance. When these cultural concepts of kapu and noa are breached and the people are not in a state of pono, a consequence would follow.

According to the value system outlined by the 'aikapu, there were different types of kapu. Dr. Kame'eleihiwa argues that one of the lessons of the 'aikapu was to establish a concept of pono, a morality of balance between all beings, the ali'i – chief (*HD*, 20), and the maka'āinana – citizen (*HD*, 224), the older and the younger sibling, and the earth and those who live on the earth.⁵⁸ The balance or pono therefore, is the recognition and social governance of peoples who organize society to efficiently manage time, space, resources, and spiritual order.

Dr. Silva argues that pono is an equal recognition of female and male.⁵⁹ They are to be recognized as two respectively crucial and existential qualities of life. One not being greater than the other but reciprocal of each other. I argue that the concepts of kapu and noa are obeyed when kāne participate in their respective activities such as praying and wāhine participate in their own activities such as menstruating. Kapu and noa are two concepts and when these two concepts are abided, the people are in a state of pono. Below are examples of kapu and noa from moʻolelo.

In the well-known epic of Pelehonuamea and Hi'iakaikapoliopele, Pele commands one of her sisters to travel to Kaua'i to fetch her lover Lohiau. Hi'iaka, the youngest of Pele's sisters, was 'volun-told' (told to volunteer – a concept well-known to Hawaiians today) to accept the challenge and travel to Kaua'i. Pele placed a kapu on Lohiau that restricted Hi'iaka and Lohiau from sleeping together. Prior to Hi'iaka embarking on such journey, she agreed to obey Pele's kapu with the understanding that Hōpoe, her aikāne would be well cared for.⁶⁰ Hi'iaka placed a

⁵⁸ Kame'eleihiwa, "Traditional Hawaiian Metaphors," 23–24.

⁵⁹ Noenoe K. Silva, *The Power of The Steel-Tipped Pen: Reconstructing Native Hawaiian Intellectual History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 199.

⁶⁰ For an extensive conversation about aikāne and the mistranslation/misinterpretation thereof, see the following article. Morris, "Translators, Traitors, and Traducers," 225-47.

kapu on Hōpoe that restricted Pele from hurting Hōpoe. Pele agreed to care for Hōpoe but when Hi'iaka returned to Kīlauea with Lohiau, Hōpoe was killed. Pele killed Hōpoe because Pele assumed that Hi'iaka and Lohiau had laid together which would have breached the kapu that Pele placed on Lohiau.

The kapu that Pele placed on Lohiau was allegedly breached by Hi'iaka. The kapu that Hi'iaka placed on Hōpoe was breached by Pele. The physical-separation of these two kapu were premised on the intimacy between Lohiau and Hi'iaka and subsequently led to the death of Hōpoe by Pele. The temporal-separation of these kapu was the length of Hi'iaka's journey.⁶¹ This exemplifies that kapu placed on a tangible object is to be adhered to over a period of time. This type of kapu mimics the kapu of menstruating women that will be outlined in the next few pages.

Dr. Brown, in her work *Facing the Spears of Change* accounts the life of kahu, caretakers in a royal court (*HD*, 113). These kahu were always in danger in the face of kapu because of their presence and responsibilities to the chiefs. John Papa 'Ī'ī's brother Maoloha, at a very young age took his father's place as kahu for the house where Kamehameha kept his belongings. Maoloha was strangled to death for breaching a kapu when he traded Kamehameha's lei pūkiawe, a wreath made from poisonous seeds, for food with a peddler.⁶² A kapu is placed on Kamehameha's physical belongings, and/or any belongings of the ali'i, because of 'ili kapu and

⁶¹ Hoʻoulumāhiehie, *Ka Moʻolelo O Hiʻiakaikapoliopele: Ka Wahine I Ka Hikina a Ka Lā, Ka Uʻi Palekoki Uila O Halema 'uma 'u*, trans. Puakea Nogelmeier (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

⁶² Brown, *Facing The Spears of Change*, 43–44; John Papa 'Ī'ī, "Na Hunahuna No Ka Moolelo Hawaii," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, September 4, 1869,

http://www.papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18690904-01.2.2&srpos=&dliv=none&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN%7ctxNU%7ctxTR------.

maunu. ⁶³ Clothing or anything touching the skin, in this case a lei, that belongs to a person imbues the mana of that person and said objects can be used as maunu, to harm the other person.⁶⁴ Therefore, Maoloha was killed for breaching the kapu that protected Kamehameha. The kapu was placed on Kamehameha's tangible objects for a period of time that spans Kamehameha's physical and spiritual life. This exemplifies that a kapu that is placed on an object is to be adhered to for a bounded period of time for the sake of protecting that person. Similar to menstruating women, a kapu is placed on them to protect them and society.

3.3.2 Kapu and Noa: Context of Menstruation

Relative to kapu, Malo writes about separation between kāne pule i ke akua and wahine waimaka lehua.⁶⁵

Ua hookaawale ia kekahi mau wahi no ke kane wale no, oia hoi kona hale iho e hoomana

ai, a me kona hale e ai ai, aole e hiki i ka wahine ke hoolauna aku ma ia mau hale, a

komo iloko i ka wa e ai ai a e hoomana ai paha kana kane iho, a me na kane e ae no hoi, o

make ua wahine la, ke lohe ia kona komo ana i mua.⁶⁶

⁶³ 'Ili kapu is a belief that a chief's skin and anything that touches is will be kapu. Pukui, Haertig, and Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, I:91–92. Maunu is bait. Pukui, Haertig, and Lee, 28.

⁶⁴ "Supernatural or divine power, mana, miraculous power; a powerful nation, authority." *HD*, 235.

⁶⁵ The term 'kāne pule i ke akua' means, 'man in the act of praying to the gods.' The term 'wahine waimaka lehua' means, 'menstruating women.' These two terms will be heavily used and have been coined by myself.

⁶⁶ Sheldon Dibble has been known to distort David Malo's writing and therefore, I only used the transcription of Malo's work by Malcolm N. Chun. Malo, "No Ka Ai Kapu Ana: Mokuna 11," 17–20.

Some places were separated for men only, that is the house where he worships, and the house he eats in, the woman was not allowed to associate in those houses, during the time of her own husband's eating or perhaps worship, and any other men as well, lest that woman will be put to death, when her entrance to the men's house was heard. – my translation

Furthermore,

Ua hookaawale ia nohoi ke kauwahi no ka wahine wale no, oia hoi kona noho ana ma kona hale pea, i kona wa e kahe ai, aole no e hiki i ke kane ke hoolauna i kana wahine iho, a me na wahine e ae, o make oia, ke lohe ia kona komo ana e moe me ka wahine pea, no ka mea, ua kapa ia ka wahine kahe, he haumia, he poino.⁶⁷

Also separated was the humble abode for women only, thus is her dwelling in her menstrual house, when she should menstruate, a man is not allowed to associate with his own wife, and any other women, lest he is put to death when his entrance was heard and [he] slept with the menstruating woman, because, the menstruating women is called haumia, a danger. – my translation

In these two excerpts, Malo describes the separation between a man and a woman during a woman's menstruation and during a man's eating or worship. The hale mua is where men will go

⁶⁷ Malo, 19.

to pray and the hale pe'a is where women will go to menstruate.⁶⁸ Malo is describing a kapu that was placed on the woman's physical space, the hale pe'a, and the man's physical space, the hale mua. When a kāne pule i ke akua is in worship and also in the hale mua, a woman is not permitted to associate in those areas. When a wahine waimaka lehua is menstruating and also in the hale pe'a, a man is not allowed to associate with a wahine waimaka lehua at that time. Therefore, a kapu is placed on these objects and people, the hale pe'a/mua, kāne pule i ke akua, and wahine waimaka lehua.

It is interesting here that both woman and/or man were put to death for breaking the kapu because the common understanding is that a wahine waimaka lehua was so defiled and dangerous that she would be the reason for men to be put to death. Thus, the reason why a man like Malo would consider woman a "poina," or danger. Consequences of breaking kapu were evenly applied; a man was put to death if the kapu of entering a hale pe'a was broken and a woman was likewise put to death if the kapu of entering a hale mua was broken.

The temporal-separation in the case of wahine waimaka lehua is the duration of her menses. In the case of kāne pule i ke akua, the temporal-separation is the duration of his worship. The physical distance between the hale pe'a/mua and the remainder of the kauhale is the physical-separation between these people and places.

It is noteworthy that the description of a wahine waimaka lehua, or what Malo calls, a wahine pe'a or wahine kahe, fits that of a kāne pule i ke akua. The language describing the restrictions of a man and a woman is almost identical and 'wahine' could be substituted for 'kāne' and 'hale pe'a' could be substituted for 'hale mua.' They are both ka'awale – separated,

⁶⁸ Hale mua is "Men's eating house." HD, 255. Hale pe'a is "Menstrual house." HD, 53.

for a period of time by a physical distance and if the pono was broken by the approach of the other, then the breach of pono was reciprocated with the life of the offender.⁶⁹

The physical-separation for wahine waimaka lehua is the distance between the hale pe'a and the kauhale. According to Fornander, Lu'ukia's hale pe'a at Pu'ukawaiwai was about four miles away from her kauhale in Waipi'o, Hawai'i.⁷⁰ The physical-separation for a kāne pule i ke akua according to Malo is the distance between the hale mua and the remainder of the kauhale.

Placing these excerpts side-by-side as they appear in Malo's original text allows for a contextualized history to present itself. Malo describes kāne as being kapu and also wahine as being kapu to show that they are ultimately the same in regard to sacredness. To visually understand the cultural dynamics expressed here, refer to Figure 3.1.

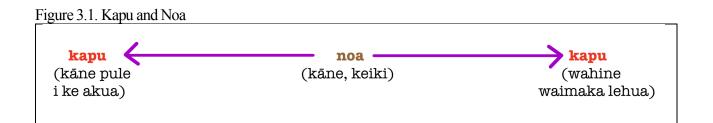


Figure 3.1 visually presents kapu and noa on a linear scale. What is noa, presented in the center, is the constant and the far points to either side are the extreme variables in this case, 'kāne pule i ke akua' and 'wahine waimaka lehua.' Kāne pule i ke akua and wahine waimaka lehua are both kapu and are ka'awale from what is noa. The two straight purple lines represent the separation of the two people. It is important to understand that wahine waimaka lehua and kāne pule i ke akua are both kapu, sacred, and are separated from noa. A visual understanding of kapu and noa in the

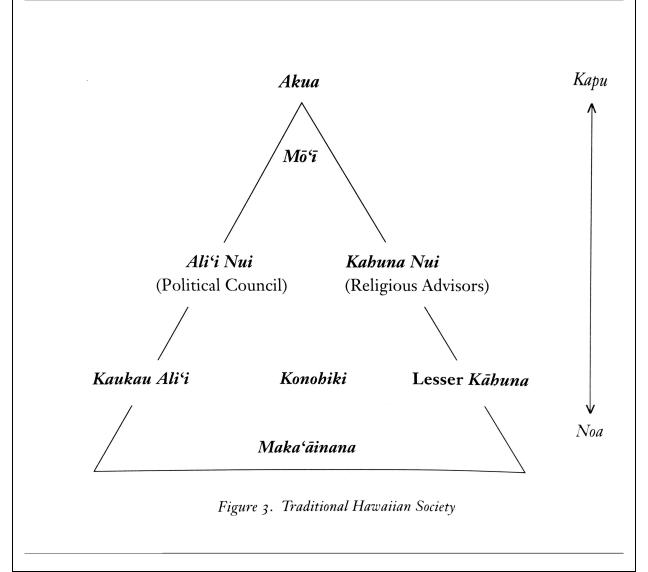
⁶⁹ "ka'awale. nvt. Separate, free, different." Ka'awale as a Hawaiian menstrual practice will be discussed in Chapter 3. *HD*, 108.

⁷⁰ Fornander, "Ka Moolelo O Olopana, a Me Kana Wahine," 155–59.

nature of Figure 3.1 shows that wahine waimaka lehua are not inferior to kāne pule i ke akua as historically understood.

In Figure 3.1 the two lines that separate noa and kapu are equidistant. If these lines measure the physical-separation distance of kāne pule i ke akua and noa, then the distance is measured between the hale mua and the kauhale, which in most cases are near one another. The physical-separation of wahine waimaka lehua and noa is the distance between the hale pe'a and the kauhale, which in Lu'ukia's case is four miles. If the sacredness of wahine waimaka lehua is measured by a physical distance, then wahine waimaka lehua are more kapu than kāne pule i ke akua by sheer distance. Another example of a visual understanding of kapu and noa is Dr. Kame'eleihiwa's diagram "Traditional Hawaiian Society."

Figure 3.2. Traditional Hawaiian Society



Source: Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā e Pono Ai? by Dr. Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa.⁷¹

Figure 3.2 visually presents kapu as above what is noa and is therefore, greater than what is noa. Understanding kapu and noa as a hierarchy of power is problematic as these hierarchical representations often marginalize certain peoples. Dr. Kame'eleihiwa's scholarship in *Native Lands and Foreign Desires* was to examine the Māhele of 1848 and therefore, an explanation of

⁷¹ Kame'eleihiwa, "Traditional Hawaiian Metaphors," 46.

governing entities like mō'ī, kahuna nui, and konohiki of Hawai'i was needed. However, as a lālā o ke kumu, branch of understanding from Dr. Kame'eleihiwa, Figure 3.3 is my visual understanding of "Traditional Hawaiian Society."

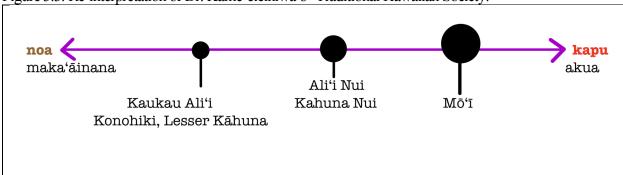


Figure 3.3. Re-interpretation of Dr. Kame'eleihiwa's "Traditional Hawaiian Society."

A visual understanding of kapu and noa on a linear horizontal scale as presented in Figure 3.3 is beneficial because a linear representation shows that kapu and noa is not definitive as black and white, kapu and noa is not greater than the other or less than the other, and finally, kapu and noa may not be easily understood as 'sacred' and 'not sacred.' The scaled dots in the figure represent an increase of kapu and do not represent an increase of importance. The increase in dot size is to visually portray an increase of kapu on a horizontal line. "Re-interpretation of Dr.

Kame'eleihiwa's 'Traditional Hawaiian Society'' shows that the linear scale of kapu and noa are progressive meaning, those peoples closer to kapu are farther from noa in physical distance and vice versa. Figure 3.3 is a single-dimensional understanding of Figure 3.4. To read Figure 3.4, use Figure 3.3 to understanding the multi-dimensional interpretation of Figure 3.4.

Using Figure 3.1 and Figure 3.3 as foundations, I have created "Scale of Cultural Dynamics" presented in Figure 3.4.

Figure 3.4. Scale of Cultural Dynamics

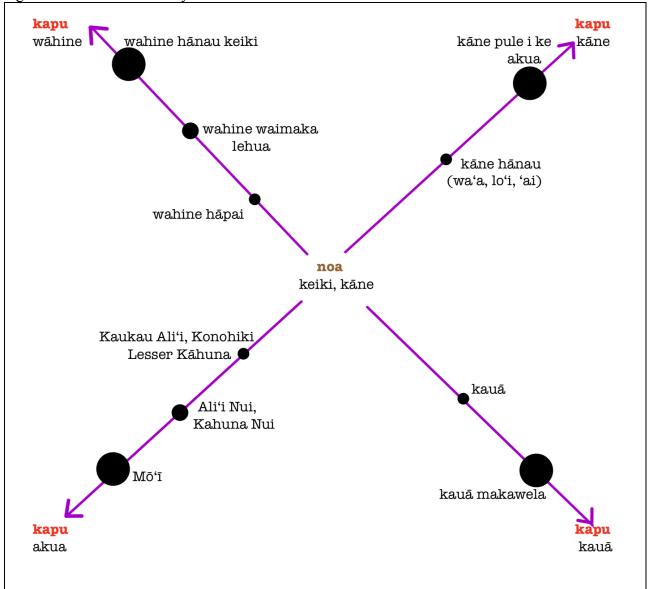


Figure 3.4 is most efficiently presented on a plane. If placed on a flat surface, what is noa is in the center, just as presented in Figure 3.1. What is kapu are out to either sides to show the complexity of the web of kapu and noa. This scale is a combination of Figure 3.1 and Figure 3.3 in that it presents kapu and noa as a linear scale with many directions of kapu. The progressive dots are similar to the progressive dots in Figure 3.3 in that they represent an increase of kapu on

a horizontal line. Peoples and/or objects are either farther or closer to noa as they progress through the temporal and physical distance that separate kapu and noa.

3.3.3 Section Conclusion

This section of the chapter has argued that there is a temporal and physical-separation between kāne pule i ke akua and wahine waimaka lehua. The thought of wahine waimaka lehua as inferior to kāne pule i ke akua does not align with this research and therefore, this chapter has justified that wahine waimaka lehua are kapu and should no longer be solely considered defiled. This chapter has justified that the cultural concepts of kapu and noa are not easily understood as 'sacred' and 'not sacred,' and should rather be understood on a linear scale where certain persons or objects are closer or farther away from kapu and/or noa. A discussion of waimaka lehua as haumia, which is historially understood as defiled, will be discussed in the following chapter. Wahine waimaka lehua and kāne pule i ke akua have special privileges and are sacred when entering the hale pe'a/mua in that their responsibility there is to menstruate or worship. The kapu of a wahine waimaka lehua is different from the kapu of a kāne pule i ke akua, however, they are both ka'awale from what is noa.

Three new visual representations of kapu and noa are presented in a linear visualization and these diagrams can be used by scholars to understand kapu and noa in their own research. Figure 3.4: "Scale of Cultural Dynamics" shows that the web of relationships between us all, through the lens of kapu and noa, can be understood as either closer or farther from kapu or noa. Remembering wahine waimaka lehua in such sense condemns Western patriarchal narrative that defines wahine waimaka lehua as defiled. A difference between kāne pule i ke akua and wahine waimaka lehua is that one menstruates and one does not. They are both physically-separated by

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the distance between the hale pe'a/mua and the remainder of the kauhale which is understood as noa.

This thesis unfortunately, does not discuss and understanding of women that do not menstruate. However, there is a space and recognition in this thesis that research should also be done in the case who are not able to menstruate for any reason from genetics to birth-control.

3.4 Section II: 'O Haumea, Haunu'u, Haulani, Hauwahine

Kapu/*tapu* is an important aspect to Hawaiian and Pacific peoples alike. This term was so influential to Westerners that they have adopted the English word taboo. The way that Westerners use the word taboo however, is not similar to the way that Pacific peoples have been using the terms kapu/*tapu* to describe objects, ceremonies, places, and people for thousands of years. The type of kapu, also known as haumia, in relation to wahine waimaka lehua is addressed in this chapter questions, 'What is haumia?' In discovering the literary history of waimaka lehua, this section will also question, 'Where and how have kapu, noa, and haumia been misperceived in the face of Western patriarchy?'

<u>3.4.1 Haumia</u>

A Hawaiian word for menstruating is hanawai (*HD*, 57) and while a woman is menstruating, a common epithet for that time is "ka wā haumia" ("*the time of* haumia"). The surface level understanding of haumia is uncleanliness, defilement, and contaminated. However, when examining multiple meanings and layers of haumia, there is much more to understand.

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In the etymology of the word haumia there are two possible parts of the word to decipher and dissect for further understanding: hau and mia.⁷² The prefix hau has two possible meanings; the first definition offered is, "Dirty, unpleasant. Cf. (cross-reference) hau'eka, hauka'e, haumia, hauna" and the second definition of the prefix hau is "Ruler (nonproductive, mostly in proper names, such as in the common names Haulani and Haunani) [sic]." (HD, 60) In the first definition of the prefix hau as 'dirty,' four additional words are added as synonyms. However, the second definition of the prefix hau as 'ruler' has only two additional example words used as synonyms; Haulani and Haunani. In absolute contrast to words like hau'eka, hauka'e, hauna, and haumia are the names of a few Hawaiian goddesses; Haulani, Haumakapu'u, Haumea, Haunu'u, and Hauwahine. According to the 1971 edition of the Pukui and Elbert Hawaiian dictionary; Haulani – the daughter of Hina the goddess of the moon, literally means "royal ruler," Haumakapu'u – a god who watches over fish ponds literally means "lord /with/ bulging eyes [sic]," Haumea – the supreme ruler of the universe literally means "red ruler," Haunu'u – another daughter of the goddess Hina and sister of Haulani literally means "elevated ruler," and, Hauwahine – a mo'o-goddess living in Kawainui literally means "female ruler."⁷³ Here are two contrasting ideas and definitions of the prefix "hau" and therefore, the word haumia. Does haumia mean defiled, or does it mean ruler? And, why?

Another Hawaiian word that has two contrasting meanings is the word pupuka. Pupuka means ugly and absolutely beautiful all at the same time. Pupuka is used to describe babies for

⁷² Although I do not always believe in dissecting words because it is like dissecting a kupuna, to truly understand a word is to look to its etymology for further understanding. I believe that etymology is the catalyst to a whole new world of language analysis that unfortunately, we as non-native speakers must endure to understand the meaning of words given the context.
⁷³ Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawaii Press, 1971), 382; emphasis added.

they are believed to be vulnerable to un-wanted spiritis that may linger and latch onto "cute" or "adorable" babies. Pupuka is used to describe babies to protect them. Is that the goal of the word haumia as well? In describing wahine waimaka lehua as haumia, similar to an undesirable trait like pupuka, are we then protecting wahine waimaka lehua from invasive spirits? More discussion involving the protection of wahine waimaka lehua are later discussed in this chapter.

The Māori word for menstrual blood and menstruation is *atua* which is synonymous with akua in 'ōlelo Hawai'i just as Haunu'u, Hauwahine, Haulani, Haumakapu'u and Haumea are akua.⁷⁴ There is much to say about menstrual blood and bodies being synonymous with the divine, nā wai ho'i e 'ole? Who shall deny it?

Mia, returning to the word haumia, is a common particle suffix that is attached to a prefix that makes the prefix passive just like the non-attached passive word of "'ia." The difference between 'ia and mia is that 'ia is detached from the root-word and mia is attached to the root-word, in this case; hau.

Dr. Laiana Wong Sr., Professor of 'Ōlelo Hawai'i at Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language, argues that the Hawaiian words with the passive suffix attached to the initial word, like haumia, are older words. Older meaning, existed at an earlier time in sequential history of the migration of Hawaiians and Tahitians. Whereas the words without passive suffixes are relatively newer. Wong is lead to believe that the older words are evidence that at the arrival of kanaka to Hawai'i, those words were not changed and ultimately preserved in the new land.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Murphy explains menstruation as *atua*. Murphy, *Te Awa Atua*.

⁷⁵ Kerry L. Wong Sr., personal interview by Makana Kāne Kuahiwinui, Honolulu, December 11, 2016. An in-depth comparative analysis of Pacific languages in relation to bodily functions must be done. However, I have sat down with five Tahitians who say that the idea and concept of women as divine and having more kapu than men is a traditionally Tahitian thought. (Matahiari'i Tutavae, personal communication with Makana Kane Kuahiwinui, November 9, 2017.) Furthermore, according to Abraham Fornander, the tradition of hale pe'a, were brought to

The damaging effects of incomplete and/or inaccurate translations of Hawaiian terms and stories and concepts like these have inspired academic discourse for centuries. Dr. Kimura, a Professor of 'ōlelo Hawai'i at Ka Haka 'Ula o Ke'elikōlani College of Hawaiian Language at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo, elaborates on the difficulty for Hawaiian terms to be seamlessly translated to English terms.

The traditional Hawaiian who connected <u>'ohana</u> and <u>hana</u> in the first place, however, would likely accept the connection between <u>aloha</u> and <u>'ohana</u> as well as <u>hana</u> and <u>'ohana</u> because he is thinking in terms of the power of the word <u>'ohana</u>, [*sic*] and such positive associations provide greater power. This is not to say that Westerners cannot understand the concept of word power, or Hawaiians the concept of historical derivation of words, but confusion over which concept is used has resulted in calling Hawaiians inconsistent and calling folk etymologists and Westerners dumb.⁷⁶

Dr. Kimura is addressing the difficulty of translating Hawaiian words to English and continues to indicate that translation is problematic. In this case, the translation of haumia to defiled is problematic and the definition of haumia as sacred must be considered.

Hawai'i from Tahiti with Lu'ukia. (Fornander, "Ka Moolelo O Olopana, a Me Kana Wahine.") The age and maturity of the word haumia, and possibly the context of haumia shows that the concept is complicated and cannot be easily translated to defiled.

⁷⁶ Kimura, Native Hawaiian Study Commission Minority Report, 177.

3.4.2 The Face of Western Patriarchy

Understanding haumia as defiled has been pin-pointed to two specific points in Hawai'i's literary history; the translation of the bible and various mo'olelo. Therefore, 'Where and how have kapu, noa, and haumia been misperceived in the face of Western patriarchy?' Through Fornander's account of Lu'ukia's menstruation and hale pe'a in his article, "Ke Ano o Ko Luukia Noho ana ma kela wahi Puukawaiwai," this section of the chapter will focus on a time in history where menstruation was deemed defiling.

According to Fornander, Olopana and Lu'ukia at one point lived in Waipi'o, Hawai'i. When it was time for Lu'ukia to menstruate, she would go to Pu'ukawaiwai where her hale pe'a was. One day, a well-known man from Waimea named Waiauwia saw Lu'ukia and wanted to sleep with her. Waiauwia neared her hale pe'a to request that they lay together but, "I mai nae o Luukia, aole e hiki ke moe laua, no ka mea, aole i pau ka haumia."⁷⁷ ("[near 25] *Luukia however told him, that they two may not sleep together, because, the sacredness was not done.*" – my translation)⁷⁸ Lu'ukia expressed to him that menstruating women are not to sleep with their partners because, "he mea kapu no na kane ka noho pu me na wahine i ka manawa e hanawai ai."⁷⁹ ("*it is forbidden for men to stay with women in the time of menstruation.*" – my translation) Waiauwia then went back to his wife and told her that men and women are to be separated during a woman's menstruation. Fornander concludes his article by stating that hale pe'a traditions were brought to Hawai'i from Tahiti with Lu'ukia.

⁷⁷ Fornander, "Ka Moolelo O Olopana, a Me Kana Wahine," 157.

⁷⁸ When this section presents a quotation by Fornander, a translation by myself, or a printed translation by Thrum bracketed numbers may appear which indicates the line number that corresponds with Figure 4.5. In this example, [near 25] indicates that this line is near line 25. This exact excerpt is not situated in a line number of multiples of five as presented in Figure 3.5 and the location of this quote is thus expressed.

⁷⁹ Fornander, "Ka Moolelo O Olopana, a Me Kana Wahine," 159.

From this mo'olelo we learn a lot about the Hawaiian epistemology of menstruation. Fornander writes, "hookaawale ae la ia Luukia ma kahi kaawale loa, me ka malama pono loa [5] ia o ka maluhia."⁸⁰ ("*Luukia was separated to a far-off place, with the absolute preservation [5] of the peace*." – my translation) The use of the word maluhia is interesting because maluhia is most commonly known as the peace that God or Jesus bestows upon people. In contrast, the use of maluhia in the context of wahine waimaka lehua, describes the peace that Lu'ukia preserves when she goes to the hale pe'a to menstruate.

When I translate Fornander's line "me ka malama pono loa ia o ka maluhia," there are multiple ways to read and interpret it with modern orthography. One of the ways to read the line is, "me ka mālama pono loa 'ia o ka maluhia," which means "*with the absolute preservation of the* maluhia."⁸¹ The 'ia is a marker which makes the previous word (mālama) passive. The o is a preposition which means of. Therefore, this excerpt means that the maluhia was preserved. When understanding the excerpt in this manner, the meaning of the sentence is that the maluhia was preserved when Lu'ukia went to the hale pe'a and separated herself from the remainder of society.

Another way to interpret Fornander's text through modern orthography is, "me ka mālama pono loa ia, 'o ka maluhia." The ia, without a 'okina, means aforementioned. The 'o is a marker which indicates that 'o ka maluhia is the appositive of ia. In other words, the 'o indicates that the maluhia is what is being preserved. If Fornander's excerpt is interpreted in this manner then it would be translated as, *"with the absolute preservation of the aforementioned (thing), namely the* maluhia." However, there is no aforementioned maluhia in the two paragraphs above

⁸⁰ Fornander, 157.

⁸¹ My reinterpretation of the text using modern orthography then my translation.

indicating that there is no apparent function of ia.⁸² Furthermore, the placement of the comma between the ia and 'o is an ambitious modification when considering that Fornander wrote with commas in his original text. If Fornander did not write with commas, then an insertion of a comma in that particular place should be considered.

Interpreting that line in either the former or latter explanation means that the maluhia was preserved. However, Thrum's translation is contrasting both of my interpretations. In absolute contrast however, is Thrum's translation. He interprets Fornander's words to mean, "when Luukia was isolated to other places where *she* was kept and *well treated* [emphasis added]."⁸³ I argue that nowhere in Fornander's words does it say that "Lu'ukia was kept and well treated," rather Lu'ukia was the one to care for and preserve maluhia. Thrum's interpretation of the line as "she was well treated," may indicate that he knows something that the readers of 2018 do not. However, the power that Thrum exercises over the text as a translator indicates that he is writing a new version of history through a "translation" of Fornander. If Lu'ukia was well treated during her days of isolation, then she must have been accompanied by a servant, like the female kauā to accompany Akahiakuleana at the stream during her cleansing rituals. However, there is no evidence indicating the kauā's presence at the hale pe'a with Akahiakuleana. Also, only other menstruating women were able to be in contact with other menstruating women.⁸⁴

⁸² Fornander, "Ka Moolelo O Olopana, a Me Kana Wahine," 157.

⁸³ Thomas G Thrum, trans., "The Story of Olopana And His Wife," in *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore*, vol. 4 (Honolulu, Hawaii: Bishop Museum Press, 1916), 156.

⁸⁴ Samuel M. Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo Hawaii: Helu 48," *Ke Au Okoa*, November 10, 1870, http://www.papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KAO18701110-01.2.3&srpos=&dliv=none&e=----en-20--1--txt-txIN%7ctxNU%7ctxTR------.

Dr. Morris in his article "Translators, Traitors, and Traducers," writes that translations, especially those done at the turn of the 19th century negotiate cultural values and are the misrepresentations of Hawaiian texts by translators. He cites Charlene Avallone in saying that,

the discourse of 'renaissance' in American literature at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth Centuries presided over the "negotiation of cultural values, the asymmetrical distribution of cultural capital, and the maintenance of a gender hierarchy," all to the end of promoting male preeminence and ascendancy.⁸⁵

Dr. Morris parallels such cultural negotiations, distribution of cultural capital, and maintenance of a gender hierarchy with translator Thomas G. Thrum. His article concerns aikāne relations through Hawai'i's literary past and specifically reveals that Thrum mistranslates texts for the sake of asserting Western patriarchal ideals onto mo'olelo.⁸⁶ Thrum, in his translation of the Pele and Hi'iaka epic, changes Kahuakaiapaoa, Lohiau's (same-sex) aikāne, to be a female to suppress same-sex relationships. Dr. Morris explains that,

This is a problem of knowledge, a problem about knowing—of cognition-and of power (see Morris 2003) [*sic*]. Translation has always been one of the most powerful ways to regulate knowing because it is a tool in the hands of someone with superior knowledge, that is, the translator who knows both languages. Whoever needs the translation knows only one language and is therefore at the mercy of the translator.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Morris, "Translators, Traitors, and Traducers," 229.

⁸⁶ Morris, 233.

⁸⁷ Morris, 234.

Thrum's translations of "Ke Ano o Ko Luukia Noho ana ma kela wahi Puukawaiwai," is analyzed because as a translator, Thrum holds power over the mono-lingual consumers of mo'olelo Hawai'i. Therefore, when Thrum translates Fornander's text to mean something absolutely outside of the words, grammar, and sentences left by Fornander, a Western patriarchal voice speaks through Thrum.

Returning to the discussion of maluhia, when women menstruate, and separate themselves from the remainder of the kauhale, women maintain the maluhia, or peace by removing what is kapu from what is noa. A menstruating woman has the capability to remove kapu from persons and objects and therefore, in preserving the maluhia of society, she removes herself from the noa kauhale and retires to a hale pe'a. Lu'ukia is also protecting the kapu ali'i that Olopana has when she separates herself during menstruation. Therefore, the protection of society and wahine waimaka lehua are both adhered when women retire to the hale pe'a.

The kapu waimaka lehua of Lu'ukia is not defiled rather her kapu is sacred. When Lu'ukia menstruates she is kapu to kāne but noa to other wahine waimaka lehua, meaning that she may not encounter men but may encounter other menstruating women. This is the same for kāne pule i ke akua. When they are in the hale mua, kāne pule i ke akua are kapu to women but noa to other kāne pule i ke akua.

Lu'ukia's hale pe'a was at Pu'ukawaiwai near Kawaihae and Waimea on the island of Hawai'i. By sheer analysis of the name Pu'ukawaiwai, the hill must have been an important place. According to *Place Names of Hawaii*, Pu'ukawaiwai literally means "prosperity hill" and

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was 3,229 feet high.⁸⁸ Furthermore, waiwai means wealthy and culturally depicts a person or 'ohana as wealthy and prosperous if they had lots of wai or was able to properly manage wai.

Wai also means "liquids discharged from the body, as blood, semen; color, dye, pattern; to flow, like water, fluid. *Wai o ke kāne*, semen. *Wai o ka wahine*, menstruation or other discharged." (*HD*, 377) Knowing that wai is also menstrual blood, then Pu'ukawaiwai can also be interpreted as Menstrual Blood Hill especially when remembering that Lu'ukia menstruated there. Other indications that Pu'ukawaiwai may be associated with menstruation is the world *wai*maka lehua which means, "waterdrops from the '*ōhi*'a lehua tree; euphemism for menstruation. Also *waimaka-o-lehua*." (*HD*, 379)

Dr. Kikiloi advocates for a remembering of our place names in stating,

These place names are important cultural signatures etched into the Hawaiian landscape and are embedded with traditional histories and stories that document how our ancestors felt about a particular area, its features, or phenomena.⁸⁹

The cultural signature etched into Pu'ukawaiwai is a remembering of Lu'ukia and her menstruation which contributes to a larger remembering of ourselves and our wai. In the name Pu'ukawaiwai, our ancestors must have felt a mana attached to that 'āina and our wai. The marriage of the two are now manifested in the pana 'āina to be remembered forever more.

⁸⁸ It is interesting to note that in Thrum's translation of Fornander's text, Thrum only translates Pānolu'ukia which means wall of Lu'ukia and does not translate Pu'ukawaiwai. Analysis of Thrum's lack of translation for a special place name such as Pu'ukawaiwai, a central theme and place for menstruating women yields important insight for selective translation. Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, and Esther T. Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 1974), 199.

⁸⁹ Kikiloi, "Rebirth of an Archipelago," 75.

Pu'ukawaiwai is about four miles away from Waipi'o, depending on the measurement of any given route from Waipi'o to Pu'ukawaiwai. This means that Lu'ukia walked or hiked to Pu'ukawaiwai at least once a month. I argue that Lu'ukia needs to menstruate at a far vicinity at a place named Prosperity Hill because she is a manifestation of akua when she menstruates. Her physical-separation from the remainder of kauhale indicates her elevated godliness when she menstruates and is therefore, dramatically separated by a large distance.

Regarding Lu'ukia's hale pe'a, Fornander writes, "ko [10] Luukia halepea, ua paia i ka pa a puni." ("*Luukia's [10] menstrual house, it was barricaded entirely*." – my translation) The barricade surrounding the hale pe'a symbolizes that something must be contained for the sake of protection. Kapu people inside of the wall are protected from noa people on the outside and, the noa people outside are protected from kapu people who are inside. Like heiau with barricades surrounding the entire structure, the wall is a protection of what is inside and outside of the wall.

According to Fornander, Pu'ukawaiwai was "pili la me Kawaihae a me Waimea. Malaila ko [10] Luukia halepea, ua paia i ka pa a puni." I will translate Fornander's text to say, Pu'ukawaiwai "*was near Kawaihae and Waimea. There was Luukia's [10] menstrual house, it was barricaded entirely*." However, Thrum writes that it was "located between Kawaihae and Waimea. Here a house was built *for her* [emphasis added] surrounded by a wall."⁹⁰ Fornander's text and Thrum's interpretation do not align similar to Thrum's misinterpretation of maluhia. Thrum adds that Lu'ukia's hale pe'a was built for her when it was actually common for women to build their own hale pe'a whereas a chiefess' hale pe'a was built for them. Although Thrum's statement is most likely true in Lu'ukia's case as a royal, Thrum is inserting his own

⁹⁰ Thrum, "The Story of Olopana And His Wife," 158.

interpretation into Fornander's text. While doing so, Thrum removes female agency and maintains a gender hierarchy of men as supreme and women as inferior and needy.

Another instance of Thrum's misinterpretation of the text is when Fornander writes,

I kekahi manawa, i ke kokoke ana o Luukia a [20] hanawai pii mai la oia mai Waipio mai. Aka, e noho ana kekahi kanaka koikoi ma Waimea, o Waiauwia kona inoa, manao ae la oia e moe me Luukia. Nolaila, hele [25] aku la oia (Waiauwia) ma kahi o ka halepea o Luukia, nonoi aku la e moe me ia.⁹¹

One instance, when Luukia's [20] menstruation neared she climbed up from Waipio. However, a significant individual was living at Waimea, Waiauwia is his name, he thought to sleep with Luukia. So, he (Waiauwia) [25] went near Luukia's menstrual house to request for them to lay together. – my translation

However, Thrum on the other hand translates Fornander's text as,

During one of her trips to this house of separation, *while* on her way from Waipio, Luukia met a man by the name of Waiauwia, a person of some note who was living at Waimea. This man *became so enamored of her* that he *followed* [emphasis added] her to her house of separation and there made advances on her.⁹²

⁹¹ Fornander, "Ka Moolelo O Olopana, a Me Kana Wahine," 159.

⁹² Thrum, "The Story of Olopana And His Wife," 158.

A few accounts that are added to Fornander's text by Thrum is when Thrum states that, "while on her way from Waipio, Luukia met a man by the name of Waiauwia" and "this man became so enamored of her that he followed her." When Thrum inserts these ideas that were not expressed by Fornander, he is adding character to both Lu'ukia and Waiauwia that may have not been true. Thrum says that Waiauwia was enamored by her whereas Fornander simply writes that Waiauwia went to her hale pe'a. Something that Thrum did not translate was the fact that Lu'ukia began her journey to Pu'ukawaiwai when her menstruation neared. This indicates that Lu'ukia knew and felt when she was about to menstruate.

Progressing through the mo'olelo, around line 25, Fornander writes, "I mai nae o Luukia, aole e hiki ke moe laua, no ka mea, aole i pau ka haumia."⁹³ To which I interpret as "*Luukia however told him, that they may not sleep together, because, the sacredness was not done.*" I translate the word haumia as "sacredness" here for the reasons outlined earlier in this chapter. On the contrary, Thrum translated that line as "to which Luukia replied: 'We cannot do such a thing, as I am defiled."⁹⁴ If we look at both translations of the word haumia as defiled and also as sacredness, then by sheer semantics, the imagery and weight attached to haumia differ completely. Lu'ukia, as sacred, may not sleep with Waiauwia because she is too sacred to associate with noa people. Because she is sacred, she is capable of removing kapu from others. Under the essence of defiled, Lu'ukia may not associate with Waiauwia because she will defile his kapu. If she is "sacred" or "defiled," her function in society when she menstruates is the same. Who then benefits from female defiledness? And who benefits from female sacredness?

⁹³ Fornander, "Ka Moolelo O Olopana, a Me Kana Wahine," 159.

⁹⁴ Thrum, "The Story of Olopana And His Wife," 158.

Regardless of Lu'ukia's heightening and altered state, Waiauwia was steadfast to his desires. Fornander writes, "Aka, hoopaa aku la no o Waiauwia, me ka makemake no e moe laua."⁹⁵ ("*However, Waiauwia was steadfast, and wanted for them two to sleep together*." – my translation) In Fornander's original text, the pronoun lāua is agendered but Thrum translated the excerpt as, "*he* insisted that *she* [emphasis added] grant his request."⁹⁶ Thrum's translation is problematic because he continues to add character on Waiauwia's request that apparently Lu'ukia will grant.⁹⁷ Lu'ukia does not sleep with Waiauwia and, "hoi aku la o Waiauwia, a hai aku la i kana wahine."⁹⁸ ("[near 45] *Waiauwia returned, and told his wife*." – my translation) Although Waiauwia may have been disappointed, he ultimately went back to his wife to tell her about the kapu. Thrum however says, "Waiauwia was therefore *forced* [emphasis added] to return to Waimea, and there informed his wife."⁹⁹ Fornander does not specify that Waiauwia was forced to do anything rather, it seems that Waiauwia was curious, ha'oha'o, of the kapu on wahine waimaka lehua because he had never heard of such a kapu.¹⁰⁰

Fornander writes that Waiauwia, "hai aku la i kana wahine, he mea kapu loa ka [45] noho pu ana o na kane me na wahine ke hiki i ka manawa e hanawai ai na wahine."¹⁰¹ ("*And told his wife, it is absolutely forbidden [45] for men and women to live together when the menstrual time*

⁹⁵ Fornander, "Ka Moolelo O Olopana, a Me Kana Wahine," 159.

⁹⁶ Thrum, "The Story of Olopana And His Wife," 158.

⁹⁷ Morris also points out that Thrum adds gender specific pronouns to agendered Hawaiian pronouns. Thrum changed Kahuakaiapaoa's gender from male to female in accordance with a same-gender relationship. Thrum often does this is his translations. Morris, "Translators, Traitors, and Traducers," 231.

⁹⁸ Fornander, "Ka Moolelo O Olopana, a Me Kana Wahine," 159.

⁹⁹ Thrum, "The Story of Olopana And His Wife," 158.

¹⁰⁰ Fornander writes, "A ma keia [30] olelo a Luukia, *haohao* [emphasis added] iho la o
Waiauwia i keia mea," which indicates that Waiauwia was puzzled or astonished at this new information. Fornander, "Ka Moolelo O Olopana, a Me Kana Wahine," 159.
¹⁰¹ Fornander, 159.

for women arrives." – my translation) Thrum, on the other hand, interprets kapu as a wish of the gods gods when he writes, "and there informed his wife that it was against the *wish of the gods* [emphasis added] to have men live with their wives during their periods of infirmity."¹⁰² Fornander does not mention any gods and Thrum's interpretation is a fabrication of what Fornander was actually saying. Although Thrum's interpretation here is incorrect, Thrum may be alluding to the 'aikapu when he says that it was against the wish of the gods for menstruating women to sleep with men. According to Dr. Kame'eleihiwa, it was the priest, who provided Wākea with the 'aikapu religion of men and women to eat separately. And since,

in this context, eating is for men a religious ceremony or sacrifice to the male *Akua* Lono, it must be done apart from anything defiling, especially women. (Female *mana*, however, was only *haumia* to the male *Akua*, and not to the female *Akua* whom women worshipped freely.)¹⁰³

Dr. Kame'eleihiwa's work was essential in understanding the 'aikapu, however, this present research, written two decades after *Native Lands and Foreign Desires* offers a contextualized understanding of kapu, noa, and haumia in relation to menstruation and ultimately Hawaiian gender roles and reproducing bodies.

As a continuum of outdated definitions and interpretations of Hawaiian concepts, I would finally like to mention that Thrum translated hanawai to "period of infirmity" four times in this

¹⁰² Thrum, "The Story of Olopana And His Wife," 158. This exact quotation is cited in *Nānā i Ke Kumu* vol. 2 in portraying menstruating women are defiled. It is not the specific goal here to problematize *Nānā i Ke Kumu*, however, many aspects of this thesis document will suggest so.
¹⁰³ Kame'eleihiwa, "Traditional Hawaiian Metaphors," 23.

short text. Hanawai actually means to menstruate and the translation of hanawai to "period of infirmity" disregards what menstruation actually means through a Hawaiian epistemology. An infirmity (noun) is a weakness or ailment which describes a woman as feeble which maintains a gender hierarchy and regulates knowledge of mana wahine.

| Puukawaiwai'' | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| Fornander | Kāne Kuahiwinui | Thrum | | | | |
| [1] Noho ae la o Olopana ma Waipio | [1] Olopana lived at Waipio with his | On their return Olopana and his wife | | | | |
| me kana wahine a i kekahi manawa, | wife until a certain time, Luukia was | again took up their residence in | | | | |
| hookaawale ae la ia Luukia ma kahi | separated to a far-off place, with the | Waipio except at times when Luukia | | | | |
| kaawale loa, me ka malama pono loa | absolute preservation [5] of the | was isolated to other places where | | | | |
| [5] ia o ka maluhia. A ia a hiki i ka | peace. When it was time for Luukia | she was kept and well treated. These | | | | |
| wa e hana-wai ai o Luukia, hoihoi ia | to menstruate, she was returned to | times of isolation came only at | | | | |
| mai la oia a hoonoho ma | stay at Puukawaiwai a place that was | Luukia's monthly periods, when she | | | | |
| Puukawaiwai kahi e pili la me | near Kawaihae and Waimea. There | was removed to Puukawaiwai, a | | | | |
| Kawaihae a me Waimea. Malaila ko | was Luukia's [10] menstrual house, | place located between Kawaihae and | | | | |
| [10] Luukia halepea, ua paia i ka pa | it was barricaded entirely, thus the | Waimea. Here a house was built for | | | | |
| a puni, nolaila i kapaia ai ka inoa o | name of this place was called | her surrounded by a wall. This | | | | |
| ua wahi la o Panoluukia, o kona inoa | Panoluukia, that is the name until | particular spot has always been | | | | |
| ia a hiki mai i keia wa. | this very time. | known as the wall of Luukia and is | | | | |
| | | so called to this day | | | | |
| "Ke Ano o Ko Luukia Noho ana ma | "The Nature of Luukia's residence | "How Luukia Lived at | | | | |
| kela wahi Puukawaiwai" | at that place Puukawaiwai" | Puukawaiwai" | | | | |
| [16] He mea mau ia Luukia ka hoi | [16] It was customary for Luukia to | It was customary for Luukia to retire | | | | |
| ma kona halepea ke kokoke aku i ka | return to her menstrual house when | to this house of separation at the | | | | |
| manawa e hanawai ai. I kekahi | the time to menstruate neared. One | approach of her periods of infirmity. | | | | |
| manawa, i ke kokoke ana o Luukia a | instance, when Luukia's [20] | During one of her trips to this house | | | | |
| [20] hanawai pii mai la oia mai | menstruation neared she climbed up | of separation, while on her way from | | | | |
| Waipio mai. Aka, e noho ana | from Waipio. However, a significant | Waipio, Luukia met a man by the | | | | |
| kekahi kanaka koikoi ma Waimea, o | individual was living at Waimea, | name of Waiauwia, a person of | | | | |
| Waiauwia kona inoa, manao ae la | Waiauwia is his name, he thought to | some note who was living at | | | | |
| oia e moe me Luukia. Nolaila, hele | sleep with Luukia. So, he | Waimea. This man became so | | | | |
| [25] aku la oia (Waiauwia) ma kahi | (Waiauwia) [25] went near Luukia's | enamored of her that he followed her | | | | |
| o ka halepea o Luukia, nonoi aku la | menstrual house to request for them | to her house of separation and there | | | | |
| e moe me ia. I mai nae o Luukia, | to lay together. Luukia however told | made advances on her, to which | | | | |
| aole e hiki ke moe laua, no ka mea, | him, that they two may not sleep | Luukia replied: "We cannot do such | | | | |
| aole i pau ka haumia. A ma keia | together, because, the sacredness | a thing, as I am defiled." Upon | | | | |
| [30] olelo a Luukia, haohao iho la o | was not done. And at this [30] | received this reply from Luukia, | | | | |
| Waiauwia i keia mea. Aka, hoopaa | decree of Luukia, Waiauwia was | Waiauwia was puzzled to know the | | | | |
| aku la no o Waiauwia, me ka | astonished at this thing. However, | meaning of such a thing; he insisted | | | | |
| makemake no e moe laua. A no ia | Waiauwia was steadfast, and wanted | that she grant his request. At this | | | | |
| mea, olelo mai o Luukia, me ka i | for them two to sleep together. And | determination on his part, Luukia | | | | |
| [35] aku ia Waiauwia: "Mai komo | because of this, Luukia replied | told Waiauwia: "Don't come in unto | | | | |
| mai oe maloko nei, ua hanawai wau, | saying [35] to Waiauwia; "You do | me, for I have my period of | | | | |
| nolaila wau i kaawale ai me ke alii | not enter here, I have menstruated, | infirmity. This is the reason why I | | | | |
| (Olopana)." | this is why I am separated from the | am separated from Olopana the | | | | |
| | chief (Olopana)." | king." | | | | |
| Akahi no a loheia keia mea e | This is the first time this thing was | This was the time that Waiauwia | | | | |
| [40] Waiauwia, he mea kapu no na | heard by [40] Waiauwia, it is | ever heard of such a thing, that men | | | | |
| kane ka noho pu me na wahine i ka | forbidden for men to stay with | were prohibited from living with | | | | |

Figure 3.5. Comparative Review of Abraham Fornander's "Ke Ano o Ko Luukia Noho ana ma kela wahi Puukawaiwai"

| manawa e hanawai ai. Nolaila, hoi aku la o Waiauwia, a hai aku la i kana wahine, he mea kapu loa ka [45] noho pu ana o na kane me na wahine ke hiki i ka manawa e hanawai ai na wahine. I kekahi manawa, mahope mai o ko Waiauwia halawai mua ana me [50] Luukia ma Puukawaiwai, hele hou aku la ua o Waiauwia ma ka halepea mau o Luukia, kahi hoi i halawai mua aku ai laua, kahi i haiia mai ai ke kapu. Ia manawa, ia laua i [55] halawai hou ai, mahope iho o ka pau ana o ko Luukia hanawai ana; hai aku la o Waiauwia i kona makemake e launa me Luukia. A mamuli oia ano, haule iho la o | women in the time of menstruation. Therefore, Waiauwia returned, and told his wife, it is absolutely forbidden [45] for men and women to live together when the menstrual time for women arrives. At another time, after Waiauwia met Luukia for the first time [50] at Puukawaiwai, Waiauwia went again to the menstrual house of Luukia, where indeed they first met, where the restriction was proclaimed. At that time, when they [55] met again, after Luukia's menstruation had ended, Waiauwia told her of his lust to fraternize with Luukia. And for that nature, [60] Luukia fell to the wrong doing with Waiauwia. | women during their monthly periods. Waiauwia was therefore forced to return to Waimea, and there informed his wife that it was against the wish of the gods to have men live with their wives during their periods of infirmity. Sometime after this first meeting between Waiauwia and Luukia at Puukawaiwai, Waiauwia again visited Luukia at her house of separation, after one of her periods of infirmity, and this time his desired was at last satisfied and Luukia fell in wrong-doing with Waiauwia. |
|---|--|--|
| [60] Luukia i ka hana hewa me Waiauwia. | wrong doing with walauwia. | |
| Ua oleloia na Olopana i lawe mai i ke kapu ma Hawaii nei. Ma ia hope mai laha ae la ke kapu ma keia mau [65] Mokupuni a pau. | It was said that Olopana brought the restriction to Hawai'i. And from then on, the restriction was widespread [65] in these islands. | It is said that Olopana brought the tabu [<i>sic</i>] system to this islands [<i>sic</i>]. Shortly after this the tabu system was inaugurated throughout the whole group. |

3.4.3 Section Conclusion

Haumia has been long misunderstood to mean defiled however, when understanding menstruation as kapu, a discussion of female sacredness is evident. Dr. Salazar has noted specifically through the words of Kumu Hula Dr. Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahele that women become gods when they participate in the godly cycles of life. Since menstruation is a life cycle, a cyclical and monthly occurrence that mimic natural phenomenon, women also become gods when they menstruate. In remembering mana wahine through waimaka lehua, places such as Pu'ukawaiwai exemplify an ingrained Hawaiian consciousness of the connection between 'āina and wai. Through the moʻolelo of Luʻukia, a practice of maluhia is evident in her separation from the remainder of society. When she maintains maluhia, she is protecting herself and the remainder of society in separating what is kapu from what is noa. The physical-separation of kapu and noa is seen in the physical distance of Luʻukia's hale peʻa which is about four miles away from her kauhale. The temporal-separation of kapu and noa is the duration of her menstruation.

This section of the chapter redefines haumia through a Hawaiian epistemology and outlines that menstruating women are sacred rather than defiled. Thrum's interpretations, and any other Western patriarchal approach to Hawaiian history through fabricated mo'olelo can no longer be held paramount when understanding Hawaiian concepts such as kapu, noa, and haumia. This section has begun a discussion of kapu waimaka lehua and proposes that a term like this could be efficiently used to describe the sacredness of menstruating women and, as an extension of wahine waimaka lehua, her wai.

3.5 Section III: Walewale Ho'okumu Honua

Through a Hawaiian epistemology, human blood types meaning: female, male, and child are respectively different from one another. Therefore, 'What is the cultural context of blood?' This section will outline different ways that these blood types were cared for and the ceremonies that informed such care when applicable.

According to *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawai'i* blood was a "life sustaining substance" and should not be destroyed by fire. Our blood has our mana and thus "*he*

ola ke koko."¹⁰⁴ However, according to *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, "menstrual blood was considered defiling (*haumia*)."¹⁰⁵ Furthermore,

And a Center staff member recalls this 1959 experience: "We were on the Big Island when *Kilauea Iki* erupted. Everybody was rushing to go see the volcano. One of our party was afraid to go because she was menstruating, and menstrual blood was *kapu* (taboo) and an offense to Pele, the volcano goddess. But there was a school teacher with us...Japanese, but she knew Hawaiian customs...and she went out and got a *ti* leaf for the woman to wear so she could go with us. That made it all right." The three examples demonstrate continuing belief that fresh leaves for *ti* possess some mystic quality that can protect against spirits, lift *kapus*, and call down the cleansing, rather than the wrath of the gods.¹⁰⁶

If blood is so sacred, what then about menstrual blood is so defiling? The spirituality of blood types like menstrual, post-natal, and placenta may seem at a glance distinct, however, this section will compare post-natal and placenta blood as similar in spirituality to menstrual blood. This section of the chapter will discuss post-natal and 'iewe blood in relation to menstrual blood in order to understand the positionality of female bodily fluids through a Hawaiian epistemology.

¹⁰⁴ Handy and Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawai'i*, 11.

¹⁰⁵ Pukui, Haertig, and Lee, Nānā I Ke Kumu, I:122.

¹⁰⁶ Pukui, Haertig, and Lee, I:191.

3.5.1 Post-Natal Walewale

Post-natal blood is the blood that results because of, during, and after childbirth. It is not correct to address post-natal liquid (blood, uterine tissue, mucus, lochia rubra, lochia serosa, and lochia alba) as blood because it is actually walewale.¹⁰⁷ Concerning post-natal walewale, Malo writes about the practices of an ali'i wahine, cheifess, in caring for herself directly after birth. Malo writes,

Ma ka wa e hanau ai ke kiki [*sic*], e hooka[a]wale ia ka makuahine me ke kane aku, a i noho kaawale loa oia ma kahi e, a hala na la ehiku, a ma ka wa e pau ai ka walewale, alaila, hoi mai i ka hale i hale me kana kane iho.¹⁰⁸

When the child is born, the mother is separated from the man, and when she is exiled to a distant place, and seven days passed, and when the fluids has stopped, then, [she] will return to the home with her husband. – my translation

Many aspects of this excerpt are noteworthy namely; the separation of wahine and kāne after birth, the proximity of said separation, and the use of the word "walewale" to describe blood or fluids.

The separation of wahine and kāne after birth is noteworthy because isolation is a life necessity. Female isolation due to menstruation is a result for the need to care for herself because she is participating in a life cycle. Similar to female menstrual isolation is also female isolation

¹⁰⁷ Walewale is commonly understood as slimy substance. This chapter will extensively discuss all types of walewale. *HD*, 381.

¹⁰⁸ Malo, "Ko Na [A]lii Nui Hoomana Ana No Ke Keiki: Mokuna 35," 80.

due to childbirth. Isolation of wahine hānau allows a woman to observe her walewale because in these days, walewale discoloration indicates a postpartum/uterine infection.¹⁰⁹ Concerning isolation of wahine hānau, Malo writes,

Aole nae oia i launa me kane [*sic*] kane iho, a me kanaka e no hoi ma ia mau la, e hoopili ia ka papa laau ma kona opu, a laila liki ia i kana malo mawaho aku a paa kona opu he hoopaapa ka inoa oia hoomaemae ana na wahine hanau keiki.¹¹⁰

She did not however, associate with her husband, and any other persons during those days, a medicine wrap was affixed on her stomach and [her] loincloth was tightly wrapped against her stomach. This cleaning process of these child birthing women were called 'hoopaapa.' – my translation

Malo elaborates on the activities of isolation and lays examples of how a mother is to care for herself during this time. During her retirement, a woman monitors her walewale for the reasons stated above and she applies medicine wraps to herself. Kupuna knew that monitoring walewale was important for the well-being of wahine hānau and therefore, the lāhui kānaka.

In absolute contrast are the Christian faith models of female isolation. A woman was isolated because she was unclean and an abomination. In Leviticus 15:19-33, the word unclean

¹⁰⁹ Wahine hānau refers to birthing mother. Wahine hānai refers to pregnant woman. These terms are usually interchanged and will be used in this thesis. For more information on postpartum and uterine infection see: Debolina Raja, "Postpartum Infections," Health, Mom Junction, July 23, 2015, http://www.momjunction.com/articles/postpartum-infections-types-and-symptoms_00118281/#gref.

¹¹⁰ Malo, "Ko Na [A]lii Nui Hoomana Ana No Ke Keiki: Mokuna 35," 80.

and uncleanness is used 18 times and the word defiled is used once; totalling to 19 times. In the book of Oihana Kahuna (Leviticus) the word haumia is used 19 times. This translation of unclean and defiled to haumia is consistant in every publication and reprint of the Hawaiian langauge bible (1839, 1868, 1994, and 2012).¹¹¹

The translation of haumia as unclean and defiled is stated in the bible and sustained in the bible for 173 years. In Leviticus 15:19-33, the bible states a set of rules that a woman will follow during her week of menstruation.

And if a woman have an issue, and her issue in her flesh be blood, she shall be put apart seven days: and whosever toucheth her shall be unclean until the even.

And every thing that she lieth upon in her separation shall be unclean: every thing also that she sitteth upon shall be unclean.

And whosever toucheth her bed shall wash his clothes, and bath himself in water, and be unclean until the even.¹¹²

The biblical scripture continues to list all the things that will become unclean if the menstruating woman shall touch it, sleep with it, lay upon it, etc. Everything that she sits on will be unclean. Every person who touches the things that she sits on will be unclean.¹¹³ Little would they know,

bin/bible?a=p&p=frameset&p2=search&p3=word&r=1&d=&fqf=TX&fqv=haumia&qt=1&e=q-1off-01994-bible--00-1-0--01994v2-0-TX-4-haumia-Sec---1--1en-Zz-1-other---20-frameset-search-word----011-01994v1--210haumia-0-1-

¹¹¹ "Baibala Hemolele," accessed January 19, 2018, http://baibala.org/cgi-

escapewin&toc=0&j=&txq=haumia&summarise=1&ed=all&acc=1.

¹¹² Leviticus 15:19-21. King James Version.

¹¹³ The scripture verses from 19-33 are long and repetitive and states all of the things that shall be unclean when she menstruates. Other versions of this scripture offer far more visual renditions of female impurity.

or purposefully in theory, that these rules stated in Leviticus will affirm and declare a woman's value in the Old and New Testaments.

Returning to the discussion of female separation, the proximity of said separation is noteworthy because although Malo does not specify the exact location of the wahine hānau's separation. He does note however, that "noho kaawale loa oia ma kahi e" ("*she stayed completely separated to somewhere else*." – my translation) The language here is similar to the language that Fornander uses when describing Lu'ukia's menstrual isolation in that, "hookaawale ae la ia Luukia ma kahi kaawale loa."¹¹⁴ ("*Luukia was separated to a far-off place*." – my translation) To reiterate, their isolation is due to their sacredness rather than defilement. Furthermore, this physical separation of the mother and the man and all else is a sign of separating kapu from noa. Wahine hānau who become akua through childbirth and wahine waimaka lehua through menstruation, become gods who participate in sacred cycles. This separation is similar to menstrual separation in the time when walewale escapes from her body.

3.5.2 Placenta Blood

Other types of blood that involve humans is the blood of the 'iewe. To specify, this blood is the small drops of blood that results when the piko, naval chord (*HD*, 328), connecting the child and the placenta is cut. Malo writes about a piko-cutting ceremony and he notes that if a girl was born, then her piko will be cut at home and if a boy was born, his piko would be cut at the heiau.

¹¹⁴ Fornander, "Ka Moolelo O Olopana, a Me Kana Wahine."

A laila ooki i ka piko a moku aku penu ia i ka oloa a pau ke koko, alaila, pule mai ke kahu no ke kupenu ana o ke koko, penei e pule ai, kupenu ula, kupenulei, kunulei. Aka halapa i ke akua, i laau wai la alaila pau ka pule ana a ke kahuna.¹¹⁵

Then the piko was cut until it was separated and the blood was dabbed with a fine white tapa until it [the blood] was all gathered, then, the priest prayed for the dabbing of the blood, this is how the prayer went, "kupenu ula, kupenulei, kunulei. Aka halapa i ke akua, i laau wai la," then the priest's prayer was complete. – my translation

The blood of the placenta, specifically the first blood shed of the child is deliberately cared for.¹¹⁶ It is unclear if this specific blood shed either belongs to the placenta or to the child but in either case it is blood and it was deliberately cared for to the extent of the accompaniment of this pule.

[1] Kupenu ula,
Kupenulei,
Kunulei
Aka halapa i ke akua,
[5] I laau wai la

¹¹⁵ Kamakau also offers an account of the same sort of ceremony. Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo Hawaii Helu 17."Malo, "Ko Na [A]lii Nui Hoomana Ana No Ke Keiki: Mokuna 35," 80. ¹¹⁶ Noteworthy here is the use of the word 'koko' to describe the placenta. This section of the chapter will not extensively focus on this change in language however, it is noteworthy and should be considered for future study.

In lines one and two, the prayer is describing the activity of the kahuna as he dabs and sops up the blood of the child. Kūpenu means "to dip, to dye by dipping; to sop up; to dab as with a wet cloth; to plunge into water, immerse." (*HD*, 185) Those two lines, "Kupenu ula/Kupenulei," recognizes this blood as 'ula and lei. 'Ula is interpreted as sacred, royal, and even red in describing the blood. (*HD*, 367) Lei, is commonly known as a wreath but is also a metaphor for a child. (*HD*, 200) The third line, "kunulei" can be rather interpreted as "kanu lei," for the placenta, once physically separated from the child, will later be kanu, or buried, into the earth.

In an interview with Dr. Kimura, an elder recalls the place where her 'iewe is buried.

Interviewer: (L. Kimura)

No hea 'oe? (Where are you from)

Interviewee: (K. Kaleiheana)

No Hanalei o Kaua'i au. Ma Laila i kanu 'ia au [*sic*] ko'u 'iewe, akā 'o Kalihi ko'u 'āina i hānai 'ia ai. (I belong to Hanalei of Kaua'i. It is there that my placenta was buried, but Kalihi is the land where I was raised.)¹¹⁷

Burying the 'iewe is an important tradition to Hawaiians because such burial connects the newborn child to a family homeland. Therefore, I have interpreted line 3, "kunulei," to rather be "kanu lei" for those reasons. The act of burying the 'iewe also conceals the 'iewe for it is the spiritual connection of the child to pō, the sacred origin of the universe. Furthermore, the concept of burying 'iewe in reverence relates to burying menstrual cloths and the possible concealment of

¹¹⁷ Kimura, Native Hawaiian Study Commission Minority Report, 177.

other blood materials. Concealing walewale and 'iewe are done in secret to protect those beings from discovery. For more information on the material culture of menstruation, see Chapter 4.

Lines four and five, "Aka halapa i ke akua/ I laau wai la," can be interpreted in two different ways, one of the progression of a birth and another as a prayer to the gods. Aka means, "embryo at the moment of conception," and a "newly hatched fish in the stage in which its body is still transparent." (*HD*, 12) Hālapa means, "active; flashing brightly," (*HD*, 51) like lapa meaning to, "to rise up, to swell, to blister." (*HD*, 94) Hālapa according to Andrews is "(verb) In a *prayer*, to bring to pass; to pray that a thing hoped for may be granted; *halapa* i ke mauli kukala ia hale hau."¹¹⁸ I ke akua, is a phrase meaning 'towards the gods,' or 'into a god.' Lā'au in the fifth line is a metaphor for how the child will grow to be like a tree, "*Ua hele ke kino ā lā'au*, the body is stiff from in rigor mortis [*sic*]." (*HD*, 188) And wai meaning "liquids discharged from the body, as blood, semen." (*HD*, 377)

In the interpretation of this pule from the perspective of progressing labor and a prayer to the gods, this prayer is asking that this child will depart from the state of embryo and fetus in the realm of pō, and actively and energetically emerge into the world and realm of ao through birth. In doing so, this child shall grow to be a strong man of blood and/or semen. What then happens to that kapa that was used to collect the blood? Where is it taken?

Understanding 'iewe blood is important here because menstrual blood is an undeveloped 'iewe. After a woman's menstrual period, when she "bleeds" for 3-7 days, her uterus begins to build a lining against her uterus wall that will become the 'iewe of the child if her egg is

¹¹⁸ Lorrin Andrews, "A Dictionary of The Hawaiian Language," Ulukau: Hawaiian Electronic Library, accessed April 9, 2017, http://wehewehe.org/gsdl2.85/cgi-bin/hdict?e=q-11000-00--off-0hdict--00-1---0-10-0---0-direct-10-ED--4----0-11p0--11-haw-Zz-1---Zz-1-home-walewale--00-3-1-00-0--4----0-0-11-00-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&d=D82140.

fertilized. If the egg is fertilized by sperm, also known as walewale, the fertilized egg will travel from the ovaries and attach to the uterus lining. The uterus lining will then develop into a 'iewe. However, if an un-fertilized egg lands on the uterus wall, that uterus lining, which was preparing to become a 'iewe, sheds from the uterus wall and the resulting matter is the woman's walewale.

3.5.3 Section Conclusion

Although the location of the oloa, the kapa used to dab and collect 'iewe blood, is unknown, 'iewe are usually buried or concealed after birth to keep the child safe from harmful people and/or spirits. The practice of concealing 'iewe, for it being sacred and special, is similar to the practice of concealing the kapa that women used as a sort of menstrual pad. Another reason why hale pe'a were far in vicinity from the remaining kauhale is because women buried their soiled skirts, used as menstrual pads, near there.¹¹⁹ Acknowledging that menstrual blood is walewale, this section of the chapter further argues that menstruation through a Hawaiian epistemology is sacred.

Post-natal walewale and the care of wahine hānau exemplify that female isolation is a life necessity along with a spiritual practice of separating kapu from noa. Placenta blood and the piko-cutting ceremony that Malo elaborates promotes the argument of the sacredness of female walewale.

3.6 Chapter Conclusion: Eia ka Puana

In outlining the cultural dynamics of kapu and noa in accordance with Hawaiian epistemology, this chapter argues that kāne pule i ke akua and wahine waimaka lehua are both

¹¹⁹ Handy and Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawai'i*, 11.

respectively kapu. Resituating wahine waimaka lehua in the context of kāne pule i ke akua and re-imaging kapu and noa on a linear scale, this research allows us to properly understand that the kapu of a wahine waimaka lehua is different from the kapu of a kāne pule i ke akua. Their physical and temporal-separations from what is noa is apparent and represent relative equality. Another cultural dynamic that has been long misunderstood is haumia. Certain Western patriarchal ideals like the translations by Thrum and the Book of Leviticus has set a precedent for female degradation and have regulated knowledge to maintain gender hierarchy. Through the mo'olelo of Lu'ukia, Akahiakuleana, and Dr. Salazar's study, women become gods when they menstruate. Our bodies are constantly considered as divine and such is walewale. This chapter has contextualized "kapu waimaka lehua" and the next chapter will inform ways that a modern Hawaiian menstrual practice can maintain kapu waimaka lehua.

Our walewale are sacred wai that belong to our mo'okū'auhau and we must not abandon our wai to channelized systems of "management." When we menstruate, we are the embodiment of mo'okū'auhau and to allow the wai of life to flow freely and unstuck is to honor such divinity within us.

Families have already begun caring for walewale and 'iewe and the Krugs are just one example. According to *Krug v. State of Hawaii* (2006), Kaiser Permanente, Inc., permanently seized the 'iewe belonging to this 'ohana in accordance with Kaiser's understanding of a Hawaii State Department of Health policy that prohibits health care facilities from discharging 'iewe to 'ohana after childbirth. After repeated blood tests by the mother of this 'iewe to disclose her health, and negative testing of Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), Hepatitis B Virus (HBV), and Hepatitis C Virus (HCV), Kaiser continued to retain her 'iewe. Furthermore, when the child was very young, her piko, belly-button, showed signs of ailment and it is believed that the disconnection and possibly the abandonment of the 'iewe resulted in this ailment. I am not certain that the mo'olelo presented in the introduction of this chapter is indeed the Krugs however, each family, in the battle of reclaiming mana and kapu, have taken their own necessary action. To 'ohana Krug and other 'ohana who have fought for the pono of their children, to you are my greatest mahalo.

Chapter 4: Hale Pe'a

4.1 Introduction: Ka Manō 'Ai Kanaka

As I lead a handful of Hawaiian Studies 107 students towards Laulima, one of the lo'i at Ka Papa Lo'i o Kānewai, I announce to the women, "If this is your sacred time, then you are too sacred for the lo'i." As the true meaning of my words settled with the students, a few giggled and others gasped. But what came next was absolutely unbelievable, *initially*.

'So why can't the girls get in the lo'i? Is the lo'i shark gonna come and eat them?'

I was absolutely shocked, then those emotions turned to hurt and something unimaginable happened. My usual hot-headed-self patiently allowed him the time to internally question his choice of words and disregard for the women around. I stared at him, squinted, then slightly tilted my head as my kumu hula Snowbird Bento often does and told him, "Brother, you have a lot to learn."

Hiapo Cashman, the director of Ka Papa Lo'i o Kānewai at Hawai'inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge since 2006, mentions that the giggles are usually minimal in regards to the "ma'i talk." He reports that students from visiting high schools, middle schools, and some elementary schools arrive well prepared for other instructions in the time of menstruation.¹²⁰ In traditional times, menstruating women retired to a hale pe'a with other wahine waimaka lehua and spend their sacred days together. Therefore, they were unable to work in a lo'i. In today's society, abstaining from entering a lo'i when menstruating is observed and honored as a Hawaiian menstrual practice and to stay as true as possible to what may possibly be lo'i management.

¹²⁰ Hiapo Cashman, Ka Papa Lo'i o Kānewai, personal communication with Makana Kāne Kuahiwinui, November 11, 2016.

There are some practices within Hawaiian society today that have been maintained and for this ritual to be one of the practices that has sustained the generations speaks volumes to its relevance and importance today. Hāloa is an extremely important ancestor of the Hawaiian people and to care for him is to care for ourselves. I argue that maintaining a healthy lo'i practice is to maintain a healthy Hawaiian society. If menstruating women stay away from lo'i and Hāloa, then the reverence of not only Hāloa, but of menstruating women also, must have been an important aspect of the Hawaiian society of old.

"You see the kids start separating themselves," Hiapo explains. "Get the kids who really want to go in, then get the kids who kinda want to go in, then get the kids who don't want to go in. Then, there are the girls on the side." These girls automatically separate themselves because they already know that it's not customary for menstruating women to enter the lo'i. Hiapo reports that students respect the guidelines and "99.99%" of the time abstain from entering the lo'i.¹²¹

So, what ever happened to Mr. Lo'i-Shark that believes the menses of a woman is something to laugh about? This type of mentality stems from the Western patriarchal rhetoric that describes any woman with a bleeding vagina as defiled and quite frankly separates wahine waimaka lehua from all else. The possible lack of education that he received as a child in the school house, at home, or even at the university has probably contributed to this ignorance. Ultimately, it is not his fault that this information did not reach his ears, however, such ignorance should be analyzed. Hence, my own reactions to him were only *initially* unbelievable.

The kauhale system was an association of houses; the most common of structures are the hale pe'a, hale mua, hale noa, and hale 'aina. The hale mua is for men to offer their daily

¹²¹ Cashman.

offerings of 'awa to the family 'aumakua and that is where men and the family gods sit in union.¹²² The hale noa was the common sleeping area where men, women, and children all slept together. The name of this house, noa, indicates that this was a house free of any kapu. The hale pe'a was kapu for only menstruating women. And, the hale 'aina was the woman's eating house where children who have yet entered womanhood or manhood ate with the women.¹²³ Each of these structures had its own purpose and there were many other types of structures as well. As discussed in Chapter 3, the hale pe'a and the hale mua were both respectively kapu indicating that not one is more important than the other. This chapter will discuss the purpose, function, and meaning of hale pe'a.

This chapter will begin to discuss a Hawaiian menstrual practice. A menstrual practice includes the monthly actions that a woman would/could do during menstruation. A "Hawaiian menstrual practice" indicates a menstrual practice informed by a Hawaiian epistemology. A "modern" and "traditional" Hawaiian menstrual practice will often appear in this chapter and such a modern Hawaiian menstrual practice is informed by a traditional Hawaiian menstrual practice. The difference between a *traditional* Hawaiian menstrual practice and a *modern* Hawaiian menstrual practice is that a traditional Hawaiian menstrual practice will indicate that a woman is to retire completely to a hale pe'a for five to seven days during menstruation. A modern Hawaiian menstrual practice on the other hand may indicate a modified retirement, which is based off of a traditional Hawaiian menstrual practice to comply with the demands of the 21st century. In comparing what women had done in the past, this chapter will begin to

¹²² Handy and Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawai'i*, 9. Pukui, Haertig, and Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, I:113–14.

¹²³ Pukui, Haertig, and Lee, I:114.

question and outline the current state of a menstrual practice and make suggestions for a modern Hawaiian menstrual practice.

The word pe'a is defined in the dictionary with 11 definitions.

4. n. Sail, as of a canoe....

6. n. Boundary, edge, boarder as of land. *Mai kēlā pe 'a ā kēia pe 'a*, from that boarder to this. *E kau mai ana 'o Hala- 'ani 'ani ma ka pe 'a o ka nalu* (Laie 509), Hala- 'ani 'ani landed on the edge of the wave.

7. vs. Menstruating, unclean, tattered (FS 167); to menstruate, *Hale pe 'a*, menstrual house. *Kapa pe 'a* (Isa. 64.6), filthy cloth....

11. n. Sacred house. (*HD*, 322)

The definition of pe'a as tattered is exemplified in *Selections from Fornander's Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore* (FS 167). In the mo'olelo of 'Umi-a-Līloa, son of Akahiakuleana, a fisherman named Nau observed that the shoreline surrounding him became muddy. In belief that this was a result of war on the mountain-side, he quickly returned home and "aole i kaulai i ka upena, hopu i ka laau pololu kaua, hopu i ke kuala me kau wahi nehu, o ke *kapa pea lau-i kolo hului* [emphasis added] a kau ana i ke kua, a o ka pii iho la no ia i uka."¹²⁴ ("*he did not hang the net, grabbed the long war spear, some taro and fish, a* tattered ti-leaf coat *worn on the back, and he quickly took off to the mountain-side*." – my translation) Using the word pe'a, Fornander describes a sort of coat made of dried ti-leaves used as a rain-coat.

¹²⁴ Abraham Fornander, *Selections from Fornander's Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore*, ed. Samuel H. Elbert (University of Hawaii Press, 1959), 167.

In the seventh definition of the word pe'a, menstruation is the first definition. However, the use of the word tattered to describe pe'a is supported by a mo'olelo that uses pe'a to describe a coat, in this case, that was used by a man. The presence of the word "tattered" in the seventh definition involving menstruation, given the context of Fornander's reference, does not make much sense to me.

The other referenced definition of pe'a as unclean in association with menstruation is seen in the *Baibala Hemolele* in Isaiah 64:4-6 (Isa. 64.4). In this book, Isaiah the prophet is prophesizing the coming of someone, may that be god, Jesus, or another prophet, and describes humans as a "polluted garment" or "filthy rags" because of their sins. The translation thereof is "kapa pe'a."¹²⁵ These definitions of pe'a as tattered, unclean, and filthy may very well be an accurate definition, however who shall deny the other definitions?

The definition of pe'a as "sacred house," aligns with the findings of this thesis. In understanding that women are sacred when we menstruate, haumia is associated with the divine, and our menstrual walewale being connected to the foundation of this earth, "sacred house" as a definition of pe'a and hale pe'a is appropriate. Furthermore, understanding pe'a in the context of "ka pe'a kapu o Kukulu o Kahiki" as a portal to the celestial heaven, described in mo'olelo of

¹²⁵ "Polluted garment" was used in the following versions of the bible: English Standard Version, Holman Christian Standard Bible, New Heart English Bible, JPS Tanakh 1917, American Standard Version, English Revised Version, and the World English Bible. "Filthy rags" was used in the following versions of the bible: New International Version, New Living Translation, King James Bible, Jubilee Bible 2000, King James 2000 Bible, American King James Version, Darby Bible Translation, and Webster's Bible Translation. "Isaiah 64:6," Bible Hub, accessed January 20, 2018, http://biblehub.com/isaiah/64-6.htm. "Baibala Hemolele: Isaiah 64," Ulukau: Hawaiian Electronic Library, accessed January 20, 2018, http://baibala.org/cgi-bin/bible?e=q-10ff-01994-bible--00-1-0--0all-0-TX-4-pea-Sec---1is--1en-Zz-1-other---20-frameset-search-word----011-01994v1--210pea-0-1-

escapewin&a=p&p=frameset&cl=&d=NULL.2.4.1.1.64.6.1.2&toc=0&gg=text&vv=&exp=Isaia h%2064:6.

Makalei, *Lā*'*ieikawai*, and *Lauka*'*ie*'*ie*, a hale pe'a is a sacred house that acts as a portal to divine beings.

4.2 Chapter Research Questions

This chapter will analyze menstruation from a Hawaiian epistemology and answer the second research question, 'What is the purpose, function, and meaning of the hale pe'a?' The hale pe'a is an important aspect of menstruation through a Hawaiian epistemology because wahine waimaka lehua spent their time there.

An aspect of a Hawaiian menstrual practice is separation. And therefore, 'What does female separation or isolation indicate in the context of menstruation?' Through the mo'olelo of Lu'ukia and Akahiakuleana, this section will discuss separation of wahine waimaka lehua and society.

When women re-enter society and ritually end their separation, a purifying ritual is conducted named huikala. Therefore, 'What are specific ways that women purify?' The physical and spiritual transition of women between kapu and noa will be discussed as a Hawaiian menstrual practice of purifying and to assist such understanding of a Hawaiian menstrual practice, a material culture is discussed.

'What is the material culture of menstruation?' The material culture refers to the skirts, menstrual pads, and other physical dressings that are described in a menstrual practice. The material culture will lead to further discussion and elaboration of a modern Hawaiian menstrual practice using modern materials.

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4.3 Section I: Ka'awale

Female isolation during menstruation is similar to female isolation after childbirth. Physical separation ensures that all walewale is well monitored to ensure somatic health. Through the mo'olelo of Lu'ukia we understand that her separation is not only necessary to monitor her bodily fluids, but also a time and space to maintain maluhia; the peace and order of the kauhale or any noa space. This section of the chapter will further discuss female separation and protection in regards to menstruation and will further discuss a Hawaiian menstrual practice of ka'awale. Therefore, 'What does female separation or isolation indicate in the context of menstruation?'

In the moʻolelo of Luʻukia, Fornander describes the hale peʻa as a place where Luʻukia would retreat when she is to menstruate. Her hale peʻa was at Puʻukawaiwai and it was absolutely barricaded by a wall that separated what was inside from outside and vice versa.¹²⁶ A few other structures in Hawaiian society that included such a wall were heiau and loko iʻa.¹²⁷

The kuapā of a loko i'a is the rock wall structure that surrounds the body of water where fish are raised and farmed. Some kuapā, no matter the length, were anywhere between one-foot to 10-feet wide. The function of the kuapā is to stop unwanted fish from entering the loko i'a because the purpose of a loko i'a is to efficiently farm and raise desired fish. The kuapā in keeping unwanted fish out, also functions as a wall to keep desired fish in. The same thing could be said for when women menstruate. The rock wall surrounding Lu'ukia's hale pe'a protected what was inside from what was outside.

¹²⁶ "Puukawaiwai.... Malaila ko Luukia halepea, ua paia i ka pa a puni nolaila i kapaia ai ka inoa o ua wahi la o Panoluukia." ("*Puukawaiwai There was Luukia's menstrual house, it was barricaded entirely, thus the name of this place was called Panoluukia.*" – my translation) Fornander, "Ka Moolelo O Olopana, a Me Kana Wahine," 159.

¹²⁷ Heiau is "Pre-Christian place of worship, shrine." HD, 64. Loko i'a is fishpond. HD, 210.

For a heiau luakini, the rock wall that surrounds the entire premises was an important structure and functioned similarly to a kuapā loko i'a. Malo, in "No Ka Luakini: Mokuna 36 [37]," describes the sequence of events for the building of a heiau luakini which he notes is the most important type of temple to be built and was a structure restricted for only an ali'i nui to build. In describing the sequence of events when erecting certain objects of the heiau luakini first was the rock wall, then the lananu'umamao, following that were the posts, then the god idols, and finally the ki'i mō'ī (temple idol).¹²⁸ The rock wall here is protecting the things to be erected inside of the rock wall from any harmful or unwanted spirits and intentions. The idols of the heiau are the physical manifestations of the gods whom chiefs and priests worship and seek revelation thus, careful attention must be paid.¹²⁹

Just like a hale pe'a, specifically the hale pe'a of Lu'ukia, the rock wall symbolizes protection of what is inside and outside. Inside of the hale pe'a is/are goddess(es) who are actively participating in the deified reproductive cycle. Just like the kuapā that protects the fish on the inside of the wall, the hale pe'a protects women when they are menstruating from unwanted people like Waiauwia to Lu'ukia.

There are two types of menstrual separation. There is separation to maintain maluhia and, separation to maintain kapu. A Hawaiian menstrual practice of maluhia is a separation of kapu from noa in this case, wahine waimaka lehua (kapu) and lay people (noa). A Hawaiian menstrual practice of ka'awale is separation of kapu from what is kapu like wahine waimaka lehua (kapu) and kāne pule i ke akua (kapu). Malo describes female separation as an existential measure in

¹²⁸ "Oracle tower; the lowest floor was the *lana*, the second and more sacred floor was the *nu'u*, and the top, where the high priest stood to conduct services was the *mamao*." *HD*, 193.
¹²⁹ David Malo, "No Ka Luakini: Mokuna 36 [37]," in *Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i: Hawaiian Traditions*, trans. Malcolm Nāea Chun (Honolulu, Hawaii: First People's Productions, 2006), 90–103.

place to honor kapu. Fornander describes female separation as an existential measure to honor maluhia. Today, menstruating women may very well hold the integrity of menstrual separation in separating themselves from the remainder of society and in doing so, will exemplify a Hawaiian menstrual practice.

Kamakau, in "Moolelo Hawaii 48" writes, "Ina elua a ekolu a nui wale na wahine i kahe ia e ka wai, alaila, akoakoa lakou ma ke kahua a puuhonua hookahi, alaila, kukulu i na halepea, ua kapu loa i na kane ke maalo ma ia wahi."¹³⁰ ("*If there were two, three or more women that have menstruated, then, they gathered at the site and refuged together. Then organized the menstrual houses. It was absolutely prohibited for men to pass through this place.*" – my translation) Considering that menstrual cycles of certain women may "link" with others they meet regularly, a modern Hawaiian menstrual practice (informed by Kamakau's description of wahine waimaka lehua gathering in refuge) also reflect pu'uhonua – holding refuge.

Pu'uhonua is defined as, "place of refuge, sancturary, asylum, place of peace and safety," (*HD*, 358) and has an overarching connotation of safe place. According to Pukui, the hale pe'a was exactly that, a place of rest.¹³¹ Building communities have always been important to Hawaiians and our lāhui kanaka can benefit from such a practice of pu'uhonua. Therefore, to maintain a Hawaiian menstrual practice of maluhia and ka'awale, women would pu'uhonua with other women.

¹³⁰ Kahe 'ia is an interesting concept to grasp. Kahe 'ia means "to be cut" and e ka wai means "by the menstrual blood." Kahe 'ia e ka wai, in the passive sentence pattern used, means to be cut/flowed by the water. The use of the passive sentence pattern identifies the wai as the agent, or subject, of the sentence and therefore, the female was cut or flowed by her menstrual blood. This places the wai, menstrual blood, in this manner not only gives agency to the wai, but holds the wai in high regards when considering the historical understanding of menstrual blood as defiling. Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo Hawaii: Helu 48."

¹³¹ Pukui, Haertig, and Lee, Nānā I Ke Kumu, I:169.

Pu'uhonua is a better term to describe the menstrual isolation and separation because those English words do not properly portray cultural understanding of pu'uhonua during menstruation. Isolation carries weighted connotations that do not equate to pu'uhonua as Kamakau describes.

4.3.1 He Mo'olelo no Akahiakuleana

The moʻolelo of Akahiakuleana sparks great conversation about haumia, the integrity of kaʻawale and maluhia, and the presence of kauā, aliʻi nui, and wahine waimaka lehua. In the moʻolelo of Akahiakuleana, the hale peʻa represents an escape for women to do what they please. When Akahiakuleana, mother of 'Umi, had finished her monthly retirement to the hale peʻa, she was seen by the high chief of Hawaiʻi, Līloa, at the stream named Hōʻea near Kaʻāwikiwiki, Hawaiʻi. Fornander writes

A ike o Liloa ia ia, ua hoala ia mai kona manao e hana aku ia Akahiakuleana, alaila moe iho la laua. Ma keia moe ana, ua loaa o Umi, ka mea nona keia moolelo. Mamua ae o ka launa kino ana o Liloa ma, ua kahe o Akahiakuleana, a ia laua i moe ai, oia kona mau ana, nolaila, ua loaa koke ke keiki.... A pau ka moe ana a Liloa me Akahiakuleana, he mau la i hala mahope, ike aku la o Liloa i ke ano hapai o kana wahine.¹³²

When Līloa saw her, he intended to consecrate intercourse with Akahiakuleana. Then, they slept together. When they laid together, 'Umi was conceived, the one for whom this account is for. Before Līloa folks fraternized, Akahiakuleana had menstruated, and while

¹³² Fornander, Selections from Fornander's Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore, 115–17.

they had sex, s/he was secreting, so the child was quickly conceived...And when Līloa and Akahiakuleana were done sleeping together, a few days passed, and Līloa knew the pregnant state of his partner. – my translation

According to Fornander's version of the mo'olelo, Akahiakuleana and Līloa had laid together for a few days.¹³³ And as the mo'olelo progresses, 'Umi was raised thinking that his father was a fisherman. This indicates that Akahiakuleana was able to lay with Līloa for a few days, unbeknown to her husband at the time, because she was apparently at the hale pe'a. The importance of this information speaks to the function of the hale pe'a as pu'uhonua for wahine waimaka lehua. Akahiakuleana had gone to her hale pe'a and because of the separation from her husband at the time, she was then able to lay with another man.

According to Malo's version of the same instance,

Hele aku oia [Liloa] e auau ma kahawai o ka Hoea... alaila, loaa ia ia o Akahiakuleana malaila, ua hoi mai oia mai ke kahe ana e auau oia mamua o kona wa e huikala ia ai no kona haumia, (a mahope iho hui pu oia me kana kane, pela wahine oia wa) a e noho ana kana kauwa wahine ma ka pa o ka wai e kii ana i kona pau.¹³⁴ Alaila, ike aku la Liloa, he wahine maikai ia makemake Liloa i ua wahine la, lalau aku la oia i uwa wahine la, me ka i aku e moe kaua....Alaila moe iho la laua, a i ka pau ana o ka laua moe ana ike no Liloa,

¹³³ Fornander, 120.

¹³⁴ This skirt may very well be the Akahiakuleana's menstruating skirt. This leads to greater conversation about the "defiled-ness" of kauā, menstrual blood, and menstruating women.

ua poha ua wahine la, ninau mai Liloa, ua wahine la, ea, ua kahe anei oe? I mai ka wahine ae, ua kahe, o ko'u mau ana mai la no ia.¹³⁵

He [Līloa] went to bathe in the stream named Hō'ea...then, there he secured Akahiakuleana, she returned from menstruating, she bathed before she is purified from her sacredness, (and after that she joined her husband, that is how women were in those days) and her female servant was on the edge of the water fetching her skirt. Then, Līloa saw a beautiful woman and Līloa lusted for that woman. Līloa seized that woman, and said, "Let's sleep together." ... Then they slept together, and when their sleeping together had ended, Līloa saw that this woman had burst, Līloa asked the woman, "hey, have you menstruated?" The woman said, "yes, I have menstruated, I have recently secreted." – my translation

Akahiakuleana and Līloa had laid together just long enough for Līloa to see that Akahiakuleana had menstruated. Malo does not specify the length of days that they had laid together as Fornander does, regardless, Akahiakuleana slept with Līloa while she was supposed to be at the hale pe'a.¹³⁶

It is also noteworthy that Akahikuleana was not killed. In order for Līloa to know that she was menstruating, or even inquire about her menses is because she had "poha," which means that she had "burst-ed" and her menstrual blood was exposed. This instance questions all of the

¹³⁵ David Malo, "No Umi: Mokuna 51 [67]," in *Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i: Hawaiian Traditions*, trans. Malcolm Nāea Chun (Honolulu, Hawaii: First People's Productions, 2006), 147.
¹³⁶ It is not the scope of this research to discuss punalua however, this mo'olelo and its specificity of Akahiakuleana sleeping with another man while she is "away," will be great for further research of the cultural dynamics of punalua.

integrity of defilement of a menstruating woman because by the "offense" of her menstrual blood to a high-ranking chief, Akahiakuleana could and should have been killed.

However, is this hi'uwai then restricted for only Akahiakuleana and was Līloa actually the one to breach the kapu? Is the stream where she does her hi'uwai also included with the hale pe'a? If so, then even her hi'uwai is to be a secluded ceremony only for wahine. Was Akahiakuleana's life spared because Līloa breached the kapu waimaka lehua when he approached Akahiakuleana at Hō'ea? The use of the word haumia and the presence of kauā are also very interesting and noteworthy. In regards to the cultural dynamics of kapu, noa, and haumia in Chapter 3, if kauā were so defiling then why was a common woman (Akahiakuleana), a high-chief (Līloa), and a kauā all present together? Furthermore, how was the kauā accompanying Akahiakuleana able to care for the sacred regalia of the chief?

When Līloa and Akahiakuleana knew that a child would result from their union and decided that if a boy was born, then the boy shall be sent to Līloa when he is older and return the regalia of the chief. Malo writes,

Alaila haawi mai la Liloa i kona malo, a me kona niho palaoa, ame ka laau palau me ka i aku eia ka hoailona o ka kaua keiki, a ma kona wa e nui ai, e haawi aku oe i keia mau mea nona, alaila, ae o Akahiakuleana i ka Liloa, kauoha, a haawi ae la o Akahikuleana, na kana kauwa wahine e malama keia mau hoailona a Liloa i haawi aku ai no ua keiki la.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Malo, "No Umi: Mokuna 51 [67]," 147.

Then, Līloa gave his loincloth, and his whale-tooth pendant necklace, and the wooden war club saying, "here are the signs of our child, when he grows up, give these items to him to have." Akahiakuleana then agrees to Līloa's commands. Akahiakuleana gives these items to her female servant to care for, these signs that Līloa gave for this child. – my translation

The importance of understanding cultural dynamics of kapu, noa, and haumia through this mo'olelo of a kauā, a wahine waimaka lehua, and the regalia and presence of a high chief is heightened when considering Figure 3.1 and 3.4. How sacred are these items if they are handed to a kauā? How defiled are the kauā if these sacred objects are given to them to carry and to hold? Although this thesis does not concern kauā, further research will be beneficial to understand the cultural dynamics of kapu, noa, and haumia in relation to kauā. I would argue that in the scope of kapu kauā (the kapu belonging to and defining a kauā) one of their responsibilities are to care for the commands they receive.

4.3.2 Section Conclusion

In the mo'olelo of Lu'ukia, her isolation symbolized protection of wahine waimaka lehua and the remainder of society. Because women are so powerful, especially when they menstruate, their capability to revoke or break kapu of any other persons can be seen as dangerous. The mo'olelo of Akahiakuleana exemplifies that the hale pe'a was a sort of escape while also questioning the integrity of kapu, noa, and haumia. The hale pe'a is a pu'uhonua for wahine waimaka lehua and before they return to kauhale, they huikala.

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A modern Hawaiian menstrual practice of ka'awale, meaning to separate kapu from kapu, women may possibly stay away from other kapu ceremonies, people, places, and objects. A corpse is a very sacred object and thus staying away from cemeteries or dead bodies (funerals) may very well be a Hawaiian menstrual practice of ka'awale. Certain practices like these are common amongst the Hawaiian community today however, the mo'olelo of Lu'ukia offers historical context to the questions that our young girls may ask of these menstrual laws.

In Lu'ukia's menstrual practice of maluhia, when she separates herself from the remainder of society, she is also protecting others. Wahine waimaka lehua are capable of revoking kapu and any sort of sacredness from others. Therefore, to properly care for the kapu and/or noa of others, Lu'ukia abstained from certain activities.

4.4 Section II: Huikala

This section of the chapter will discuss purifying practices such as huikala and hi'uwai in relation to building a heiau and menstruating. In doing so, this section will make suggestions of a Hawaiian menstrual practice. Through a Hawaiian epistemology, this section of the chapter will answer the research question; 'What are some specific ways that women purify?'

<u>4.4.1 Huikala</u>

It was customary for women to bathe after menstruating and before rejoining her family.¹³⁸ To specify, this "menstrual purification" is the practice of going to a stream after a week of menstruating to bathe. Malo writes about menstrual purification in the mo'olelo of Akahiakuleana,

¹³⁸ Handy and Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawai'i*, 11.

Hele aku oia [Liloa] e auau ma kahawai o ka Hoea... alaila, loaa ia ia o Akahiakuleana malaila, ua hoi mai oia mai ke kahe ana e auau oia mamua o kona wa e huikala ia ai no kona haumia, (a mahope iho hui pu oia me kana kane, pela wahine oia wa).¹³⁹

He [Līloa] went to bathe in the stream named $H\bar{o}$ 'ea...then, there he secured Akahiakuleana, she returned from menstruating, she bathed before she is purified from her sacredness, (and after that she joined her husband, that is how women were in those days). – my translation

The interesting thing about Malo's account is the use of the word huikala. Huikala is defined as, "to absolve entirely, forgive all faults, excuse, cleanse and purify morally; pardon, atonement, absolution; ceremonial cleansing." (*HD*, 87) However, huikala has been popularized in a Christian sense of forgiving of sins or repenting. I argue here that huikala, given the contexts of menstrual purification and building a heiau luakini, means to purify an object, place, or person from a kapu in order to change that object, place, or person into another state, noa. In relation to purifying during the building of a heiau luakini Malo writes,

E ninau aku no ke alii i kana kahuna pule no ke kukulu ana i ka Luakini, ina i manao ke kahuna pule o ka Luakini kahiko no ka heiau, a o ka hale nae, a me ka pa laau ke ahana

¹³⁹ Malo, "No Umi: Mokuna 51 [67]," 147.

hou ia, a o ka pa pohaku kahiko no ka pa, a o ke kii kahiko no ke kii, ina i ae mai ke alii, alaila, huikala ia, ua heiau la a noa, i hiki i ke kanaka ke hele aku...¹⁴⁰

The chief shall ask his advisor concerning the construction of a luakini, if the priest thinks that an old luakini is the temple, but the house and the wooden fence is to be made new, and the old rock wall to be used as the wall, and the old idols for the idols, if the chief agrees, then the temple will be purified until freed of restrictions so that people may enter...– my translation

Malo describes that if an old temple site was to be re-consecrated to be a new temple site then the old temple will be purified (huikala). This huikala will remove the kapu of the temple so it will become noa for men to begin construction.

In both contexts of purifying of luakini and wahine waimaka lehua, Malo uses the term huikala to describe a ceremony that transforms a person or place from kapu to noa. For a wahine waimaka lehua, the process of huikala is through hi'uwai. For a heiau luakini, the process of huikala is through pule. The similarities of hi'uwai and pule in the context of purifying will later be discussed.

Kamakau describes menstrual purification using the term huikala as well. He writes, "Alaila mau, oia ka wa e hoomaemae ai na wahine i ka wai me ka auau ana, alaila huikala ka wahine no ka haumia a pau."¹⁴¹ (*"then, that is the time that the women will clean in the water by bathing, then the woman is purified of the sacredness until finished.*" – my translation) Kamakau

¹⁴⁰ Malo, "No Ka Luakini: Mokuna 36 [37]," 91.

¹⁴¹ Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo Hawaii: Helu 48."

explicitly writes that a wahine waimaka lehua is haumia when she menstruates, and through huikala she is purified and is therefore able to rejoin her husband and the remainder of society.

There are many types of purification rituals coined by different terms but, this section of the chapter will refer to hi'uwai. The importance of hi'uwai, through a Hawaiian epistemology, is to release any sort of kapu or akua from the body. At a very basic and physical understanding, hi'uwai also represents hygienic cleanliness and hygiene.

Archibald Campbell, one of the first Europeans who helped "discover" Hawai'i and also one of the few Europeans who lived in Hawai'i for an extended time wrote,

It is only by size that the houses of the chiefs are distinguished from those of the lower orders, for the same barn-like shape is universal. They are, however, kept very clean and their household utensils, consisting of wooden dishes and calabashes, are hung, neately arranged, upon the walls.... In all of [the houses] the utmost attention to cleanliness prevails.¹⁴²

How could one deny the cleanliness of the Hawaiian people if even a European, someone from a Western patriarchal society, who is very unfamiliar to our lifestyle admit the cleanliness of po'e Hawai'i?¹⁴³ The native society that Campbell describes is not just of the domestic life and house cleanliness but also of the broad and overall state of the Hawaiian people. Campbell's account allows people living in the 21st century a glimpse into the cleanliness of the people of old.

¹⁴² Trask, Cultures in Collision, 104.

¹⁴³ Campbell was not the only person to comment positively on the orderly, handsome, sustainable, and well-advanced society that Hawaiians lived in. For a well developed report by Haunani-Kay Trask on the cultural differences of the West and Hawai'i, see "Cultures in Collision: Hawai'i and England, 1778."

Cleanliness, especially during and after menstruation is a Hawaiian menstrual practice that pays close attention to hygiene. Akahiakuleana religiously cleaned herself after a week of retirement to the hale pe'a in a way of maintaining good hygiene. This menstrual bath was also a way for her to huikala her body of any kapu that may continue to linger. A Hawaiian menstrual practice could very well be a purification ritual that follows a week of menstruating that will transform a woman from kapu to noa. Through pule one may transform our everyday baths from a regular shower to a ritual of releasing kapu.

4.4.2 Huikala Through Pule

One can learn much about Haumea from Kalei Nu'uhiwa's presentation, "Haumea: Establishing Sacred Space, Female Ceremonies and Heiau." In her presentation at 'Aha Wahine 2012, Nu'uhiwa, renowned Hawaiian scholar, notes that Haumea is the potential of all things. Nu'uhiwa explains to a room packed of mana wahine that "Pule Ho'ouluulu," also known as "Nā 'Aumākua" or "Pule Hō'ola'ola," is a great example of how "one sets up their sacred space."¹⁴⁴ Using the pule, "Eia Ka 'Awa," Nu'uhiwa exemplifies how Haumea teaches us to set up our sacred space and how we are descendants of Haumea because we were "born from an egg that was born from an egg that was born from Haumea."¹⁴⁵ As a Hawaiian menstrual practice using the teachings of Haumeanuiakeāiwaiwa, we can establish cognitive, spiritual, and physical sacred space.

 ¹⁴⁴ Oiwi TV, *Haumea: Establishing Sacred Space, Female Ceremonies and Heiau*, 2012, https://vimeo.com/36586470.
 ¹⁴⁵ Oiwi TV.

4.4.3 Section Conclusion

Huikala after menstruating is a Hawaiian menstrual practice because when women menstruate we are kapu and through the action of hi'uwai or pule, a wahine waimaka lehua may properly return to kauhale and consciously occupy noa. Huikala exemplifies that we understand kapu and noa and the transition between the two states. To achieve noa after menstruation, pule if nothing else, is possible and can have the same effect of a hi'uwai. When we hi'uwai, our physical-self and spiritual-self unite in the same action of purifying thus, consciously moving through the metaphysical. Our spiritual body in entering the water releases kapu from our body and mind so we may occupy noa.

4.5 Section III: Kapa

The previous sections have addressed huikala, ka'awale, hi'uwai, pu'uhonua, and pule as a Hawaiian menstrual practice informed by mo'olelo. This section will address menstrual material culture and answer the research question; 'What is the material culture of menstruation?' The material culture refers to the wearable objects used for menstruation such as skirts and pads. I recognize that 'material culture' is an academic field widely studied by anthropologists and archeologists to understand the material, tangible objects such as clothing, tools, housing etc., culture belonging to a people. Here it refers to material culture as the physical and tangible wearable materials used during menstruation.

Authors of *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawai'i* describe a material culture of waimaka lehua as thus:

Every woman kept her old worn-out skirts for use as pads at this time. When a skirt was no longer fit to wear as a garment, it was rinsed in water, dried in the sun and taken to the *hale pe 'a.... Pulu*, the soft cotton-like substance gathered from the *hapu 'u* fern was used as padding. When her period was entirely over, the woman buried the soiled pads outside of the *hale pe 'a.* (That was why there was a restricted area outside, around the *hale pe 'a*, for that was where soiled pads were buried. Such things were never burned as it was believed that blood was a life sustaining substance, *he ola ke koko*, and should not be destroyed by fire.)¹⁴⁶

Noteworthy to this section of the chapter is the material worn by menstruating women and how those materials were cared for at the commencement of waimaka lehua. This section of the thesis will discuss the material culture of a menstrual practice.

4.5.1 Materials Used

The "pads" that were used by wahine waimaka lehua were old worn out skirts and pulu of the hāpu'u.¹⁴⁷ Pukui describes that when a skirt was no longer fit for use as a garment, then that skirt will be used as a menstrual pad. "Pad" is sensitively used because of the word's close association with the commonly used sanitary napkin. However, the use of old and worn out skirts by wahine waimaka lehua, under pragmatic circumstances is a practice of repurposing materials that are already available.

¹⁴⁶ Handy and Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawai'i*, 11.

¹⁴⁷ Pule is described as "A soft, glossy, yellow wool on the base of the tree-fern leaf stalks." *HD*, 354.

Today's common menstrual culture includes a sanitary napkin commonly known as a pad and a tampon. These single-use products, once absorbed with walewale, are disposed as the user pleases. Beyond the concern of disposing our walewale in random places are serious concerns for 'āina and our landfills.

According to Lunapads, a company that sells reusable menstrual panties, pads, and cups, approximately 20 billion pads, tampons, and applicators (plastic or cardboard) will end up in the landfill each year from North America alone.¹⁴⁸ Each of these disposable, single-use, items will require hundreds of years to biodegrade, especially if each of those products are individually wrapped in plastic. Overwhelming masses of menstrual waste products pile high in the landfills and addressing such issues should be considered today. The ecological issues that arise over the use of pads and tampons are great however, the manufacturing processes of these products are even more alarming.

Pads and tampons are made primarily of bleached wood pulp which is processed into a synthetic fiber called rayon. Although the bleaching process of tampons and pads have improved over the past half century, manufacturing these products continue to be an ecological and biological problem. Dioxin is a byproduct of rayon used in tampons, pads, and diapers and is a cancerous material that puts women at risk of infertility.¹⁴⁹ The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) have stated that the low levels of dioxin (0.1-1 parts per trillion) found in pads and tampons are far less harmful than the dioxin

¹⁴⁸ These numbers are based on the calculations of a population of 73 million menstruating women of North America while calculating an average use of 20 pads/tampons each menstrual cycle. I have chosen to focus on Lunapads.com because they provide a lot of information on why and how women could switch from a disposable to reusable material culture. "Why Switch?," Lunapads.com, accessed January 21, 2018, https://lunapads.com/learn/why-switch. ¹⁴⁹ "Why Switch?" "Tampon Safety," *National Center for Health Research* (blog), April 27, 2016, http://www.center4research.org/tampon-safety/.

found in food and soil, however, the exposure of these "small" traces of dioxin in tampons are alarming because they come in direct contact with our reproducing organs.¹⁵⁰

According to Dr. Philip Tierno, director of clinical microbiology and diagnostic immunology at the New York University Medical Center and a leading expert on the health risks of tampons, even trace amounts of dioxin are cause for concern because tampons come in contact with vaginal tissue, which is covered in permeable, mucous membranes leading directly to the reproductive organs.¹⁵¹

Given the ecological and somatic issues of pads and tampons, the health risks of these single-use materials, and the cultural risks we are taking each month, how may we become better tenants to our honua both land and body? Honua is another term for placenta which is the honua, or earth, of our unborn child. This speaks volumes to the importance of our womb, walewale, and children.

A few modern menstrual material alternatives are reusable menstrual cups, menstrual panties, and menstrual pads. There are multiple companies that provide either of the three products and I do not promote one over the other. Lunapads provides a lot of the criticism of tradition pads and tampons however, they also state that "Lunapads, on the other hand, are made with a combination of three types of fabric, cotton flannel, cotton fleece and Polyurethane Laminate, which use their own share of resources to produce."¹⁵² Lunapads does not offer a lot of information about Polyurethane Laminate (PUL) but according to Kristen McCulloch, a

¹⁵⁰ "Tampon Safety."

¹⁵¹ "Tampon Safety."

¹⁵² "Why Switch?"

suburban mother passionate about the environment, PUL will never bio-degrade but is the lesser of evils when compared to disposable pads, tampons, and diapers.¹⁵³

A reusable menstrual cup is made of a flexible material that is inserted into the vagina and acts like a receptacle for menstrual blood. Most menstrual cups are made with a tether-like piece attached to the bottom of the cup for removal purposes. A menstrual panty is made of various absorbent materials worn like underwear. These panties, intended to be used without a menstrual pad, catch the menstrual blood and are washed regularly. A reusable menstrual pad is very similar to a disposable menstrual pad but are made from materials that absorb menstrual blood and are washable. Each of these products are a result of an ecological need to address the problems of our landfills.

Once we understand that a Hawaiian menstrual practice is based on repurposing already available resources and also highlights minimal ecological impact, a modern Hawaiian menstrual practice will mimic ecological practices that are biologically safe. The use of pulu as a material culture is an interesting practice for a great number of reasons, but the most noteworthy to this research is that hāpu'u is the kinolau of Haumea. Haumea is the supreme goddess of the universe, and her domain spans over childbirth, ceremony, potential, and too much more to mention.¹⁵⁴ Hāpu'u is the abundant tree-fern found in the deep and dark lush parts of the forest. And, because of the relationship between ferns and menstruation and the relation of female to ferns – Haumea, Hi'iakaikapoliopele, and Laka to name a few, ferns are specifically female.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Kristen McCulloch, "PUL Fabric: The Better of Two Evils! Sustainable Suburbia," *Sustainable Suburbia: Healthy Family, Sustainable World* (blog), June 7, 2011, http://sustainablesuburbia.net/pul-fabric-works/.

¹⁵⁴ Handy and Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawai'i*, 123. The Kohala Center, *Papakū Makawalu Part 1*, 2009, https://vimeo.com/4621142. The Kohala Center, *Papakū Makawalu Part 2*, 2009, https://vimeo.com/4621621.

¹⁵⁵ Handy and Pukui, The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawai'i, 123.

At the microscopic level, vaginal/cervical mucus, also known as walewale, resembles hāpu'u. Refer to Figure 4.1 for an image comparison of cervical mucus (walewale) and hāpu'u.

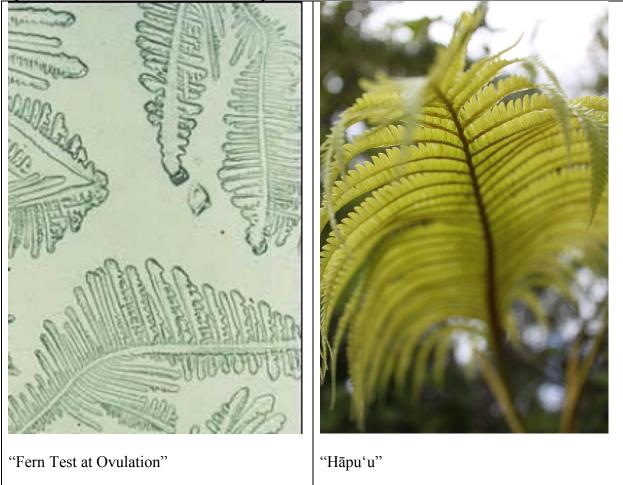


Figure 4.1. "Fern Test at Ovulation" and "Hāpu'u"

Source: M. D. Mazumdar, *Fern Test at Ovulation*, Photograph, accessed January 20, 2018, http://www.gynaeonline.com/cervical_cycle.htm.

The cellular ladder-like structure that comprises cervical mucus is used as a ladder for sperm cells to climb the vagina and to fertilize the ovum.¹⁵⁶ Visual relativity of walewale (cervical

¹⁵⁶ M. D. Mazumdar, "The Cervical Cycle: Changes in Cervical Mucus," Medical, Gynaeonline, accessed January 20, 2018, http://www.gynaeonline.com/cervical_cycle.htm.

mucus) and hāpu'u reiterates the divinity of our menstruation that our kūpuna understood before modern technology.

Ferns are an important part of the universal phenamenon becasue ferns live in the lipo of the forrest.¹⁵⁷ Hāpu'u resembles walewale and according to the sixth line of the Kumulipo, walewale is the substance that creates the universe. Knowing that walewale is menstrual blood, cervical/vaginal mucus, and sperm, our liquids are to be properly cared for and concealed. The relativity of walewale, hāpu'u, the Kumulipo, and Haumea is not only astonishing, but speak to the genius of our kūpuna in understanding that our reproductive cycles mimic 'āina.

4.5.2 Material Care

Our internal hāpu'u (walewale) combined with external hāpu'u (pulu) is the material culture of po'e Hawai'i. After the use of the old worn out skirt and pulu, they were buried in the surrounding 'āina of the hale pe'a. Therefore, the surrounding 'āina was kapu and men were not allowed to pass through those places. The practice of burying these materials mimic the practice of burying 'iewe because of its sacredness and practicality. Burying 'iewe protects the child and mother and burying walewale is to protect the menstruating woman. The common disposal practice today is to dispose of menstrual hygiene products in waste-receptacles randomly.

The suggested material care for an ecological material culture is to rinse then wash the items. Lunapads suggests that women wash these items with the remainder of the daily laundry to conserve water.¹⁵⁸ Once a reusable menstrual pad and panty has reached carrying capacity, it is rinsed in the sink and washed in the washing machine. Once a menstrual cup has reached

¹⁵⁷ dense forest. HD, 208.

¹⁵⁸ "Why Switch?"

carrying capacity, there are multiple ways to care for walewale. Some women pour the walewale into the toilet and flush it down the drain and other women pour it down the shower drain and dispose of walewale like that.

It was not customary amongst the people of old to take the skirt they used during menstruation back to the kauhale. Neither was it combined with the lay clothing. Pukui notes that no other clothing was worn on a woman's chest while in the hale pe'a.¹⁵⁹ Which suggests that kapa walewale and kapu are not combined with items that are relatively noa.

Returning walewale to the 'āina, mimics a traditional Hawaiian menstrual practice and can continue to connect us to 'āina. The late kupuna Kaka'e Kaleiheana, an elder in our community whose first language is 'ōlelo Hawai'i, explained to Dr. Kimura that her 'iewe is planted in Hanalei, Kaua'i and although she only lived there for the first six months of her life, she calls Hanalei her one hānau.¹⁶⁰

4.5.3 Section Conclusion

The values and understanding of older times are mimicked in the material culture of waimaka lehua. When observing the material culture, the people of old are a people who used and managed their resources well. When considering only the hāpu'u and pulu aspect of a material culture, the people of old used the kinolau of Haumea, our female ancestor who holds the knowledge of not only wahine but the universe, to properly mālama waimaka lehua. Understanding just this one aspect of a material culture, we distinguish the people of old not only as resourceful, but in harmony with a knowledge of the spiritual, physical, and social expression

¹⁵⁹ Handy and Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawai'i*, 11.

¹⁶⁰ Larry Kimura and Kaka'e Kaleiheana, "Ka Leo Hawai'i," HV24_65A, (Honolulu, Hawai'i: Hui Aloha Aina Tuahine, May 5, 1974).

of waimaka lehua. In connecting the physical walewale with the physical hāpu'u, the spirit of walewale and the spirit of Haumea are joined to return waimaka lehua to 'āina.

By pure comparison, what then does the current material culture of waimaka lehua say about our values? In discussing the current material culture of menstruation, this section has brought to light the terrible ecological impacts, health hazards, and culturally insensitive practice of the current material culture. Do we value ourselves and our honua as much as the people of old did? The current material culture of menstruation mirrors destruction of honua, both internal and external, in that poison has replaced hāpu'u and pulu. When walewale is understood as kapu and mimics the kapu of 'iewe, concealing walewale is a reflection of those values that our kūpuna held onto. Our kūpuna, in using specific materials also understood that our wai is a representation of the 'āina we use to care for our waimaka lehua.

4.6 Chapter Conclusion: Puana 'ia Ku'u Mele

The way that hale pe'a functioned in the olden times may have been abandoned today but through certain actions such as pu'uhonua, maluhia, and ka'awale, the function of the hale pe'a may serve us well today. When something is removed, like the hale pe'a, then it needs to be replaced. And in the case of menstruation, shame and ignorance has since replaced hale pe'a. Our traditions, morals, and ceremonies are too great to ignore and neglect therefore, a new sort of tradition should be created. A woman's capacity to maintain maluhia in modernity speaks to a new generation of cultural practitioners who are rooted in 'ike kupuna and constantly adapting to the future. Through huikala, women can move through the spiritual and physical spaces of kapu and noa and continue to hold integrity of our waimaka lehua. The spiritual pu'uhonua of a hale pe'a is a recognition of divine wahine waimaka lehua who are participating in the diefied cycles. Hale pe'a as a "sacred house" and possibly a portal to the celetial land of Kūkulu o Kahiki outlines akua waimaka lehua.

Hale pe'a, amongst the spiritual and ceremonial aspects thereof, were physical spaces that marked menstruation and spaces of refuge. Its presence in the kauhale, either far away or near, symbolized a space to where women would refuge. I imagine that children would be curious when mother or aunty, both known as makuahine, would disappear from the kauhale every month. The curiosity of children would lead to conversations and therefore, informal avenues of education. Such education that Mr. Lo'i-Shark probably missed as a result of Western patriarchal narratives to define menstruation.

As we have witnessed in Lu'ukia's mo'olelo, menstrual histories have been misinterpreted and in the case of Thrum, completely rewritten. Translating hanawai to "period of infirmity" is but one example of Thrum adding his own interpretation of what women did when they menstruated. Western patriarchal understanding of menstruation as thus promotes female degradation, feebleness, and inferiority. Thrum's disregard for the cultural importance of maluhia in the context of menstruating women is apparent throughout his interpretations and is unsurprising when compared to the Book of Leviticus. He represents dominant Western patriarchal ideals of gender hierarchy in suppressing the status of females through his own renditions of menstrual histories in Hawai'i. This chapter discussed a Hawaiian menstrual practice and the next chapter will discuss a Hawaiian menarche ceremony where we as women guide our young into the world of womanhood.

Chapter 5: 'Aha Kahe Mua

5.1 Introduction: Ko Wai Koe?

The nervous sweat has finally subsided and laughter, intellect, and light fills the room. Not to mention the buzzing needle that marks the skin below my neck, behind my heart, and between my shoulders. Rangi Kipa asks me, 'he aha te pātai Hawai'i mo 'ko wai koe?'' ('*what is the Hawaiian question for 'who are?'*)

I answer, "'o wai 'oe?"

This common question of 'o wai 'oe? *Ko wai koe*? '*O vai 'oe*? does not only speak to the water source that historically fed our families but the wai that has fed our river and those to come.¹⁶¹ I mark my skin as a rememberance of the women and physical connection to the wai that has fed me. As I trace my fingers over the surface scars, I sit with a 'ohana in beautiful Mānoa as Tuahine comes and goes, Kahaukani flutters the hau trees, and they share their mo'olelo of wai. 'Ohana Lehua was the focus group of this research and this chapter speaks to their wai.

5.1.1 Ka Honua 'Ohana

Building the family environment was a constant theme throughout the focus group. Parents mentioned a few times that the lifestyles their children lead is a result of the honua they built which, is a reflection of a lack that they had in their childhood.¹⁶² Kāne and Wahine were

¹⁶¹ 'O wai 'oe?, is Hawaiian meaning, "who are you?" *Ko wai koe?*, is Māori for "who are you?" 'O vai 'oe?, is Tahitian meaning, "who are you?" The constant of wai/*wai/vai* speaks to a universal thought of the Pacific meaning for water/blood.

¹⁶² Honua is "land, earth, world; background, as of quilt designs; basic, at the foundation, fundamental." In this context, honua is the family "environment." *HD*, 80.

both raised relatively distant from a Hawaiian identity, however, they learned and experienced that their Hawaiian identity is an important aspect to understand and experience. Both parents admit that their home is now their church and ho'omana kahiko is their religion.¹⁶³ Their honua emphasizes 'ōlelo Hawai'i and ho'omana kahiko and when the kids were younger, they were in constant search for ways to live as Hawaiian as possible. Each child was homeschooled by their mother until the third grade to establish their language foundation in 'ōlelo Hawai'i before any else. Hiapo, the eldest who is now 17, explains that she was shocked when she learned that Raiatea Helm doesn't 'ōlelo Hawai'i. In amusing recollection, Hiapo expressed that she felt cheated in a way, because Helm was her favorite singer and since Helm sings Hawaiian songs, she thought that she would also speak Hawaiian.

A day in the life of 'ohana Lehua is very busy and many memories are made in the car driving from one occasion to the next. The children reflect on their daily routine and admit that driving from one side of the island all to the way to other leads to great conversations about all sorts of topics. Muli, the youngest at 12 right now, often dances hula in the car, they sing as a family, and enjoy the company of each other. The weekends are dedicated to their practice of kākau and are now are filled with sports.¹⁶⁴ I am honored that 'ohana Lehua allowed me to sit with them because Kāne Lehua, father of the 'ohana, even admits that finding time for sleep has become a daunting task.

¹⁶³ Ho'omana kahiko has become a colloquial term to describe the worship practices and style of the people of old. This term, ho'omana kahiko, was used by 'ohana Lehua to describe their religion. "ho'omana: To worship; religion, sect." *HD*, 235.

¹⁶⁴ Kākau is tattoo, tattooing. HD, 119.

5.2 Chapter Research Questions

The third and final research question of this thesis is, 'What has a 'ohana done as a 'aha kahe mua?' A 'aha kahe mua is a term coined by this research as a menarche ceremony. 'Ohana Lehua designed and conducts their own menarche ceremony thus, 'What is their 'aha kahe mua?' This section will focus on their ceremony procedures beginning at the establishment of their honua, the menarche period, and ending with the ceremony closing. This is a report of their ceremony not a critique.

Through their own research, 'ohana Lehua did not find any specific information to a Hawaiian menarche ceremony and the questions that drive this section are 'How did 'ohana Lehua make decisions?' and, 'What are the effects of this 'aha kahe mua?' This section of the thesis will discuss decision making processes, reasoning, effects, and much more. 'Ohana Lehua constantly reminded me that this ceremony is but one small part of a broader understanding of the honua that the parents have built for each of the children.

The final section of this chapter discusses the challenges that 'ohana Lehua has endured and any type of improvements they have made or plan to make. Therefore, 'What are some challenges faced during the entire process of the 'aha kahe mua?' and, 'What type of improvements could be made?' Kāne mentioned that this entire process is an experiment therefore, this section of the chapter will discuss a few of their findings.

5.3 Section I: 'Aha Kahe Mua

This section of the chapter will report the 'aha kahe mua that 'ohana Lehua designed and conducted. Only certain sections of the ceremony will be briefly discussed. A 'aha kahe mua is a menarche ceremony that marks a girl's first menstruation. Menarche is the establishment of

menstruation and is the first bleeding instance of a girl, termed kahe mua.¹⁶⁵ This thesis will often refer to 'aha, or ceremony (*HD*, 412), and 'aha kahe mua as menarche ceremony. There is much research to be done on the sequential order and structure of a "traditional" 'aha, however, that is not the scope of this research.

5.3.1 Honua 'Ohana Leading to 'Aha Kahe Mua

'Ohana Lehua is a tight-knit 'ohana that emphasizes 'ōlelo Hawai'i and ho'omana kahiko and therefore, this 'ohana emphasizes this 'aha kahe mua as a religious ceremony. Prior to the 'aha kahe mua, parents will let their hair grow long and never cut their daughter and son's hair. The girl would wait until her 'aha kahe mua and their son, Hua – the middle-child at 15, would wait until his own 'aha to cut his hair. Parents: Kāne and Wahine, knew that they would invite certain women to the 'aha so, Wahine begins to briefly discuss with their friends and family about holding such ceremony. A ceremony like this, Wahine explains, ''a'ole hiki ke ho'olālā nui 'oiai 'a'ole kākou 'ike i ka wā e kahe mua ai.''¹⁶⁶ (''*one cannot plan thoroughly because we don't know when menarche is*.'' – my translation)

5.3.2 Mahina Mua: Menarche During the First Month

When the girl finally menstruates for the first time, 'ohana Lehua has one month to prepare. At kahe mua, Wahine gives her daughter a small section of kapa on which they

¹⁶⁵ Kahe means to menstruate and mua means first. Therefore, kahe mua means to first menstruate as in menarche. *HD*, 111 & 255.

¹⁶⁶ 'Ohana Lehua et. al, "'Aha Kahe Mua: Focus Group with 'Ohana Lehua," focus group by Makana Kāne Kuahiwinui, 2018 (hereafter cited in the text or footnotes as FG).

menstruate. ¹⁶⁷ That same night, they observe the moon and extract any sort of hō'ailona that they can.¹⁶⁸ They observe for the characteristics of the moon, study that day, and ask questions like, "he aha kekahi mana'o o kēlā pō?"¹⁶⁹ ("*what is the significance of that night?*" – my translation)

During the first month, three anahulu (30 nights), of her new menstruating body she does not feed herself.¹⁷⁰ The men make her plate of food and carry it to her, and she then feeds herself from the plate. She is prohibited from eating certain types of food like red fish, octopus, and bananas. Finally, on the thirtieth moon, on the same moon-phase of her kahe mua, the 'aha kahe mua begins.

5.3.3 'Aha Kahe Mua

The male and female guests arrive to their house and are immediately separated by gender. Women are inside of the house and men are outside. The house is laid out with lauhala mats and lehua blossoms adorn their space at the 'aha.¹⁷¹ The men are outside tending to the imu and do not enter until it is time to kākau.¹⁷² The girl is in the house bear-chested but her breasts are covered with a lei. Around her hips is a pā'ū and she has her kapa walewale.

 $^{^{167}}$ Kapa is tapa made from the paper mulberry plant. This is also a general term for cloth covering. *HD*, 130-1.

¹⁶⁸ The practice of searching for $h\bar{o}$ ailona is a Hawaiian practice of observation. Through observation certain signs surface are subject to interpretation. " $h\bar{o}$ ailona. Sign, symbol, representation, insignia, emblem, mark, badge, signal, omen, portent, target." *HD*, 11. ¹⁶⁹ Quotation of Wahine Lehua. *FG*.

¹⁷⁰ One anahulu is a period of 10 days. HD, 24.

¹⁷¹ Lauhala is "Pandanus leaf, especially used in plaiting." Lehua is the flower of the 'ōhi'a tree (*Metrosideros collina*). Lehua are also used as a symbol of the first warrior to die in battle.
Lehua are in all sort of colors with the most common one being red. *HD*, 195 & 199.
¹⁷² Underground oven, *HD*, 100.

The 'aha is opened with a prayer to call their ancestors and gods. Once that is done, all of the attendees are addressed. Among the women attendees is one girl: a dear friend of the emerging woman. A description of their time, reasons for gathering, and other information is shared at that time. Each attendee is addressed personally and directly on why each individual was invited. At this point the girl then gives a speech in confirmation of her arrival to womanhood. Each attendee speaks to the emerging woman amongst them and offers any words that they may want to share. Her hair is cut for the first time ever using either a large oyster shell or shark's tooth.

To conclude this specific section of the ceremony, her chest is then wrapped with kapa as a symbol of her womanhood. An attendee who is carefully deliberated and has held special significance to the girl is asked to ho'onoa that section of the 'aha.¹⁷³ Her prayers successfully make that space noa for the men to enter with their akua kākau.¹⁷⁴

The men enter the house with their akua kākau to mark her upper inner thighs. The markings that are made are two small motifs on each thigh significant to their 'ohana. This is the first time in the ceremony that men and women are together. At this point, everybody is standing around and supporting this emerging woman while she receives the kākau. Once the mark is placed, a closing prayer is uttered and a meal from the imu is shared. The very next day, her ears are pierced and the kapa walewale, lei, and hair are burned.

'Ohana Lehua mentioned that they purposely invited women who are good role models. There were about 12-15 women present, along with the other male kākau practitioners and their

¹⁷³ Ho'onoa means to make something noa. Therefore, in the context of the 'aha kahu mua, the act of ho'onoa turns the ceremony from kapu (to men) to noa.

¹⁷⁴ When there is a noun to follow the akua, that indicates noun god. For example, akua kākau means tattoo god, akua he'enalu means surfing god, akua malihini means foreign god. "god, goddess, spirit." Akua is a general term for god. *HD*, 15.

wives. Wahine explicitly says, "Ua no'ono'o pū mākou i kekahi mau wāhine i pili i ko mākou 'ohana, kekahi mau ho'ohālikelike maika'i no nā kaikamahine. Aia nō ka 'ohana, nā wāhine o ka 'ohana ame kekahi mau kumu akā 'ano pili ma ke 'ano he 'ohana." (*FG*) ("*We all thought of some women that were close to our family, some good role models for the girls. There was family, the women in the family and some teachers that are like family to us.*" – my translation)

5.3.4 Section Conclusion

Presented above is the 'aha kahe mua conducted by 'ohana Lehua. The ceremony begins the first moment she bleeds and ends with a meal to ho'onoa the ceremony after she is marked with a kākau. Certain aspects of the 'ohana were intentionally established in the honua 'ohana beginning at birth namely that the 'aha kahe mua is the first time that her hair will be cut. The following section of this chapter will discuss a few points regarding this 'aha kahe mua including the decision-making process, ceremony design, the function of the 'aha kahe mua, and the effects of this ceremony.

5.4 Section II: Ka Haku 'Aha

This 'aha kahe mua was almost entirely designed by Wahine with very little assistance from Kāne. This section of the chapter will discuss a number of kumu (reasons) and experiences that influenced their 'aha kahe mua. Addressed here are two additional research questions: 'How did 'ohana Lehua make decisions?' And, 'What are the effects of this 'aha kahe mua?'

A reoccurring theme that surfaced during the focus group was kumu: the origin, reason, and/or foundation for their honua that Wahine and Kāne established throughout their children's

lives far before the first 'aha kahe mua. They constantly spoke about the kumu for any sort of decision that they made throughout their honua and the process of their decision-making.

The first 'aha kahe mua was in 2013 and the second was in 2017. Therefore, the impact of this 'aha kahe mua are observed by 'ohana Lehua in the past five years.

5.4.1 Ke Kumu o ka Honua 'Ohana: Decision Making Process of the Family Environment

The intentional decision-making process begins roughly around birth and have continued throughout their children's lives. Wahine and Kāne chose not to cut their hair or pierce their ears until their own 'aha. They also chose not to send them to conventional school until the third grade. Wahine homeschooled each of them until they were in the third grade at which time they were sent to a Hawaiian immersion school. Kāne says,

Ua koho 'ia pēlā no ko lākou komo 'ole ma waena o nā keiki 'ōlelo haole, 'ōlelo 'ano hāwāwā i ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i... 'o ia kekahi 'ano 'ōlelo kuhi na No'eau Warner ma mua ia'u, i ko'u wā e holo ana ma ke 'ano he haumana, me ka mana'o 'o ka hui 'ana o nā keiki ma kēlā manawa, no ka mea Vygotsky kekahi kanaka no'ono'o ākea i kūkulu i kēlā mana'o, he wā ko'iko'i ma lalo mai o ka piha 'ana i ke keiki 'ewalu makahiki. 'O ia ko lākou wā ko'iko'i e 'a'apo ai nā 'ike 'ōlelo a pau o kēlā manawa...ho'okahua 'ia ai kā lākou 'ōlelo mua a me nā mana'o, ke kuana'ike nā mea a pau....'o ia ke kumu i koho 'ia ka papa 'ekolu. (*FG*)

It was chosen in that manner so they don't associate with English speaking kids, badmouthing Hawaiian language... that was advice to me before by No'eau Warner, while I

was a student, with the intention that when children associate during those times, Vygotsky was another theorist who constructed that philosophy, that at the age younger than eight was important. That is their crucial time in quickly acquiring a language...their first language and worldview etc. is solidified... that is the reason third grade three was chosen. – my translation

It is exemplified here that the honua they built for emphasizes 'ōlelo Hawai'i and their decision for doing so is based off of research and purpose. The research by Warner and Vygotsky along with the purpose of raising a Hawaiian family lead to decisions such as speaking only 'ōlelo Hawai'i and homeschooling the children. This same decision-making process through research, prior experiences, and beliefs also informed the design of this 'aha kahe mua.

5.4.2 Ke Kumu o ka 'Aha Kahe Mua: The Reason and Function of the Menarche Ceremony

The lack of prior experiences throughout the community and media involving menarche inspired Wahine and Kāne to conduct a 'aha kahe mua. In amusing recollection of her "time," Wahine talks about her two cousins and how the three of them were really close in age and raised like sisters. She and one of her cousins actually experienced menarche at the same time. Wahine explains,

Ma koʻu wā...ua lohe ʻia e ka ʻohana holoʻokoʻa...ua kamaʻilio nā mākuahine i koʻu tūtū a laila ua laha. ʻOiai, he mea ʻakaʻaka wale nō kaʻu. ʻOiai ua ʻike nā kānaka a pau i ko māua kahe mua. Akā, ʻaʻole ia he mea nui. ʻAʻole mākou i noʻonoʻo nui i kēlā mau mea. (*FG*) At my time...it was heard by the entire family...the mothers spoke to my grandmother and then it was well-known. However, my experience was just funny. Because everybody knew about our menarche. However, it wasn't a big deal. We didn't think much about those types of things. – my translation.

Although Wahine was amused by her past, the lack of recognition of her menarche led her to design and conduct this 'aha kahe mua. She admits that it was not important then and that these types of things were not acknowledged in her youth. Kāne elaborates that

'O ke kumu koʻikoʻi loa a māua i mālama ai i kēia no ka mea....Lohe pinepine 'ia i kēia mau wā, no ka loa'a 'ole kekahi mea 'ano māka koʻikoʻi ai i kēia no kēia wā. Lilo iho nei ia mea i 'ano hunahunā ma waena o ka poʻe. He mea hoʻohilahila ai i kēlā mau keiki 'oiai, 'a'ole nui loa, 'a'ole pinepine kona kūkā 'ia i waena o ka poʻe. 'A'ole māka 'ia ma ke kīwī, 'a'ole ia he mea nui ma ke kīwī, 'a'ole he mea nui ia ma waena o nā 'ohana. (*FG*)

The really important reason why we two chose to recognize this.... It is commonly heard in these days that there is a lack of things to importantly mark these things in this day. These things become hidden among the people. It is something to invoke shame for these children because, there is not very much, it is not commonly talked about amongst the people. It is not marked on television, it is not a big deal on the television, it is not an important thing amongst families. – my translation

Kāne notes that menstruation and menarche has become bashful in the public, is not commonly addressed amongst families, has no media coverage, and is therefore, non-existent in the public. Such observations of a man about a woman's menstruating body exemplifies that a systemic void has become known, at least to this 'ohana.

This 'aha kahe mua was designed also because Wahine and Kāne recognize menarche as a significant milestone of a woman's life. In search of "kaulike," equity (*HD*, 137), the parents knew that they wanted to acknowledge each milestone of their son's and daughters' growth.¹⁷⁵ Kāne questions why he would care for his son's milestone and not his daughter's. When researching, Wahine and Kāne did not find much information about menarche however, Kāne heard a strong presence of a man's voice in history and said,

'A'ole nō nui loa ka 'ike e pili ana i kēia mea 'o ka 'aha waimaka lehua. 'A'ole au i 'ike ho'okahi mea no ka 'aha waimaka lehua. Eia na'e, 'ano 'ē ia'u ma ka 'imi 'ana, ka noi'i 'ana i ka nui o nā 'ōlelo a nā kāne ma loko o ka noi'i. 'O Malo, Kamakau, 'Ī'ī; he mau leo kāne kēnā. No laila ka mea e nele nei i kēia mau lā, a i loko o kēlā inā kākou he po'e loea i ka noi'i 'ana, e 'ike ana kākou i ka leo kāne, ke kuana'ike kāne. Ka mea i kū ai i ka moku ma mua. (*FG*)

There was not much information pertaining to this matter of a menarche ceremony. I did not see one thing about the menarche ceremony. However, it was strange to me while researching, the large amount of the male's perspective in this research. Malo, Kamakau,

¹⁷⁵ Kāne Lehua say, "No laila, e 'imi ana i ke kaulike 'oiai o ke kāne a me ka wahine ke kahua o ko māua hui 'ana." *FG* ("*Therefore, [we] search for equity because male and female is the foundation of our relationship.*" – my translation)

 ${}^{t}\overline{1}$, those are male voices. Therefore, the thing that is lacking today, and in that if we are such great researchers, we will hear the man's voice, the man's worldview. The thing that ruled the earth before. – my translation

The need and desire to mark menarche with a ceremony persists in 'ohana Lehua. Even though Wahine and Kāne did not find any menarche ceremony in their research, the agency that they exercise in conducting and creating such a ceremony speaks volumes to their use of Hawaiian traditions to serve them in the 21^{st} century. The domination of male voice in history may speak to an absence of a literary history of a menarche ceremony but, just as Kāne mentions, the man's voice is the thing that "kū ai i ka moku *ma mua*. [emphasis added]" (*FG*) ("*ruled the earth* before." – my translation)

The kākau that she gets on her upper-inner thighs are a physical mark to which she can look at and point to in remembering the 'aha. Without over-simplifying this 'aha kahe mua, this ceremony leaves a social, physical, and spiritual mark on the emerging woman. Socially, the ceremony confirms her arrival into womanhood. Each attendee is recognized and their presence contributes to her social mark. Physically, the kākau signifies her transition from a child to a woman. Furthermore, her wrapped chest physically shows her growth. Spiritually, the prayers and month-long ceremony that were conducted honors her kapu. The social, physical, and spiritual marks placed on this emerging woman marks her rite-of-passage into womanhood thus, holding space for her transition from noa to kapu.

'Ohana Lehua uses the 'aha as a system to mark something important, in this case menarche. Kāne hesitantly uses the term "'ōnaehana" to describe a 'aha and says,

Inā māua ho'ohana i kēlā 'ōnaehana 'aha, 'ōlelo au 'ōnaehana no ka mea 'a'ole loa'a kekahi hua'ōlelo 'ē a'e 'ano 'ike ai 'o ka 'aha, he mea laulā. Akā mālama 'ia kēlā, he 'aha no nā mea ko'iko'i. A, inā 'a'ole kēia mea he mea ko'iko'i, 'a'ohe 'aha, a inā he mea ko'iko'i, e 'aha. (*FG*)

If we two use the ceremony system, and I use "'ōnaehana" because there is no type of word that describes the system of the ceremony broadly. However, that, the ceremony, is maintained for important things. And, if this is not an important thing, then there is no ceremony. If there is an important thing, then ceremony is conducted. – my translation

Kāne admits that the ceremony system including the process of the ceremony, what it represents, and the gathering of people is a systematic way that marks something as important. The marking of menarche shows that 'ohana Lehua views menarche as important and the 'aha system as their tool to mark such importance.

5.4.3 Ha'awina: Effects of the 'Aha Kahe Mua

Because there is no recorded 'aha kahe mua, does not mean that menarche was unimportant to the people of old. Nor does it mean that there was no such ceremony. The lack of recorded 'aha kahe mua means that the search needs to continue and female voices need to be recorded. Kuwada writes about the authority that the historically revered Hawaiian canon has in that, "if a Hawaiian practice was not described in the canon, it was often considered to be a modern invention.¹⁷⁶ The archive that which has been noted as the "Hawaiian canon" has now become obsolete because more research, grounded in archival material and primary accounts recorded in the newspapers, is surfacing. As more researchers dive into archival materials, I believe that a 'aha kahe mua will be found.

It may be possible that a 'aha kahe mua, if conducted by women like this 'aha conducted by Wahine, may have not been recorded because of the dominance of the male voice in Hawai'i's history as Kāne pointed out. The point that Kāne is making is that his family uses the 'aha system to mark important milestones while continuing to acknowledge that the 'aha is but one aspect of the larger honua that they have established. This 'aha is also an exercise of strengthening the spirit and body. Kāne says,

'Ike au, ua ho'oikaika 'ia ko lāua no'ono'o, ko lāua kūlana o ke ola ma ko lāua e no'ono'o ana iā lāua iho. He kōkua. No'u, 'o ia ka pono. 'O ka 'ike 'ana i ka 'eha ma ka 'ili, ke aloha ma waena o nā wāhine, he mea nui ka ho'olālā, lo'ohia. Alaila he wā ho'oikaika 'oia'i'o. Ho'oikaika ma ka 'uhane, ho'oikaika ma ke kino, ma ka mālama 'ana. (*FG*)

I observed that their minds were strengthened, their condition in life in thinking for themselves. It is helpful. For me, that is balance. Seeing the pain on the skin, the love between all of the women, organizing is a big task, stressful. Then is the time of true strengthening. Strengthening of the spirit, strengthening of the body, and the caring thereof. – my translation

¹⁷⁶ Kuwada, "To Translate or Not to Translate," 57.

This 'aha is also about strengthening. Kāne describes his own perspective of the 'aha and the effects thereof and describes, his own position in the ceremony. The reader must not forget that this 'aha is not just for the sake of celebration but is a test and affirmation of growth of the spirit and the mind. Kāne and Wahine have intentionally designed this 'aha kahe mua to exercise and strengthen the mind, body, and spirit.

With a coming of menarche, a girl also grows her physical capacity to one day carry children. The spiritual growth and physical strengthening of the emerging daughters are a part of the ceremony. Kāne talks about pono as a balance of ceremony and kuleana. In a cermeony, a rite-of-passage is granted and a milestone is marked but an exchange of strengthing and growth is also required. When one arrives to a kuleana there are moments of joy along with moments of responsibility. When recognizing the two simultaneously, one achives pono.

The people who attended the 'aha were effected some way or another by the ceremony and the impact of the 'aha spread farther than just the emerging women. From the parent's perspective, this 'aha marked their daughter's transition from a girl to a woman. And beyond that, this 'aha made Wahine hopeful for the future of her 'ohana. In recollection of the 'aha, Wahine sheds a tear and Kāne began to swell with emotion. Wahine said, 'he mahele i ko Hiapo wā, nāna i ha'i'ōlelo aku i nā kānaka ma laila. He 'ano ho'ohiki paha i kēlā mau wāhine imua ona i kona wahine 'ana." (*FG*) ("there was a section during Hiapo's time, she spoke to everybody who was there. It was a sort of confirmation to those women of her coming to womanhood." – my translation) At this moment, Wahine began to cry tears of happiness and in this moment, I understood that this 'ohana acts as a whole-cohesive unit that constantly strives to improve each other. I look over to Kāne who is holding back tears and gazing towards his wife. Then I look for signs from the children who were ultimately without emotion. It may seem heartless that the children were unaffected but this is their life. Hiapo explains, "Pā au. Akā 'a'ole nō au pā nui no ka mea pēlā ke ola. Pēlā ka hānai 'ia 'ana." (*FG*) ("*I am touched. But not dramatically touched because that's how life is. That's how we were raised.*" – my translation) In honest recollection, Hiapo mentions that thus is life. She does not know any type of lack in ceremony or worldview because that is her up-bringing. From her birth her parents emphasized ho'omana kahiko, 'ōlelo Hawai'i, and marking the important milestones of life. However, Hiapo acknowledges that she now sees her siblings in a different light and says,

Ho'omaopopo au i ka 'ike 'ana i ka 'oko'a o ke kuleana, no ka mea no ko'u nānā 'ana iā Hua, 'o ko'u nānā 'ana iā Muli, ma mua he keiki. Akā, ma hope o nā 'aha 'ike 'ia he wahine 'o ia i kēia manawa, ua like māua, 'a'ole 'o ia ma lalo o'u, kēlā 'ano. Alaila, ua kāne mai 'o Hua, 'a'ole he mau keiki. (*FG*)

I remember acknowledging the difference in responsibilities because when I looked at Hua, when I looked at Muli, before, they were kids. However, after these ceremonies I see that she is a woman now, we are the same, she is no longer below me, in that type of manner. And, Hua has become a man. They are no longer kids. – my translation

Hiapo sees and acknowledges that her siblings hold different roles now than they did before and they are no longer "under" her. Hiapo had reflected that she had looked to her younger sister and brother as children but since the 'aha, she realized that everybody has a kuleana. In her reflection, she also notes, "Ho'omaopopo au i ka hau'oli 'ana ma ka 'aha. Ua mana'o au, 'o, e wahine ana au.' Ho'omaopopo au i ka hau'oli 'ana." (*FG*) ("*I recall being happy at the*

ceremony. I thought, 'oh, I am becoming a woman.' I recall being happy." – my translation) As Hiapo recalls her happiness, Muli smiles excitingly on the desk next to her sister and clutches her kākau between her thighs.

Hiapo's happiness and Muli's pride and excitement combats all notions of bashfulness. These girls are not shame because their honua privileges menstruation and menarche. Hiapo and Muli also has a support group amongst her friends (her age) because among the attendees is one dear friend. These examples of positive effects are a direct result of honoring menarche at a young age and carving a path of pride within each emerging woman.

After a shed of tears, a light feeling of joy passes over the 'ohana and they reflect on how the two sisters were able to support each other. Whereas their son, has himself and his father. Although there are no complaints, the two sisters and mother have a total of three women to support each other and their son doesn't have any brothers.

The immediate family was definitely effected and 'ohana Lehua also reflected on how their grandmothers were influenced. Wahine explains that their mothers, Wahine's mom and Kāne's mom, were very apprehensive at the first 'aha kahe mua because they had no clue what was going to happen, "A, no nā mākuahine, ko māua mau mākuahine, ua ho'omākaukau mākou iā lāua no ka mea he mea hou loa... Akā, ua maika'i. Ma hope o kēlā...ua komo pū lāua."¹⁷⁷ ("*And for the mothers, our mothers, we had to prepare them because this is such a new thing... However, it was good. After that they... both joined in.*" – my translation) The 'aha contributed to the enlightenment of each of their mothers and their progressive thinking about such ceremonies through first-hand experience.

¹⁷⁷ Quotation by Wahine Lehua. FG.

When Muli, second daughter and final child began puberty, it was about that time that everyone had their own kuleana as Hiapo mentioned. Hiapo reflected that through her 'aha kahe mua, she acknowledged that Muli takes the kuleana of being a woman and that Hua, who has gone through his own 'aha, took care of his kuleana and played an active role in the kākau portion of Muli's 'aha kahe mua. Wahine explained that one of the things that only women do was kuku kapa, beat tapa, and therefore "'a'ole lāua i ho'opā i kēnā mau mea ma mua a mālama 'ia ma hope o ko lāua kahe mua 'ana.... mana'o 'ia ma kekahi 'ano he mea e no'ono'o ai mākou no nā kuleana wahine. No laila, kali a ulu a'e lāua." (*FG*) ("*they did not touch those things until after menarche because we have thought about the responsibility of women. So, wait until they get older*." – my translation)

Wahine and Kāne begin to explain that the kapu of a wahine begins at menarche. Kāne points out that when women create things, their mana goes into those objects. If this object is a pale, protection agent, like a blanket, loincloth, or skirt then one would theoretically want someone with strong mana or kapu to create the protection.¹⁷⁸ "O ia kapu ka mea e 'ano kia'i ai, pale ai i ke kanaka. No laila, 'a'ole makemake e 'ano noa ka pale. Makemake 'ia 'ano kapu, i ikaika ka pale."¹⁷⁹ ("*That sacredness is what guards and protects a person. So, a profane protection is not wanted. A sacred one is desired, so the protection is strong*." – my translation) The creation of pale requires a kapu person to create it. Therefore, when a girl becomes a woman at menarche, her transition from a noa girl to a kapu woman is acknowledged during a 'aha kahe mua. At that point, she takes on the kuleana of a wahine.

¹⁷⁸ A pale is "shield, defend, protect." HD, 311.

¹⁷⁹ Quotation by Kāne Lehua. FG.

Menarche rites is a term used by Murphy to describe the rites – of practice, creation, or receiving – that are gifted on to an emerging woman at menarche.¹⁸⁰ Therefore, a menarche rite that Wahine talks about in the context of her daughters is their ability to begin beating tapa because of their heightened kapu. Therefore, a menarche rite observed is the beginning of kuleana wahine (female responsibilities) and formal knowledge reception and dissemination.

This conversation of kapu and noa of a wahine during, before, and after a 'aha kahe mea relates to the discussion of kapu and noa of chapters three and four. The 'aha kahe mua is kapu to kāne and therefore a pule ho'onoa was uttered by a chosen wahine attendee to allow the kāne to safetly enter the house. The reason to ho'onoa the kapu of the women during this ceremony is done in order for men to enter safely with their akua kākau and kapu kāne pule i ke akua.¹⁸¹ Women protect the kāne, their akua kākau, and their kapu by the practice of ho'onoa, similar to huikala, by specifically making their space noa for men to enter. As I have argued in the past two chapters, the kapu of kāne and the kapu of wahine are respectively important but are different and therefore call for a specific order of prayers.

In acknowledging the kuleana of wahine, Kāne explains that Wahine was the main coordinator and organizer of the 'aha because that is her kuleana as a woman. She prepared pieces of kapa for her daughters to menstruate on. She contacted the attendees and set the time and place to gather. It was her responsibility to conduct the prayers for the 'aha kahe mua. She was the one to properly orchestrate the transition from noa to kapu. And, she is to see that her daughters honor themselves as women and their menstruation as sacred. Wahine humbly nods as her husband lists all of these things she did.

¹⁸⁰ Murphy, Te Awa Atua, 90.

¹⁸¹ See Chapter 3: Walewale for a discussion of kāne pule i ke akua.

Kāne relinquished all sort of authority over the honua and honored that the kuleana of organizing the 'aha kahe mua is for his wife. His kuleana in this whole process was to ensure that the imu was properly tended, his akua kākau are cared for, and to ultimately stay away. Kāne says, "No ka mea he kuleana ko mākou kekahi, ho'omākaukau māua no ke ka'i 'ana i loko me ko māua mau akua kākau i loko o kēlā 'aha." (*FG*) ("*Because, we have responsibilities as well, we prepare the procession into the ceremony with our tattoo gods.*" – my translation) His kākau practice can be seen as his resource to offer to the 'aha kahe mua.

Such is also the way that male ceremonies are conducted. During Hua's ceremony, the women were inside of the house peering through the window and looking for signs of the ceremony. Wahine Lehua says,

Ma kāna manawa mua, kā Hua manawa mua, 'oiai he mea nui kēlā 'o ia kā mākou, "ua komo?" Nānā ana mākou, 'imi ana mākou i nā hō'ailona kekahi inā he mea pono. 'O ia kā makou, "ua holo? Ua komo i loko o kona 'ili?" Kēlā 'ano...'A'ole pilikia ko mākou komo 'ole, 'ike mākou he mea kāne no laila waiho mākou iā lākou. Akā, mau nō ko mākou [nīele], "e ha'i mai." A 'ike au no lākou apau, kāko'o lākou kekahi i kekahi no laila makemake lākou e 'ike i ko lākou holomua 'ana. (*FG*)

At his first time, Hua's first time, because it was important, that is how we were, "did it go in?" We were looking, we were searching for signs if it was balanced. We were saying, "did it go well? Did it enter into his skin?" Those types...Our inclusion was no problem, we knew that it's a man's thing so we left them. However, we were still [curious,] "tell us." And I noticed for all of them, they support each other and want to see their progression. – my translation

Wahine acknowledges that being separate during Hua's ceremony was no big deal for them but they were still curious. They understood that that ceremony was a man's kuleana and were absolutely fine with that. The roles of kāne and wahine go both ways and as mentioned above, Wahine's kuleana was to design this 'aha kahe mua. We see that the men and his kuleana are relatively compartmentalized from the women and their kuleana however, they continue to act as a unit. No unit acts independent of another and a cohesive unit recognizes that space and separation is existential.

5.4.4 Honua 'Ohana of Wahine and Kāne

Wahine was prepared for ho'omana kahiko by the mo'olelo that remain in her family, because there are still prominent mo'olelo and accounts of ho'omana kahiko in her 'ohana. She was not raised in a 'ohana who emphasizes 'ōlelo Hawai'i or ho'omana kahiko, however, the mo'olelo that remain in a few members of her 'ohana are gems of knowledge. Wahine and Kāne rely heavily on those accounts that were passed down through her grandfather who was raised by his own grandfather. These accounts were slightly suppressed as common practice of that generation. But, the mo'olelo that her grandfather learned and heard during his rearing by his grandfather still remain. Wahine's grandfather was raised by a kahuna, his grandfather.

Kāne was prepared for ho'omana kahiko because of the type of church that he attended in his youth. The church worship involved ti leaf, ocean, cleansing, and a few other specific worship practices. Once he made the transition to ho'omana kahiko, the worship was the same

but the gods were different. Kāne does nto speak any further about his religious past however, his kākau practice provides him with even more experience to honor these milestones as he has under-gone specific trainings that address 'aha. Therefore, the design of this 'aha is based off of their prior experiences that Wahine and Kāne share.

The knowledge between the two of them in conducting and designing ceremony is apparent. Every aspect of the 'aha kahe mua was carefully reasoned and nothing they ever did was out of vain. Their attention to detail even included the color of the lehua that adorned their space during the 'aha. Muli has blonde hair and in attention to detail, the lehua mamo (yellow lehua) were collected to represent her.

5.4.5 Section Conclusion

Attention to detail is paramount to 'ohana Lehua as exemplified in this section of the chapter. The kumu of their decision-making process is based off of prior experience, their need and want to honor what they deem as important, and the kuleana of each family member. It is Wahine's kuleana to design this 'aha kahe mua because she is a woman and as a man, Kāne's kuleana is to stay away. Kāne's kuleana as a kākau practicioner is to kākau, or physically mark the emerging woman.

Designing the 'aha kahe mua was inspired by the lack of societal milestone marking of menarche and by using the systematic 'aha process, 'ohana Lehua brands kahe mua as important. Even though they admit that they did not find any formal information about a menarche ceremony, they exercise their own agency in creating a 'aha kahe mua for their 'ohana. They use their traditional understanding and knowledge to mark these milestones that they deem as important. The agency that they exercise is the creation of ceremonies that may combat the

argument of "traditional." Even though they did not find a "traditional" menarche ceremony, they used their traditional tools such as 'aha, to honor menarche. The effects of this 'aha kahe mua expand far beyond my imagination and has effected Kāne and Wahine, all of their chilren, and even their mothers. However, their progress in marking kahe mua have only just begun and hope for the future rings deep in the hearts of 'ohana Lehua. The next section of the chapter will address a few changes and improvements that were made to this 'aha kahe mua.

5.5 Section III: No ke au ma Mua

The 'aha kahe mua, as mentioned in the previous two sections of this chapter, has demonstrated that 'ohana Lehua emphasizes 'ōlelo Hawai'i, ho'omana kahiko, and makes intentional decisions that reinforce their morals. This section of the chapter will continue with their mo'olelo of designing this 'aha kahe mua and address the research questions, 'What are some challenges faced during the entire process of the 'aha kahe mua?' And, 'What type of improvements could be made?' I would like to reiterate that this is a report and not a critique of 'ohana Lehua.

5.5.1 Hopohopo: Uncertainty

As the focus group advanced, I noticed that some parts of the 'aha kahe mua were affected by the pace of life in 21^{st} century Hawai'i compared to Hawai'i in 1778.¹⁸² One of the hopohopo, uncertainty (*HD*, 82), that 'ohana Lehua mentioned was the inability to plan ahead. Wahine says, "'O ka mea pa'akikī, 'a'ole hiki ke ho'olālā nui 'oiai 'a'ole kākou 'ike i ka wā e kahe mua ai. No laila 'ano ho'olālā 'ia kekahi mana'o." (*FG*) ("*The difficult thing is that one*

¹⁸² The year of Captain Cook's arrival to Hawai'i.

cannot plan thoroughly because we don't know when menarche is. So, [we] organized a few ideas." – my translation) Wahine admits that it was hard not being able to plan ahead and set a calendar date for the attendees. I imagine that this sort of challenge would not have been an issue for the people of old. In either case of today or of our kūpuna, menarche is unpredictable. However, I imagine that the lives of the people of old would allow them to be more responsive to natural cycles of all kinds.

Another sort of planning logistic that could have been perceived as a challenge in 21^{st} century Hawai'i, is acquiring a pig for the meal following the 'aha kahe mua. Wahine says, "Ho'omākaukau pū 'ia kekahi pua'a ma ka imu. 'O ia kekahi mea 'ē a'e e ho'omākaukau ai ma mua o ka lā o ka 'aha. Akā, na ke kāne kēlā." (*FG*) ("*A pig is prepared in the underground oven. That is another thing that needs to be prepared before the day of the ceremony. But, that is for the men.*" – my translation) Acquiring a pig may not seem considerable to 'ohana Lehua, however, for certain ceremonies, a specific type of wild boar is needed and because of the need to plan ahead, organize, possibly leave work for the day, and any other sort of abnormal stride, acquiring the pig could be perceived as a challenge.

A kuleana of the men was feeding the emerging woman. During the 30 days after menarche, all of her meals are brought to her. Although she could physical feed herself, the food needed to be brought to her and when the children went to school, Hua needed to go to the cafeteria, gather her food, then take it to her. The people of old did not attend a seven-to-three school day thus, this sort of adjustment may not have been necessary. However, 'ohana Lehua found a way to accommodate for the pace of life in Hawai'i today and were able to hold true to their own ceremonies given their circumstances.

The longest hopohopo that 'ohana Lehua had to face is criticism and scrutiny from the outside. Wahine constantly thought about who to invite, who to tell, what to say, and all the other types of questions that parents ponder when sharing information about their children. Wahine was hesitant about some people and questioned if they were ready for a ceremony like this. She says, "Ma ke 'ano o ka no'ono'o 'ana i nā kānaka, he mea e 'ano hopohopo ai 'oiai he mea hou paha i kēia wā. A, 'ike au 'pehea, mākaukau nā kānaka no kēia 'ano hana?'" (FG) ("When we were thinking of these people, it was worrisome because this is such a new thing to this time. And I thought, 'how so, are these people ready for this type of thing.'" – my translation)

Kāne mentions that they didn't want to invite certain people because certain individuals can come with bad intentions as mentioned in a precious section. Certain individuals, including persons they may certainly love, will not always agree with their religion or childrearing techniques. Kāne eventually explains that this sense of hopohopo comes from within the parents and is a result of years on "defense" against a strong team of watchful eyes, doubtful hearts, and frank discouragement.

The challenges they face are equally met with compromises and modifications and 'ohana Lehua have exemplified their ability to make necessary decisions. Wahine mentions that these two 'aha kahe mua are just the beginning of a family tradition. Kāne also mentions that their honua is an extension of his belief system and also an experiment. He uses the term "ho'okolohua." (*FG*) Not the type of experiment as in waiting to fail, but acknowledging that they are the first, or amongst the very first, to conduct this type of menarche ceremony modeled and designed by a need to honor kahe mua. Just like the true fashion of experiment, there were a few changes that 'ohana Lehua made from the first 'aha kahe mua to the second.

5.5.2 Mana'olana: Hope for the Future

'Ohana Lehua was excited to explain that they had made improvements for the second 'aha kahe mua. Because 'ohana Lehua has two daughters, some things were improved and slightly different the second time around. The imu was one aspect that changed. The first imu of the 'aha kahe mua was cared for using shovels and plastic tarps but during the second 'aha kahe mua, they used 'ō'ō, digging stick (*HD*, 290) for covering and uncovering the imu, and coconut baskets for cooking the food.

Another change that they made was the hair cutting instrument. Wahine explains that, "'Ano pa'akikī ka 'oki 'ana o kona (Muli) lauoho, ua 'oko'a loa [ko Hiapo]. No laila ua ho'ohana 'ia ka niho manō, a no kō Hiapo, mana'o au i ka [Kāne: "ka pā uhi o ka 'ōlepe"] 'ae."¹⁸³ ("*It was a little difficult to cut her (Muli) hair, [Hiapo's] hair was completely different. So, shark tooth was used, and for Hiapo, I think [Kāne, "the shell of the oyster"] yes.*" – my translation) Because Muli's hair is different from Hiapo's, they had to change the cutting tool of their hair. Wahine explains that Muli's hair was much more difficult to cut than Hiapo's but they continued to use traditional tools. They had to make adjustments and changes from the first 'aha to the next.

'Ohana Lehua had mentioned that their son showed interest in seeing a hale pe'a. Later, Kāne had ho'okuleana him to make that house.¹⁸⁴ The discussion of this kuleana and how one obtains a kuleana is important here because there is an actual transaction of kuleana. I must also acknowledge and note that their son, not the daughter, was the one who showed interest in

¹⁸³ Quotation of Wahine Lehua and Kāne Lehua finishes her sentence. FG.

¹⁸⁴ Ho'okuleana means to make something into a kuleana. In this case, Kāne had ho'okuleana, or given the kuleana of building a hale pe'a to Hua. To receive a kuleana is an honor and should not be taken lightly.

building a hale pe'a. This exemplifies that the entire 'ohana is thinking of ways to support each other. In the past, most common women built their own hale pe'a and the royals had their hale pe'a built for them. This custom requires a group of women who have already menstruated and would be able to properly care for kapu. The building of a hale pe'a by women, if honoring the concepts of kapu and noa, requires more of them and will take a few generations to achieve from the perspective of 'ohana Lehua.

There are definite goals for the future as 'ohana Lehua explained and one of them was to have kapa for the 'aha kahe mua. Wahine explains, "'ike mākou ua 'oko'a iki kekahi o nā mea ma hope o kā Hiapo. A 'ike mākou, a ho'ā'o mākou e ho'omaika'i a'e... no laila 'o ia kekahi mea i hiki no ko lākou mau kaikamāhine. Hiki ke ho'omākaukau i nā kapa." (*FG*) ("*we noticed that some things were different after Hiapo 's one. And we acknowledge and will try to improve... so that is one of our goals for their daughters. (We) can prepare tapa.*" – my translation) Just like Kāne had explained that this is an experiement, Wahine continued to explain ways that this 'aha kahe mua can be improved for the future beyond her children and into the next generation. She would like to provide sufficient kapa for her girls to use during menstruation however, that is a lot of kapa. The resources like wauke are scarce and time, especially in a society like today and the systemic need to work a nine-to-five job, does not allow for people to spend their every hour beating kapa.

5.5.3 Section Conclusion

All of the hopohopo that 'ohana Lehua have endured prepared them for the bright future ahead. Small challenges like planning ahead, setting a date for the 'aha kahe mua, and acquiring a pig to put into the imu were faced straight-on by 'ohana Lehua. The larger and more systemic challenges that they face such as hopohopo of others and what information to divulge is a result of many years of scrutiny. Kāne and Wahine however, mention that because these children have grown to be responsible and respectful young adults, people who once doubted their childrearing practices now acknowledge that all is right. Kāne reflects on what others have said and says,

Ma mua, kuhihewa ikaika 'ia ko māua mau mea i ho'oholo ai. Akā kēia manawa, ma hope o ka 'ike 'ana i ka 'oia'i'o, ka hua i puka, mana'o ka po'e, ''oh yeah, maika'i loa kēlā 'ano hānai 'ana." Kauka'i piha nā po'e i kēia manawa akā ma mua 'a'ohe nō like kēlā 'ano hilina'i. (*FG*)

Before, we were heavily scrutinized for our decisions. However now, after seeing the truth, the fruit that has resulted, people think, "Oh yeah, that type of rearing is really good." People trust completely now but, that sort of trust is was not the case before. – my translation

Enlightenment through experience is acknowledged in a 'ōlelo no'eau, "Ma ka hana ka 'ike."¹⁸⁵ Grandmothers of 'ohana Lehua experienced a 'aha kahe mua and by the second one, they were prepared and excited. Also through experience, extended 'ohana and community members known to 'ohana Lehua, who once scrutinized their parenting, were enlightened and saw the benefits of a honua of this accord. People are usually apprehensive to foreign and new ideals however; slow and permanent change is being made by 'ohana Lehua.

¹⁸⁵ Mary Kawena Pukui, '*Ōlelo No*'eau: Hawaiian Proverbs and Poetical Sayings (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1983), 227.

Wahine mentions that the goal is for this sort of honua and 'aha to be normal, in that sense that it is regularly seen throughout the community and also normal in the proper caring for ho'omana kahiko. Wahine has faith that when her children have kids, these types of 'aha will be normalized; there will be more people who understand the importance of menarche, and that their 'aha kahe mua will be improved. Kāne and Wahine reflect on their parenting and are proud of their children. I observe their smiles, tears, and laughter as it fills the space like light in a dark room. They express their experiences, in 'ōlelo Hawai'i nonetheless, and share their thoughts of this 'aha kahe mua. Necessary adjustments are made to the 'aha kahe mua and to their honua, but the honua of their 'ohana is premised on family and the strengthening thereof.

5.6 Chapter Conclusion: Puana ke Mele

'Ohana Lehua has carefully designed this 'aha kahe mua but do not hold any type of ownership over the 'aha. They have designed this 'aha kahe mua with their prior experiences in ceremony, research through the years, recognition of a lack of societal marker, and a need for equity between a ceremony for their son and daughters. In no way did the 'ohana ever think that they would become famous or well-known for the 'aha but a question of sharing this ceremony was brought to their attention. Wahine took a long time to answer the question and the thought of other families using this ceremony intrigued her because she always wondered and constantly pondered if others will truly be ready for a ceremony of this magnitude. This 'aha is specific to their own way of worship, and as she continued to say, "'oka'a nā 'ohana a pau." (*FG*) ("*all families are different.*" – my translation) Kāne adds that if other families are interested in this sort of ceremony, then it should be given to them with caution and understanding that this as Wahine said, every 'ohana is different and furthermore, I would add that there are many ways to ho'omana kahiko. Wahine and Kāne have established their honua in this manner so that ceremonies like these are normal and "such is life" as mentioned by Hiapo. This ceremony is not owned by them but in a way, needs to be protected for its worship aspect.

This 'aha kahe mua is not a ceremony for ceremony's sake and is actually carefully deliberated. It is about the overall understanding of the well-being of the 'ohana. As they acknowledge this one menarche ceremony, they contribute to the rest of the honua that they have built for their children which emphasizes Hawaiian well-being. In their own honua, a unified consciousness is created and fostered within the 'ohana.

The self-reflections and self-discoveries that happened during the focus group brought to light that this family functions at a level beyond the need to be Hawaiian. They hold onto universal morals such as honoring milestones and to do so they use their resources and tools, such as 'aha, kākau, and 'ōlelo Hawai'i to do so. Wahine mentioned that they specifically chose to do things that would lead to a Hawaiian life, The function of the 'aha kahe mua fills a basic need to mark important milestones of life just like a birthday, a wedding, or a funeral. This 'aha kahe mua show that they understand menarche to be important and have used their tools to mark such importance. I have found that a social, physical, and spiritual mark, at it's most basic understanding, were exemplified in the 'aha kahe mua.

Kāne admits that the system of 'aha that include the processes, the ceremonial representations, and the act of gathering is an orderly way to mark an important milestone. Along with marking importance comes the recognition of new kuleana, growth, and strengthening. 'Ohana Lehua exemplify that kuleana is a responsibility and privilege and that ho'okuleana is a transaction of privilege and right they each exercise. Each daughter pointed out that in this new

kuleana of womanhood, they were happy and excited to take on a role that combats the common narrative of menstrual bashfulness. Wahine reflects that although the kuleana of designing this 'aha was stressful at times, she is proud of how the 'aha was conducted and designed. I have been ho'okuleana by 'Ohana Lehua to properly convey their mo'olelo to the lāhui and I do not take such kuleana lightly.

Chapter 6: Puana he Lei Kamaha'o

6.1 Introduction: Ua Kulu ka Waimaka o ka Lehua

Sweat beads bubble on my forehead, carpet burn breaks shoulder skin, and a fork stabs my stomach, or was that my back with a knife? What is happening to me? I drag myself across the house to the bathroom then climb the tall toilet, I bow to look between my legs, and red *mim...* walewale? Is this my walewale? This is it. It's finally my turn!

My parents prepared me for this moment, and my sister has told me about her kahe mua. I wasn't there during her ceremony but I heard all about it. My brother has been preparing for this day as well and my parents will be so proud. I am now a woman.

I watch my sister and mom do their waimaka lehua stuff each month and my time has come. My grandmothers will be there, my aunties, kumu hula, teachers, the whole gang. Oooohhhh, the kākau might hurt, but I'm ready. My friends at school will be excited and I think I'll tell Lei first then maybe Kaliko second. Braddah will bring my food. I am Haumeanuiakeāiwaiwa.

Imagine a world of enlightenment and the excitement a girl might experience during her menarche. No ignoarce, just trasparent truth of womanhood. I paint this picture for each reader in contrast to the ugly truth of my own "time." A fictional story inspired by 'ohana Lehua to whom much gratitude is expressed.

6.2 He 'Aha: A Ceremony

Hawaiian well-being is foremost solidified as a link of people to their homeland in remembering stories and traditions.¹⁸⁶ These acts of remembering through ancestral memories have rooted Hawaiians to place and therefore rooted a place within us.¹⁸⁷ These connections of place to person and person to place has contributed to a Hawaiian well-being and adds to Dr. Kikiloi's argument that Hawaiian well-being is a person's connection to their honua within themselves. 'Ohana Lehua properly cares for their honua: family environment and internal home for generations to come, when they conduct a 'aha kahe mua. 'Ohana Lehua exemplifies Hawaiian well-being in that the unified Hawaiian consciousness of spirit and body are harmonious. The consciousness of their lives to land, spirit to body, and honua to honua mimics that which most of us strive to achieve in a lifetime.

In reclaiming such ceremonies and traditions like a 'aha kahe mua, Vine Deloria Jr., a Standing Rock Sioux tribal member, "believed that the key to an American Indian Future was the return to Native ceremonies and traditions within a framework of asserting sovereignty."¹⁸⁸ Beyond the argument of political sovereignty, 'ohana Lehua asserts their jurisdiction over their futures by beginning a tradition of menarche ceremonies now. Their hope for the future is honorable and as they ho'okuleana their children, they substantiate a new generation of practitioners for a Hawaiian Future.

I theorized that when 'ohana honor menarche, they become a Hawaiian well-being. This explains why and how Hiapo and Muli Lehua are comfortable in their bodies and address

¹⁸⁶ Kikiloi, "Rebirth of an Archipelago," 75.

¹⁸⁷ Kikiloi, 74.

¹⁸⁸ Robert Allen Warrior, "Intellectual Sovereignty and the Struggle for an American Indian Future," in *Tribal Secrets* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 88.

menstruation and menarche with happiness, joy, and excitement. Furthermore, when the 'ohana as a unit honors menarche, all members of the 'ohana, both female and male, are elevated to a unified consciousness that menstruation is invaluable. When 'ohana do this, even their sons who will one day become fathers, honors the sacred river of life passed from wahine to wahine.

Wahine and Kane Lehua were inspired to create their 'aha kahe mua and have admitted that menstruation and menarche are not commonly heard, honored, or recognized. Kane points out that menarche and menstruation is a bashful event to which Dr. Moloney also expresses that, "Girls learn to see menstruation as embarrassing and undesirable, and as they grow into young women, find their cyclic variations at odds with a linear economy."¹⁸⁹ In her inspirational article "Mothers and Daughters at Menarche: An Indigenous-Inspired Quiet Revolution," Dr. Moloney portrays that menarche according to Western patriarchal societies is bashful, requires medical surveillance, and are sources of shame.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, she states that menses are perceived as waste products just as 'iewe has been portrayed as bio-hazards. She outlines Indigenous perspectives of menstruation and menarche by acknowledging that the Ngarinyin of the Aboriginal Australian people view womb blood as the spiritual and biological sustenance for the unborn and menstrual blood as powerful in creating "perfect humans." She notes that in Southern India the sacred power of the female called *ananku* in Sanskrit, is most powerful during menarche and ceremony. And lastly, the Navajo of Turtle Island view that the "Kinaaldá menarche ceremony was one of their most important celebrations and a key feature of their cosmology, agriculture and social life."191 Furthermore, menstruation through a Kaupapa Māori lens is divine. Therefore, menstruation is sacred and the offense of waimaka lehua, the

¹⁸⁹ Moloney, "Mothers and Daughters at Menarche," 112.

¹⁹⁰ Moloney, 113.

¹⁹¹ Moloney, 117.

bashfulness of kahe mua, and the societal shame regarding female power and esteem is rooted in a long history of Western patriarchy.

To combat a Western patriarchal worldview, Dr. Moloney suggests that mother-daughter relationships and conversations can help reframe an understanding of menstruation as healthy, special, and not at all impure. Such mother-daughter bonding and conversations are exemplified by 'ohana Lehua as Wahine takes action to honor the menarche of her daughters and hold space for conversations during the 'aha kahe mua. These rituals have shaped Hiapo and Muli's perspectives of their bodies and have strengthened their mind and spirit. Healthy relationships that combat the violent cycles of ignorance and shame greatly benefit an overall understanding of menstruation because "Mothers are perfectly placed to gift their daughters with a womanhonouring perspective that affirms their status at menarche as valuable human beings, capable of life-bearing within their bodies."¹⁹²

6.2.1 Indigenous Menarche Ceremonies

Menarche ceremonies are important cultural markers of the sacred and divine. These ceremonies are attainable conversation avenues for mothers and daughters to facilitate traditional remembering and a continuation of the river of life. These ceremonies are observed amongst Indigenous communities like the Navajo, Māori, and the 'aha kahe mua conducted by 'ohana Lehua. In Navajo custom, Changing Woman is the Creator of her people just as Haumeanuiakeāiwaiwa is the matriarch of female sacredness. Changing Woman is the daughter of Earth Mother and Sky Father who was adopted and raised by First Woman and First Man. A Navajo menarche ceremony called Kinaaldá is an honorific ritual that marks her first bleeding, is

¹⁹² Moloney, 112

a rite-of-passage ceremony, a puberty ceremony, and a coming-of-age ceremony which is much like a 'aha kahe mua.¹⁹³

When the emerging woman reaches menarche, she confides in her mother and any other trusted women about her first bleeding and planning for the ceremony begins. Kinaaldá will occur during the next summer and all immediate and extended family members are present to witness her special moment. The emerging woman will choose an Ideal Woman to sponsor her ritual and said woman carries the traits of First Woman such as: good cook, excellent rug weaver, a mother, strength, and beauty. The traits of Ideal Woman are like the traits of the chosen wahine to ho'onoa a 'aha kahe mua in that they are role models for the emerging woman and play an important part in her womanhood.

Throughout the four-night and five-day ceremony, a chosen medicine man will sing sacred songs to her as the women, especially Ideal Woman, mold the emerging woman by touching, messaging, and pressing her. "As Kinaaldá the girl will *become* Changing Woman, responsible for both the vegetative cycle of seed, plant, food, and seed, and the human cycle of life, growth, death, and rebirth."¹⁹⁴ Close attention to invitees and the mana they bring ensures that each person comes with good and positive mana for the sake of the emerging woman just as 'ohana Lehua carefully deliberated each invitee for the well-being of all.

¹⁹³ Virginia Beane Rutter, *Woman Changing Woman: Feminine Psychology Re-Conceived Through Myth and Experience* (New York: Harper Collins Publisher, 1993), 39. Mika Gee, *The Navajo Kinaalda Ceremony*, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NqBmdJBzp4A. Roberta John, "Kinaalda – Celebrating Maturity of Girls among the Navajo," Navajo People Culture and History, December 16, 2010, http://navajopeople.org/blog/kinaalda-celebrating-maturity-of-girls-among-the-navajo/. Jason, "Kinaaldá Navajo Coming of Age Ceremony," Perry Null Trading, December 8, 2015, https://www.perrynulltrading.com/our-corner-of-the-southwest/kinaalda-navajo-coming-age-ceremony/.

¹⁹⁴ Rutter, Woman Changing Woman, 39.

Throughout Kinaaldá, Ideal woman grooms, dresses, and adorns the emerging woman and such actions are a central part of the ceremony in that the turquoise and shells that she adorns are the physical manifestations of the divine Changing Woman. These kinolau that the emerging woman wears are the physical marks that are visible on her body just as the kinolau of akua wahine are brought to the 'aha kahe mua. To physically connect the divine through their kinolau with the spiritual essence of ceremony is to dedicate the body and the flowing river of life to a higher being.

In a Kinaaldá, her hair is ceremonially cut and her ears are also ceremonially pierced. In the Navajo worldview, hair-washing and hair-combing rituals in the Kinaaldá values a woman's hair as feminine power. In a 'aha kahe mua, her hair is ceremonially cut and in facilitating hair grooming, mother-daughter intimacy is fostered and such avenues of menarche conversations and opportunities are shared from wahine to wahine.

Kinaaldá of the Navajo people run parallel with a 'aha kahe mua where wahine are divine and kahe mua is paramount. Hair-cutting and ear-piercing are reserved as a menstrual rite received at menarche and the wahine-wahine relationships are affectionate. A Kinaaldá and a 'aha kahe mua are socially marked events where the divinity of wahine is honored and celebrated. A spiritual mark of prayer, incantation, and ancestral presence is stressed in a Kinaaldá and a 'aha kahe mua because the emerging woman now has the ability to produce divine beings. The physical gifts, or marks, left on the emerging Navajo woman can be likened to the ceremonial kākau of the emerging Hawaiian woman. The social, physical, and spiritual marks continue to run side-by-side as each culture honors, marks, and celebrates the divine of wahine.

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The parallels of Kinaaldá and 'aha kahe mua are reflected in Murphy's research of small matrilineal ceremonies and menstrual rites of Māori.¹⁹⁵ Although these are not extensive ceremonies, the celebration of menarche is recognized. Through her interviews with community elders, Murphy notes that a few menstrual rites of Māori include receiving a new name, receiving *moko kauae*, the formal beginning of traditional teachings, ceremonial feasting, hair-cutting, ear-piercing, and receiving gifts.¹⁹⁶

A *moko kauae* is the jaw tattoo that Māori women wear and receive. Today, women receive *moko kauae* for various reasons and as stated by Murphy, is a symbol of their womanhood. Just like the kākau of the 'aha kahe mua, *moko kauae* are a physical mark left on the emerging women. Murphy notes that a *hākari*, a ceremonial feast, and a presentation of gifts were to follow which mimics a 'aha kahe mua of celebrating and honoring menarche.¹⁹⁷According to Sir. Hirini Moko Mead, the *hākari* is the final step in the process of *whakanoa* (ho'onoa), where a *tapu* is transformed into noa/*noa*.¹⁹⁸ Such feasting is recognized as a Māori and Hawai'i ho'onoa ritual like the feast to be had after a 'aha kahe mua. In both instances, the transition from noa to kapu are observed.

The beginning of traditional teaching to follow menarche is observed in 'ohana Lehua and Māori in that the emerging woman is now of sound kapu to begin creating certain objects and therefore, the knowledge that comes with those rites become a kuleana. The kuleana of kuku kapa and creating pale are no longer pastimes at the museum but are serious rites that only

¹⁹⁵ Murphy, Te Awa Atua, 88.

¹⁹⁶ Murphy, 90-1.

¹⁹⁷ Hirini Moko Mead, *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values* (Wellington, New Zealand: Huia Publishers, 2003), 100.

¹⁹⁸ Mead, 100.

menstruating women should take on. Their menses heightens their kapu and is an indication of their ability to create other beings, have spiritual capacity, and become manifestations of gods.

Honoring menarche combats all notions of menstrual impurity. These "small matrilineal ceremonies" were modest because menstruation was common-knowledge in Māori society. Murphy recalls a moment when a participant's brothers walked into their space and were not affected by their menstrual conversations. "I found their warmth and engagement incredibly heartening and a powerful example of Aunty Rose's kõrero about positive attitudes toward menstruation and the significance of the bond between the genders."¹⁹⁹ Where have these men gone? What has happened to family education of wahine and kāne? Menstruation as a taboo topic of the home are Western patriarchal ideals that continue to separate wahine and kāne under circumstances that are beyond separating kapu and noa. The ignorance of one another has separated Hawaiian from Hawaiian and when understanding such separation as a Western patriarchal form of Western patriarchy, then society has a long way to return to the "archaic." When holding space for menstruation, kāne and wahine, with keikikāne and kaikamahine, are educated together and no such ignorance of each other is apparent.

These small matrilineal ceremonies are intimate moments between grandmother and grandchild. The river of the grandmother now runs through her granddaughter and such fluidity of wai can be observed when a conscious and intentional repatriation of moʻolelo and kūpuna happens. Murphy produces a transcription of an interview with one of her participants Aunty Rose Pere,

¹⁹⁹ Murphy, Te Awa Atua, 95.

When I got my first period my kuia cried because it put them in touch with the river again. You work that one out. Why would they cry? They washed my clothes and cried over them as far as they were concerned I was a continuation of that beautiful river. It was special.²⁰⁰

Aunty Rose, as Murphy affectionately calls her, is from Waikaremoana and is 'ohana to Murphy. Furthermore,

I also cried when my girl went through this – I said a karakia over her and the toto and washed the toto away from her clothing using a bottle of our spring water from Awahou, our papakainga. It was an honor for me and all part of the continuum of whakapapa.²⁰¹

Aroha Yates-Smith, another one of Murphy's participants, recounts the time she welcomed the menarche of her own girl. She prayed (*karakia*) over her girl and washed her blood (*toto*) from her belongings and in doing so, held spiritual space for the river of life. The ways that Māori honor menarche are parallel to the ways that 'ohana Lehua conduct a 'aha kahe mua in that the river of life is celebrated.

The cultural importance of menarche and the celebration thereof argues for a renormalization of such ceremonies for the benefit of our girls. I have found that at the most basic level of conducting a menarche ceremony, imprinted on the emerging woman is a social, physical, and spiritual mark. This 'aha kahe mua conducted by 'ohana Lehua is a reflection of

²⁰⁰ Murphy, 88.

²⁰¹ Murphy, 88.

such celebration and have begun their traditions. Other families may not have the resources or religious background to take on a 'aha kahe mua in like capacity therefore, I make suggestions for 'ohana to consider.

A pā'ina kahe mua, menarche party, where people shall gather in social recognition of the emerging woman may serve a family well. In a local style of "pā'ina," or gathering, a social mark is imprinted on the emerging woman by family and friends to raise awareness and celebrate this milestone. A 'aha'āina kahe mua, menarche feast, shall serve a 'ohana well in feasting to honor the emerging woman. A feast of food will ho'onoa an event just like the function of the imu at the end of the 'aha kahe mua conducted by 'ohana Lehua. Therefore, if 'ohana want to privately honor kahe mua in a spiritual way, then a public 'aha'āina kahe mua will function as a ho'onoa of that spiritual journey and as a social gathering of people. A 'ohana may also consider gifting a makana kahe mua, menarche gift, that the emerging woman can hold, point to, and cherish in remembering her sacred time. A gift could be a lei, permanent and non-permanent or anything that holds meaning for your 'ohana.

6.3 Hawaiian Menstrual Practice

The cultural collisions of the West and the Pacific have manifested in the current narrative of what and how menstruation has been stigmatized and understood. As a result, parents like my own, flounder at an attempt to clarify the meaning, the purpose, and the Hawaiian epistemology of menstruation, menstrual blood, and ultimately our reproducing bodies.

In the context of loko i'a, a kuapā functions as a way to separate desired and undesired fish. In the context of heiau, the rock wall surrounding the structure functions as a way to protect

the noa people on the outside from the kapu idols on the inside. Similar to a hale pe'a, such separation is to protect that which is inside and outside and to keep desired and undesired peoples separate.

This thesis has framed two types of menstrual separation: maluhia and ka'awale. A Hawaiian menstrual practice of maluhia is when kapu and noa are separated to maintain peace and balance the energies. A Hawaiian menstrual practice of ka'awale is when kapu and kapu are separated to maintain the kapu of each respective person, place, or thing.

One may wonder if Hawaiian menstrual practices of maluhia and ka'awale are applicable to our lives today or even sustainable to the busy lives one may lead in these days. For a woman of the 21st century, most of whom work, care for children and/or parents, and have kuleana that need daily attention, they most likely cannot afford to pack her bags and retire to a hale pe'a for five days although, many of us would like to. However, a few examples of a modern Hawaiian menstrual practice of maluhia may include restraining from certain activities that are not absolutely necessary. For a girl in her young teens, this may mean staying home on the weekend rather than enjoying a movie night with her friends. For someone in her young twenties, this may mean she will not enjoy a night on the town when she is menstruating but would rather stay home with a nice book in hand. Likewise, with adults, a modern Hawaiian menstrual practice of maluhia may use to that professional development meeting on a Friday afternoon after a long work week but would rather gather her wahine waimaka lehua friends in pu'uhonua.

Lu'ukia's hale pe'a was about four miles away from her kauhale and can be considered a pu'uhonua. A Hawaiian menstrual practice of pu'uhonua will greatly benefit a Hawaiian menstrual practice with adjustments made to accommodate for our lifestyles. In today's

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perspective, the physical space dedicated to menstruation like Pu'ukawaiwai, does not seem manageable because some women do not have the luxury of a separate house or even a spare bedroom. Therefore, this modern Hawaiian menstrual practice is about the things we can do given the resources we already have. A Hawaiian menstrual practice of pu'uhonua could be your very own space, if that be a two-foot corner of your bedroom, or a spare-bedroom if that luxury is afforded to you. A change or a repurposing of space will allow for wahine waimaka lehua to sanctify her menses. Physical spaces like these then lead to curious conversations between makua and keiki that lead to education and enlightenment. I would further argue that visible kākau like those given to Hiapo and Muli during a 'aha kahe mua would also spark conversations and lead to meaningful discussion.

A woman's role as mother is to hold space for the presence of the sacred in 'ohana as a metaphoric stream unstuck and ever flowing. She embodies the future of her daughters and is the female example within the 'ohana. A father's role in waimaka lehua is to acknowledge a woman's sacredness and expertise in these discussions within the 'ohana. He respects wahine just as wahine will respect kāne in their own responsibilities. He sets an example for his son because his son will take his kuleana in his place. A boy's role as son, brother, and future father and husband is then to mimic his spiritually-conscious father in celebrating kahe mua and waimaka lehua. The cyclical movement of knowledge like mo'okū'auhau through mo'olelo are paramount in 'ohana.

Knowing that women become gods when we menstruate and a kapu alludes over our bodies during that period, a Hawaiian menstrual practice of huikala is then necessary to transition from kapu to noa. Huikala is a ritual of removing kapu from the body and spirit and two ways to do so is through hi'uwai and pule. Hi'uwai may very well be a normal shower or

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also a retreat to a fresh water source. When we enter into such waters we are being cleansed. However, as Pukui et. al reminds us in *Nānā I Ke Kumu*,

Kapu kai is the ceremonial bath taken in the sea or in other sea or salt water. This was done to purify oneself after evil of defilement, physical or spiritual, and to remove the *kapu* (taboo) under which the person usually came because of his defilement. The *kapu kai* was done in privacy and with prayers. Women took this *kapu kai* after each menstrual period because menstrual blood was considered defiling (*haumia*). The bath might be taken after contact with a corpse, also considered a defiling object.²⁰²

A way to transform our normal baths from daily showers to a sort of kapu kai or hi'uwai is through pule. A modern Hawaiian menstrual practice may be to open with pule, as most gatherings and events are done, and to close with pule as noted by Pukui. This idea of opening and closing with pule is not a foreign idea and is actually a very Hawaiian practice. This pule will protect everything on the outside and everything on the inside and at the monthly commencement of waimaka lehua, another pule will huikala.

Each 'ohana and wahine, while understanding the integrity of her menses, must make her own judgement of what and how a physical space like a hale pe'a may work well for herself. When we menstruate, we not only become gods, but we use the kinolau of akua wahine to properly manage all aspects of our menstrual health and well-being. A modern Hawaiian menstrual material practice is therefore, mindfully ecological and spiritual in a sense that if our kūpuna held space for kapu, then we should strive to be the same way given the materials and

²⁰² Pukui, Haertig, and Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, I:122.

resources that are afforded to us. The current material culture can harm reproductive organs that are sacred to cultures all over the world, especially to Hawaiians. To properly care for our honua, one must consider adjusting their menstrual practice to mimic the well-being that one may truly want to achieve. If these circumstances and resources are afforded to you, I challenge you to find the confidence, strength, and capacity to exercise your divinity. A modern Hawaiian menstrual practice is about the things we can do given our current circumstances and resources.

To care for walewale, I would argue that a Hawaiian menstrual practice of walewale care would be to collect the walewale each day and ceremonially bury it into the 'āina. It is suggested that reusable menstrual pads and panties are laundered with the remainder of the household laundry but knowing that material used for waimaka lehua do not contact other lay clothing, then laundering these reusable menstrual pads and panties with the remainder of the daily laundry would not fit into a Hawaiian menstrual material practice. A modern Hawaiian menstrual practice that mimics a traditional Hawaiian menstrual practice therefore, while using a menstrual cup, is to empty the walewale into a dedicated jar. At the end of each menstrual period, the walewale is then buried and the cup will be boiled or washed in another special pot reserved only for walewale items. If using a menstrual pad or panty, then it should be rinsed in a stream or water source very special to you then hand washed and dried.

Hawaiians have always been connected to 'āina and through a modern Hawaiian menstrual practice we can continue to be placed in 'āina. A modern Hawaiian menstrual practice may also mean that women become more connected to their walewale during childbirth and into menstruation. As women become more familiar with the material culture of menstruation, observing walewale will hold space for familiarity between person and wai.

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An ecological, modern, and health conscious Hawaiian menstrual practice may seem unattainable however, this research suggests that it is attainable when necessary actions are taken. If a menstrual cup sounds invasive, but you want to actively participate in a modern Hawaiian menstrual practice of material culture that is ecologically friendly, then those decisions are for you to make. This thesis has given you the knowledge to inform your own sort of Hawaiian menstrual practice.

6.4 Understanding Menstruation Through a Hawaiian Epistemology

I have re-casted an understanding of kapu and noa on a linear scale and web as presented in Chapter 3. Specific to menstruation, those charts mimic an understanding of the temporal and physical distance of wahine waimaka lehua to noa. Those figures are meant for other researchers to build upon and apply to their research. Such blueprints of a re-understanding of dynamic concepts, namely kapu and noa, may be used to further understand kapu and noa in the context of idol carving, hula, kauhale spatiality and much more. Understanding kapu and noa in the context of women and rebalancing wahine and kāne societal esteem, the sanctity of wahine waimaka lehua aligns with Dr. Silva's understanding of pono as the balance of male and female.

The imbalances of male and female and the presence of Western patriarchy have led to a common understanding that menstruation, especially menstrual blood, is offensive and unstable pathological process that needs to be controlled by medical intervention. Such processes vilify the body in distancing spiritual, social, and physical recognition of menstruation and menarche from 'ohana and an individual. However, through a Hawaiian epistemology, walewale is divine. Waimaka lehua, through a Hawaiian epistemology, is sacred and can help foster a Hawaiian well-being within 'ohana. Just as the way Māori perceive menstrual blood to be *atua*, Hawaiians

can also revere walewale as divine while honoring walewale of wahine waimaka lehua each month. The earth was built on walewale and the line: "'O ka walewale ho'okumu honua ia," reminds us.

Through Dr. Kanahele's understanding of our life cycles as sacred and "god-like," wahine waimaka lehua are the manifestations of akua. When Lu'ukia isolates herself to Pu'ukawaiwai, four miles away from the kauhale in Waipi'o, she in herself has become an akua and the degrees of separation is necessary to hold the integrity of menstruating goddesses.

When a woman menstruates, she is the divine cycle that her daughter will soon become. She is a manifestation of her grandmother who will live through her river of life. The cycle is not just of an individual woman but one of a moʻokūʻauhau; the divine cycle through the generations. Waimaka lehua is moʻokūʻauhau and everybody benefits from female divinity. There is much to say about "the blood in my veins" however, rephrase such idiom as "the blood of my river." The kahawai that feeds you and me to whom we answer "'O wai 'oe?"

'O au 'o Linda Louise Foss, 'o Hanz Fredrik Kāne, 'o Wilma Kaluhikaua, 'o Mervin You Wah Kuahiwinui Sr., 'o Malia Ann Crowningburg Kāne, 'o Mervin You Wah Kuahiwinui Jr.

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