

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

For NPS use only

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

received AUG 23 1988
date entered

See instructions in *How to Complete National Register Forms*
Type all entries—complete applicable sections

1. Name

historic WAILUA COMPLEX OF HEIAU NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK

and or common See Continuation Sheet

2. Location

street & number State Hwy 58 and Kuamoo Road not for publication

city, town Wailua X vicinity of Lihue District
Island of Kauai

state Wailua River State Park
Hawaii code 15 county Kauai code 007

3. Classification

Category	Ownership	Status	Present Use
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> district	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> public	<input type="checkbox"/> occupied	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> agriculture*
<input type="checkbox"/> building(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> private	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> unoccupied	<input type="checkbox"/> commercial
<input type="checkbox"/> structure	<input type="checkbox"/> both	<input type="checkbox"/> work in progress	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> educational
<input type="checkbox"/> site	Public Acquisition	Accessible	<input type="checkbox"/> entertainment
<input type="checkbox"/> object	<input type="checkbox"/> in process	<input type="checkbox"/> yes: restricted	<input type="checkbox"/> government
	<input type="checkbox"/> being considered	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> yes: unrestricted	<input type="checkbox"/> industrial
		<input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> military
			<input type="checkbox"/> museum
			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> park
			<input type="checkbox"/> private residence
			<input type="checkbox"/> religious
			<input type="checkbox"/> scientific
			<input type="checkbox"/> transportation
			<input type="checkbox"/> other:

4. Owner of Property

* Malae Heiau only

name State of Hawaii; Department of Land and Natural Resources

street & number 1151 Punchbowl Street

city, town Honolulu vicinity of state Hawaii 96817

5. Location of Legal Description

courthouse, registry of deeds, etc. Bureau of Conveyances; Department of Land & Natural Resources

street & number 1151 Punchbowl Street TAX MAP KEYS: See Continuation Sheet

city, town Honolulu state Hawaii 96817

6. Representation in Existing Surveys

title See Continuation Sheet has this property been determined eligible? yes no

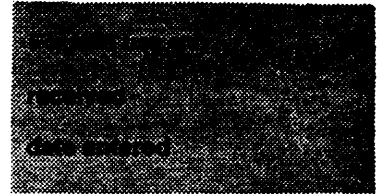
date federal state county local

depository for survey records Department of Lands & Natural Resources; Historic Sites Section

city, town Same as above state

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**



Continuation sheet

Item number 1

Page 2

NAME (continued)

The Wailua Complex of Heiau consists of 5 discontinuous properties:

<u>Property</u>	<u>Other Names</u>	<u>Statewide Inventory Number</u>
Hikinaakala Heiau (and petroglyphs)	Hauola (Place of Refuge) Puuhonua Hikinaakala Hikina-a-ka-la Ka pae ki'i mahu (petroglyphs)	50-30-08-105
Malae Heiau	Malaea Makaukiu	50-30-08-104
Holoholoku Heiau and Pohaku Hoohanau	Ka Lae a Manu Ka Lae o Ka Manu	50-30-08-106
Poliahu Heiau	Poli'ahu	50-30-08-107
Bellstone	Wailua Bellstone	No site number

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**



Continuation sheet

Item number 5

Page 2

LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION (continued)

Property

Tax Map Key (TMK)

Hikinaakala Heiau (including Hauola and
associated petroglyphs)

3-9-06:1

Malae Heiau

3-9-02:13

Holoholoku Heiau
and Pohaku Hoochanau

4-1-02:3

Poliahu Heiau

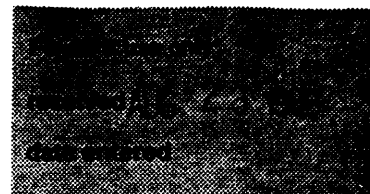
4-2-03:8

Bellstone

4-2-03:8

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**



Continuation sheet

Item number 6

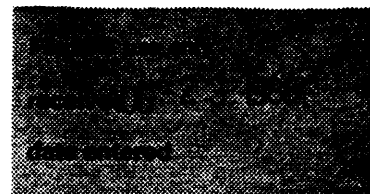
Page 2

REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS (continued)

<u>Property</u>	<u>Site Number</u> (after Bennett 1931)	<u>Previous Site Number(s)</u> (Bernice P. Bishop Museum)
Hikinaakala Heiau (and Hauola)	50-30-08-105	50-KA-A1-1
Petroglyphs	No separate number, however Kikuchi (1984:2) calls this site 50-30-08-105A.	50-KA-A1-6
Malae Heiau	50-30-08-104	50-KA-A1-4
Holoholoku Heiau	50-30-08-106	50-KA-A1-2
Pohaku Hoohanau and Pohaku Piko	No separate number	50-KA-A1-5
Poliahu Heiau	50-30-08-107	50-KA-A1-3
Bellstone	No number	No number

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 7

Page 2

geologically one of the oldest of the Hawaiian Islands, it is greatly dissected with large alluvial plains and broad valleys that made it attractive for early settlement especially along the windward coast. In proportion to its size, Kauai also has more permanent streams and rivers than the other islands. The Wailua River, the largest in the state, is a permanent watercourse and its valley one of the agriculturally richest areas on the Island. The river is tidal affected and navigable from the coast to almost two miles inland.

Volcanic soils in many parts of Hawaii are highly permeable which leads to leaching of organic material; however, geologically mature valleys with broad floors and permanent streams on the windward portions of older islands have alluvial soils that tend to be relatively impermeable and rich in organic content (Lau 1973:42). Valleys like Wailua and Huleia, the two largest drainages in the Puna District, have an annual average rainfall of 65 in. and thus were able to support prehistoric staple crops such as sweet potatoes (Ipomoea batatas), irrigated taro (Colocasia sp.), gourds (Lagenaria siceraria) and others (Price 1973; Handy and Handy 1972:212).

The Island's windward vegetational pattern is characteristic of Zone C-1, lands under 2500 feet that support a mixed xerophytic and mesophytic scrub forest (Ripperton and Hosaka 1955). Vegetation is a mixture of indigenous, Hawaiian introduced and introduced cultigens, grasses, herbs, shrubs and trees. Species include: koa haole (Leucaena glauca), guava (Psidium guayava), lantana (Lantana camara), Spanish clover (Desmodium uncinatum), Bermuda grass (Cynodon dactylon), and introduced species such as Kukai-puaa (Digitaria pruriens) and pilipiliula (Chrysopogon aciculatus).

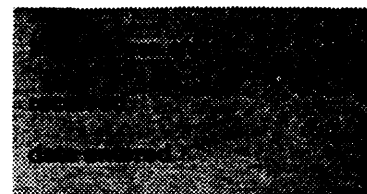
SITE DESCRIPTIONS

The heiau descriptions that follow were taken principally from Bennett (1931) who used plan maps and descriptions by Thrum (1907), an earlier investigator of temple architecture in the Hawaiian Islands; however, the quality and amount of data on each site is not consistent.

Hikinaakala Heiau, Site 50-30-08-105 (Photographs 1 - 4; Maps C, D and E)

Hikina-a-ka-la translates as "the sunrise" or "the rising of the sun" (Kikuchi 1974:4; Pukui et al. 1974:45). The long axis of the temple is oriented nearly 11 degrees west of magnetic north, or almost true north-south. The ancient place name of this Wailua beach location is believed to have been Hau'oli, a name that also has been used to designate the pu'uohonua at the north end of the structural complex, a sacred place where those fleeing punishment for taboo violations or in a time of war might seek temporary asylum (Kelly et al. 1986b).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 7

Page 3

Thrum (1907:41, 66) described the complex as follows:

The ruins of this heiau stand along the shore near the south side of the stream. It shows three distinct divisions, paved; the inner section still in fair condition 120 feet in depth. End and S. E. corner walls are 6 feet high and 11 feet thick, of heavy stones. Two large boulders stand near the middle near the division wall of this section. The outer or front section of 80 feet includes a width that runs back beyond the division wall a number of graves mark the middle and outer sections, said to be the remains of an entire family in consequence of their desecrating the temple by living and cultivating within its walls.

Bennett (1931:125) adds:

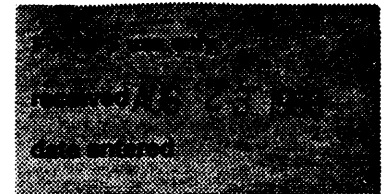
Today much of the stone has been removed, reducing the walls to bare outlines, and obliterating the paving entirely. The outer section is also destroyed. The stones remaining show the construction of the walls to have been that of placing large stone slabs on edge in a double row, 8 feet wide, and filling in between with smaller stones. The division between the front and the middle sections is now marked by a rough row of stone that extends 50 feet or more west of the line of the old wall. This is probably later work, an assumption substantiated by the finding of a stone, the surface of which was used for adz grinding, as part of this wall though in a position impossible for use. The Kauai Historical Society has called this a place of refuge "Hauola" as well as a heiau.

Hikinaakala and Hauola were re-mapped by the Hawaii State Department of Land and Natural Resources in 1987 (Map E). The dimensions of the site were determined to be 373 feet by an average width of 120 feet, or about 45,000 square feet. The structural portion of the site covers just over one acre.

About 130 feet north of the Place of Refuge is a series of 8 petroglyph boulders (Figure 8: boulders 13, 23, 34, 35, 41, 50, 62 and 67) in a cluster of 61 boulders along the shore of the Wailua River, the ancient boundary of the Puna District. In 1949, Ms. Rebecca Banks, a former teacher at Kapa'a High School, surveyed and photographed the site (Kikuchi 1984:8). She reported 36 figures, most of which were rerecorded by Kikuchi (1984). Associated with the petroglyphs were grinding or honing facets which are the result of the ancient Hawaiians shaping and sharpening stone adzes, chisels, or sinkers on these rocks (Figure 8, boulders 1, 2, 8, 9, 13, 24, 34, 35, 41, 42, 61, 62 and 63). Some of the facets were made over a petroglyph thereby eradicating portions of the figures.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 7

Page 4

The petroglyph boulders are of fine grained grey-blue basalt. Some of the surfaces are coated with a fine black veneer of manganese oxide. This veneer coats the petroglyphs and the grinding facets indicating its uniform accumulation since the petroglyphs and grinding facets were made. Due to changes in the Wailua stream channel, the petroglyphs are being eroded and are visible only at low tide. Only one of the petroglyph boulders was clearly visible during the NPS Inspection Visit (Photographs 5 and 6; Figure 8, Boulder 34); it appeared to contain weathered abstract curvilinear elements.

The petroglyphs have important legendary associations and they also may be associated with heiau functions that took place at the district boundary during the annual makahiki festival which was accompanied by games and dancing (see Item 8 below). They are, therefore, included with the Hikinaakala site complex whose total area is 101,400 square feet, or about 2 and 1/3 acres.

Malae Heiau, Site 50-30-08-104 (Photograph 1; Figure 1)

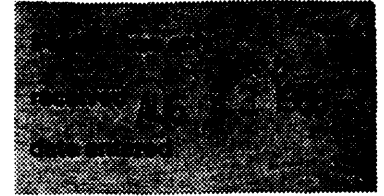
The site is on a raised area that has a good view of the surrounding country. According to Thrum (1907), the structure is:

A walled and paved heiau 273 by 324 feet in size of traditional Menehune construction. The place of its altar is pointed out near the center toward the west wall and around on all sides ran a ledge about six feet wide whereon the people [are] said to have sat during its ceremonies. The outer walls are still standing in good order. The corners [are] buttressed with 13-foot walls [a unique feature]. Kapule (Queen Deborah) changed this heiau about 1830, and erected division walls for cattle and calf pens with[in] its inner structures and stone pavements. A portion is now planted to cane. A ledge is said to have extended all around its four walls (similar to the feature noted in Oahu's largest temple) The companion heiau of Malae was Poliahu situated some little distance from it, further inland, but the two were in plain sight of each other.

The concluding sentences in this description are confusing. For example, it is not clear if Thrum is referring to the cane planted around the structure, or whether he means cane had been planted within the structure at one time. Also the second reference to a ledge appears redundant as there is no indication of a second, or exterior ledge.

Thrum (1907:41) noted that other heiau on Kauai were "connected in their workings" in the manner of Malae and Poliahu but what is meant by the statement is uncertain. Bennett (1931:48) indicated Malae was the second

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**



Continuation sheet

Item number 7

Page 5

largest heiau on Kauai but Poliahu is also very large; thus, the connection does not seem to be that of a large and a small heiau. It may be that they were in simultaneous use by the same ali'i nui who reserved them for separate religious deities and ritual functions.

Today Malae is the largest heiau remaining on Kauai (since the destruction of Kuhiau Heiau at Nawiliwili). It covers 88,452 square feet, or approximately 2 acres.

Holoholoku Heiau, Site 50-30-08-106 (Photographs 7 and 8; Map F)

Thrum (1907) did not describe or map this structure at the foot of Pu'uki Ridge. Bennett (1931:127) devotes three lines to the Heiau and an associated sacred coconut grove; however, later research by Kikuchi (1976:12) indicates the coconut grove was planted as an experiment in 1896 and therefore not of great antiquity.

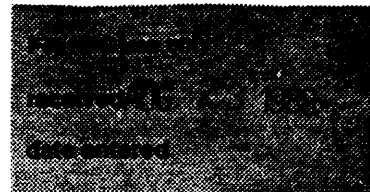
The traditional name of the temple was Ka Lae o Ka Manu, which means the crest of the bird. Holoholoku appears to have been the ancient locality name. The heiau, reported to be Kauai's oldest, is a low-walled court type measuring 57 X 96 feet. Dr. Kenneth P. Emory, Bishop Museum ethnologist, investigated Holoholoku and the Pohaku Hoohanau (see below) at the request of the Kauai Historical Society in 1933:

A medium size marae [Polynesian term for temple] of the simple enclosure type. The original enclosing walls are in place, although considerable stone has been removed from some parts of the top. Bits of branch coral [indicative of sacredness] are scattered through the walls. Small, water-worn pebbles out on the earthen floor indicate the former presence of a house floor-pavement. The west side of the heiau is bounded by a terrace and at the south end of this terrace, the southwest corner of the heiau, is a great horizontal ledge of stone, called the sacrificial stone [Pohaku Pilo]. Built out from the north side of this ledge is a little terrace, 9 feet square I am certain the heiau of Ka-lae-o-ka-manu, or Holoholoku served in conjunction with the birth place, and that here the drum which would announce the news would be kept, as the drum of Kukaniloko was kept in the near-by heiau.

About midway in the southeast wall of the enclosure is a slab-lined opening approximately 32 inches wide and 20 inches high which may have served as a receiving gate for offerings, or as a secret entrance for attendants at the Heiau. This appears to be a unique feature not recorded for other Hawaiian heiau.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 7

Page 6

Re-mapping (Map F) of Holoholoku by the Hawaii State Department of Land and Natural Resources in 1987 revealed its dimensions were 163 feet by 81 feet, or 13,203 square feet. The size of the structure, covering about one-third of an acre, and the presence of an altar for human sacrifices clearly indicates that it functioned as a luakini temple in the late prehistoric period. Ii (1959:138) also notes that it functioned as a pu'uhonua, or place of refuge in the early historic period.

Pohaku Hoohanau and Pohaku Piko (Photograph 9; Figures 3 and 4; and Map F)

Located about 65 feet further inland from Holoholoku are a birthstone (Photograph 9; birthstone at left with State Parks sign) and an associated niche for the ceremonious deposition of a newborn child's umbilical cord.

This is one of the few remaining sites of this type in Hawaii. Pohaku Hoohanau is sacred because it was to this rock shelter a high chiefess would come for the birth of her child to ensure its chiefly status. Kikuchi (1976:9) relates the following tradition:

... when an expectant mother of royal lineage was about to deliver her child, she would travel to the birthstone and squat on the ledge, leaning back against the upright section of the stone. After the birth, the mother and child were moved into a cave adjacent to the stone ... The mother remained in the cave with her child and retinue until she was able to travel; a booth or temporary shelter was built over the place. This was the sacred birthplace of the ali'i, or chiefs. If the child really were a great chief, the heavens allegedly would burst forth with thunder and lightning, and there would be a heavy downpour of rain. A rainbow would arch over the area, with one end indicating the spot where the child had been born.

Another tradition (Kikuchi 1976:1) describes how the navel cord, piko, of a newborn child was placed in the nearby Pohaku Piko; if a rat stole the piko, it was an omen that the child would grow up to be a thief, and allegedly the child was put to death.

Emory (1933), who excavated the site, described it as follows (see also Photograph 9; Figures 3 and 4):

... [the rock, not a ledge, is about] 5 feet high, buried in the ground. The north face is naturally flat and sloping slightly backward from the vertical. It is faced on a sanded floor about 16 feet square bounded by a strip of rough pavement 2 feet wide. The sand floor lay about 3 inches below

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 7

Page 7

the top of the pavement and the whole was covered by approximately two feet of earth which had washed out upon it from above [Pu'uki Ridge] between the time of the abandonment of the site by the Hawaiians and our excavations. Behind the square floor rises a bluff 12 feet high formed by an outcrop of dike rock. This bluff overhangs at the south end, forming a natural shelter. Near the north end of the outcrop and 6 feet up the face may be seen a waterworn pebble jammed into a small natural cavity in which a navel cord (piko) had been deposited.

Out in front of the square floor, against the east face of the enclosing pavement, and 8 inches below it, lay a sandstone slab trimmed in the form of a tombstone, the two sides being dressed perfectly straight and the south end rounded. A foot under the south end of the slab lay the bones of a small dog.

The birthstone site also was mapped in 1987 (Map F); its dimensions are 65 by 49 feet, or 3,185 square feet. The total site area for Holoholoku Heiau and the birth site is therefore 37,960 square feet, or .87 acre.

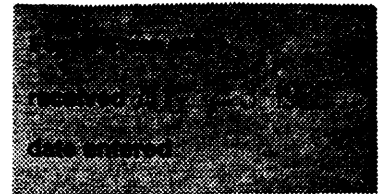
Poliahu Heiau, Site 50-30-08-107 (Photographs 10 - 12, 14; Figure 2; Map G)

The site location is impressive and commands a panoramic view of the other heiau in the Wailua Complex, including Malae with which it was associated, and coastline below. Bennett (1931:127) states:

The heiau is a paved and walled enclosure roughly rectangular with a 30 by 70-foot notch taken out of the southeast corner. The rough measurements are 242 feet in length and 165 feet in width. The walls, though tumbled in many places, still show an original height of 5 to 6 feet and a width of 5 feet. Across the west end is a terrace delineated by a row of stones placed on edge. At the south end of this terrace platform is an indefinitely marked square that was possibly the site of the oracle tower. The site is marked by a row of stones. Along the south side, another terrace, and similarly marked by a row of flat lava stone on edge, runs from the west terrace to within 13 feet of the east wall. At the back of this terrace, is an upright stone firmly set in the ground and leaning against the wall, though not a part of it. Near the center of the heiau two rows of stones running parallel to the long axis of the structure appear to be the markings of a house site. In the northeast corner there are two house divisions separated by [a] division wall of double

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 7

Page 8

construction and that might have been much higher than its present one foot. At the east end, outside the wall, there is a platform adjoining the heiau, and just south of it a slightly depressed area. Near the center of the north wall, on the outside, is a large division with a one-foot terrace 1 foot high on the outer edge and walls 3 feet wide and 1 foot high at each end. There is some indication that these two walls continued out farther at one time. Where the west wall of this division joins the main wall, the stones of the main wall seem to be finished off to an end as though for an entry way. The rocks are tumbled so that the other side of such an entrance can not be determined. The paving is well done with large flat lava stones with small pebbles over most of it, except on the west terrace. The outside walls are constructed with large stones and small stones intermixed.

The Hawaii State Department of Land and Natural Resources also re-mapped Poliahu Heiau in 1987 after clearing it of vegetation. The revised dimensions of the structure are 252 feet by 195 feet, or 49,140 square feet. Again, the exceptional size of Poliahu, covering slightly over one acre, and its location, indicate that by the late prehistoric period it probably functioned as a luakini temple.

The Bellstone (Photograph 14).

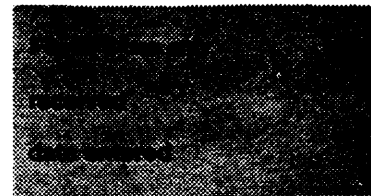
The Wailua Bellstone is a basalt boulder located about one-half mile east of Poliahu Heiau on a bluff overlooking the Wailua River (Photograph 14). As evidenced by numerous indentations, the boulder was drummed with cobbles, producing a hollow sound that heralded the approach of chiefly or religious processions along a former indigenous trail that led from the coast up into the mountainous interior of Kauai. Kaluawehe or the "king's highway" began just offshore near the mouth of the Wailua River. An ali'i upon his return from a sea voyage, would come up the "highway" in his canoe until he hit the beach whereupon both man and vessel would be carried up mauka to his hale. The former trail closely followed the present Poliahu Road, near the Puna District boundary, and connected a series of heiau that would have been important for both religious and political reasons during the annual makahiki festival (see Item 8 below) as well as other state events.

CONDITION OF THE SITES

The significance of the Wailua area and the importance of the heiau and their associated features comprising the Landmark were recognized early by the Kauai Historical Society. With the exception of Malae Heiau, all of the component NHL properties were signed and, in the case of Holoholoku, interpreted in the 1920s and 1930s.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 7

Page 9

Hikinaakala Heiau:

By the mid-1970s, the site had become overgrown with hala trees (Pandanus odoratissimus), naupaka kahakāi bushes (Scaevola frutescens), and coconut trees (Cocos nucifera). It was also marred by the construction of a comfort station and drinking fountain within the structural boundary and a parking lot that impacted the west wall alignment.

In 1973, anthropology students enrolled at Kauai Community College cleared vegetation and re-mapped the site (Map D). The site was again re-mapped by Hawaii State Parks personnel in 1987 (Map E) prior to removal of the comfort station and grassing the former parking lot. In 1988, the State signed a Curation Agreement with the Kapaa First Hawaiian Church which provides for maintenance activities such as removal of vegetation and other debris at Hikinaakala and at Poliahu. In cooperation with Kauai Resort Hotels (whose property adjoins the Heiau) the State will be developing walkways and interpretive signing for public interpretation and appreciation of the site.

The petroglyphs were presumably executed at a time when this strip of land was completely above water, however, due to shoreline and contour changes in the Wailua River channel, they are now partially submerged and are being eroded by wind, waves and tidal action. Bulldozer scars are evident on several of the boulders which occurs when sand is removed from the river mouth.

Malae Heiau:

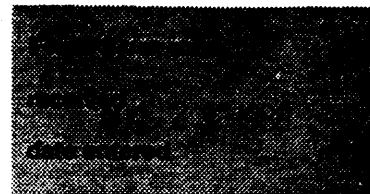
The major historic alteration of this site was Queen Deborah Kapule's conversion of the interior of the structure to cattle pens which involved the dismantling and rearranging of building stone from interior walls and the altar. Later, the surrounding field was bulldozed up to the outer walls of the temple platform and planted with cane. The site is heavily overgrown with vegetation today. Although Malae underwent historic adaptive reuse, its original walls, some associated features and its prehistoric building sequences are still intact.

Holoholoku Heiau and Pohaku Hooahanau:

This heiau and associated royal birthplace are the only components of the Landmark that have been excavated or restored. Emory (1933) investigated the sites at the request of the Kauai Historical Society. In the 1930s the Society reconstructed Holoholoku as an outdoor museum and developed interpretive trails and markers. The basalt cobble walls of the enclosure were restored and a typical Hawaiian pili grass (Heteropogon contortus) house and an oracle tower were built. The structure was again rebuilt in 1963 but fire destroyed it in the early 1970s. The pole and thatch structure was not rebuilt. One of the three wooden idols placed on the site as part of the 1963 rebuilding effort remained until 1980 when it was removed.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 7

Page 10

Poliahu Heiau:

In 1987, the site was cleared of vegetation for the first time since 1962. The walls of the structure are in good condition and a number of remaining interior features have been mapped (Map G). The surrounding grounds are planted with tropical species such as coconut, croton, plumeria and umbrella trees. As of 1988, ongoing maintenance of Poliahu Heiau is to be provided through the Curation Agreement between the State and the Kapaa First Hawaiian Church.

OTHER CONTRIBUTING PROPERTIES

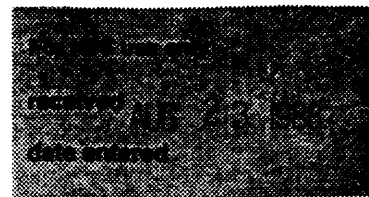
A small rock shrine built within the confines of Hikinaakala Heiau in 1982, and surrounded by ti plantings, is a contributing property that illustrates continuing religious and cultural use of the site.

NON-CONTRIBUTING PROPERTIES

Hikinaakala Heiau contains one intrusive non-contributing element, a drinking fountain associated with the former comfort station. The station was removed in 1987.

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**



Continuation sheet

Item number 7

Page 11

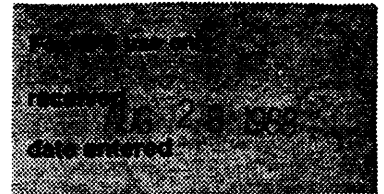
ILLUSTRATIONS

Photographs

- 1 Aerial view west. Wailua River State Park, Lydgate Area. Hikinaakala and Hauola marked by coconut; Malae north of Highway 58 in rectangular sugarcane field (obscured by vegetation). Photograph courtesy of Hawaii State Department of Land and Natural Resources, Honolulu, 1964.
- 2 View north. Interior of Hauola Place of Refuge. Photograph by Holly Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 1986.
- 3 View northeast. Hauola Place of Refuge. Photograph by Holly Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 1986.
- 4 View south. Hikinaakala Heiau. Photograph courtesy of Hawaii State Department of Land and Natural Resources, Honolulu, 1988.
- 5 View northwest. Petroglyph boulders exposed at low tide. Hikinaakala Heiau and Haoula Place of Refuge. Photograph by Holly Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 1986.
- 6 View west. Closeup of abstract curvilinear petroglyph design. Hikinaakala Heiau and Haoula Place of Refuge. Photograph by Holly Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 1986.
- 7 View southeast. 1963 Restoration of Holoholoku (Ka Lae o Ka Manu) Heiau (pole structure later thatched). Photograph courtesy of Hawaii State Department of Land and Natural Resources, Honolulu.
- 8 View southwest. Interior of Holoholoku Heiau; sacrificial rock in background. Photograph by Holly Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 1986.
- 9 View southwest. Pohaku Hoochanau (birthstone). Photograph by Holly Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 1986.
- 10 View east. Poliahu Heiau, north wall and ramp prior to vegetation clearance. Photograph by Holly Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 1986.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 7

Page 12

- 11 View north. Poliahu Heiau, west wall. Photograph by Holly Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 1986.
- 12 View north. Poliahu Heiau, west wall, construction detail. Photograph by Holly Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 1986.
- 13 View east overlooking Wailua River from vicinity of Bellstone and Poliahu Heiau. Photograph courtesy of Hawaii State Department of Land and Natural Resources, 1988.
- 14 Wailua Bellstone. Photograph courtesy Hawaii State Department of Land and Natural Resources, 1988.

Figures

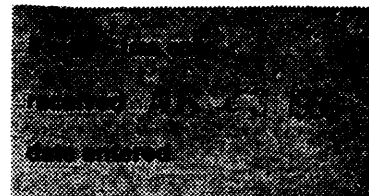
- 1 Plan of Malae Heiau (after Thrum 1907).
- 2 Poliahu Heiau (Thrum 1907).
- 3 Pohaku Hoohanau -- birthstone (Bingham 1849).
- 4 Sketch of excavated structure associated with Pohaku Hoohanau (Emory 1933).
- 5 A Hale o Lono, depicted by Bishop Museum artist, Paul Lockwood (Ii 1959:57).
- 6 A Luakini heiau depicted by Bishop Museum artist, Paul Lockwood (Ii 1959:34).
- 7 Kaneaki Heiau, Makaha Valley (Ladd 1973:frontispiece).
- 8 Ka Pae Ki'i Mahu O Wailua, petroglyph boulder field (Source: Kikuchi 1984:5).

Maps

- A USGS 7.5' Quadrangle, Kapaa, Hawaii (1983).
- B Wailua River State Park, Wailua, Kauai (n.d.)
- C Hikinaakala Heiau/Hauola (Place of Refuge) Plan Map (Thrum 1907)

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**



Continuation sheet

Item number 7

Page 13

- D Hikinaakala Heiau/Hauola (Place of Refuge) Plan Map (Kikuchi 1974).
- E Hikinaakala Heiau and Hauola (Place of Refuge) Plan Map. Hawaii State Department of Land and Natural Resources, 1987.
- F Holoholoku Heiau Plan Map. Hawaii State Department of Land and Natural Resources, 1987.
- G Poliahu Heiau Plan Map. Hawaii State Department of Land and Natural Resources, 1987.

8. Significance

AUG 23 1988

Period	Areas of Significance—Check and justify below		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> prehistoric	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> archeology-prehistoric	<input type="checkbox"/> community planning	<input type="checkbox"/> landscape architecture
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1400-1499	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> archeology-historic	<input type="checkbox"/> conservation	<input type="checkbox"/> law
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1500-1599	<input type="checkbox"/> agriculture	<input type="checkbox"/> economics	<input type="checkbox"/> literature
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1600-1699	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> architecture	<input type="checkbox"/> education	<input type="checkbox"/> military
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1700-1799	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> art	<input type="checkbox"/> engineering	<input type="checkbox"/> music
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<input type="checkbox"/> 1900-	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> communications	<input type="checkbox"/> industry	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> politics/government
		<input type="checkbox"/> invention	<input type="checkbox"/> religion
			<input type="checkbox"/> science
			<input type="checkbox"/> sculpture
			<input type="checkbox"/> social/ humanitarian
			<input type="checkbox"/> theater
			<input type="checkbox"/> transportation
			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> other (specify)
			Traditional Culture

Specific dates

Builder/Architect

Statement of Significance (in one paragraph)

SIGNIFICANCE

The Wailua NHL is significant under National Register criteria A, B, C and D. In size, quality, setting, historic association and information potential, it is one of the most important archeological site complexes in the Hawaiian Islands with components spanning all phases of Hawaiian culture. Wailua was the principal residence as well as administrative and religious center of Kauai's paramount chief (ali'i nui) for most of the year (Hadley 1970). The traditional name of this area is Wailuanui-hoano or "great, sacred Wailua" (Dickey 1916); it was imbued with mana and kapu (see SACRED AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE below) and as such it became an important center for the formation of the highest ranking ali'i marital alliances. Wailua was set aside for the exclusive use of the chief, his court and priests. In this context Wailua was comparable to other localities in the Islands such as Waipi'o and Kahalu'u, Hawaii or Kualoa, Oahu where ali'i resided, young chiefs were raised and trained and numerous heiau were constructed. Further, the temple platforms within the Landmark are testimony to the impressive degree of religious, political and economic power that had evolved on Kauai by European contact in 1778.

Most of the heiau and sacred sites in the NHL complex are associated with legends, rulers, and events that played an important role in Hawaiian culture and are of traditional significance to contemporary Hawaiians of native descent. The last reigning monarchs of Hawaii, King David Kalakaua and Queen Liliuokalani, traced their descent to Wailua through the Kamanakoa line. One of the temple platforms, Holoholoku, is especially sacred; traditionally it is the oldest heiau on Kauai and its associated birthstone was for generations the birthplace of royalty. Hikinaakala Heiau and Hauola, the former place of refuge, also were constructed prior to A.D. 1200, and like Holoholoku Heiau have legendary associations with Polynesian lands to the south of the Hawaiian archipelago. Malae Heiau is the largest surviving heiau on Kauai and one of the largest surviving temple platforms anywhere in the Hawaiian Islands. Poliahu, with which Malae Heiau was associated, is also impressive. The size of these structures and the traditional lore associated with them suggest they were functionally readapted several times and continued in use into the early post-contact period. In addition, some of the structures contain structural details that are unique to Kauai and that may serve as architectural horizon markers.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 2

HISTORIC BACKGROUND

In the decades prior to Captain Cook's historic landing at Waimea, Kauai (the winter capital of the ali'i nui) in 1778, the Hawaiian Islands were divided between four to six rival and competing polities centered on the islands of Kauai, Oahu, Maui and Hawaii. Molokai was at times independent, at times subject to the ruling chiefs of Oahu or Maui who frequently fought over the small island. The Island of Hawaii went through a cycle of repeated unifications and subsequent partitions, with a major rift between the chiefly lines of the windward and leeward districts. The small islands of Kahoolawe and Lanai were generally subject to Maui (Kirch 1985:7).

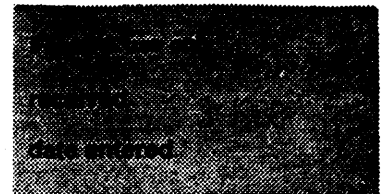
Although coveted by the paramount chiefs of Hawaii, Maui and Oahu during this phase of inter-island cyclical conquest, Kauai remained unconquered and politically independent except for brief periods when the Island's allegiance was bought by the kingdoms of Oahu and Maui through intermarriage. Tiny neighboring Niihau Island fell under the political sway of Kauai. In 1796, Kamehameha I attempted to conquer Kauai, however, the peleleu fleet was destroyed in a storm in the Kauai Channel, a disaster that required years of rebuilding and preparation to repair. Finally just as the new fleet prepared to sail, Kaumualii, the last king of Kauai, ceded the Island to Kamehameha I in 1810, an act of allegiance that secured his continuance as ruler until his death in 1824 and spared his kingdom the devastation and loss of life suffered by the other major Hawaiian Islands in the course of internecine wars.

Following the death of Kamehameha I in 1819, his favorite wife, Kaahumanu married Kaumualii. During this period she functioned as premier (kuhina nui) of the Hawaiian Islands, sharing executive authority with Liholiho (Kamehameha II), Kamehameha the Great's son by a higher ranking ali'i wife. Subsequently the chiefs of Kauai joined together in the Insurrection of 1824 but were defeated by the forces of Kamehameha II. Kaahumanu then awarded the lands of Kauai to chiefs who were members of the Kamehameha court. Deborah Kapule (former wife of Kaumualii and former Queen of Kauai) was appointed haku 'aina (landlord) of Wailua.

Land awards as a result of the Great Mahele of 1848 show that only about 75 acres of Wailua was awarded to 25 individuals, among them Deborah Kapule and Iosia Kaumuali'i, wife and son of Kaumuali'i. The rest of this large ahupua'a was kept as Crown Lands or the private lands of Kamehameha III, another testament of the importance and value of the area at that time (Ching 1981:13). Deborah Kapule continued to hold for her own use the land encompassing Malae, and Holoholoku and the sacred birthstone until her death (Kikuchi 1976:6-7).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 3

TRADITIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

Historic research on the Puna District has been hampered by the lack of contact period documentation that focusses on the area, in part attributable to the fact that no Protestant mission station was established in or close to Wailua. Other writers of primary ethnographic sources such as Kamakau (1961), Malo (1951), and Ii (1959) served kings from the Island of Hawaii, and while their writings remain invaluable accounts of the history and lifeways of the Hawaiian people in the late prehistoric period, they said little about Kauai.

Geneological data for Kauai in the late prehistoric and historic periods, however, is good. It is known that the highest ranking ali'i came from the area of Wailua known as Wailuanui hoano. This includes the present day Kamanakoa line, the last major dynasty of Hawaii which traces its ancestry through Aikanaka, grandfather to King David Kalakaua and Queen Liliuokalani, to Wailua.

At least two of the sites, Hikinaakala Heiau and Holoholoku Heiau, appear to have legendary connections with Polynesia. Oral traditions well known to Hawaiians of Captain Cook's day (Beckwith 1970), recounted epic voyages between Hawaii and Kahiki (believed to be Tahiti in the Society Islands) by navigator/priests such as Pa'ao, Moikeha, Kila and La'a-mai-Kahiki in the 12th and 13th centuries. These traditions are accepted by most culture historians.

Hikinaakala Heiau

Kikuchi (1974:6-7), following Ii (1959:6-7), states:

Traditionally, Hikinaakala is associated with Wailua-nui-a-hoano, a ruling chief of Kauai who ordered construction of the structure. A contemporary of his was High Chief Moikeha of the Society Islands, who was a newcomer to Hawaii and who produced sons and daughters from his marriages to two daughters of Kauai chiefs. One son, Kila, fetched Chief La'a-mai-kahiki from the Society Islands and also brought back the first ka'eke drum and its associated type of hula dancing [later incorporated as an important ritual entertainment of the annual makahiki festival]; the image worship of Lono-i-ka-'ou-ali'i; and the sennit figure of Lanalana-wa'a. Later, La'a-mai-kahiki left Kauai to settle at Kualoa on Oahu Island. Kualoa became a sacred place, wahi la'a, a place of reverence and silence. La'a-mai-kahiki then journeyed to the Society Islands in order to return the bones of Moikeha to the temple of Kapaahu; after the chief's return to Hawaii, voyages to the South became a thing of the past.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**



Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 4

There is no indication in the available literature during what time period(s) or reign(s) Hauola was constructed, although it may have functioned as a place of refuge into the early historic period (see ARCHITECTURAL SIGNIFICANCE below).

The Petroglyphs at Hikinaakala Heiau

Ka pae ki'i mahu o Wailua is one of the most famous petroglyph sites in the Hawaiian Islands. The site is commemorated by a dance, two legends, and formerly, several images (Kikuchi 1984:2). It is interesting to note that the legends relate to the boulders whereas the dance relates to both the petroglyphs and the wooden images that stood nearby.

The Legends

The first legend deals with the demigoddess, Kapo, who was the half-sister of Pele, sired by a common mother, Haumea. Kapo's father was Ku-waha-ilo. Kapo-'ula-kina'u parentage insured her place in sorcery as well as being the double-personality patron demigoddess of the dance. Kapo usually appeared as the vengeful part of her double personality which was Laka, the passive demigoddess of fruitfulness and love. It was not unusual that her vengeful side caused men to be pounded by the surf to their deaths and her sorcery changed their bodies into boulders to remind mortals of her awesome power (Kikuchi 1984:3):

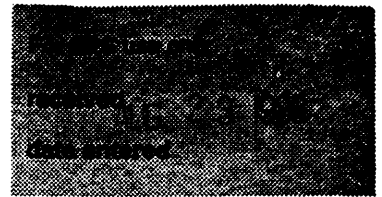
Kapo and her party left Ni'ihau for Kaua'i and came upon a surfing competition at Wailua. Here Kapo and her sisters were invited by some of the men to ride on the famous surf of Wailua called Maka'iwa. Accepting, they rode the first wave in pairs with the men. On the second wave, using their supernatural powers, they left the men behind while they rode to shore and awaited the third wave. The third wave, which was described as a mountain of water rather than a normal surf, plummeted the men and forced them beneath the wave to their death. There they were changed into stone at the mouth of the Wailua River. Since then, these boulders are known as the row of images, or pae ki'i, and can still be seen when wave and river action removes the sand cover.

The second legend relates that the rocks are the eight brothers of the demigod, trickster and Pan-Polynesian folk hero, Maui, whose many deeds and accomplishments included lifting up the sky, snaring the sun, giving men fire, and so on (Dickey 1917; Colum 1960):

Maui wished to bring the Hawaiian Islands together and for that purpose to catch the powerful fish Luehu, which if he

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 5

hooked, would cause all the islands to draw together. The fish could only be caught on the night of Lono and Maui would go out on that night each month with his eight brothers to fish for it ... his mother, Hina, told him not to disturb any bailing dish he might find floating in the water at the mouth of Wailua River, as this would be his beautiful sister, Hina-ke-kaa. However, when Maui saw a dish for bailing out canoes floating near he told his brothers not to look behind them on pain of death and picked up the bailing dish and put it behind him in the canoe, where it turned into a beautiful woman. As soon as Luehu was caught the Hawaiian Islands began to draw together. As Kauai and Oahu came near great crowds gathered on the shores of Oahu and cheered. This did not disturb the brothers of Maui at first, who paddled steadily, but when the cheerers exclaimed at the beauty of the woman behind Maui, all the brothers turned at once to look. Immediately the great fish became loose from the hook and the islands slid apart ... because of their looking back Maui's brothers were, on their return to Wailua, turned into stones and set across the mouth of the Wailua River.

They are said to have formed part of the wall of the City of Refuge when the course of the river was different. They are called "Pae-mahu-o-Wailua," also paekii, or picture rocks. It is said that a sculptor of ancient times, carving idols, could only make one to suit him and threw the others away. These rocks are some of them, the marks being the hieroglyphics of the ancient sculptor.

Commemorative Dance

The Wailua petroglyph site is the only known rock art site in Hawaii to have a dance associated with it. According to Barrere and others (1980:81), the dance of the legendary wooden images (hula ki'i) was originated by the natives of Kalalau on Kauai and did not spread to any of the other islands. Its original form is unknown, but by the 20th century, small children on Kauai would perform this hula on almost all the beaches after returning from a swim. The dance, unaccompanied by music, was performed to the chant below which tells of a row of [sexless] wooden images (ka pae ki'i mahu) that once stood at Wailua, near the mouth of the river (Barrere and others 1980:81):

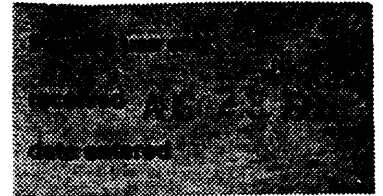
Hula Kii

Pokii ke kii,
Hookiikii ke kii,
Hoonanaa ke kii,

The Pokii dance of the images,
The images that tilt,
The images with protruding abdomen,

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 6

Houualehe ke kii,
Kaunalewa ke kii,
Hi'uwai i Wailua,
Ka pae kii mahu,
Ua ike a.

The images with knees spread out and bent,
The images that sway,
Washed by the waters of Wailua,
Is this row of sexless images.
They are well known.

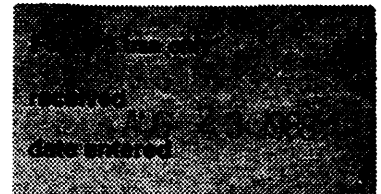
Kikuchi (1984:3) classifies the legends as aetiological legends, or legends that have as their function the explanation of origins. Cox and Stasack (1970:13) in their definitive work on Hawaiian petroglyphs cite several motivating functions in the creation of petroglyphs: the commemoration of events and legends, the recordation of trips and communication concerning other events, a concern for ensuring long life and personal well-being, and as trail or boundary markers. In this last context, it should be noted that the south shore of the Wailua River is the boundary for the ancient Puna District; thus, it is also possible that they may have been executed by travelers seeking asylum at Hauola, or associated with a beach landing point for the ancient trail that connected the Wailua heiau (see below), or with the annual makahiki festival and tax collection that would have made use of the trail and a designated tribute collection locus at the district boundary.

Malae Heiau

The archeological site record for this temple platform (Hawaii State Department of Land and Natural Resources, Historic Sites Section, Site 50-30-08-104) indicates that it was built sometime prior to A.D. 1200, in the time of Moikeha when Wailuanuihoano ruled Kauai. Oral tradition further attributes its construction, like that of Hikinaakala and Poliahu, to the menehune, a race of mythical, supernatural, and often mischievous dwarfs who were credited with creating large scale public works, which also included fishponds and roads, in a single night.

Around 1830, soon after the lapsing of the kapu and the arrival of Christian missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands, Deborah Kapule, wife of Kaumuali'i the ali'i of Kauai, tore down the interior walls of the heiau and used the structure as a pen to keep her cattle. She was among the first ali'i converts to Christianity, being baptized with Ka'ahumanu and others at Kawaiaha'o Church, Honolulu, 1825 (Kamakau 1961). Her actions concerning Malae may have played a role in efforts to move her people from the "old ways" toward the "new religion".

The part of Malae nearest the river is reputed to be the birthplace of Ka'ililauokekoa, the girl made famous in an often told legend of Wailua. She was the granddaughter of the legendary Kaua'i ali'i, Moikeha, and was skilled at surfing and konane [an ancient game resembling checkers]. In this romantic

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 7

tale, she is courted by Kauakahiali'i who lives at Pihanakalani (also known as Hanahanapuni, a cinder cone far up the north fork of the Wailua River, formed during the Koloa volcanic series) with his mother, the sorceress Waha, and his sister Kahalelehua in a hale made of flowering 'ohi'a lehua branches and decorated with red feathers (Dickey 1916; Ching 1981:10). Kauakahiali'i invents the first nose flute ('ohehanoihu, a type of bamboo that still grows in the district) which he names Kanikawi and with which he lures Ka'ililauokekoa away from Malae by his skillful playing.

Holoholoku Heiau

Oral tradition associates this site with priest Moikeha (Hawaii State Department of Land and Natural Resources, Historic Sites Section, Site 50-30-08-106). Allegedly the first sharkskin pahu (a drum named Hawea) was brought to Hawaii from Kahiki to this site to announce ali'i births at the Pohaku Hoohanau.

Holoholoku is believed to be the oldest heiau on Kauai and the site of the first human sacrifice on the Island. Usually the introduction of human sacrifice to Hawaii is attributed to the priest, Pa'ao (from Kahiki) perhaps about the 12th century (Kirch 1985:259), an event that significantly altered Hawaiian religion. In addition to the concept of human sacrifice, reputedly he constructed the first luakini class heiau dedicated to the war god, Ku; however, according to tradition, Pa'ao is alleged to have landed at Puna on the Island of Hawaii and is associated there with Mo'okini Heiau and Wahaula Heiau. It is not known if Pa'ao ever journeyed to Kauai, or if Moikeha was of the same generation, however, if he was, Moikeha may very well have been responsible for introducing the concept of human sacrifice to Kauai.

Ii (1959:138) further indicated this heiau had served as a place of refuge, presumably in the early historic period, but it is not referenced in Kelly's (1986a) annotated list of pu'uhonua in the Hawaiian Islands. Kamakau (1964:17-18) does not specifically reference either Hauola, Hikinaakala or Holoholoku heiau but says that the "lands" of Wailua were pu'uhonua. In this context, Kamakau may have been using the term to refer to the place as a peaceful place which would imply the sacred nature of the area since it was a social, religious and political center for the highest ranking ali'i.

The significance of the Holoholoku royal birthstones have been commemorated in a chant from the legend of Kawelo:

Hanau ke 'lii iloko o Holoholoku-he alii nui;
Hanau ke kanaka ilioko o Holoholoku, he alii no;
Hanau ke alii nui mawaho a'e o Holoholoku, aohe alii, he kanaka ia!

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**



Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 8

The child of a chief born at Holoholoku is a high chief;
The child of a commoner born at Holoholoku becomes a chief, also;
The child of a high chief born outside Holoholoku is no chief, a
commoner he!

Poliahu Heiau

The archeological site records for this temple (Hawaii State Department of Land and Natural Resources, Historic Sites Section, Site 50-30-08-107) indicate it was the personal temple of a ruling chief, but the name of the chief is not currently known. Size and location suggest that it probably functioned as a state level luakini heiau, and like many great structures of this type, its construction is attributed to the menehune. It is considered to be the personal temple of the ruling chief in that it is located in the area where the ali'i nui(s) compound was once situated. The temple is named for Poliahu, the beautiful snow goddess of Mauna Kea on Hawaii Island.

SACRED AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

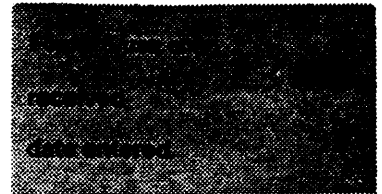
Ancient places of worship are especially sacred to people of native Hawaiian descent. They are built on the places of the people of old and are imbued with the Polynesian concepts of mana (supernatural and divine power) and kapu, dual organizing principles of Hawaiian religion and social life. Mana was a gift of the gods passed down from father to children in inherited fashion. Everyone had some mana but chiefs had more of it. Mana was important in kinship, especially ali'i marriages. The offspring of certain marital preferences produced more mana than others, i.e., full sibling matings. Thus, mana was why a paramount chief had a genealogist who could, at appropriate functions, recite his links back through the generations to the gods who gave his ancestors the original mana. There was no civil code of laws. Kapu, an elaborate system of religious taboos, served to protect and reinforce the sacred mana. Coral offerings in temples, and even fragments worked into heiau construction and fishpond walls, symbolized the sanctity of these structures and their relationship through the chief who owned or constructed them, with the genealogical ancestors and ultimately, the gods.

The importance of mana is also exemplified in birthstones such as the Pohaku Hoochanau, the best preserved example of a chiefly birthplace associated with a temple (Holoholoku Heiau) in the Hawaiian Islands. Its sacred, religious and political significance is clear since only an ali'i born at this site could hope to rule the Puna District, or ultimately the Island of Kauai.

The concepts of mana and kapu must have been an integral part of the social and ritual lives of the first Hawaiians, but the precise nature of these beliefs and the manner of their expression is now lost. Probably the earliest

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 9

shrines were simple ones constructed by families and small communities and dedicated to the gods of peace, health, fertility and a good harvest of the products of the land and the sea. From the time of the arrival of the legendary Pa'ao, however, Hawaiian religion changed dramatically over time, particularly as the power of the chiefs and priests grew along in concert with substantial population increases. With increased population growth and social organizational complexity, religion, the legitimizing sanction of directed social and political change, evolved becoming integrated with government at the state level as well as at the local and personal level. Larger and increasingly complex state level temples were constructed for public ceremonies dedicating major events. Sometimes the ceremonies lasted for days. Between these events, the temple might be maintained by a kahu (keeper of the heiau) or simply left untended.

In general, men of high rank, the ali'i, worshipped the four major gods in public or temple ceremonies: Lono (peace, agriculture, fertility, etc.), Kane (the creator and ancestral dieties) and Kanaloa (the ocean, healing and general well-being), and Ku (war). Only the ali'i class was responsible for state level observances for the well-being of the entire population.

Commoners worshipped individual family gods at private family shrines as well as observances of the four major gods at the direction of the high priests.

Women, because they were considered periodically unclean, were not allowed to participate in temple ceremonies; however, they worshipped the major gods as well as their own distinct and separate gods.

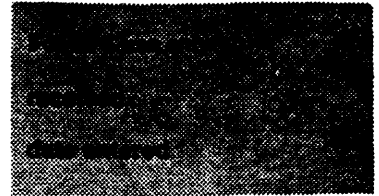
ARCHITECTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

Architecturally, heiau are large structures containing houses and platforms, or altars, composed of one or more terraces or enclosures, or both, and upon which ceremonies took place. Prior to European contact and the breaking of the kapu in 1819, there were thousands of functional shrines and temples, all of which were heiau, in Hawaii. Native Hawaiians distinguished many heiau types, each with its particular function and used by particular segments of society; thus, the term is broad, covering many types and subtypes which range in size from single upright stones that were worshipped (pohaku a Kane), up to the massive and complex state level luakini (heiau po'okanaka), where human sacrifices were offered by a ruling paramount chief or king for success in war. In discussing the proliferation of heiau ground plans, Buck (1957:514-515) states:

...new heiaus were built frequently enough to create a profession of temple architects whose services were called upon when a chief wished to build a new temple. The

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 8

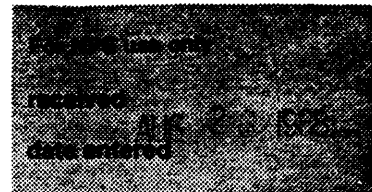
Page 10

professional architect was termed a kahuna kuhikuhi pu'uone because he showed (kuhikuhi) his proposed plan to the chief by drawing it or moulding it in sand (pu'uone). Professional pride impelled him to plan something different than the work of others, though in his professional education he studied the history and form of existing historical heiaus. When a temple was built for a specific purpose and success followed its construction, the architect naturally attributed the success to the form of the heiau. In planning a new heiau, the architect was able to cite the form of a temple which had been successful and to advise incorporating some part of its plan in the proposed new construction. It is no wonder, then, that variations in ground plans continued to multiply. Only the reconditioning and alteration of old temples prevented them from being more numerous than they are.

Further information is available from first hand traditional sources such as Ii (1959) and Malo (1951), as well as work by earlier researchers who recorded and studied these structures (Thrum 1907; Bennett 1930, 1931; McAllister 1933; and others); however, there are frustrating gaps in our knowledge of traditional types and seeming contradictions in the available sources. Traditional writers such as Malo and Kamakau functionally classified heiau in a general twofold division, the political and religious type at which human sacrifices occurred, called luakini or po'okanaka, and the husbandry or economic type of heiau. Later, Bennett (1930;1931) attempted to classify Hawaiian heiau according to architectural features (i.e., shape of heiau, platforms, enclosures, number of terraces, etc.) but this did not result in a usable scheme that also allows for interpretation of functional type.

A heiau can refer to any place of worship, but Valeri (1985:173) and Pukui and Elbert (1986:64) see the term as derived from the word "hai" which means to sacrifice; therefore the temple is defined by function rather than form and can refer to any place where sacrifices are made.

Valeri (1985:183) further believes the Hawaiians had two heiau classification systems that have not been clearly distinguished and that have therefore resulted in some confusion. One system was based on function with two major classes: ho'ouluulu or husbandry temples for fertility, growth, and production (dedicated to Lono and Kane), and kaua, temples of war (dedicated to Ku). Cross-cutting this was an architectural typology that included the classes: ko'a, (fishing shrines and temples also dedicated to Ku, who in one of his guises was a fish god), pohaku a Kane (upright stones that were shrines dedicated to Kane), unu and waihau (which appear to be agricultural heiau dedicated to Lono and Kane), and luakini (war temples dedicated to Ku). In this scheme the functional classification could be combined with the architectural to produce a combined array of subtypes.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 11

Domestic temples, the hale mua, or simply mua, refers to the men's house within a group of habitations occupied on a kin basis. It is a place where guests are received and business is transacted. The hale mua contains an altar for offerings and god images (Valeri 1985:173-74).

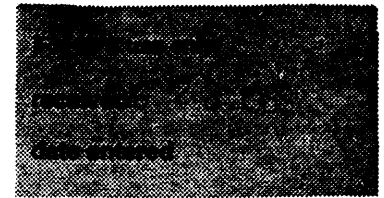
Pohaku o Kane, essentially shrines that were often associated with domestic temples or a fishing temple, were the locus of expiatory rites. These erect stones with a kuahu (altar) were usually located at points of transition, boundary passes and cliffs. Barkcloth wrapped offerings were made by passersby (Valeri 1985:174-75).

Koa (coral) were heiau associated with Ku'ula, the god of fishing. They might be only a simple altar of coral or rock cairn with coral, or a true temple with platforms or small courtyards (Kamakau 1961:201; 1964:33). These were usually built close to the sea, or along streams, taro patches and ponds. Koa were also built on little islands inhabited by seabirds which are used by the bird catcher.

Some Lono temples or ko'a belonged to the lesser nobility or even commoners, but Valeri (1985:185) states: "the king owns the most important temples of these types in each district. Only mua shrines are permitted to everyone and thus this unmarked temple is the only one that all commoners may build".

In general, the larger heiau were constructed by prominent persons such as the chief of an ahupua'a; they might include walled enclosures, stepped terraces, and combinations thereof. The most complex and largest of all temples, the luakini, could be constructed and dedicated only by a paramount chief (ali'i ai moku, or ali'i nui). The dedication of such a temple by another chief was considered as an act of rebellion against the ruling polity. Although these heiau were dedicated primarily to Ku, Lono was not entirely absent from these state temples and agricultural ceremonies or even rituals to the various fish and sea gods might also be performed there (Valeri 1985:184-85). The reason being that successful conquest and victory make possible peaceful activities, i.e., fertility, prosperity, etc. such that Lono, Kane, or fishing rituals might also be conducted at the designated luakini temple during the monthly ritual cycle or at the appropriate point in the annual ritual season.

Luakini temples did not function as local temples that served the one local community in which they were located, but usually a district. Frequently they were built in elevated locations selected to impress; locations that along with the immensity of the structure, would convey a sense of power and awe. Other than size, one important means for distinguishing between lono or luakini structures, in the absence of traditional information, is through study of the interior layout of the platform or enclosures, the locations and types of carved wooden god images displayed; and the particular construction

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

Continuation sheet

Item number 8

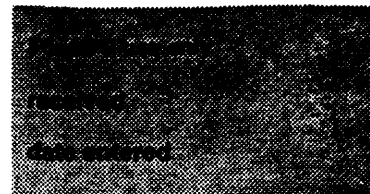
Page 12

materials used which had sacred implications and varied with the type of temple and rituals being observed. Because much of this material is perishable (i.e., wooden images, wood structures atop the platform, roofing thatch etc.), and platform surfaces become disrupted over time due to vegetational growth or vandalism, information may have to be partially reconstructed through sources such as John Papa Ii (1959), who served in the court of Kamehameha II. Some indication of the differences between these two temple types can be perceived in Figures 5 and 6 which are simplistic renditions based on Ii's descriptions, and Figure 7, a reconstruction of Kaneaki Heiau (Ladd 1973). For example, the principal features of a luakini included an 'anu'u tower where priests received inspiration, a semi-circular arrangement of wooden images surrounding the lele or offering platform, thatched houses (on individual platforms) with special functions i.e., drum house, oven house, and the house of mu, the body catcher who provided victims for sacrifice, etc. (Ii 1959:35-48).

Another distinguishing feature commonly found on luakini temple platforms is pits. Buck (1957:525) has summarized what little is known about these enigmatic features:

The refuse pit (lua-kini or lua-pa'u) was another feature of the heiau and it was used for the disposal of decayed offerings when the offering stands were needed in another temple ceremony. Emerson, in a note to Malo's text (1951:178), states that the name lua-kini was derived from lua (hole) and kini (400,000) and that the pit gave its name to the luakini type of temple. Malo (1951:162) says that the pit was within the oracle tower, but it is evident that it was not confined to that site. [Although he did not record any surface platform pits for the Wailua NHL heiau] ... Bennett (1931:44), in describing the Kauai temple remains, states that the pits were located either inside or outside the temple structure. Those found were usually round and 5 to 15 feet in diameter all were carefully made and most of them were lined with stones. The pits McAllister (1933:14) saw on Oahu were small, shallow, rectangular depressions artificially faced with stone. He also noted rough round pits which he suspected of have been made by curio hunters.

According to Kamakau (1961), the large state level heiau were constructed on the sites formerly built on by the people of old. Studies by Ladd (1969, 1970, 1972 and 1986) have further verified that these temples were constructed in a series of stages. Each rebuilding episode may commemorate a significant event, such as an expanding chiefdom, in the reign of a particular chief or king. The stylistic changes embodied in these structures, therefore, not only

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 13

document evolutionary changes in social organization and the evolution of religion, but potentially they may be stylistically identifiable with prominent persons.

Pu'uhonua, sacred walled enclosures that were protected places of asylum, frequently are attached to heiau. The term pu'uhonua is a pan-Polynesian concept. In addition to sacred walled enclosures, lava tubes were sometimes used as sacred places of refuge. Kamakau (1964:17-19) tells us that the king was also pu'uhonua because a person about to die could run to him and be saved. He adds that in very ancient times pu'uhonua referred to a specific division of land (an ahupua'a) cut off from a district. Such lands were very sacred because they belonged to people of very high rank.

Only the ruling chief of a kingdom could declare certain lands or heiau as places of refuge. If subjugated, the conqueror might abolish the existing pu'uhonua and designate others, or he might reaffirm the sanctity of an existing one. Kamakau (1964:17-18) says of Kauai:

In the time of Kamehameha I the old pu'uhonua were abolished, and Kamehameha set up new pu'uhonua as he wished. The old ones were abolished because they were taken over by the chiefs, war leaders, and warriors who had fought Kamehameha's wars for him, and therefore they ceased to be pu'uhonua. Only on Kauai did the old pu'uhonua remain, because Kamehameha's wars did not extend to Kauai; hence these lands were not distributed to his war leaders. Kauai did not become a dependency, and the kingdom remained under its hereditary chiefs. The pu'uhonua lands on Kauai were, Keonekapu-a-Kahamalu'ihii for Waimea, Kekaha for Mana, and Wailua for Puna, and there were some others beside.

Like luakini heiau, some pu'uhonua underwent rebuilding cycles. The largest and best-known compound of this type, Pu'uhonua O Honaunau (also a National Historic Landmark) on the Island of Hawaii, was built in three phases (Barrere 1986:117) and has three known terraces as well as the walled enclosure, which suggests a number of building stages that may correlate with changing religious practices or political events and regimes.

Collectively the religious structures of Kauai contain some architectural features that may be unique. For example, Bennett (1931:49) suggests that the pu'uhonua, of which Hikinaakala is one of the few remaining examples, may be distinctive for their exceptionally long, narrow shape; however, further research needs to be conducted with this class of structures throughout the islands to verify this hypothesis. Other distinctive features include:

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 14

- the type of wall construction observed at Hikinaakala Heiau and Poliahu Heiau (parallel rows of large stones filled in with pebbles; see Photograph 12);
- the ground level aperture or entryway at Holoholoku Heiau (Map F);
- the rock outcrop sacrificial stone (Pohaku Pilo) at Holoholoku (Photograph 8 and Map F);
- the buttressed corners (overlapping and extending walls) at Malae Heiau; (Figure 1);
- and the upright stone slab on the side terrace against the wall at Poliahu Heiau (Map G).

On the basis of current evidence, it is unclear if these distinctive features were introduced or are simply local variations that may be stylistically attributable to particular architects and rulers.

POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The evolution of luakini temples into symbols of a paramount chief's status and power is politically significant in the development of complex society, the consolidation of chiefdoms, and what may have been an incipient state level of socio-political organization in Hawaii in the late prehistoric period. Heiau size clearly indicates that the labor force involved in the building/refurbishing of temples must have been considerable. Only an individual of very high status could command such a labor force.

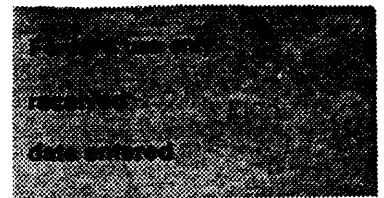
Similarly, the luakini heiau was the evolutionary and symbolic end product of an increasingly complex and politically interwoven religious world view. It was the focus of great public events. Luakini rituals, the longest and the most arduous of temple ceremonies, were undertaken only by the highest ranking ali'i priests.

A paramount chief's temples were central to the annual four month long (October to February, the wet season) makahiki festival dedicated to Lono (Malo 1951:141-152). At the end of this cycle, the paramount would decide, based on complex social and economic factors, whether or not his political course of action for the coming year was to be peace or war. If the latter, a luakini temple to Ku was either built, or reactivated through a rebuilding cycle, and dedicated to the event.

Hommon (1976:168-171) further theorizes the makahiki cycle had evolved as an important administrative arm in the functional integration of an emergent state level political unit. The ali'i nui would initiate this important

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 15

religious cycle from the location he had chosen as a temporary residence and seat of government. An important function in the culmination of the festival was the ritual procession of priests throughout the chief's ahupua'a or district and the collection of tribute and taxes by which he could maintain his court and display his power through sacrifices of produce and material goods.

COMMUNICATION

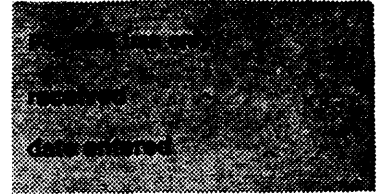
Except for Apple's monograph on trails (1965), no definitive study of ancient Hawaiian communication systems and devices has been undertaken, nor does Apple reference bellstones associated with trails. Certainly a well-developed intelligence network was part of the administrative system of each Hawaiian polity. For example, each ali'i nui evidently had at his disposal a messenger service, the principal purpose of which was the gathering and transmission, by land and by sea, of information concerning the state of affairs throughout his realm (Hommon 1976:170). The runners or kukini are believed to have been ali'i who were spies as well as couriers. Hommon notes the speed and efficiency of this service as observed by early Western eyewitnesses. Communication by canoe was equally common and in many cases faster than communication by land even within an island polity.

However, communication sites and communication devices, such as legendary bellstones used for other political and religious purposes, are rarely referenced in the traditional or archeological literature and only two others are known, although many others existed in antiquity. One example from the Kona District on Oahu was moved to the Bishop Museum in 1954 (Sterling and Summers 1978:323). Recently, another bellstone was reported from Lahaina, Maui (Agnes Griffin, Hawaii State Department of Land and Natural Resources, Historic Sites Section, personal communication, 1988).

According to Hadley (1970), the Wailua Bellstone is believed to have been part of a communication system along an indigenous trail (now obliterated) that led from the river delta up to the mountainous interior of Kauai. The former trail connected a series of heiau along the Wailua River, the boundary of the ancient Puna District, to the top of Mount Waialeale and was used for religious processions. Hand-held cobbles were drummed on the basalt boulder to produce a hollow sound signalling the progress or approach of the sacred retinue, probably during makahiki but perhaps during other political events as well.

ARCHEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Archeologically, Kauai is still poorly known. Thrum (1906) recorded a number of heiau sites, but the first extensive study of the Island's prehistory was by Bennett (1930, 1931) whose work was principally limited to recording large

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 16

heiau sites. In addition to several unique architectural features he recorded for some of these structures, Bennett (1931:95-97) also noted portable artifactual classes that have forms peculiar to Kauai, i.e., ring and stirrup type poi pounders, block grinders; double grooved stone club heads; polished stone fish knives and various ʻāpa making implements. Kirch (1985:106) adds that Kauai fishhooks also show particular local developments, such as the emphasis on double inner barbs on one-piece hooks. Another peculiarity is the high frequency of hematite octopus sinkers. Insufficient work has been done to evaluate Kauai adz and fishhook forms in terms of greater Polynesian links. In any event, these distinctive aspects of Kauai archeology have sometimes been cited, along with certain linguistic traits, as evidence for an independent origin of the island's culture; however, they are more likely a reflection of Kauai's political and geographic distance from the rest of the Hawaiian chain and represent local developments that did not spread to the other islands.

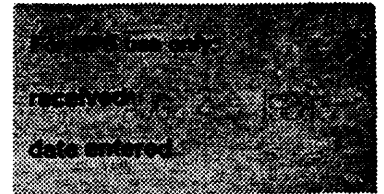
Chronological data for Kauai are equally sparse. A few modern reconnaissance studies and excavations have been undertaken, however, not all of these have produced radiocarbon dates. For example, Earle's study (1978) of the Halele'a District concentrated on taro irrigation systems and social organization and no excavation was undertaken. Excavations begun in 1958 in the leeward district of Na Pali (Soehren n.d.) indicates that settlement had begun there by the 12th century. Later work by Schilt (1980) and Athens (1983) in Hanalei Valley produced confusing results. Schilt argued that pondfield irrigation may have begun as early as the 7th century. Athens' radiocarbon dates from the same sites yielded dates ranging from the 13th to the 15th centuries. It may be that Schilt's radiocarbon dates relate to earlier habitation rather than actual construction of irrigation terraces. There are no published radiocarbon dates for the ancient Puna District which includes the Wailua Valley; however, because this was a well-watered windward valley, ideal for cultivation, we might expect fairly early settlement dates.

Excavation, or testing and stabilization of heiau, can provide datable material (charcoal from hearths associated with building sequences and basaltic glass artifacts) that are useful in the development and interpretation of local chronological sequences. The heiau in the Wailua NHL complex are believed to span the entire prehistoric occupation period of Kauai and continued to be used into the early historic period. Malae and Holoholoku, in particular, underwent post-1819 (the overthrow of the ancient religious system) historic adaptive reuse. These structures collectively also have broader research implications.

Heiau, especially the luakini type, were, for the most part, independent of the immediate local community; however, they were articulated in a regional or district settlement pattern. The evolutionary development of such structures with respect to political land divisions, the tribute network and the greater settlement pattern has been a neglected area of research, but is one that is

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 17

critical to interpreting the processes that led to the consolidation of chiefdoms and an emergent state order in the Hawaiian Islands. Changing political and religious functions over time also can be addressed through study and interpretation of heiau architectural building sequences and features that are believed to be unique to Kauai.

Because chiefs were sometimes interred in heiau, these structures have the potential to provide information on social stratification. According to Kirch (1985:241-42), sacrificial victims (which included rival chiefs and ali'i captured in battle) were also interred in luakini platforms, a practice confirmed by Ladd (1969; 1970). This suggests important status differences in the burial treatment of commoners or criminals, defeated chiefs and resident chiefs. Early historic period graves are also recorded for the interior of Hikinaakala.

INTEGRITY

The integrity of the individual components comprising the Wailua NHL complex has been impacted to varying degrees; nevertheless, the structural outlines, walls, platforms and terraces are, with the exception of Malae and Hikinaakala, still in very good condition. Building sequences are also believed to be intact; thus, the archeological information potential of these structures is excellent. Although the platform surfaces and other interior features of the heiau have suffered impacts such as those discussed for Hikinaakala Heiau and the historic modification of Malae Heiau, additional information for the reconstruction of interior features/functions and construction materials of different types of heiau is available in existing archives, ethnohistoric sources and oral histories.

9. Major Bibliographical References

See Continuation Sheet

10. Geographical Data

Acres of nominated property See Continuation Sheet

Quadrangle name _____

Quadrangle scale _____

UTM References

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Zone Easting Northing

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Verbal boundary description and justification

See Continuation Sheet

List all states and counties for properties overlapping state or county boundaries

state code county code

state code county code

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Helene R. Dunbar, Archeologist

Interagency Archeological Services

organization National Park Service, WRO

date May 26, 1988

street & number 450 Golden Gate Ave., P.O. 36063

telephone (415) 556-5190

city or town San Francisco

state California 94102

12. State Historic Preservation Officer Certification

The evaluated significance of this property within the state is:

national state local

As the designated State Historic Preservation Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service.

State Historic Preservation Officer signature

title _____ date _____

For NPS use only

I hereby certify that this property is included in the National Register

date _____

Keeper of the National Register

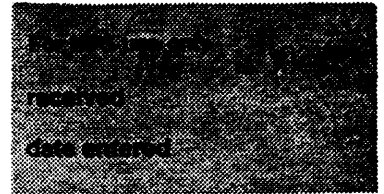
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National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 9

Page 2

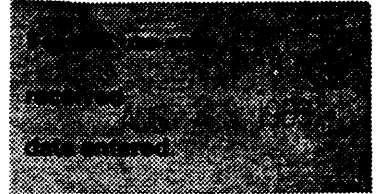
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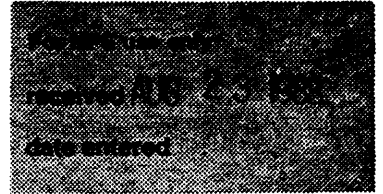
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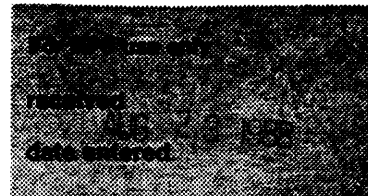
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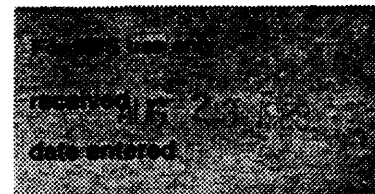
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**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**



Continuation sheet

Item number 9

Page 6

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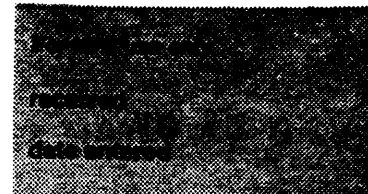
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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 10

Page 2

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Map A: Quadrangle name: USGS Kapaa, Hawaii 7.5' (1983)

Quadrangle scale: 1:24000

Hikinaakala Heiau/Hauola Place of Refuge and Petroglyphs

Acreeage of nominated property: 2.3 acres

UTM References: A: Zone 04 Easting 465135 Northing 2438000

Malae Heiau

Acreeage of nominated property: 2 acres

UTM References: A: Zone 04 Easting 464750 Northing 2438090

Holoholoku Heiau and Pohaku Hoohanau

Acreeage of nominated property: 1+ acre

UTM References: A: Zone 04 Easting 464700 Northing 2438680

Poliahu Heiau

Acreeage of nominated property: 1+ acre

UTM References: A: Zone 04 Easting 463022 Northing 2438380

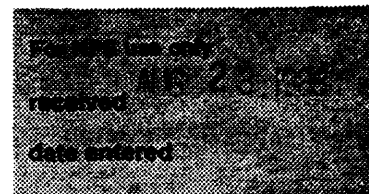
Bellstone

Acreeage of nominated property: - 10 sq. ft.

UTM Reference: A: Zone 04 Easting 463650 Northing 2438660

United States Department of the Interior
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National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form



Continuation sheet

Item number 10

Page 3

VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION AND JUSTIFICATION

Earlier attempts to define boundaries for the Wailua Complex of Heiau discontinuous NHL district took into account the individual setting of the discontinuous components of Wailua State Park and proposed boundaries coterminous with the respective park unit in which each structure was located. This not only resulted in excessive acreage, it also created large land parcels that could not be shown to contain related or contributing archeological resources. One rare feature, the Wailua Bellstone, was omitted in the original NPS nomination, probably because so little was known about this class of objects.

The nature of the structures themselves precludes establishing boundaries that exceed their structural dimensions and known contributing properties. For example, large luakini temples such as Malae and Poliahu did not function as local temples but served a greater district or kingdom. They also appear to have been used sporadically; thus, it is possible that not all the heiau in the Wailua Complex were in contemporaneous use or constructed and rebuilt under the same political aegis. Further, there is no clear indication that the ali'i priests or peripatetic paramount chiefs and their mobile courts actually resided at the temple sites. Nevertheless, there probably were adjacent ancillary structures/features such as huts, house platforms, pens, etc. that were used for religious preparations and paraphernalia, or for temporary storage of the quantities of material goods (i.e., pigs, fowl, fish, forest products, crafts, and agricultural produce) that were collected as taxes at makahiki or that were used in connection with the ceremonial cycle, or sacrificed in addition to human sacrifice.

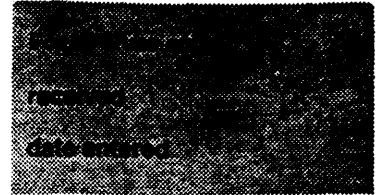
In two cases there is a justification for including within the same discrete boundary what might be considered separate sites. Holoholoku Heiau through both legend and oral tradition is functionally linked with the Pohaku Hoohanau although the latter is some 65 feet away from the temple complex. Second, the petroglyphs 130 feet north of Hikinaakala Heiau probably were functionally interrelated with religious rituals at the temple and district land boundary during makahiki.

On the other hand, it would be difficult to consider an object like the bellstone anything but a single entity. It was not connected with one particular heiau, i.e., Poliahu from which it is one-third mile distant, but with a series of temples that were connected by an ancient trail that no longer exists.

Aside from Emory's (1933) brief work at the birthstone site, there has been no further archeological testing or excavation conducted at the various components of the Wailua NHL; therefore, except for the modern religious shrine withing Hikinaakala, no other conclusively demonstrated contiguous

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**



Continuation sheet

Item number 10

Page 4

or contributing properties can be established and the individual boundaries must be based on the following data:

<u>Site</u>	<u>Square Feet</u>	<u>Acreage</u>
Hikinaakala Heiau (including Hauola and petroglyphs)	101,400	2.3 acres
Malae Heiau	88,452	2 acres
Holoholoku Heiau (and Pohaku Hooahanau)	37,960	-1 acre
Poliahu Heiau	49,140	1+ acre
Bellstone	-10	NA

Should future archeological investigations verify the presence of additional contributing properties associated with any one of the named sites in the Wailua Complex of Heiau, the existing property boundaries must be reassessed and the National Historic Landmark documentation revised.

AUG 28 1983

UTM COORDINATES:

Map A: Quadrangle name: USGS Kapaa, Hawaii 7.5' (1983)

Quadrangle scale: 1:24000

Hikinaakala Heiau/Hauola Place of Refuge and Petroglyphs

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UTM References: A: Zone 04 Easting 465135 Northing 2438000

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Acreage of nominated property: 2 acres

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Holoholoku Heiau and Pohaku Hoohanau

Acreage of nominated property: 1+ acre

UTM References: A: Zone 04 Easting 464700 Northing 2438680

Poliahu Heiau

Acreage of nominated property: 1+ acre

UTM References: A: Zone 04 Easting 463022 Northing 2438380

Bellstone

Acreage of nominated property: 25 sq. ft.

UTM Reference: A: Zone 04 Easting 463650 Northing 2438660

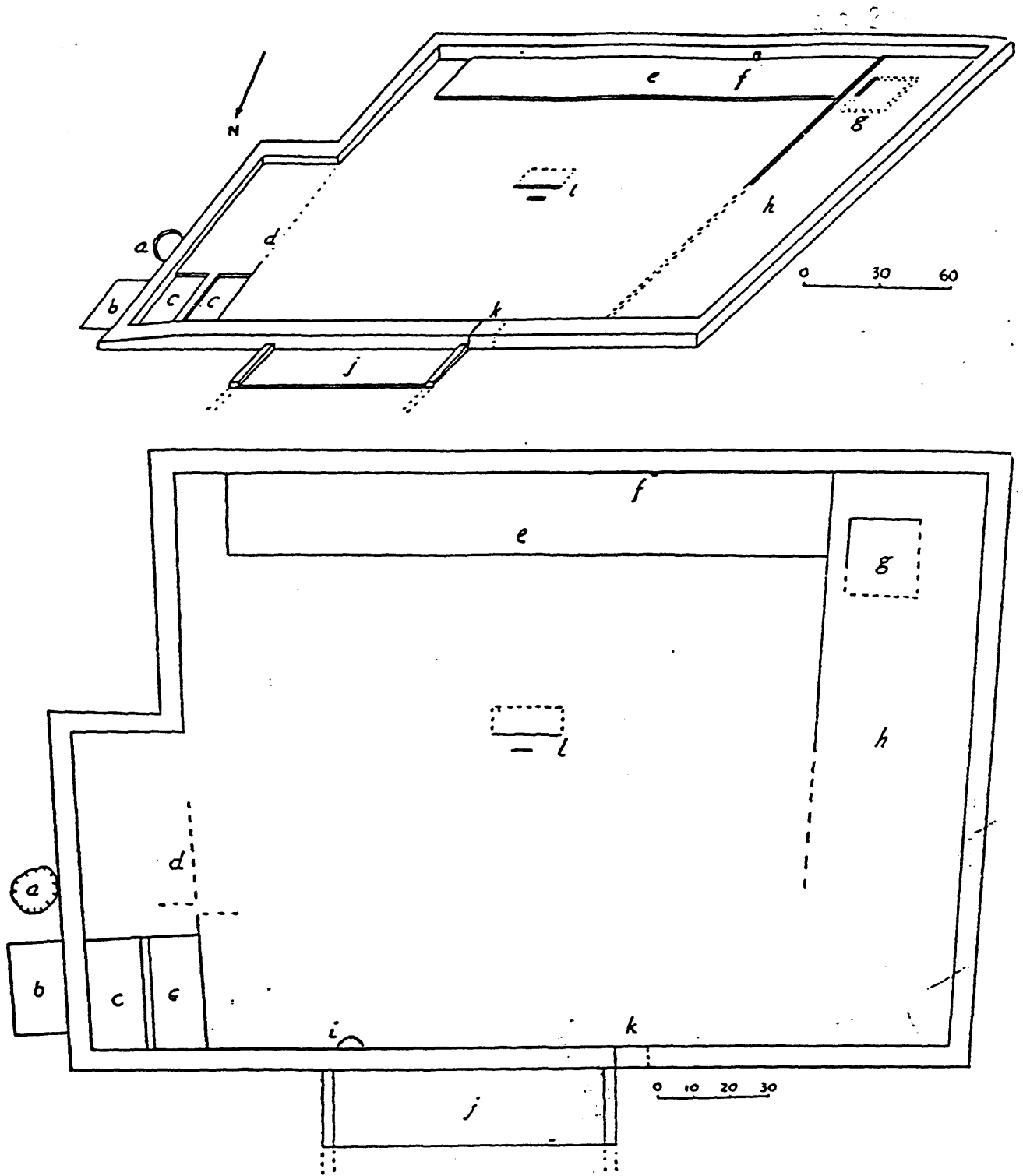


Figure 2: —Ground plan and perspective plan of Poliahu heiau, Site 107: *a*, depression 1 to 2 feet deep; *b*, platform 15 by 25 feet; *c*, two depressions each 14 by 30 feet, 1 foot below the level; *d*, lines of stones; *e*, terrace 20 by 162 feet, 1 foot high; *f*, stone slab 2 feet wide, 5 inches thick, and 3 feet high above ground (See Pl. V, B); *g*, rectangle 18 by 20 feet marked by lines of stones, possibly the site of an oracle tower; *h*, platform 42 feet wide and 2 feet high; *i*, depression; *j*, division 20 feet by 78 feet; *k*, old entrance; *l*, outline of house site.

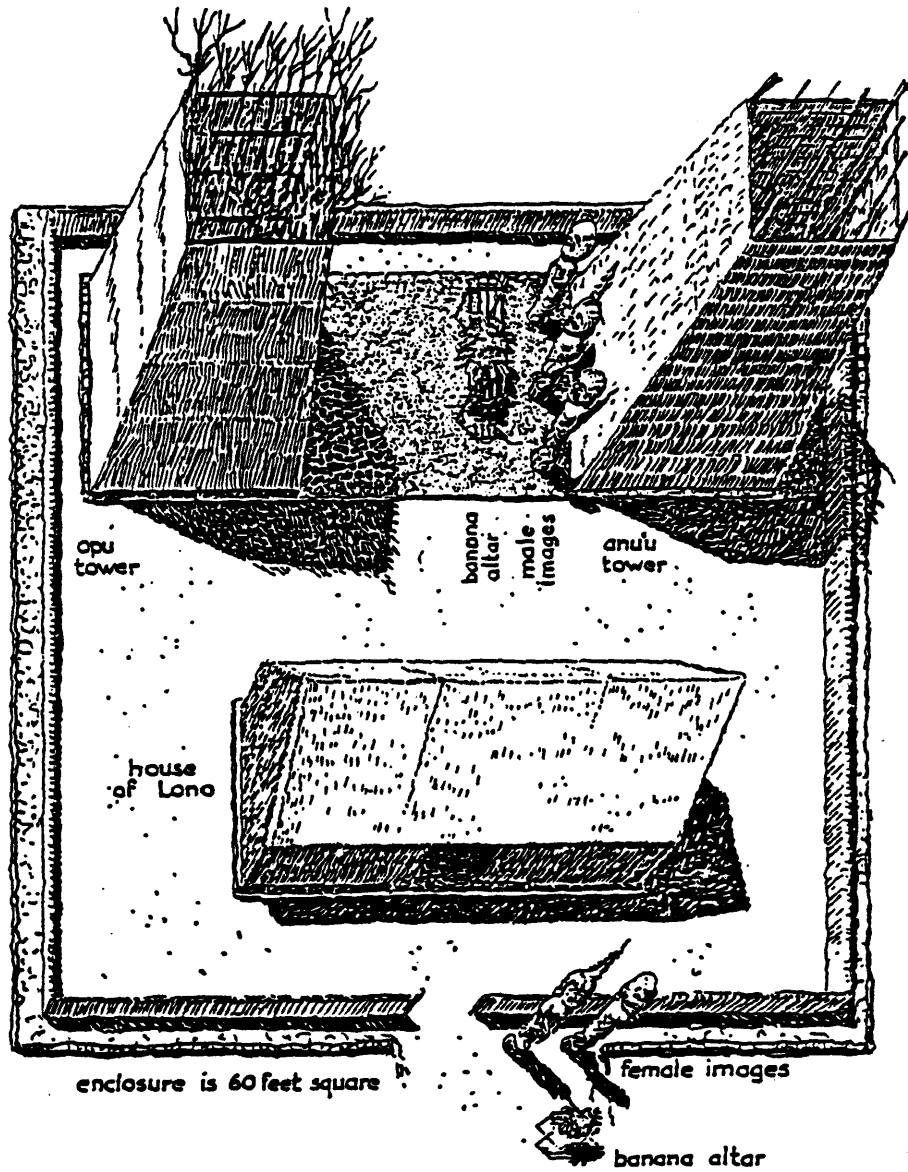


Figure 5: A Hale o Lono, depicted by Bishop Museum artist Paul Lockwood (Ii 1959:57)

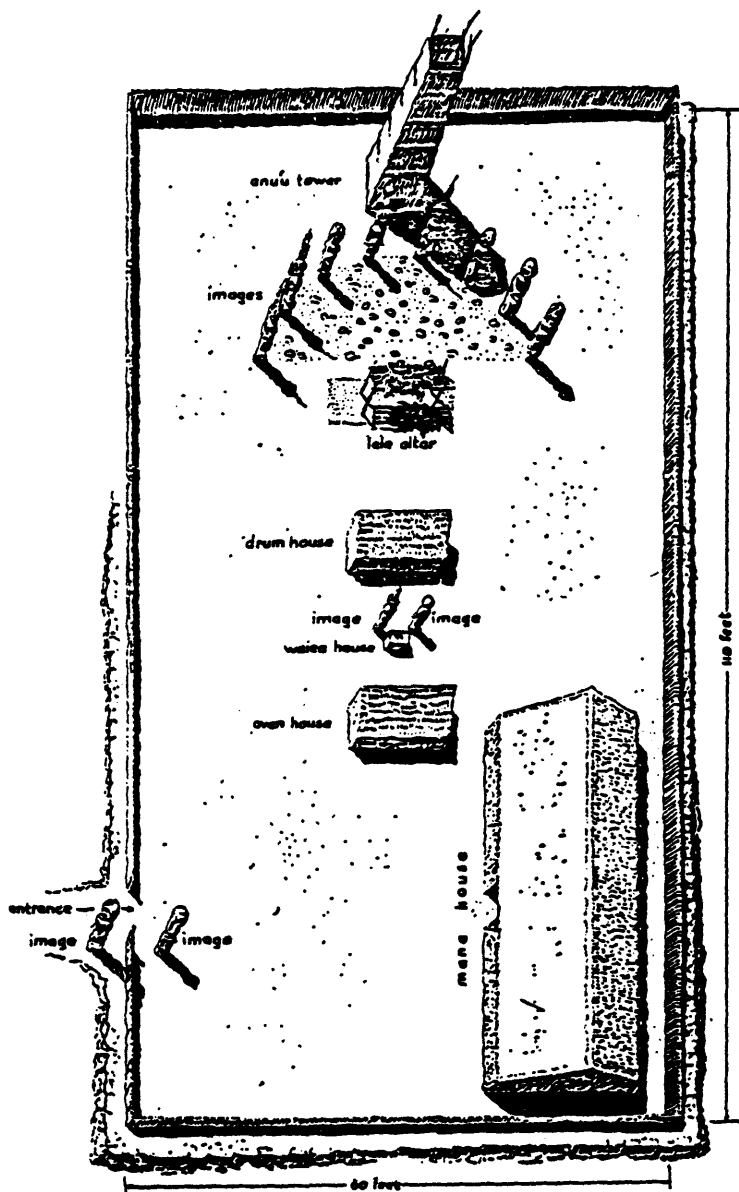


Figure 6: A luakini heiau, depicted by Bishop Museum artist, Paul Lockwood (Ii 1959:34)

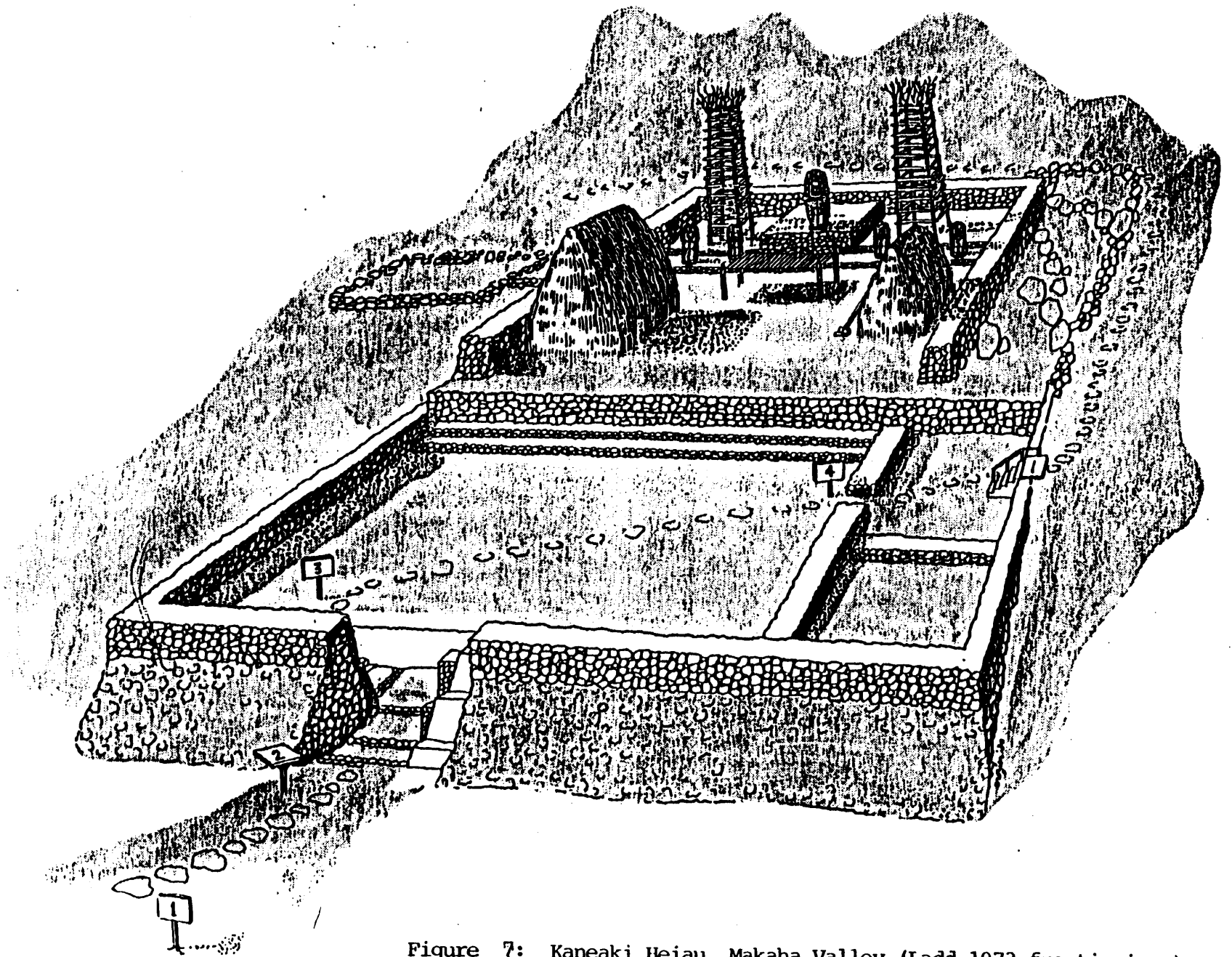
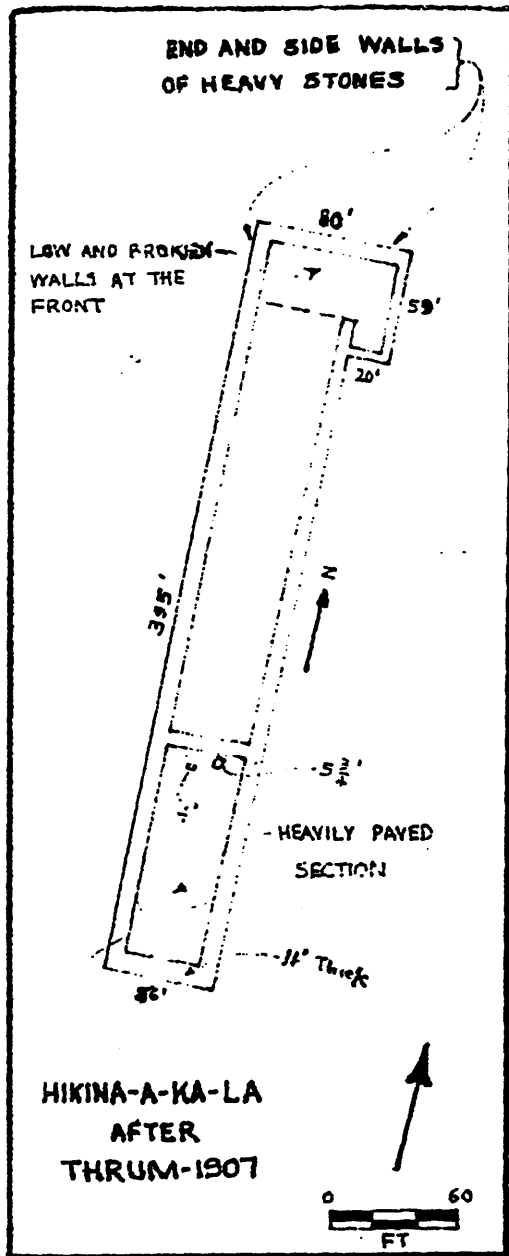
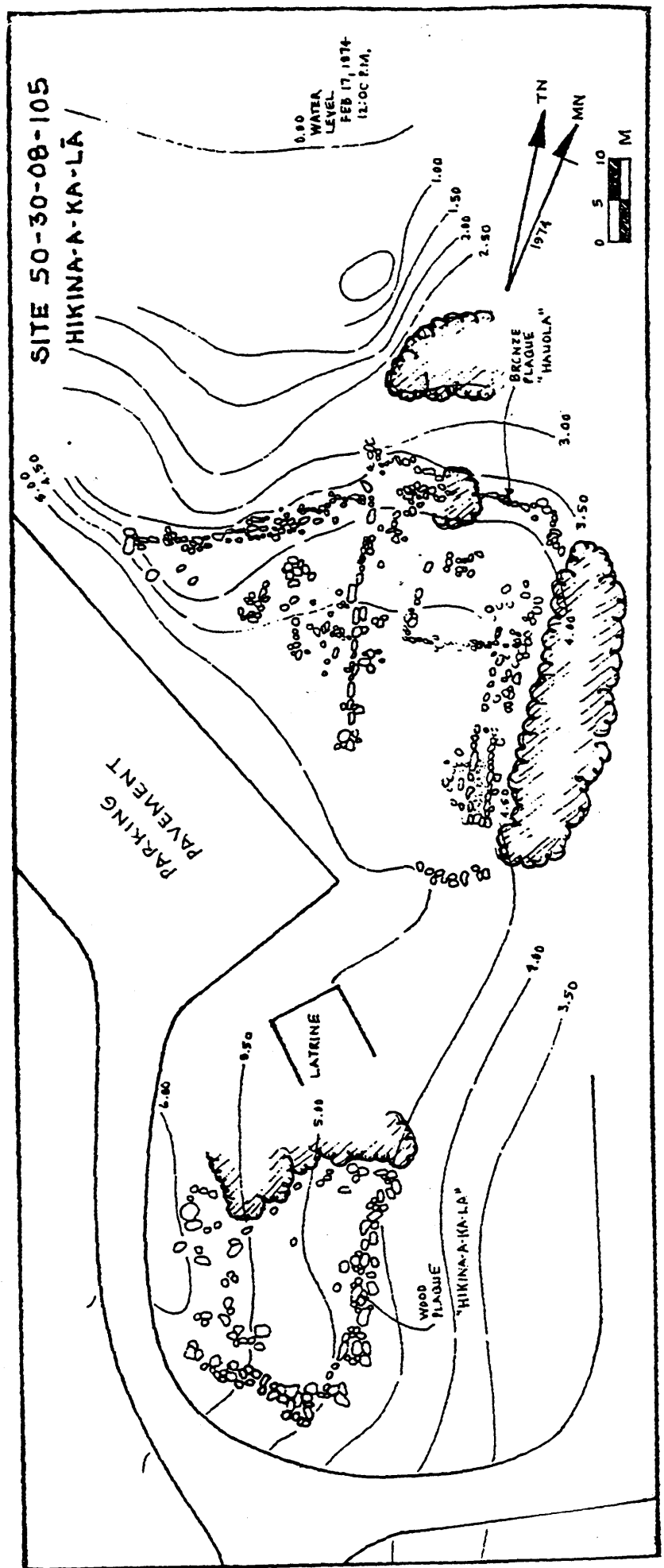


Figure 7: Kaneaki Heiau, Makaha Valley (Ladd 1973:frontispiece)



Map C



Map D

(Source: Kikuchi 1974)

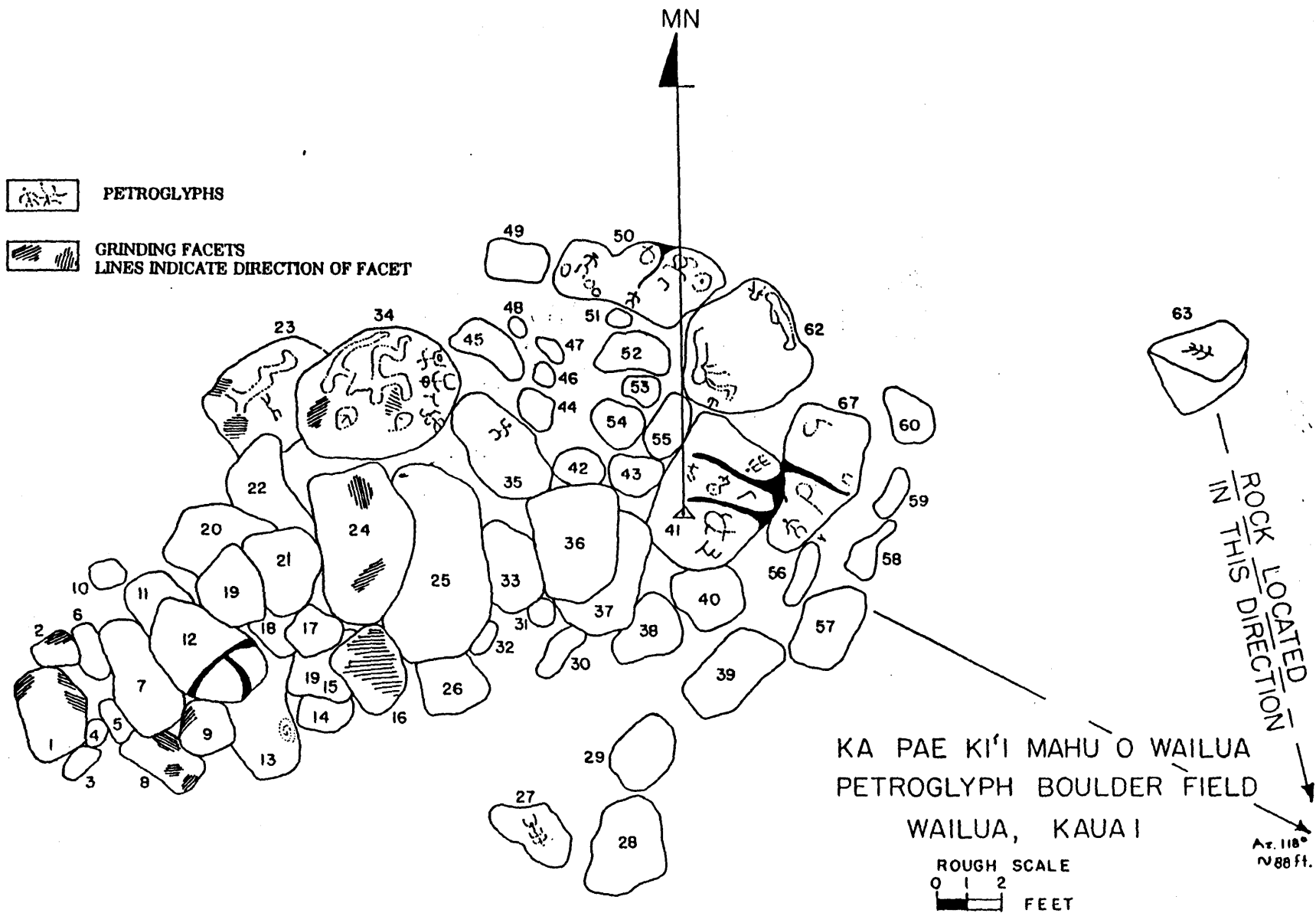


Figure 8: Ka Pae Ki'i Mahu O Wailua, Petroglyph Boulder Field
(Source: Kikuchi 1984:5)

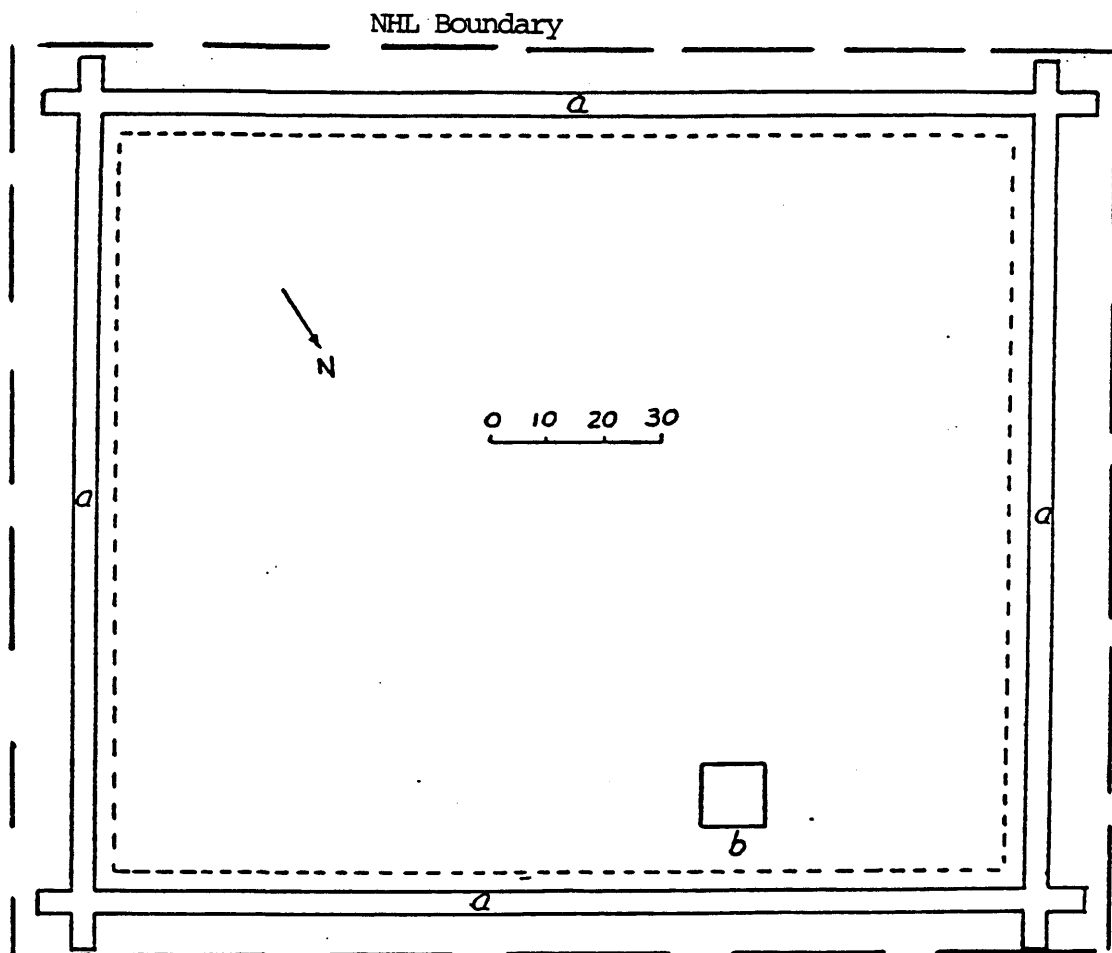
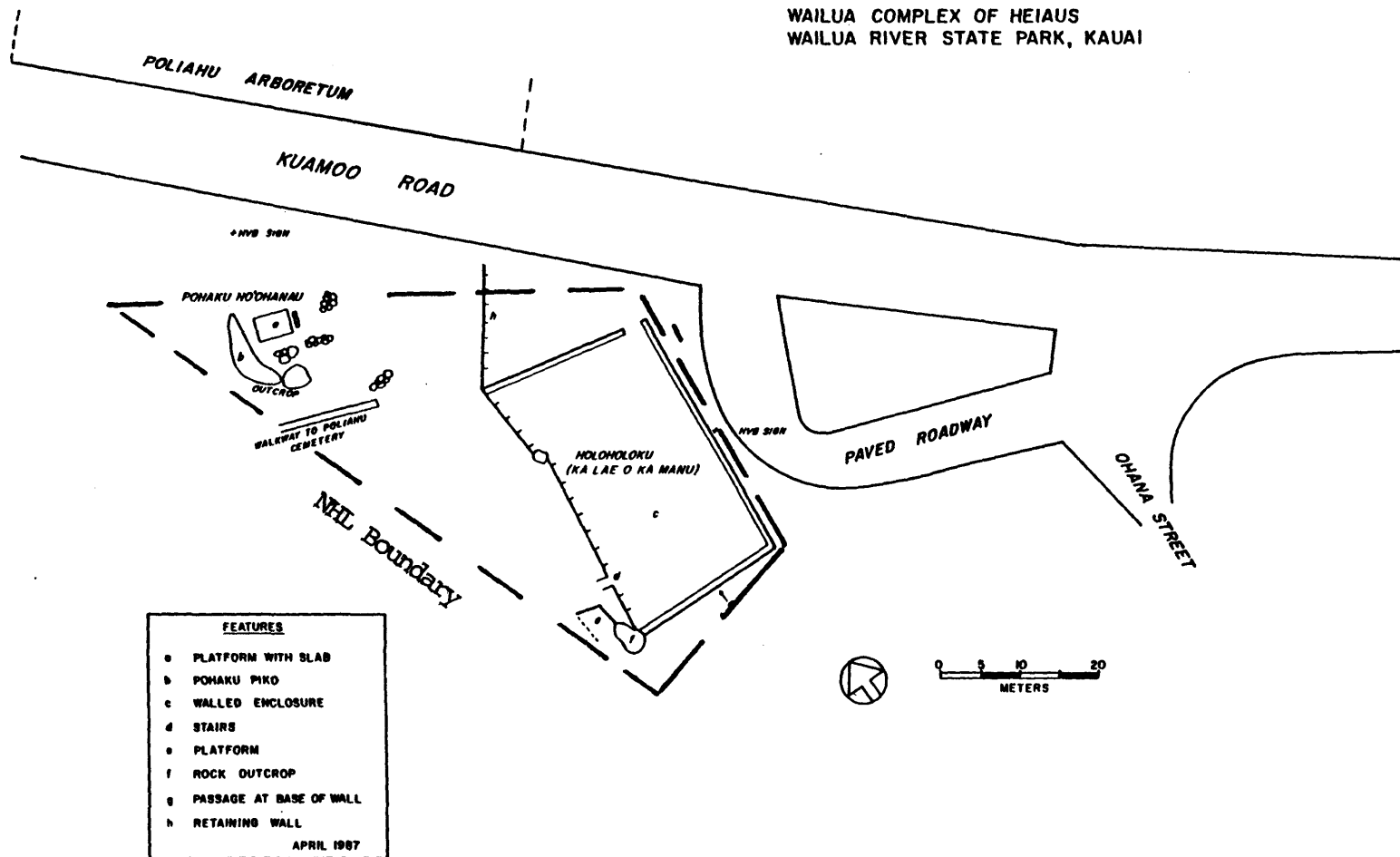


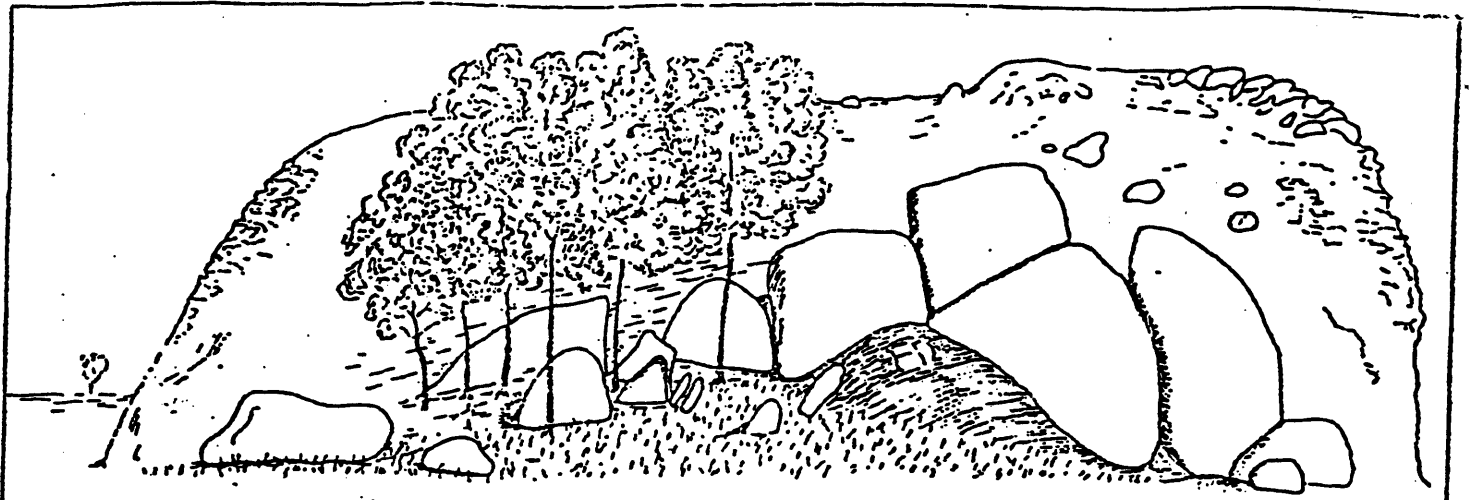
Figure 1: —Plan of Malae heiau, Site 104 (after Thrum): *a*, walls 8 feet wide and 7 to 10 feet high; *b*, altar. (The dotted line shows the position of ledge 6 feet wide and 2 feet high.) Note over-lapping or buttressed corners.

MAP F

HOLOHOLOKU (SITE 50-30-08-106)

WAILUA COMPLEX OF HEIAUS
WAILUA RIVER STATE PARK, KAUAI





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SACRED BIRTHPLACE OF TAUMUARI, KING OF TAUAI

Figure 3: Hiram Bingham's Sketch of 1849.

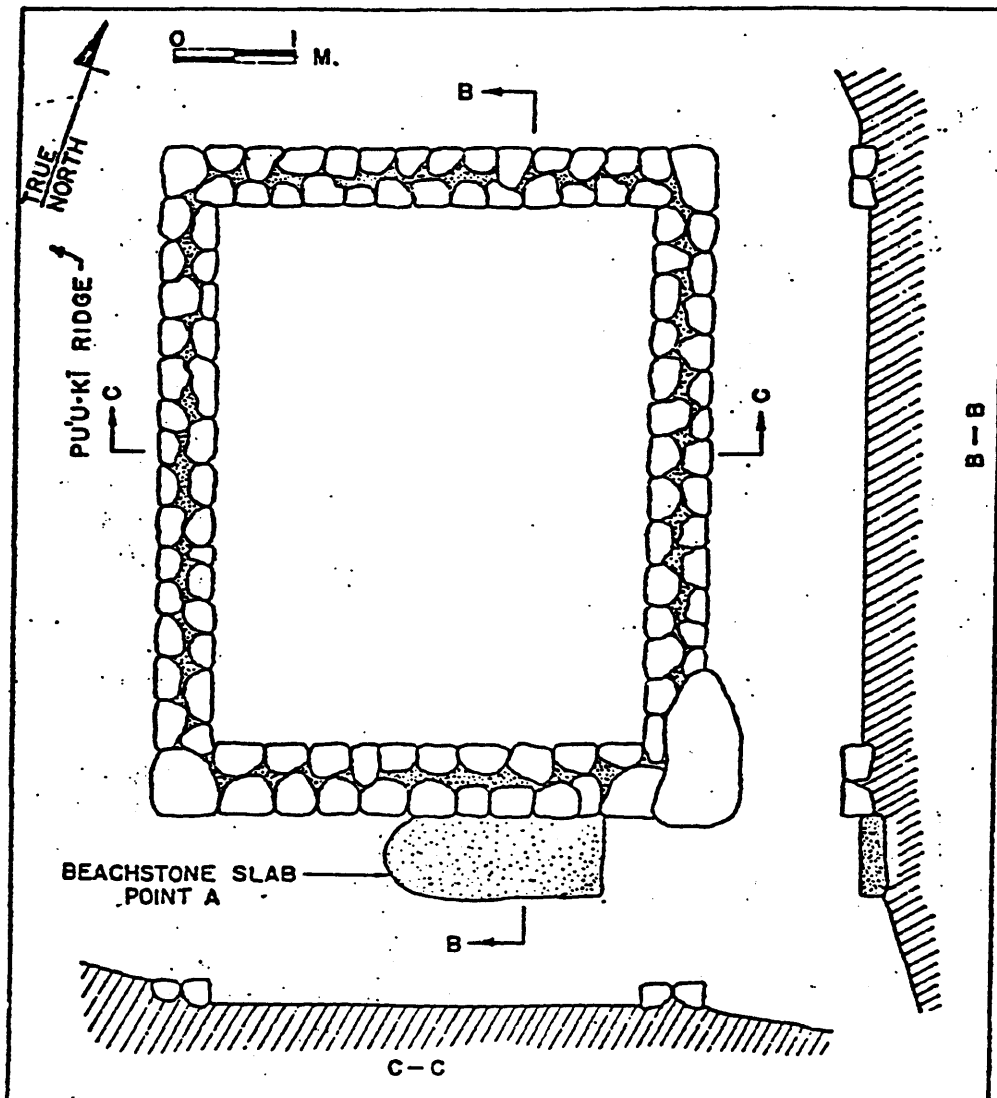
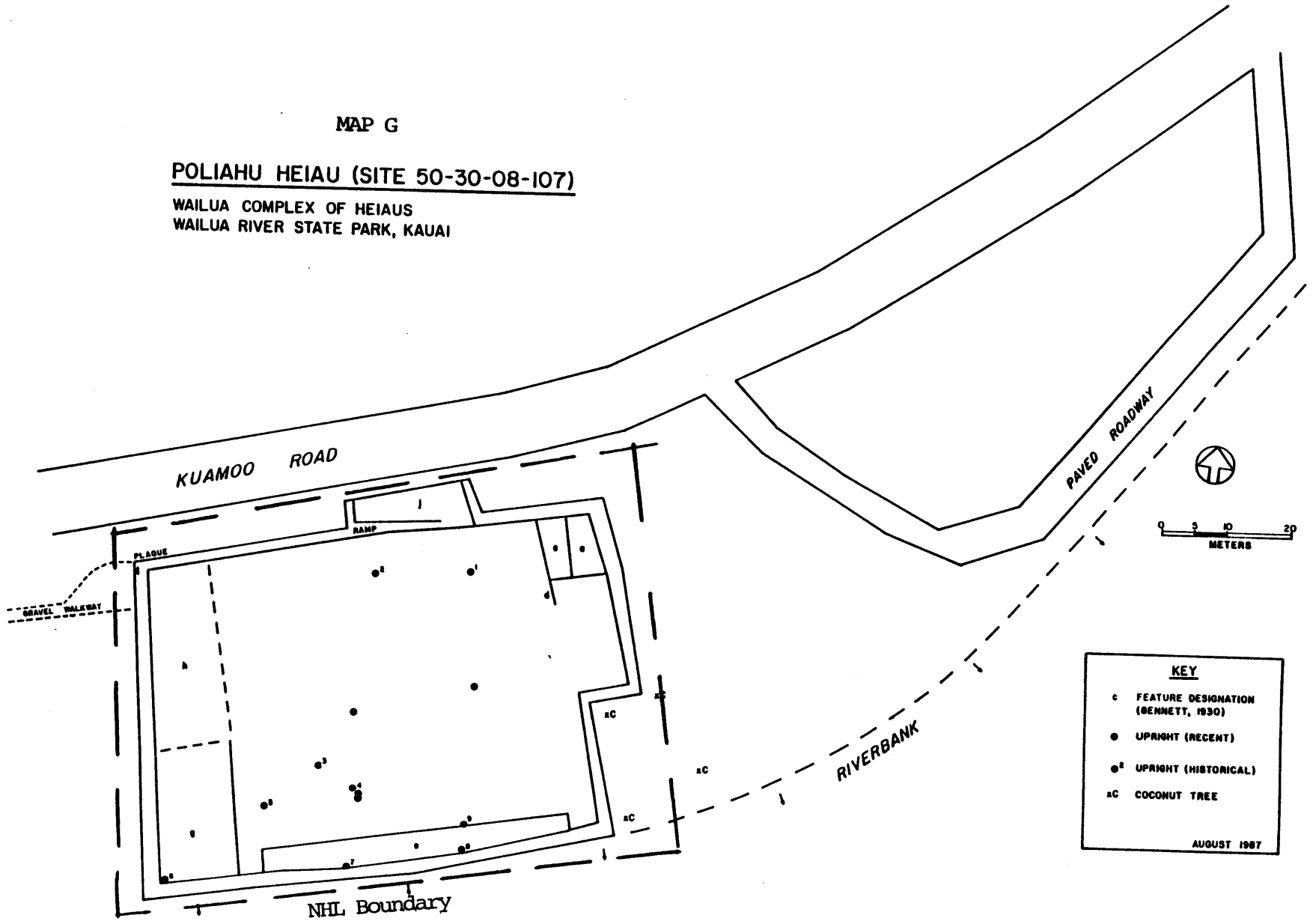


Figure 4: Sketch of Structure Uncovered by Emory.

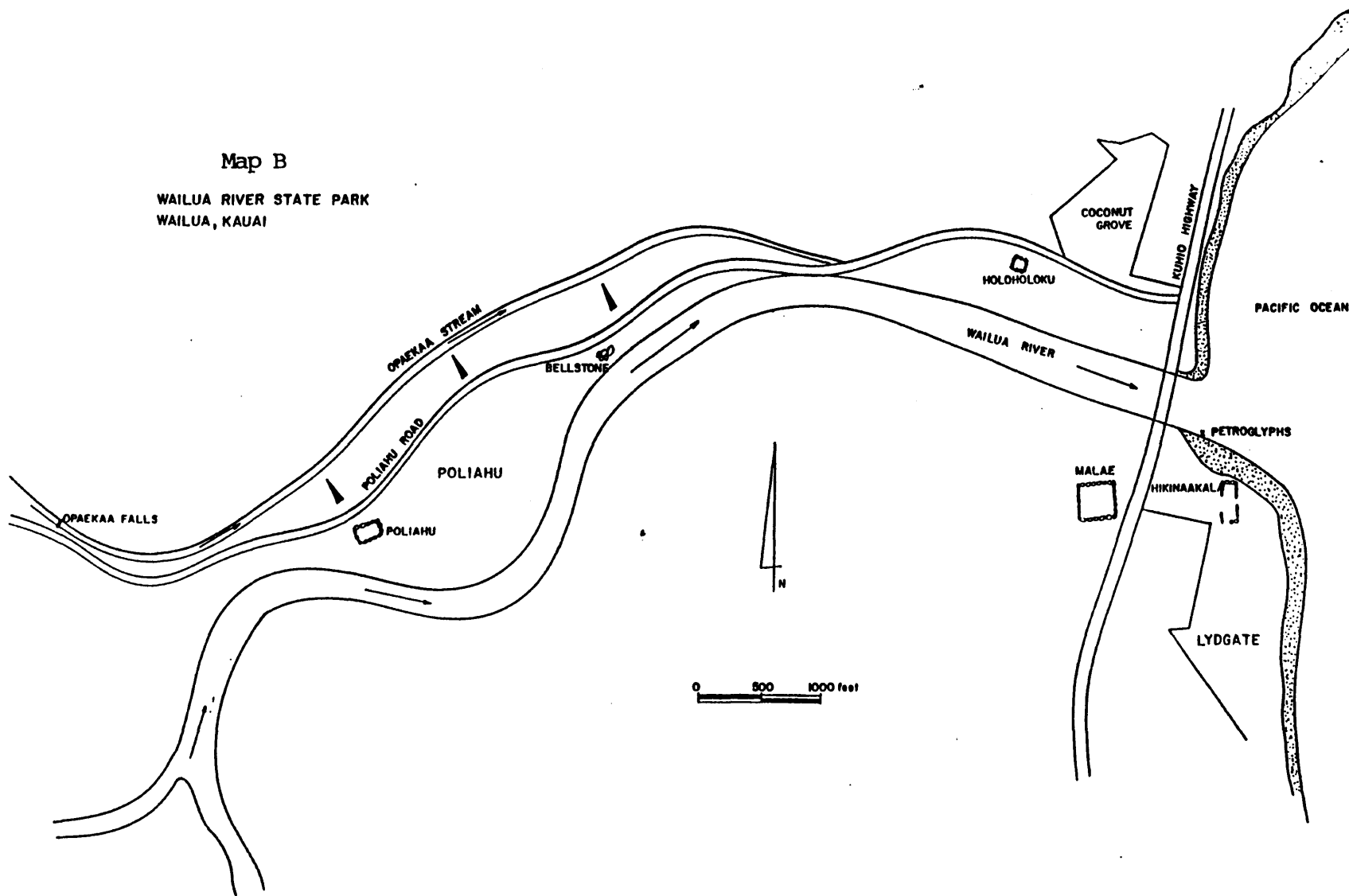
MAP G

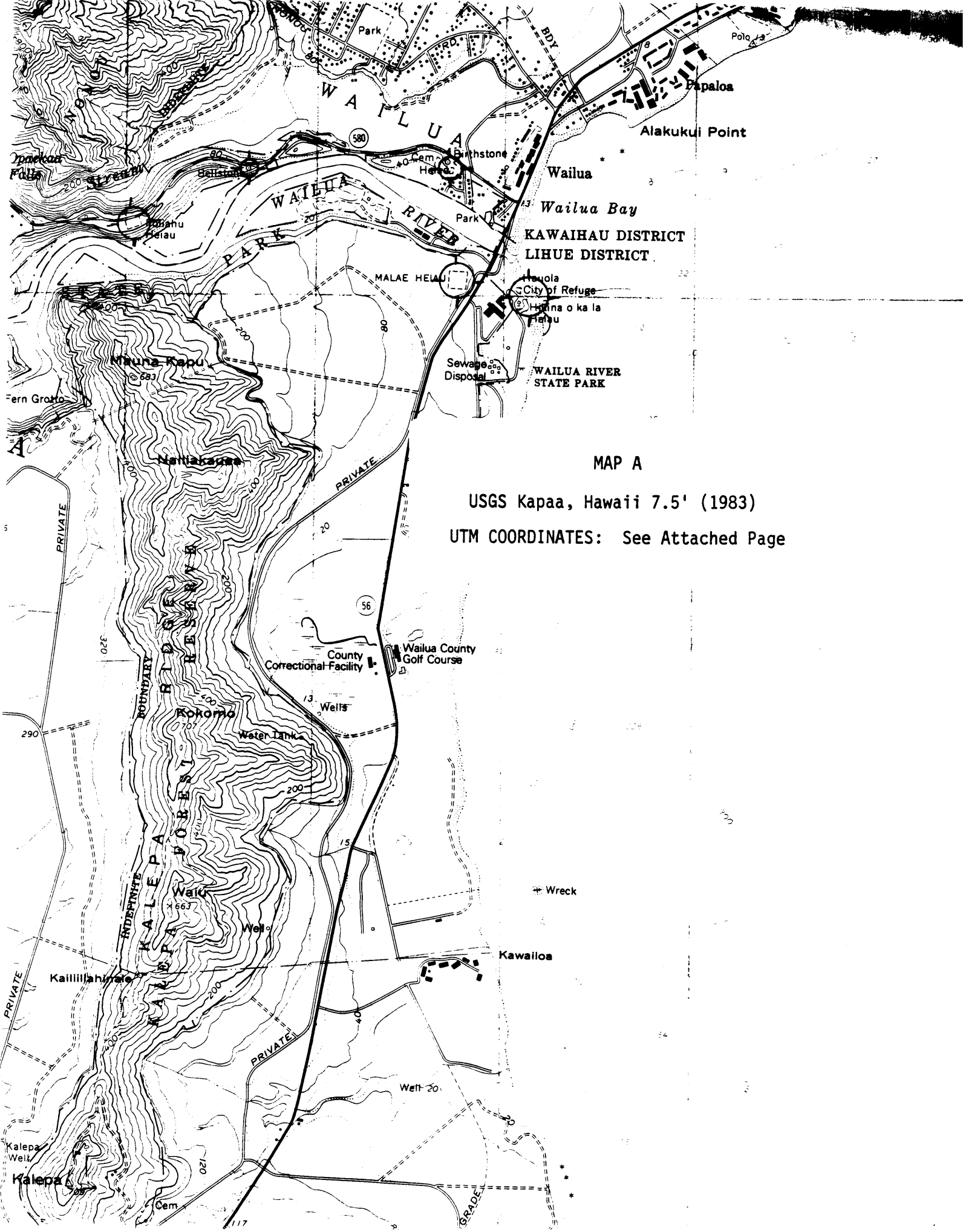
POLIAHU HEIAU (SITE 50-30-08-107)

WAILUA COMPLEX OF HEIAUS
WAILUA RIVER STATE PARK, KAUAI



Map B
WAILUA RIVER STATE PARK
WAILUA, KAUAI





MAP A

USGS Kapaa, Hawaii 7.5' (1983)

UTM COORDINATES: See Attached Page