

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

For NPS use only

National Register of Historic Places  
Inventory—Nomination Form

received NOV 14 1987

date entered

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

1. Name

historic PIILANIHALE HEIAU NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK

and or common State Site Number: 50-13-100 (Bishop Museum: 50-MA-A10-1)

2. Location

street & number 7 kilometers north of Hana, at the mouth of Honomaele Gulch near Kalahu Point not for publication

city, town Hana X vicinity of

state Hawaii code 15 county Maui code 009

3. Classification

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

4. Owner of Property

name Pacific Tropical Botanical Garden

street & number P.O. Box 340

city, town Lawai, Kauai vicinity of state Hawaii 96765

5. Location of Legal Description

courthouse, registry of deeds, etc. Bureau of Conveyances

street & number Department of Land & Natural Resources, State of Hawaii

city, town Kalanimoku Building, Honolulu state Hawaii 96809

6. Representation in Existing Surveys

Statewide Inventory of Historic Places  
title Maui Island Survey

has this property been determined eligible?  yes  no  
(NHL-1963)

date 1973  federal  state  county  local

depository for survey records State Historic Preservation Office  
Department of Land & Natural Resources  
P.O. Box 621

city, town Honolulu state Hawaii 96809

# 7. Description

<b>Condition</b>		<b>Check one</b>	<b>Check one</b>	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> excellent	<input type="checkbox"/> deteriorated	<input type="checkbox"/> unaltered	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> original site	NPS Inspection Visit: June 28, 1985
<input type="checkbox"/> good	<input type="checkbox"/> ruins	<input type="checkbox"/> altered	<input type="checkbox"/> moved	
<input type="checkbox"/> fair	<input type="checkbox"/> unexposed		date	

Stabilization ongoing since 1976.

**Describe the present and original (if known) physical appearance**

## LOCATION AND ENVIRONMENT

Piilanihale Heiau is located approximately 4 miles north of Hana and about a mile east of State Highway 360, at the mouth of Honomaele Gulch near Kalahu Point (Map F). Like many large luakini temple sites, Piilanihale occupies an impressive setting on top of a large bluff overlooking to the north a picturesque fishing cove and pebble beach (Map B; Photographs 7 and 8). The temple is located within the Pacific Tropical Botanical Park on a 60 acre parcel of land donated by Hana Ranch and the Edwin Take Matsuda family in 1970 (Photograph 1).

The fertile windward island districts of Hawaii, such as Hana, are characterized by heavy annual rainfall and lush sub-tropical vegetation. Most of the land west and south of the Heiau consists of uneven and rugged lava from an old flow which formed many ridges and gullies throughout the area (Cordy 1970:1). The areas northeast of the Heiau contain fine soil and until 40 years ago were cane fields operated by Kaeleku Sugar Company.

Prior to development as a botanical garden for visiting research scientists, the 60 acre property contained a dense vegetation of native as well as introduced species. South and west of the Heiau was a pandanus forest that included thimbleberry, guava, kukui, noni, kakalaoa, and fern. Pandanus also grew along the coast. Guava grew in larger numbers on the fringes of the pandanus forest, in the former cane fields, along the access road to the site, and on the Heiau bluff and Heiau itself. A small cluster of coconut trees grew atop the Heiau and is still standing. Hau was particularly dense in the southern part of the land parcel. The Park now consists of partially landscaped lawns and pathways with naturalistic groupings of introduced and indigenous species typical of the Hawaiian Islands today.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE 50-MA-A10-1, PIILANIHALE HEIAU

Piilanihale is an excellent example of the Hawaiian architectural trait of developing a natural feature to create an impression of massive, monumental construction; the Heiau is basically a facing of the end of a natural ridge with a platform on top (Tuggle 1976:2-3). As a result, the principal boundary walls for the most part tend to be irregular rather than straight, with jogs, curves, terraces, etc. (Map A and Map D). Portions of boundary walls and some interior temple platform walls are more or less linear. All walls, whether retaining or free standing, are dry laid with lava, basalt and beach cobbles. In several places, low free standing walls have been constructed atop portions of retaining walls. Free standing walls are core filled and consist of outer facings with a narrow core of smaller stones.

# 8. Significance

Period	Areas of Significance—Check and justify below					
<input type="checkbox"/> prehistoric	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> archeology-prehistoric	<input type="checkbox"/> community planning	<input type="checkbox"/> landscape architecture	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> religion		
<input type="checkbox"/> 1400-1499	<input type="checkbox"/> ? archeology-historic	<input type="checkbox"/> conservation	<input type="checkbox"/> law	<input type="checkbox"/> science		
<input type="checkbox"/> 1500-1599	<input type="checkbox"/> agriculture	<input type="checkbox"/> economics	<input type="checkbox"/> literature	<input type="checkbox"/> sculpture		
<input type="checkbox"/> ? 1600-1699	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> architecture	<input type="checkbox"/> education	<input type="checkbox"/> military	<input type="checkbox"/> social/		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1700-1799	<input type="checkbox"/> art	<input type="checkbox"/> engineering	<input type="checkbox"/> music	<input type="checkbox"/> humanitarian		
<input type="checkbox"/> ? 1800-1899	<input type="checkbox"/> commerce	<input type="checkbox"/> exploration/settlement	<input type="checkbox"/> philosophy	<input type="checkbox"/> theater		
<input type="checkbox"/> 1900-	<input type="checkbox"/> communications	<input type="checkbox"/> industry	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> politics/government	<input type="checkbox"/> transportation		
		<input type="checkbox"/> invention		<input type="checkbox"/> other (specify)		

Specific dates

Builder/Architect

## Statement of Significance (in one paragraph)

Piilanihale Heiau is one of the most important archeological sites in the Hawaiian Islands and is impressive in size and architectural quality. At the time of its designation as a National Historic Landmark in 1964, it was believed to be the largest prehistoric temple in Hawaii and the largest intact example of a luakini or state level temple where human sacrifices were performed.

An alternative hypothesis was recently proposed by Sinoto (personal communication, 1987) who believes this structure may be the residential compound of a high chief, perhaps that of King Piilani, a west Maui paramount chief who unified the Island of Maui. The royal compound probably would have included the king's personal temple. Clearly the structure contains features that on surficial examination may be interpreted both ways; thus, we are faced with a dilemma that can only be resolved through future excavation (see Archeological Significance below).

Should future research or excavation reveal that this property is principally a residential compound rather than a heiau, it would nevertheless retain its national level of significance under National Register eligibility criteria A, B, C and D. Archeologically Piilanihale's occupation and use span both the prehistoric and historic periods. It is associated with the Piilani dynasty of Maui kings, one of whose later descendents, Kahekili, effected a nearly complete unification of the Hawaiian Islands prior to the rise of Kamehameha I. Moreover, the site has the potential to contribute significant information on regional chronology, Hawaiian aboriginal architecture, politics and government, ancient religious practices, and the development of complex society.

## HISTORIC BACKGROUND

Historic research on the District of East Hana has been hampered by the lack of contact period documentation that focuses on the area. None of the early European voyagers such as Cook and Vancouver visited Hana, or if they did, they left no record. Other primary ethnographic sources such as Kamakau (1961), Malo (1951), and Ii (1963) served kings from the Island of Hawaii, and while their writings remain an invaluable accounts of the history and lifeways of the Hawaiian people in the late prehistoric period, they said little about Hana which by then had been eclipsed as a power center by the west Maui centers at Wailuku, Waihee, Kahului, and Lahaina (Cordy, personal communication, 1987). As a result, there are brief references to the Piilani kings but no specific reference to Piilanihale Heiau.

# 9. Major Bibliographical References

See Continuation Sheet.

# 10. Geographical Data

Acreeage of nominated property 5.9  
Quadrangle name USGS 7.5' Hana, Hawaii (1983)

Quadrangle scale 1:24000

### UTM References

A 

0	4	8	0	7	8	1	0	2	3	0	3	7	1	0
Zone		Easting				Northing								

B 

Zone		Easting				Northing								

C 

Zone		Easting				Northing								

D 

Zone		Easting				Northing								

E 

Zone		Easting				Northing								

F 

Zone		Easting				Northing								

G 

Zone		Easting				Northing								

H 

Zone		Easting				Northing								

### 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
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# 11. Form Prepared By

name/title Helene R. Dunbar, Archeologist

National Park Service, Western Region

organization Interagency Archeological Services Branch date November 6, 1987

street & number 450 Golden Gate Ave., P.O. 36063 telephone (415) 556-5190

city or town San Francisco state California

# 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

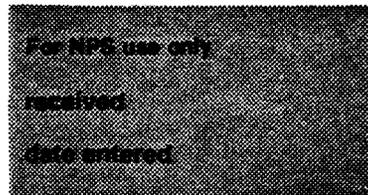
Attest:

date \_\_\_\_\_

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The Heiau measures 289 by 565.5 ft (89 by 174 m) at its longest and widest points. Interior construction consists of eight lesser walls, three enclosures, five platforms, two upright stones, and 22 pits. The following condensed description of Heiau components is summarized from Cordy (1970:4-13).

**HEIAU BOUNDARY WALLS**

North Wall

The north wall is the longest wall and measures 565.5 ft (174 m). It is also the highest wall, measuring ca. 43 ft (13.4 m) at its maximum point. This wall contains the most unusual feature of the Heiau, the immense retaining wall (Photographs 2 and 4; Maps A and B) which fills a gully between the two ridges comprising the Heiau foundation. According to Cordy (1970:4), this wall is unique in Hawaii: "it is built of superbly fitted stones ..... and has four [terraced] steps up its face." Walker (1931) estimated this wall was 8 to 10 ft thick, however, no testing or excavation was conducted in conjunction with his survey or with the 1070 vegetational clearing and mapping project. It is, therefore, unknown how thick the actual retaining wall is, or if these steps were constructed to reinforce and support the massive north wall.

Cordy (1970:4) notes another special feature of the north wall: "near the horizontal center of the basal step and jutting 0.4 m [15.6 in] horizontally out from it is a large, hexagonal, smooth basalt stone. This stone, the base of which is 1.1 m [43 in] above ground level, was definitely placed, but for what purpose is unknown."

East Wall

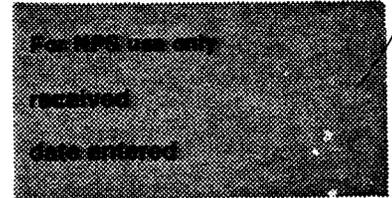
The east wall (Maps A and B) is approximately 169 ft long (52 m) and at its highest point measures almost 23 ft (7 m). This wall is also a retaining wall, partially constructed in steps, with portions of the steep natural outcrop incorporated into it. The thickness of the wall is unknown. Construction quality and condition of the wall vary from good to poor.

South Wall

Cordy (1970:6) states: "The whole S[outh] wall--144 m [468 ft]--is free standing, and is superbly built, with excellent vertical facing both inside and out. The wall is core-filled, with large facing stones on each side and the fill of smaller stones. All of the S[outh] wall is about 2 m (6.5 ft) wide and is flat on top."

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West Wall

The west wall is more difficult to describe. From Cordy's description (1970:8) and map (Maps A and B) it appears that only a portion of the natural formation at the western end of the temple was faced.

" The inside or southern first 15 m (48.7 ft) of the wall is excellently faced, tightly fitted, and 1.7 m (5.5 ft) high, but the outside is not well faced and its height fluctuates with the natural slope, having a maximum height of 1.0 m (1.3 ft). This part of the west wall ends at the flattened paved area around Pit 2 ... to the north of Pit 2, the west wall gradually rises to a 1.7 m (10.5 ft) height and is an excellently faced retaining wall. Behind the facing is a fill of large and small lava stones. The maximum width of the wall is 1.4 m (4.5 ft) ... this section extends north for 22 m (71.5 ft), where it collapses into a rubble slope of small lava stones sloping towards the interior of the heiau. It is impossible to tell without excavation whether this talus section, 10 m (32.5 ft) long, is a fallen wall or not ... north of this lava slope is the final portion of the west wall. Two low wall sections, 0.8 - 0.9 m (2.7 - 2.11 ft) high, are both just small facings built against a natural outcropping" (Cordy 1970:8).

**LESSER WALLS**

There are eight lesser walls within the temple and two more just outside (Map A). Cordy (1970:8-9) offers no inferences regarding the function of these lesser walls which are much smaller than any of the boundary walls.

**FLOOR**

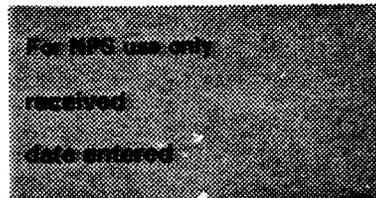
The floor (Photograph 4) of the interior of the Heiau is relatively flat with the exception of a 32 m (104 ft) depression (gully like area) just inside the south wall. Also, the western area, that portion of the main line of the west wall, is at least 1.5 m (4.9 ft) higher than the rest of the structure. The material for paving the floor varies from small lava rocks to small and/or medium-sized beach stones.

**ENCLOSURES**

The Heiau contains three enclosures that were probably used for different rituals and ceremonies. Enclosure 1 (Photograph 6) is located in the eastern part of the raised western portion of the Heiau. This structure is nearly rectangular and measures 45.5 by 26 ft (14 by 8 m) with one jog. It has a low

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mounded border of lava stones rather than a core-filled wall. Because of the smooth water-worn stones used for the interior of this enclosure, Dr. Yoshihiko Sinoto, Curator of Anthropology at the Bishop Museum (personal communication, 1987), believes it may have been a chiefly residence.

Enclosure 2 (Photograph 5), the largest and most centrally located, is rectangular and measures 88 by 65 ft (27 by 20 m). The wall of the enclosure is low, about one foot high, and core-filled.

Enclosure 3 (Photograph 5) is the smallest of the three and has an oval form measuring approximately 16 by 10 ft (5 by 3 m) defined by a line of rocks. At the east of Enclosure 3 is a small coconut grove that was left standing during vegetational clearing of the structure. Sinoto (personal communication, 1987) also believes there is midden in this enclosure and that it may indicate another residential locus, perhaps that of the women's house.

**PLATFORMS**

Five low platforms are located inside the Heiau; two in the west section (Platforms 1 and 2), one in the southwest corner (Platform 3), and two along the east wall (Platforms 4 and 5). All are roughly rectangular and all are constructed along walls (Cordy 1970:11). Some of the platforms probably formed foundations for the temple houses and images, and others were probably associated with food offerings (Buck 1957:518).

<u>Structure</u>	<u>Dimensions</u>
Platform 1	13 X 8.45 ft (4 X 5 m)
Platform 2	19.5 X 9.75 ft (6 X 3 m)
Platform 3	4.9 X 36 ft (6.5 X 11 m)
Platform 4	24.4 X 9.1 ft (7.5 X 2.8 m)
Platform 5	19.5 X 13 ft (6 X 4 m)

Two additional platforms are located outside the Heiau boundary walls at lower elevations. Platform 6 is located 17 m (55 ft) north of the northeast corner of the structure, on the edge of the bluff. Platform 7 is located in the gully 24 m (78 ft) northeast of the north wall and measures 5.5 m (17.9 ft) long and 3.5 m (11.4 ft) wide. The function of these exterior platforms is also unknown, however, they are included within the Landmark boundary because of their close proximity to the structure.

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## UPRIGHT STONES

Two upright stones are located on the Heiau approximately midway between the north wall and Enclosure 2. Both are fine-grained, five-sided basalt columns. Only one is still standing; it measures 24 in (0.6 m) high and 12 in (0.3 m) thick. The fallen example measures approximately 12 by 12 in (0.3 by 0.3 m). The ritual function of the stones is not clear, although they may have been shrines for particular dieties. Sinoto (personal communication, 1987) believes this locus may represent a heiau associated with the chiefly residential complex.

## PITS

The most frequent feature within the temple are shallow circular pits. Cordy (1970) recorded 22 pits that vary in diameter from 19.5 in to 19.5 ft (0.5 to 6 m) and in depth from 6 in to 4.9 ft (0.15 to 1.5 m). Some pits are lined with small stones. Two additional pits were located at the west end of the structure in subsequent vegetational clearing. These pits have been plotted on Map D.

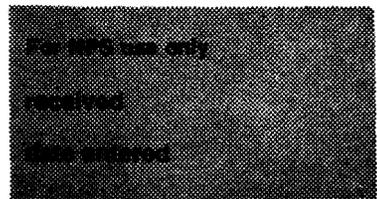
Buck (1957:525) has summarized what little is known about these enigmatic features:

"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. 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 having been made by curio hunters."

It is also tempting to speculate that some of these features may have been used as burial pits for defeated chiefs and ali'i who, along with criminals, were offered as sacrifices at luakini temples. Kirch (1985:240-242) states that these victims were interred within the temple platform. Because the

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bones of dead chiefs and ali'i were believed to have special power (mana), desecration of graves to obtain bone for fishhooks and other implements was not uncommon (Kamakau 1964:38-43). On occasion, burials were also disinterred after the flesh had fully decomposed and the bones (especially the skull and long bones) collected and placed in woven burial caskets for transport and burial in safer locations elsewhere.

**OTHER FEATURES**

On the northernmost tip of the first ridge to the east of the gully is a 3.8 by 2.4 m mound (12.4 X 7.8 ft) of unknown function constructed of large beach stones and some lava.

Cordy observed what was probably the trail recorded by Walker (1931:177-178):

... "a ridge of small lava stones with the top flattened and some edges that could be man-made ... extends from the ocean up to the heiau and through its north wall about a third of the way along its length from the end nearest the ocean. Several approach steps of large beach stones and lava rocks bring the trail to a low gap in the wall, which is the only clear entrance found in the heiau. It is 40 cm (15.6 in) lower than the wall on either side and is flush with the floor of the heiau."

Cordy did not map the earlier trail on his 1970 map (Map A), although it appears to have been sketched in later on the Piilanihale Restoration Plan map (Map D) which also shows the location of the new trail and stairs ascending to the main platform (Photograph 3). Neither the earlier trail, which dates from the historic period, nor the newer one is the prehistoric path and the original entrance onto the structure has not been determined (Sinoto, personal communication, 1987).

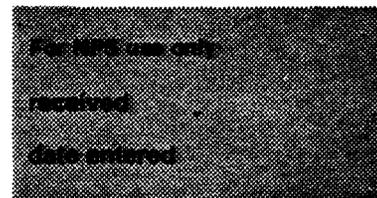
**CONDITION OF THE SITE**

With funding provided by the Pacific Botanical Garden, a three phase research program was developed by the Bishop Museum:

- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| Phase I  | Vegetational clearing and mapping of the Heiau; and mapping of the archeological sites within the 60 acre park. |
| Phase II | Excavation to examine the structure and function of sites in the survey area.                                   |

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Phase III Restoration of significant components in the survey area.

Only the Phase I work has been completed to date. Based on recommendations made by Tuggle (1976), the Bishop Museum developed a stabilization plan in 1978 (Map D) and that work is ongoing. The former historic trail that led up the north face of the structure has been changed and the steps reset where stones had fallen away. The new trail swings west and a stairway has been constructed for entrance to the main platform (Photograph 3). Stabilization through resetting of loose and scattered stone has been completed for the north wall and much of the west wall.

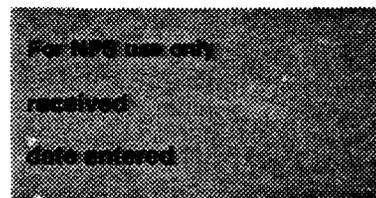
Until the vegetational clearing and mapping project in 1970, Piilanihale Heiau was so overgrown that it was virtually lost to public view and its existence known only by local residents and a few researchers at the Bishop Museum. Moreover, in the 1960s Hana was still remote and attracted few tourists. These factors have combined to make Piilanihale one of the best preserved heiau in the Hawaiian Islands. Even today, artifactual material (principally chipped and ground stone, and shell) is visible along walkways near the ocean cliff and house platforms. This is a rarity in all but the most remote and secluded Hawaiian archeological sites. With the development of the Pacific Botanical Park, access to the site is restricted to authorized visitors who establish appointments with the caretaker, E. Take Matsuda. A locked gate controls the principal access route into the Botanical Park which is still the unpaved former jeep road.

**NON-CONTRIBUTING PROPERTIES**

The new visitor's trail and stairway depicted on Map D and in Photograph 3 are non-contributing properties.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Photographs

- 1 View to northeast, illustrating setting and Pacific Botanical Gardens landscaping which surrounds Piilanihale Heiau National Historic Landmark. Photograph by Holly Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 28, 1985.
- 2 View to southwest, showing immensity of wall construction (NHL dedication marker located with central cluster of trees at base of wall). Photograph by Holly Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 28, 1985.
- 3 View to west: stairway to the top of heiau platform. Photograph by Holly Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 28, 1985.
- 4 View to south from top of stairway. Photograph by Holly Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 28, 1985.
- 5 View to south across temple platform. Enclosure 2 in foreground; Enclosure 3 in background. Photograph by Holly Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 28, 1985.
- 6 View to north, across Enclosure 1. Photograph by Holly Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 28, 1985.
- 7 View north toward Kalahu Point. Photograph by Holly Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 28, 1985.
- 8 View to east (from Kalahu Point) of secluded cove at base of bluff on which the heiau is located. Photograph by Holly Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 28, 1985.

Figures

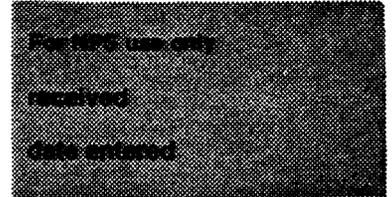
- 1 Artist's depiction of a luakini heiau from description by Ii (1959).

Maps

- A Piilanihale Heiau (Cordy 1970).
- B Detail Map and Profiles of Piilanihale Heiau (Cordy 1970).

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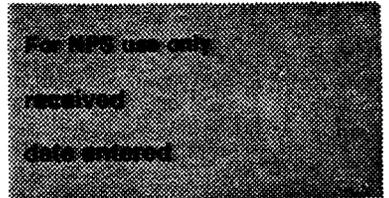
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Maps (continued)

- C Piilanihale: Archeological Survey With Pacific Botanical Gardens Park Boundaries (Cordy 1970).
- D Piilanihale Restoration Plan (May 1978). Courtesy of Historic Sites Section, Hawaii State Historic Preservation Office.
- E Maui Island Districts and pre-A.D. 1600 Buffer Zone (Cordy 1981:198, 208).
- F U.S.G.S. 7.5 Quadrangle, Hana, Hawaii (1983).

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The structure is believed to be a heiau for the following reasons. Local residents long were aware of an imposing structure near Kalahu Point, and all structures of that scale were believed to be luakini temples. Cordy's (1970) informants during the Piilanihale mapping and survey project recalled that as youngsters their elders had warned them to stay off the heiau. Further, historic editions of the Hana USGS map (Map F) record a heiau at this location.

The literal translation of Piilanihale is "house (hale) [of] Piilani." According to oral tradition, Piilani unified the competing eastern (Hana) and western (Wailuku) multi-district kingdoms of the Island in the 16th century (Cordy 1981:199; Map E). It is not known if the first king of the Piilani line built the structure or whether it was constructed by one of his several well-known descendants: his sons Lono-a-Piilani and Kihapiilani, and his grandson Kamalalawalu (Cordy 1970:3). Probably the last hereditary ruler of note to be associated with the site was Kahekili during whose reign vast changes occurred in Maui society. Through inter-island conquest, the marriage of his brother to the Queen of Kauai, and appointment of his son to alternately govern Maui, Lanai, Kahoolawe and Oahu during his periodic absences, Kahekili by 1783 dominated all the Hawaiian Islands except for Hawaii, a position he was to hold until his death in 1794 and Kamehameha I's conquest of Maui (Cordy 1981:210). Thereafter, the power of the Maui kings declined.

The luakini heiau was the evolutionary end product of an increasingly complex and politically interwoven religious world view. In the several centuries prior to western contact, Hawaiian religion changed dramatically. The earliest shrines and rituals appear to have been 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. 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. Large and complex temples were constructed for public ceremonies dedicating major events. Sometimes the ceremonies lasted for days. Between these major events, the temple might be left untended which accounts for the seeming neglect of some of these structures recorded by early voyagers to the Islands (Buck 1957:513). Yet not all were left untended apparently, for Walker (1931:211) recorded a house site at Loaloa National Historic Landmark that may have been the residence of a kahu or keeper of the heiau.

According to Kamakau (1961, 1964), state temples 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 in the reign of a particular chief or king. The stylistic changes

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embodied in these structures, therefore, not only document evolutionary changes in social organization and the evolution of religion, but may be stylistically identifiable with prominent lineages or personages.

**ARCHITECTURAL SIGNIFICANCE**

Prior to European contact in 1778 and the breaking of the kapu (ancient religious system of taboos) in 1819, there were thousands of functional shrines and temples in Hawaii, all of which were heiau. Early investigators such as Thrum (1906), Stokes (1909), Bennett (1930, 1931), McAllister (1933) as well as others, recorded and described more than 800 of these structures. Walker (1931) recorded 88 heiau for Maui. Military, commercial, residential and transportation developments have destroyed a large number of these structures.

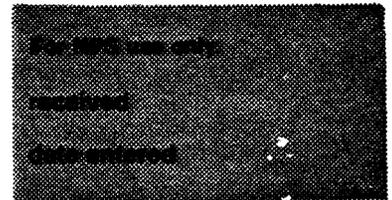
The term heiau is broad covering many types and subtypes which range in size from single upright stones that were worshipped (pohaku a Kane), up to the massive and complex state level luakini (heiau po'okanaka), where human sacrifices were offered by a ruling paramount chief or king for success in an impending war of conquest. In discussing the proliferation of heiau ground plans, Buck (1957:514-515) tells us:

"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 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."

The foundations of luakini heiau vary in form: they may be round or rectangular, or constructed as a walled enclosure, or on a platform. In more complex examples such as Piilanihale, they may have two, three and four

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terraces with one or more smaller enclosures built atop the principal platforms. According to John Papa Ii, who served in the court of Kamehameha II, other major features of these structures 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; see also Figure 1).

Piilanihale Heiau is perhaps the finest intact example of architectonic engineering in the Hawaiian Islands, -- in this case, the development of a natural feature to create an impression of massive, monumental construction. It is also one of the few remaining examples of a state level sacrificial temple and may contain distinctive design features associated with the political evolution and reign of the Hana chiefs, and later Maui kings.

**RELIGIOUS AND SOCIO-POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE**

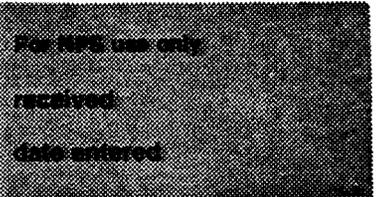
Luakini heiau are both religious and political artifacts. According to oral tradition, Hawaiian religion was significantly altered by the arrival of a powerful priest, Pa'ao, from Kahiki (Tahiti) perhaps about the 12th century (Kirch 1985:259). Pa'ao brought with him the concept of human sacrifice and constructed the first luakini-class heiau. Hawaiian religion continued to change over time particularly as the power of the chiefs and priests grew along with substantial population increases.

There were several distinct classes of luakini temples. Temples utilizing human sacrifice were not constructed or used for that purpose every year; they might be maintained and used for other ceremonies, i.e., to propitiate the gods for abundant harvest, or the general welfare. Luakini could be constructed and dedicated only by a paramount chief (ali'i ai moku, or ali'i nui) or a king (moi). The dedication of such a temple by another chief was considered as an act of rebellion against the ruling polity. Nor could luakini temples be built just anywhere; they had to be built on sites formerly built on by the people of old (Kamakau 1961, 1964).

Clearly building a structure the size of Piilanihale would have required an exceptional labor intensive effort if constructed in one stage despite its labor efficient architectonic composition. That most luakini probably were not constructed in a single stage is borne out by Ladd's archeological work (1969, 1970, 1972 and 1986). For example, Alealea at Honaunau on the Island of Hawaii was constructed in a series of seven stages (Ladd 1969). Kaneaki Heiau in Makaha Valley, which functioned as a luakini at contact, was constructed over several centuries in six defineable stages (Ladd 1970). It was believed to have been a lono-class heiau whose conversion to a luakini type around A.D. 1600 signified a major political event such as an expanding chiefdom.

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By the late prehistoric period, state level heiau such as Piilanihale had become the focus of a complex and tightly interwoven set of social, economic, political and religious functions that guided ancient Hawaiian life. In general, religious practices were divided between the sexes as well as along socio-political lines. Men of high rank, the ali'i, worshipped the four major gods in public or temple ceremonies: Lono (peace, agriculture, fertility, etc.), Kane and Kanaloa (healing and general well-being), and Ku (war). The kahuna (high priest), who might come from either the commoner or ali'i class, officiated and conducted these rituals.

In addition to observances of the four major gods at the direction of the high priests, commoners worshipped individual family gods in private family temples. Women also worshipped the four major Hawaiian deities, but because they were considered periodically unclean, were not allowed to participate in temple ceremonies. Both sexes worshipped some deities, but each sex had certain gods that were worshipped separately.

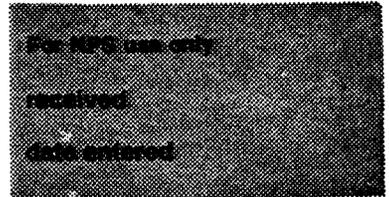
Closely interwoven with ancient Hawaiian religious practices in the late prehistoric period was the annual four month long (October to February, the wet season) makahiki festival dedicated to Lono (Malo 1951:141-152). At the end of this cycle, the paramount would decide, based on complex social and economic 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) theorizes the makahiki cycle had evolved as an important administrative arm in the functional integration of an emergent state level political unit. A state level heiau such as Piilanihale is central to the function, culmination and symbolic interpretation of this cycle.

The ali'i nui would initiate this important religious cycle from the location he had chosen as a temporary residence and seat of government. The Hawaiian court was mobile within the districts or kingdom the paramount controlled. While certain seats of government on Maui were probably favored (i.e., Kaupo, Lahaina, Kahului, Wahee, and Wailuku as well as Hana), periodic court moves achieved other purposes, most importantly, the distribution of the burden of economic support for the court. A paramount's retinue might consist of as many as 700 to 1000 followers made of priests and political advisors (including geologists, architects, seers, messengers, executioner, etc.); servants which included craftsmen, masseurs, guards, stewards; relatives and numerous hangers-on (friends, lovers, etc.). There was no regular schedule for court movements and sometimes it remained in one location long enough to deplete local supplies, in which case commoners' goods would be expropriated. Periodic court moves also served to ensure that district chiefs did not remain isolated, or unsupervised long enough to

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gather support for a revolt. In addition to personal economic support, the king also required tribute and taxes by which to maintain and display his political power (Hommon 1976).

**ARCHEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE**

Piilanihale Heiau was for several centuries the center and prime site of a culture complex around Hana that included multiple village sites and other heiau. The earliest dates for the settlement of the Hana district are unknown; however, it is clear that from at least the 1400s the area fell under the Hana kings until the east and west Maui kingdoms were unified under Piilani in the 16th century (Cordy 1981:210). The area surrounding Piilanihale and the modern settlement of Hana was densely inhabited in the late prehistoric era, as evidenced by numerous village sites and house platforms along the coast. Hana was also coveted by the King of Hawaii Island, who briefly conquered the district during the reign of Kahekili, for its rich agricultural productivity and resources. The first decades following European contact were in fact characterized by a running civil war, first between the powerful competing island kingdoms of Maui and Hawaii, and later with the death of Kahekili's son, Kalanikupule and the chiefs of Maui at Nu'uauu (Oahu), under the ascendancy of the Island of Hawaii and Kamehameha I who effected the first lasting unification of all the Hawaiian Islands (Hommon 1976:141-48; Kirch 1985).

**Chronology**

The need for temporal control is critical for an interpretation of the processes involved in the building of Piilanihale, its articulation with the political evolution first with east Maui and later the Island polity, and its eventual abandonment. Due to its protected location and high degree of integrity, it is inferred the site still contains non-perishable material categories suitable for dating, namely radiocarbon analysis of charcoal from firepits associated with various building sequences and from the midden deposits noted by Sinoto in the vicinity of Enclosure 3, as well as bone and shell. Lithics manufactured from basaltic glass may similarly be associated with building levels or midden stratigraphic sequences; hydration rind measurements from this material may be used to cross-check radiocarbon dates and postulated chronological stages.

**Classification**

One of the most critical questions regarding Piilanihale is determination of the type of structural complex it represents and its function over time. Was it a heiau, a chiefly residential complex, or both? Was it an early chiefly residential complex that was later, following some major political event, converted to a luakini heiau? Does the presence of midden, atypical of heiau,

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therefore relate to a residential complex, or could it relate to a much later occupation of the site perhaps by a kahu?

Heiau are quite variable in size, shape and internal complexity. We know even less about the variation in chiefly residences in time and space. Both types of structural compounds contain pits, platforms, enclosures, and walls to demarcate functional areas, but there is insufficient comparative data available to establish, at least by surficial examination alone, mutually exclusive patterns for each. For example, one such late period complex, Waiahuikini on Hawaii Island, was known through oral tradition to have been occupied intermittently in late prehistoric and early historic times by the ruling chiefs of the Kau and Kona districts (Sinoto and Kelly 1975). While it appears to be an excellent example of residential architecture associated with a ruling elite, it has not been excavated. As a result, we have no data base on the categories of material remains that typify a chiefly residential compound versus a heiau (i.e., coral, a sacred material, would presumably be more abundant at religious sites), and the function of the components within the complex can only be inferred.

#### Settlement Pattern

Piilanihale is expressive of the long term settlement and socio-political evolution of the Hana kingdom and the Maui kings. Although the late period luakini heiau functioned as a state level unit independent of the immediate local community, it was articulated in a regional or district settlement pattern. The evolutionary development of the heiau with respect to political land divisions, the tribute network and the greater settlement pattern, however, has been a neglected area of research and one that is critical to interpreting the processes that led to the consolidation of chiefdoms and an emergent state order.

#### Social Organization

In the event Piilanihale is determined to be a chiefly residential complex, an analysis of its functional components, residential capacity, divisions of labor, and material artifactual classes could provide much needed data on the activities and lifestyles of ruling chiefs and the consolidation of their power over time. It is also possible that a ruling chief might be interred at the site.

Assuming that the structure is a heiau, however, even a residential compound that was later redesigned and dedicated as a luakini, it is probable that various human burials representing different time periods are contained within the structure. According to Kirch (1985:241-42), ethnohistoric sources indicate that sacrificial victims (which included rival chiefs and ali'i captured in battle) were also interred in the temple platform itself, a

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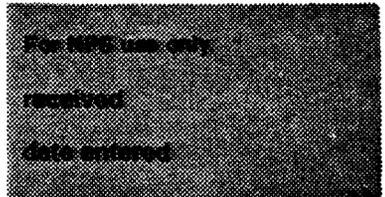
practice confirmed by Ladd (1969, 1970). This suggests important status differentials in the burial treatment of commoners or criminals, defeated chiefs, and resident chiefs.

**INTEGRITY**

Piilanihale possesses exceptional scenic and structural integrity. The temple is intact, unexcavated and unrestored. While some minor surface disruptions due to the vegetational growth and the ravages of time have occurred, these have not impacted the structural integrity of the site nor obscured the essential features or potential building stages that are important interpretive components of the Heiau.

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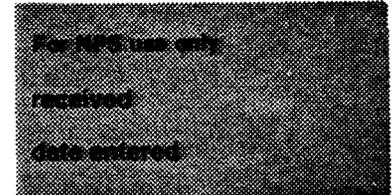
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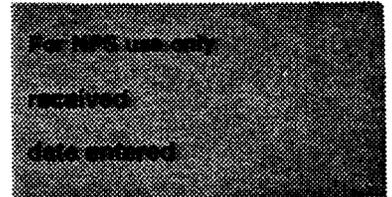
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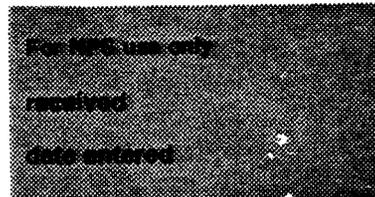
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## VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION AND JUSTIFICATION

Until work was begun by the Bishop Museum and the Pacific Tropical Botanical Garden in 1970, Piilanihale Heiau was overgrown with vegetation and buried in a pandanus forest. As a result it was nearly excluded in the Hawaiian Aboriginal Culture NHL theme and became the focus of an independent supplemental study (U.S. Department of the Interior 1963). At that time, its association with other areal sites was unknown, and the size of the temple itself had been considerably underestimated. Both National Park Service (U.S. Department of the Interior 1963) and Maui County planning documents (State of Hawaii 1984:34), following Walker (1931), give the Landmark's dimensions as approximately 340 by 425 feet; however, Cordy's survey and mapping (1970:3) revealed that its actual structural dimensions were 289 by 565.5 feet.

Luakini temples such as Piilanihale did not function as local temples that served a particular community or settlement area in which they were located, but rather as state temples that served a district or a kingdom. 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.

Neither the priests nor the chief/king and his court actually resided at the temple site. Nevertheless, there may have been adjacent ancillary structures such as huts, house platforms, pens, etc. that were used for religious preparations and paraphernalia, or for temporary storage of the great quantities of material goods (i.e., pigs, fowl, fish, and agricultural produce) that were used in connection with the ceremonial cycle, or sacrificed in addition to human sacrifices.

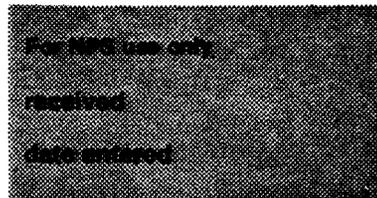
A total of 15 sites, including Piilanihale, were located within the 60 acre Pacific Botanical Park during Cordy's (1970) mapping and survey project. None of the sites were ali'i residences that might have tenuous association with the temple. The sites consisted of prehistoric house platforms, walls, enclosures, prehistoric and historic grave sites, an historic cemetery, and an historic house. It is not known if the prehistoric sites are even contemporaneous with the construction and use of Piilanihale Heiau.

There has been no archeological testing or excavation conducted at Piilanihale 'or at any of the other nearby sites located within the Pacific Botanical Park; therefore, only the structure itself and several nearly contiguous exterior features are considered to be part of the Landmark.

The boundary encompasses 5.9 acres, a rectangular area totalling 259,584 square feet. This area includes all the mapped features within the A and B walls and terraces of the Heiau (Map A) as well as the several exterior features recorded by Cordy (1970) northeast of Wall A (Platform 7, Wall 7, and a mound). These features, by virtue of their extreme proximity on the

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slope of the ridges that comprise much of the interior bulk of the structure, were probably associated with the Heiau in some way although their function is not currently known. This boundary also includes several additional features (pits) that were identified after Cordy's work (see Map D).

Should future excavation reveal that Piilanihale is in fact a different type of structural complex, i.e., a chiefly residential compound rather than a heiau, then the existing boundary must be reassessed and all National Historic Landmark documentation revised.