## National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

For NPS use only NOV	F	1007
received	С	1987
date entered		

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

## 1. Name

historic LOALOA HEIAU NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK

and/or common State Site 50:16:101; Bishop Museum Site HASS-50-MA-A28-1; Soehren (1963) A-27-2

## 2. Location

street & num	ber 1/4 mile north	of State Highway 3		not for publication
city town	Kaupo	vicinity of	Kaupo District Ahupua'a of Manaw	nainui
city, town			Thispaa a of Friday	
state Ha	awaii	code 15 cou	nty Maui	code 009
3. Cla	assification			
Category district building X structure X site object		<u>X</u> yes: restricted	entertainment	museum park private residence t religious scientific transportation X_ other: Grazing
<u>4. On</u>	ner of Prop	perty	<u></u>	
name	Kaupo Ranch Ltd.	, Mr. Leighton Bed	ck, Manager	
street & num	ber		Telephone: (808	) 572-1430
city, town	Hana, Maui	vicinity of	sta	te Hawaii 96713
5. Lo	cation of Le	egal Descrip	tion	
courthouse, r	registry of deeds, etc. Bu	ureau of Conveyances	s; Department of Lan	d and Natural Resource
street & numl	ber 1151 Punchbo	wl Street	TAX MAP KEY:	1-7-02:12
city, town	Honolulu		sta	te Hawaii
6. Re	presentatio	n in Existin	g Surveys	
title Maui I	wide Inventory of H Island Survey (1973	) has this	s property been determined	l eligible? <u>X</u> yes no
Bishop date	o Museum East Maui	Survey (1962)	X federal X	state county local
depository fo	r survey records Histo	pric Sites Section;	Department of Land	and Natural Resources
city, town	Honolulu		sta	te Hawaii

# 7. Description

Condition		Check one	Che
excellent	deteriorated	X unaltered	X
excellent	ruins	altered	
fair	unexposed		

Check one X original site moved da

date NPS Inspection Visit: 6/27/85

Describe the present and original (if known) physical appearance

#### LOCATION AND ENVIRONMENT

Like many large <u>luakini</u> temple sites, Loaloa Heiau occupies a most impressive setting on the Island of Maui overlooking the rural community of Kaupo on State Highway 31 and the Pacific Ocean. Manawainui Valley to the north forms a spectacular background setting (Map C; Photographs 5 and 6).

The fertile windward island districts of Hawaii are characterized by heavier annual rainfall and lush sub-tropical vegetation than the leeward arid Kaupo Village and the district of Kaupo, while located on the districts. leeward coast of Maui, are more closely allied with the rainfall pattern of Hana. Manawainui Stream, flowing immediately east of Loaloa Heiau, marks this transition from verdant forests and grasslands. Rainfall diminishes rapidly west of Manawainui, and streams are few and intermittent. Droughts are not uncommon, especially in the adjoining districts of Kula and Honuaula which lie in the perpetual rain shadow of Haleakala Volcano. Although more densely occupied at historic contact (Soehren 1963:4), there are only about a dozen families in the vicinity of Kaupo Village today. Most of the available land has been acquired by large ranches in this century.

#### ARCHEOLOGICAL SITE 50-16-101, LOALOA HEIAU

Due to its remote location on the leeward side of Maui, several hours drive over poor roads from the modern tourist meccas of Lahaina and Kaanapali Beach, Loaloa Heiau appears unchanged since Lloyd Soehren of the Bishop Museum visited the site in 1962 during a survey being conducted for the National Park Service. (The site is also approachable from the east via the poorly maintained road from Hana, however, this is a slower and circuitous route.) Soehren's description of the site is excellent and therefore, is quoted below with only minor editorial revisions dictated by the needs of the present boundary study (Soehren 1963:87-88).

A three-tiered rectangular heiau, the structure is basically a raised platform, probably originally walled, built up around a small hill or large rock outcrop. Two major divisions are readily apparent, an eastern and a western, separated by a transverse stone wall. The overall dimensions are about 115 feet by 500 feet (57,500 square feet), but the western end of the platform is so disturbed and indistinct that precise measurement is impossible (Map A).

# 8. Significance

Period prehistoric 1400–1499 1500–1599 1600–1699 X. 1700–1799 1800–1899 1900–	Areas of Significance—C X. archeology-prehistoric X. archeology-historic agriculture X. architecture art commerce communications	community plann conservation conservation economics education engineering		e X religion science sculpture social/ humanitarian theater transportation 
Specific dates	ca. A.D. 1730	Builder/Architect	Attributed to Kekaulike	, King of Maui

#### Statement of Significance (in one paragraph)

Loaloa National Historic Landmark is one of the largest and best preserved <u>luakini</u> heiau on the Island of Maui and one of the few intact examples of a state sacrificial temple. The site is significant under National Register eligibility criteria A, B, C and D. Archeologically Loaloa's occupation and use span both the prehistoric and historic periods. The site has the potential to contribute significant information on Hawaiian aboriginal architecture, politics and government, and ancient religious practices.

Hawaiian religion changed dramatically in the several centuries prior to western contact. 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.

According to Kamakau (1961) state temples were constructed on sites formerly built on by the people of old. Studies by Ladd (1969, 1970, and 1972) 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 embodied in these structures, therefore, not only document evolutionary changes social organization and the evolution of religion, but may be stylistically identifiable with prominent lineages or personages.

With the coming of the missionaries, and the subsequent breaking of the <u>kapu</u> (the ancient Hawaiian religious system of taboos) in 1819, indigenous Hawaiian religious practices were abandoned. It is not known whether clandestine rituals were still conducted, however, there appear to have been appointed keepers (the <u>kahu</u>) who maintained or guarded these structures well into the later historic period. Walker (1931:211) indicates that the remains of a house site and pens at Loaloa Heiau may relate to the occupancy of the site's last <u>kahu</u>.

#### ARCHITECTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

Prior to European contact in 1778 and the breaking of the <u>kapu</u> in 1819, there were thousands of functional shrines and temples, all of which were <u>heiau</u>, in Hawaii. The term is broad, covering many types and subtypes which range in size from single upright stones that were worshipped (<u>pohaku a</u> <u>Kane</u>), up to the massive and complex state level <u>luakini</u> (<u>heiau po'okanaka</u>), where human sacrifices were offered by a ruling paramount chief or king for success in war.

# 9. Major Bibliographical References

See Continuation Sheet.

10. Geographic	cal Data		
Acreage of nominated property	1.4 acres		
Quadrangle name USGS Kaupo	), Hawaii 7.5 Mi	nute Quad (198	83) Quadrangle scale 1:24000
UT M References			
<b>A</b> 0,4 799700 27	2 8 5 3 5 0	B	
Zone Easting Nor	thing	Zone	Easting Northing
		D L	
		F	
G		н	
Verbal boundary description a	nd justification		
See Continuation Sh	neet		
List all states and counties fo	r properties overlag	oping state or co	ounty boundaries
state	code	county	code
state	code	county	code
11. Form Prepa	ared By		
Helene R. Dunbar			
	neological Servi		
National Park Se organization 450 Golden Gate	ervice, Western : Ave., P.O. 3606		ne August 10, 1987
	California 94102		(415) 556-5190
street & number		tel	lephone
city or town		sta	ate
12. State Histo	oric Prese	rvation (	<b>Officer Certification</b>
The evaluated significance of this	property within the sta	ite is:	
X national	state	_ local	
	rty for inclusion in the	<b>National Register</b> a	ric Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89– and certify that it has been evaluated vice.
State Historic Preservation Officer	signature		
title			date
For NPS use only	$\sim$	<b>`</b>	
I hereby certify that this grop	erty is included in the	National Register	date 7788
Keeper of the National Pegiste	r ·	/	· · · · · ·
Attest:			date
Chief of Registration			

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The eastern portion of the structure, measuring approximately 115 by 220 feet, probably was the scene of the heiau functions. Although there is a considerable amount of surficial disturbance to this area due to past vegetation growth, some interior features can still be seen, chiefly pavements of different textures and remains of platforms and terraces on the seaward side. The stone piles at regular intervals along half the south side and east end (Photographs 3 and 4) may possibly be the remains of a dismantled stone wall, as suggested by Thrum (1917:57). A more interesting hypothesis is that they represent bases or supports for the large temple images which may have stood along these sides of the platform (see Figure 1, artist's reconstruction of a <u>luakini</u> heiau). No definite traces of a surrounding wall or stone piles remain on the north side of the platform. and probably such did not exist. The transverse wall with the attached Lshaped pen west of the center of the eastern division is probably modern and not a functioning part of the heiau.

The east end of the structure has been built up to a height of nearly 20 feet in some places. Because of the extreme height and the lack of mortar, the outer walls are terraced in three or four steps, thereby adding stability. As with most Hawaiian structures, the outer walls are somewhat irregular in alignment. Some bulging and slumping has occurred, but the walls generally are in good condition.

Slightly west of the center of the north wall is a stairway set into the side of the platform. At present no steps are distinguishable. From the top of this stairway a rough trail of flat stones is faintly visible, leading eastward. On the opposite, south side of the platform there appears to be a ramp descending to the east along the outside wall. It terminates abruptly, however, indicating that it was either abandoned as an entrance or served another function.

Another interesting feature is a transverse trench at the western end of the main platform, paralleling the wall between the eastern and western divisions (Map A). Although disturbed (especially near the center of the platform) by heavy root growth in the past, and perhaps cattle as well, it is quite distinct, appearing to have been about seven feet wide and two feet deep. This feature is reminiscent of Puu Kohola, Kamehameha's heiau at Kawaihae, Hawaii, and might have been a feature incorporated in the restoration of Loaloa by Kamehameha about 1801 (Kamakau 1961:188).

The western division of greater Loaloa has puzzled commentators since Thrum (1917:57). The surface is entirely disrupted and no pavements are still intact (Photograph 1). Many pits, some with sizeable trees growing in them, are scattered about the central portion of the area (Photograph 3). The

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north side of the platform is more or less level with the adjoining ground, and the south side stands about five feet high. Several pens have been built against this outer south wall. Remains of a house site and smaller pens lie adjacent to the transverse wall between the eastern and western divisions. Of this feature, W. M. Walker wrote: "Joseph Marciel remembers 32 years ago that there was a very old Hawaiian living here, possibly the last of the <u>kahus</u> or keepers of the heiau. On this house site were found some rusty cooking pots and a sharpening stone and two stone pestles. A clearly defined path of stepping stones led to the side ..... Possibly the pits were for banana or papia as was suggested by the informant" (Walker 1931:211).

Such secular use of this portion of Loaloa, even by a <u>kahu</u>, indicates that the western division was of far less sanctity than the eastern, which apparently was only slightly used since the overthrow of the ancient religion. A reasonable conjecture as to the function of this western division might be that it was the <u>hale o papa</u>, or women's place of worship (women were excluded from heiau services); or that it was the <u>papahola</u>, or courtyard, where the commoners attended heiau services. It might also be speculated that this area predates the eastern division and was once a major heiau in its own right.

### CONDITION AND MAINTENANCE OF THE SITE

Several places on the surface of Loaloa Heiau show signs of disturbance due to grazing cattle, trees and other vegetational growth (principally kiawe, lantana, mango, papaya and Christmas berry). While these have contributed to the disruption of the floor (see Photographs 1, 3 and 4), they have not disturbed the essential features or building stages that are important structural and interpretive components of the heiau. The previous Kaupo Ranch owner kept the vegetation cleared by cutting it back and by poisoning roots, but this practice has lapsed in recent years under the new management. The current Kaupo Ltd. Ranch Manager, Leighton Beck, has agreed to resume vegetational clearing.

The site is well protected due to its remote location (52 miles from Wailuku, the county seat of Maui) via a poorly maintained dirt road that is frequently washed out during the wet season. Few visitors seek it out, although its location is marked on various local maps and the U.S.G.S. topographic map of Kaupo (Map C). The property containing the temple is fenced but the gate remains unlocked. No walls are visible from the Kaupo Ranch Road. Pasture weeds, brush and trees obscure the structure until one is within a few feet of it. The National Historic Landmark dedication plaque is in good condition and is visible as one enters the western

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division of the heiau (Photograph 1). There have been no known incidents of looting or vandalism. The Ranch Manager's residence, situated at a higher elevation further up Kaupo Road, commands an excellent view of the site. The manager is aware of Loaloa's significance and intercepts the occasional unannounced visitors who come to the heiau. He personally escorts them about the property and stays until they depart.

### Non-contributing Properties

There are no known non-contributing properties within or adjacent to the Landmark.

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### ILLUSTRATIONS

### **Photographs**

- 1 View to north. Western division of heiau located within overgrown vegetation and trees to left of the parked State of Hawaii vehicle. Photograph by H. Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 27, 1985.
- 2 View east. NHL dedication marker located in cluster of trees noted in Photograph 1. Remains of western division pits and walls identified in Map A. Photograph by H. Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 27, 1985.
- 3 View to west from atop highest platform in the eastern division of the heiau. Photograph by H. Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 27, 1985.
- 4 View eastward across eastern division platform showing standing wall and ocean view in background. Leighton Beck, Kaupo Ltd. Ranch Manager in foreground. Photograph by H. Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 27, 1985.
- 5 View (to north) of Manawainui Valley from atop highest platform in the eastern division. Photograph by H. Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 27, 1985.
- 6 Panoramic view, to southeast, of Pacific Ocean from at op highest platform in eastern division of Loaloa Heiau. Photograph by H. Dunbar, National Park Service, Western Region, June 27, 1985.

### Figures

1 Artist's depiction of a <u>luakini</u> heiau from description by Ii (1959).



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Plan Map of Loaloa Heiau (Soehren 1963).	
Maui Island: major districts and pre-A.D. 1600 buffer zone (Cordy 1981:198, 208).	
U.S.G.S. 7.5 Minute Kaupo Quadrangle, Maui County, Hawaii, 1983.	
	Plan Map of Loaloa Heiau (Soehren 1963). Maui Island: major districts and pre-A.D. 1600 buffer zone (Cordy 1981:198, 208).

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The foundations of <u>luakini</u> 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 Loaloa they may have two, three and four terraces. According to John Papa Ii, who served in the court of Kamehameha II, the major features of these structures included an <u>'anu'u</u> tower where priests received inspiration, a semi-circular arrangement of wooden images surrounding the <u>lele</u> or offering platform, thatched houses (on individual platforms) with special functions i.e., drum house, oven house, and the house of <u>mu</u>, the body catcher who provided victims for sacrifice, etc. (Ii 1959:35-48; see also Figure 1).

Loaloa Heiau is one of the few remaining intact examples of a state level sacrificial temple. Further, it is one of the few <u>luakini</u> believed to contain design features that may be associated with the political reign and rebuilding cycles of Kamehameha I (Soehren 1963; Ladd 1986; see also Item 7).

Oral tradition attributes the construction of Loaloa, at about A.D. 1730, to Kekaulike, King of Maui, who lived at Kaupo and died in 1736. The heiau may have been rebuilt (over an earlier structure of unknown antiquity) and rededicated prior to Kekaulike's attempted invasion of the Island of Hawaii (Honolulu Advertiser, March 24, 1964). It was during the subsequent reign of Kekaulike's son, Kahekili, that vast changes occurred in Maui society and social organizational changes were instituted. 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 absenses, Kahekili by 1783 dominated all the Hawaiian Islands except for Hawaii, a position he was to hold for nearly a decade until Kamehameha I conquered Maui (Cordy 1981:210). In about 1800-1801, Kamehameha I, who was en route with the Peleleu fleet to conquer Kauai, rededicated Loaloa, and his son, Liholiho (Kamehameha II), then a young boy, declared the tabu (Kamakau 1961:188). Following Kamehameha I's conquest of the islands in the early historic period, the power of the Maui kings and centers such as Kaupo declined.

### RELIGIOUS AND SOCIO-POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

<u>Luakini</u> 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, perhaps about the 12th century (Kirch 1985:259). Pa'ao brought with him the concept of human sacrifice and constructed the first <u>luakini</u>-class heiau. Hawaiian religion continued to change over time particularly as the power of the chiefs and priests grew along with substantial population increases.

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There were several distinct classes of <u>luakini</u> 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. <u>Luakini</u> could be constructed and dedicated only by a paramount chief (<u>ali'i ai moko</u>, or <u>ali'i</u> <u>nui</u>) or a king (<u>moi</u>). The dedication of such a temple by another chief was considered as an act of rebellion against the ruling polity. Nor could <u>luakini</u> temples be built just anywhere; they had to built on sites formerly built on by the people of old (Kamakau 1961).

Clearly building a structure the size of Loaloa would have required an inconceivably large workforce if constructed in one stage. That most probably were not is borne out by Ladd's archeological work at various sites (1969, 1970, and 1972). 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 <u>luakini</u> at contact, was constructed over several centuries in six defineable stages (Ladd 1970). It was believed to have been a <u>lono</u> class heiau whose conversion to a <u>luakini</u> type around A.D. 1600 signified a major political event such as an expanding chiefdom.

By the late prehistoric period, state level heiau such as Loaloa 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 <u>ali'i</u>, 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). Only the <u>ali'i</u> class was responsible for national or state religious observations for the well-being of the entire population.

The common man worshipped individual family gods in a private family temple 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. They also worshipped their own distinct and separate gods.

An important component of ancient Hawaiian religion in the late prehistoric period was the annual four month long (October to February, the wet season) <u>makahiki</u> 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 <u>luakini</u> temple to Ku was either built, or reactivated through a rebuilding cycle, and dedicated to the event.

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Hommon (1976:168-171) theorizes the <u>makahiki</u> 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 Loaloa 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 were probably favored (i.e., Kaupo and Hana, as well as Lahaina and Kahului), 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 up of priests and poltical advisors (including geologists, 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 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.

#### ARCHEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Loaloa Heiau was for several centuries the center and prime site of a culture complex around Kaupo that included multiple village sites and other heiau (Barrere 1961; Walker 1931). The earliest dates for the settlement of the Kaupo 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 in the 16th century. The area surrounding Loaloa and the modern village of Kaupo was much more densely inhabited in the late prehistoric era as evidenced by the numerous village sites and house platforms that are visible along Highway 31. Soehren (1963:4) estimated there were perhaps 1,000 residents around Kaupo at contact where there are only about a dozen or so families today.

In addition to architectural information potential discussed above, it is anticipated that Loaloa Heiau can contribute significant archeological information on building stages and construction techniques. Artifactual remains at similar sites in Hawaii frequently are low; however, due to its remote location and high degree of integrity, the site may still provide lithic, shell and other materials spanning both the prehistoric and historic periods of use. Radiocarbon analyses of charcoal from hearths associated with the various building sequences, and shell remains, are expected to provide valuable chronological information.

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### **INTEGRITY**

Loaloa Heiau possesses exceptional scenic integrity. The temple is intact and unrestored. While surface disruptions due to cattle grazing and vegetational growth have occurred, these impacts have not disturbed the structural integrity of the site nor obscured the essential features or building stages that are important interpretive components of the heiau.

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Malo, David		
1951 International Internation	Hawaiian antiquities. Translated by Dr. Nathani in 1898. Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Special Pu 2, 2nd edition, Honolulu.	
Soehren, Llo	yd J.	
1963	An archaeological survey of portions of East Manuscript on file, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Ho	
Thrum, Thoma 1917	s G., editor The Hawaiian Annual. Honolulu.	
U.S. Departm	ent of the Interior	
1964	"Loaloa Heiau is dedicated as a National Land release, Haleakala National Park, Maui. <u>Honolul</u> March 26, 1964.	
1962	The national survey of historic sites and bui IVI, indigenous people and cultures: <u>Hawaiia</u> <u>culture</u> A.D. 750 - A.D. 1778. National H Washington, D.C.	an aboriginal
Walker, Wins	low M.	
1931	Archaeology of Maui. Manuscript on file, Bern Museum, Honolulu.	ice P. Bishop

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VERBAL BOUNDRY DESCRIPTION AND JUSTIFICATION

Earlier attempts to define a boundary for Loaloa Heiau have estimated the landmark property at as low as five and as high as 202 acres. It is not clear upon what data the larger estimate was based. Earlier investigators may have wanted to include as part of the NHL a measure of the panoramic visual setting of the site. Or, perhaps other house platforms or archeological remains south of the temple must, by virtue of proximity, also be associated in some way. Even the original estimate of five acres is not supportable (U. S. Department of the Interior, National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, April 3, 1963).

<u>Luakini</u> temples such as Loaloa did not function as local temples that served a particular community, 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 probably were 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.

Aside from Soehren's survey and plan map (Map A), there has been no archeological testing or excavation conducted at Loaloa or at any other archeological sites in the immediate area. Therefore, no other conclusively demonstrated contiguous or contributing properties can be established and the boundary must be based on the actual structure.

The boundary encompasses a 1.4 acre rectangular area based on the currently known dimensions of the structure: 110 by 500 feet (57,500 square feet). A 25 by 50 foot area (1250 square feet) to the south side of the landmark structure (Map A) has been added to include the several pens discussed by Soehren (1963) and observed by NPS personnel during the 1985 field inspection (Soehren shows only one of the pens on his map). These structures, or earlier ones similar to them, may have existed in the same general location in the prehistoric period. Should future archeological investigations verify the true extent of the western division of the heiau, reveal earlier ells to the structure, or other archeological remains adjacent to the temple, the present boundary will need revision.