

The first lesson is of man's familial relationship to the Land, that is, to the islands of Hawai'i and Māui, and to the *kalo* Hāloa-naka, who are the elder siblings of the Hawaiian Chiefs and people (see figure 1). This relationship is reflected in the Hawaiian tradition of *Mālama 'Āina*, "caring for the Land." The second lesson of *'Aikapu* is separation of the sacred male element from the dangerous female, thus creating order in the world. The *Kahuna Nui*'s suggestion of *'Aikapu* also allows the Chief to fulfill his desires. The third and final lesson revolves around the *mana* (divine power) that emanates from *Ni'aupi'o* mating (Chiefly incest). These are the three traditional patterns from which all of Hawaiian society flows and the metaphor around which it is organized.

#### MĀLAMA 'ĀINA: CARING FOR THE LAND

In traditional Hawaiian society, as in the rest of Polynesia, it is the duty of younger siblings and junior lineages to love, honor, and serve their elders. This is the pattern that defines the Hawaiian relationship to the *'Āina* and the *kalo* that together feed *Ka Lāhui Hawai'i*. Thus, the "modern" concepts of *aloha 'Āina*, or love of the Land, and *Mālama 'Āina*, or serving and caring for the Land, stem from the traditional model established at the time of Wākea. The Hawaiian does not desire to conquer his elder female sibling, the *'Āina*, but to take care of her, to cultivate her properly, and to make her beautiful with neat gardens and careful husbandry.<sup>21</sup>

Moreover, throughout Polynesia, it is the reciprocal duty of the elder siblings to *bānai* (feed) the younger ones, as well as to love and *ho'omalu* (protect) them. The relationship is thereby further defined: it is the *'Āina*, the *kalo*, and the *Ali'i Nui* who are to feed, clothe, and shelter their younger brothers and sisters, the Hawaiian people. So long as younger Hawaiians love, serve, and honor their elders, the elders will continue to do the same for them, as well as to provide for all their physical needs. Clearly, by this equation, it is the duty of Hawaiians to *Mālama 'Āina*, and, as a result of this proper behavior, the *'Āina* will *mālama* Hawaiians. In Hawaiian, this perfect harmony is known as *pono*, which is often translated in English as "righteous," but actually denotes a universe in perfect harmony.

How did Hawaiians *Mālama 'Āina*?

In the Hawaiian way of thinking, all directives in society emanate from the *Akua*, who on earth are represented by the *Ali'i Nui*, those Gods visible to humans.<sup>22</sup> The role of *Ali'i Nui*, as mediators between the divine and human, was to placate and manipulate those more dangerous and unseen *Akua* whose powers regulated the earth and all the awesome forces of nature. In Polynesia, proximity to the *Akua* could mean death, and it was the duty of the *Ali'i Nui* to *ho'omalu* the *maka'āinana* from unnecessary death.

From this standpoint, *Ali'i Nui* were the protectors of the *maka'āinana*, sheltering them from terrible unseen forces. Should an *Ali'i Nui* neglect proper ritual and pious behavior, surely a famine or calamity would ensue. Should a famine arise, the *Ali'i Nui* was held at fault and deposed.<sup>23</sup> Alternately, should an *Ali'i Nui* be stingy and cruel to the commoners, the cultivators of the *'Āina*, he or she would cease to be *pono*, lose favor with the *Akua* and be struck down, usually by the people.<sup>24</sup> Thus, the *Ali'i Nui* had to juggle their responsibilities to keep the cosmos in order. To protect themselves, and to maintain *pono* for their people, *Ali'i Nui* lived by those patterns proven trustworthy by their ancestors, the *Akua*. A reciprocal relationship was maintained: the *Ali'i Nui* kept the *'Āina* fertile and the *Akua* appeased; the *maka'āinana* fed and clothed the *Ali'i Nui*.

The *Ali'i Nui* determined the correct uses of the *'Āina*. The *pono*, or righteous *Ali'i Nui*, was one who established order upon the *'Āina* so that it might be more productive.<sup>25</sup> A good example is Mā'ilikukāhi, a *Mō'i* of O'ahu, elected by the council of Chiefs, perhaps in the fourteenth century. His name became famous because

He caused the island to be thoroughly surveyed, and the boundaries between different divisions and lands to be definitely and permanently marked out, thus obviating future disputes between neighboring chiefs and landholders.<sup>26</sup>

The reign of Mā'ilikukāhi was renowned for peace, abundance of food, care of the *maka'āinana*, and favorable increase in population. The key to his fame, no doubt, was organization of the *'Āina* and its productivity.

At about the same time, on Māui, under the *Mō'i Kāka'alaneo* (touched