Nā Mele O Ka Lāhui: A Conductor's Guide to the Choral Music of Liliʻuokalani

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NĀ MELE O KA LĀHUI:
A CONDUCTOR’S GUIDE TO THE CHORAL MUSIC OF LILI‘UOKALANI

By

Jace Saplan

A DOCTORAL ESSAY

Submitted to the Faculty
of the University of Miami
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A Conductor’s Guide to the Choral Music of Lili‘uokalani

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The last reigning monarch of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, Queen Lili‘uokalani was also an avid composer of Hawaiian choral music. Her vast output places her as the most influential Native Hawaiian composer of the nineteenth century as well as a crucial figure in the development of Hawaiian choral music. Utilizing the history and repertoire of Lili‘uokalani as a framework, this essay presents a guide for conductors of nineteenth century Hawaiian choral music in idiomatic performance issues specific to the repertoire, including diction, choral tone, instrumentation, and Native Hawaiian performance ritual. Because the performance practices of Lili‘uokalani’s music continue to evolve as a living practice, this essay synthesizes the Queen’s historical writings on these points with current perspectives from four living contemporary conductors and Native Hawaiian scholars. Finally, the essay presents audio examples of these practices, performed by Native Hawaiian choral ensembles.
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Finally, Mahalo nui e Liliʻuokalani. Thank you for your incredible legacy. Thank you for dedicating your life to the preservation and propagation of Native Hawaiian agency. Thank you for being a model of grace and strength for me, and every kanaka maoli. Eō, e Liliʻu.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The introduction of the Western European choral idiom to Hawai‘i during the nineteenth century impacted the development of Native Hawaiian music. The European and American missionaries traveling to and from the island chain considered choral music to be integral to the practice of converting Native Hawaiians from their own religion to Christianity. Although aware that the original purpose of teaching choral music to the Native Hawaiian population was for religious conversion, Native Hawaiians ultimately adopted the art form in their own cultural worldview and rituals, resulting in a hybrid canon of repertoire and performance practices that is unique to Hawai‘i.¹

As the presence of missionaries grew throughout the late nineteenth century, the Christian church asserted and maintained control over religious and educational development in Hawai‘i, including over Native Hawaiian royalty and their lineages. Under the management of missionary educational and religious systems, Hawai‘i became one of the most literate countries in the world in both language and music. The success of Native Hawaiian music literacy led to a populace of Native Hawaiian composers who developed a canon of choral music written entirely in Hawaiian.² Among these composers was Queen Lili‘uokalani, the most prolific Native Hawaiian composer of the nineteenth century.

Lili‘uokalani composed nineteen pieces that were published using Western notation, with many more existing only through oral traditions. While the total number of

¹ George Kanahele, Ka Mele Hawai‘i a me ke Po‘e mele (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2012), 239.
² Ibid., 240.
her works is unknown due to the nature of oral tradition, all of Lili‘uokalani’s works were intended for voice and/or chorus with varying accompaniment. She is one of the few Native Hawaiian composers whose compositions remain in print and are accessible to non-Native Hawaiian communities outside of Hawai‘i. This is largely due to the fact that many Native Hawaiian composers adhered strictly to oral traditions and did not share their work with foreigners.

Need for Study

According to George Lewis, Western musicians have commercialized Native Hawaiian soundscape for the tourism industry, leading contemporary Native Hawaiian musicians to assert and redefine their cultural identity and practices. This is especially true in regards to Hawaiian choral music. The majority of published Hawaiian choral music currently in circulation perpetuates practices that are not culturally or musically informed. Without thorough firsthand knowledge of issues concerning tone, timbre, vibrato, and other unique performance considerations associated with Native Hawaiian music such as hula or the bestowing of leis, choral conductors will be unable to present Native Hawaiian choral music in a way that accurately preserves its historical and cultural nuances. Therefore, this study provides a performance guide for non-Native

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3 Kanahele, *Ka Mele Hawai‘i a me ke Po‘e Mele*, 504.
4 Ibid., 230.
Hawaiian conductors to prepare them to present culturally sensitive and historically informed performances of Native Hawaiian choral music.

To date, there is a lack of information available for non-Native Hawaiian conductors regarding appropriate performance practices of Queen Liliʻuokalani’s output, largely due to an absence of Native Hawaiians who have received or are receiving a terminal degree in choral music. According to a recent study done by the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa Native Hawaiian Advancement Task Force Report, Native Hawaiians with a terminal degree in the arts and humanities make up less than .03% of the total awarded terminal degrees from 2010-2015. Consequently, while Native Hawaiian music and musicians have been studied, research conducted by a Native Hawaiian choral pedagogue whose work is informed firsthand by regarded members of the Native Hawaiian choral community is quite rare. Further, while some practices have been codified and propagated within Hawaiʻi since the 1800s, the lack of Native Hawaiian scholarship has resulted in these performance practices becoming culturally insular. Therefore, one of the chief goals of this study is to provide firsthand perspectives on performance practice of Queen Liliʻuokalani from conductors who are current representatives of the Native Hawaiian choral community.

**Research Questions**

In this study, I aim first to address how contemporary Native Hawaiian conductors perform a nineteenth-century Native Hawaiian choral work utilizing the repertoire of Liliʻuokalani as a guiding framework. Second, I question how Native

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8 Kanahele, *Ka Mele Hawaiʻi a me ke Poʻe Mele*, 240.
Hawaiian perspectives on the musical history and compositions of Liliʻuokalani can inform the conductor’s implementation of Native Hawaiian choral repertoire of the nineteenth century. Lastly, I consider how Native Hawaiian approaches to choral tone, pronunciation of the Hawaiian language, instrumentation and accompaniment, and cultural ritual can inform conductors unfamiliar with the Native Hawaiian choral tradition as they work to create historically- and culturally-informed performances.

**Method**

This essay presents a history of Queen Liliʻuokalani and her compositional output with the intent to inform a conductor’s interpretation of both this repertoire and Native Hawaiian choral repertoire in general. Additionally, the essay synthesizes the unique perspectives of four living Native Hawaiian conductors and scholars regarding their approaches to choral tone, pronunciation of the Hawaiian language, instrumentation/orchestration, accompaniment, and cultural ritual with an intent to guide conductors unfamiliar with the Native Hawaiian choral tradition as to create historically and culturally informed performances.

Much of the historical discussion of this essay was done through archival research conducted at the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, Hawaiʻi, and Ka Haka ʻUla o Keʻelikōlani in Hilo, Hawaiʻi. The Bishop Museum is Hawaiʻi’s largest museum and houses a collection of musical sketches made by Queen Liliʻuokalani as well as collections of other significant Native Hawaiian composers of the nineteenth century. Through a fellowship awarded by this institution, I traced the development and codification of Liliʻuokalani’s compositional style. Ka Haka ʻUla o Keʻelikōlani, the College of
Hawaiian language and culture at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo, is one of two colleges in the world that are dedicated to the study of Hawaiian language and culture at the undergraduate and graduate level. The college houses a collection of Queen Lili‘uokalani’s diaries and letters from throughout her life that contain her thoughts on the musical process and poetry of her choral music. In this collection, I found personal protocols and devices that Lili‘uokalani observed in the performance of her pieces. I have also translated selected written statements by Queen Lili‘uokalani from Hawaiian into English that will aid conductors in their score study of the piece (See Appendix I).

Finally, in order to illustrate concepts described here, I prepared a performance of several of Lili‘uokalani’s published works with Nā Wai Chamber Choir, a women’s vocal ensemble that champions Native Hawaiian repertoire and works by Indigenous Hawaiian composers. These works are now contained within what is called The Queen’s Songbook, a collection of the Queen’s works that are both published and unpublished, assembled by the Lili‘uokalani Trust.

**Informant Biographies**

To provide the reader with knowledge and context for implementing Native Hawaiian choral performance practice within current practice, I interviewed three Native Hawaiian choral musicians who also identify as Native Hawaiian cultural practitioners: Nola Nāhulu (See Appendix VI), Amy Stillman (See Appendix VII), and Aaron Salā (See Appendix VIII). Additionally, I utilize my own knowledge and experience as a Native Hawaiian choral conductor and cultural practitioner to inform and advance this
study’s findings. All four hold highly regarded posts within the Native Hawaiian community.

**Nola Nāhulu**

Nola Nāhulu has been a choral director in the state of Hawai‘i since 1978. She served on the faculties of Our Redeemer Lutheran School, the University Lab School, and the Kamehameha Schools, an institution dedicated the education of Native Hawaiian youth. From 1982, she has been the director of the Hawaiian Chorus at the University of Hawai‘i, an ensemble dedicated to the preservation and propagation of Hawaiian choral music.⁹

Since 1986, Nāhulu has also served as the principal director of the Hawai‘i Youth Opera Chorus, Hawai‘i’s largest and oldest community youth choir that honors Native Hawaiian culture and music. In 1997, she founded Kawaiolanāpukanileo, a community adult ensemble specializing in the performance and practice of Hawaiian choral music. She is also the choir director at Kawaiaha‘o Church, the first Christian church built on O‘ahu, where Queen Lili‘uokalani once served as the choir director.¹⁰

In 1987, she was named Hawaiian of the Year by the Association of Hawaiian Civic Clubs and was recognized by YWCA O‘ahu in 2010 for her work and service as a woman in leadership and education. She has also served as president and member of the

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board of the American Choral Directors Association, Hawai‘i Chapter. She is frequently sought after as a clinician and cultural resource to choral ensembles across the country.\textsuperscript{11}

**Aaron Salā**

Salā is a celebrated Native Hawaiian recording artist. His Hawaiian music albums have gone on to receive awards at the Nā Hokuhanohano Ceremony, an organization that celebrates and promotes the work of Native Hawaiian and Hawai‘i-based musicians and recordings. He also serves as a cultural director and resource to the Hawai‘i Tourism Authority Board, Japan Hawai‘i Tourism Council, PBS Hawai‘i, and the Royal Hawaiian Center. He has also served as a cultural consultant for the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, the World Indigenous People’s Conference on Education, the East-West Center, Walt Disney Entertainment, and the Center for Hawaiian Music and Dance.\textsuperscript{12}

As a choral musician, Salā frequently contributes Hawaiian choral arrangements to the Kamehameha Schools Song Contest, an annual choral competition of Hawaiian choral music that features the high school classes of the Kamehameha Schools Kapālama Campus. Salā has served as a choral director at Winward Community College and the conductor for the Hawai‘i Youth Opera Chorus Cantilena Ensemble. A sought-after clinician of Hawaiian choral music, he received a BA in music and an MA in

\textsuperscript{11} University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, “Nola Nāhulu: Lecturer in Music.”
ethnomusicology from the University of Hawai‘i and was named an Indigenous Fellow for the Native Arts and Cultures Federation.¹³

**Amy Stillman**

Dr. Amy Stillman is the director of the Asian and Pacific Islander American Studies program and professor of musicology and American studies at the University of Michigan. She teaches courses in Hawaiian culture and music, ethnomusicology, and hula. Her scholarship focuses on the history of performance traditions in Hawai‘i.¹⁴

She is a frequent collaborator, song-writer, and cultural resource for many Native Hawaiian recording artists. Her work with other collaborators has led to Grammy Awards and Grammy Award nominations for the Hawaiian music and world music categories. She has also utilized the recording arts as an opportunity to preserve and propagate Native Hawaiian chants and songs that were passed down orally.¹⁵

Dr. Stillman is also a scholar and practitioner of Native Hawaiian dance. In 2007, she created the Great Lakes Hula Academy, an opportunity for hula teachers and advanced dancers in the Great Lakes area to receive masterclass instruction. She has also served as a facilitator, teacher, and collaborator to hula programs and schools around the country.¹⁶

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¹⁶ University of Michigan, “Amy Stillman.”
Jace Saplan

As a Native Hawaiian choral conductor, I authored this essay, offering my background and experience as further support. I was born in Hilo, Hawai‘i, and grew up under the guidance and mentorship of Native Hawaiian cultural practitioners and musicians. During my undergraduate education at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, I sang under the direction of Nola Nāhulu and Aaron Salā with multiple Native Hawaiian-identifying choral ensembles. I was also given the opportunity to serve as a conducting apprentice to both Nāhulu and Salā throughout my time at the University of Hawai‘i.

In addition, I have been the artistic director and conductor of Nā Wai Chamber Choir, a women’s choral ensemble dedicated to the preservation and propagation of Native Hawaiian choral music, since 2009. During this time, we have created outreach opportunities for Native Hawaiian-speaking communities throughout Hawai‘i, began a mentorship and scholarship program for young Native Hawaiian composers and choral conductors, and have championed historically- and culturally-informed performances of the music of Lili‘uokalani. Through my own expertise as a Native Hawaiian choral conductor and cultural practitioner informed by my work with an Indigenous choral ensemble, I also include my personal opinions and expertise on the application of cultural protocols, Hawaiian language, instrumentation, and vocal production for the repertoire of Lili‘uokalani.
CHAPTER II
LILIʻUOKALANI: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

The canon of nineteenth-century Native Hawaiian music would be sparse without the compositions of Queen Liliʻuokalani. She is by far the most prolific Native Hawaiian composer of her time as well as the most published.17 Because so many of Liliʻuokalani’s works are indeed published, they are also among the most accessible Native Hawaiian choral compositions for choral conductors around the world. Therefore, the conductor of Native Hawaiian music must study her work, her life, and her musical legacy as the central hub of Native Hawaiian choral music. Her musical legacy continues to be a guiding framework for Native Hawaiian musicians.

A Biography of the Queen

Liliʻuokalani, the most prominent Hawaiian composer of her time and the last reigning monarch of the Hawaiian Kingdom, was born as Lydia Kamakaʻeha in Honolulu, Hawaiʻi, on September 2, 1838. She was born into a high-ranking family in Hawaiian politics, High Chief Caesar Kapaʻakea and High Chiefess Keohokalole. Through a common Hawaiian practice called hānai (an informal adoption between and within families to strengthen community and relationships), she was given to another respectable family, High Chief Pākī and High Chiefess Konia, the granddaughter of Hawaiʻi’s first king, Kamehameha I.

She spent her childhood years at the Royal School, a boarding school reserved for children of Hawaiian royalty. The school, run by Amos and Juliette Cooke of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, was created with the intent to

17 Kanahele, Ka Mele Hawaiʻi a me ke Poʻe mele, 239.
raise the next generation of Hawaiian royalty as Christian rulers, creating an educational foundation that would prepare future monarchs to interact with and understand the nuances of American and European traditions and cultures. At the Royal School, Lili’uokalani received specialized training in music, including lessons in piano, voice, and hymn singing. As her skills grew, she and her siblings began to compose music.18

After her time at the Royal School, Lili’uokalani went on to marry John Owen Dominis, an American statesman who would become the governor of O‘ahu and Maui. While she did not bear any children with her husband, she took on the practice of hānai, inheriting three children for her own. She spent much of her life during this time composing while living with her mother-in-law.19

In 1874, her brother Kalākaua ascended the throne as the monarch of Hawai‘i. With her brother as King, she and her siblings were given the title of either Prince or Princess. Three years into her brother’s reign, her elder sibling Prince Leleiohoku passed away, giving her the title of Heir Apparent and Crown Princess. She would go on to serve as her brother’s regent during his trips outside of Hawai‘i.20

Lili’uokalani ascended the throne after her brother’s death in 1891. Throughout her reign, she attempted to restore power to the monarchy, as much power was stripped away due to the increased presence of American businesspeople. As her resistance grew, however, in 1893, pro-American elements in Hawai‘i overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy.

18 Lili’uokalani, *The Queen’s Songbook*, scholarship by Dorothy Gillett and Barbara Smith (Honolulu: Hui and Hānai, 1999), 6.
19 Ibid., 8.
20 Lili’uokalani, *Hawai‘i’s Story by Hawai‘i’s Queen* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1898), 53.
This action was quickly supported by the American government as troops from the United States Marines rendered Liliʻuokalani and her kingdom unable to defend itself.21 Despite attempts to restore the throne, Liliʻuokalani was placed under house arrest by the American government and imprisoned in her own palace. While resistance to the occupation of the Hawaiian monarchy remained, Liliʻuokalani would never again assume the throne. She lived out the remainder of her life as a citizen of the United States of America until her death in 1917.22 While Liliʻuokalani held a variety of titles throughout her political career, her work and legacy as a composer remained steadfast throughout her life.

The Early Compositions of Liliʻuokalani

Upon leaving the Royal School in 1855, 17-year-old Liliʻuokalani was expected to be an active, social participant in the life of the kingdom’s court. As a young lady tied to exuberant social activity, she hosted European monarchs and international friends of King Kamehameha IV. At these social events, she journaled about being captivated by the collection of “improvised dances” that were taught by European visitors after informal cultural exchanges.23 Dorothy Gillett, one of the first Native Hawaiian scholars to publish research on the music of Liliʻuokalani, writes that missionary waltzes, polkas, and mazurkas became popular during the 1850s as the foreign presence in Honolulu increased due to continued visits by American and European ships with traveling musicians.24 The exposure to European dance forms and meter proved significant to

21 Liliʻuokalani, Hawaiʻi’s Story by Hawaiʻi’s Queen, 64.
22 Ibid., 72.
23 Ibid., 53.
24 Liliʻuokalani, The Queen’s Songbook, 6.
Lili‘uokalani, who expanded her use of meter from predominantly common time to the inclusion of triple meter. For example, she attributes her work “Ahe Lau Makani” (There is a Breath), one of the first pieces in the Hawaiian language written in triple meter, as being heavily influenced by the waltz.\textsuperscript{25}

This period proved to be expansive for Hawaiian choral music, as the prevailing homophonic hymn-like style of writing introduced by the missionaries gave way to European dance rhythms. At the same time, the piano began to carry more melodic weight as well. Normally, in the hymn traditions of Hawai‘i, the keyboard instrument would play colla parte with the choir. However, since the introduction of European dance styles, the piano accompaniments of Lili‘uokalani expanded to include evidence of counter melody, Alberti bass, and Verdi accompaniment. For example, her work “Nani Nā Pua Ko‘olau” (The Flower of Ko‘olau), abandons colla parte techniques and instead follows a consistent Alberti accompaniment with soloistic piano introductions before the entrance of the choir.\textsuperscript{26}

“Nani Nā Pua Ko‘olau” marks a significant change in Lili‘uokalani’s choice of literary themes as well. Beforehand, much of her work was labeled as a mele wahipana, a song dedicated to a place of great historical significance, or a mele haipule, a song or chant connected to the Christian church. However, during the late 1850s, Lili‘uokalani was courted by and engaged to Prince Lunalilo, who expressed a fondness for Lili‘uokalani. Although the engagement was severed for political reasons, Lili‘uokalani

\textsuperscript{25}Lili‘uokalani, \textit{The Queen’s Songbook}, 6.
\textsuperscript{26}Kanahele, \textit{Ka Mele Hawai‘i a me ke Po‘e Mele}, 239.
does write about the courtship as a romantic catalyst for this work. According to Hui Hānai, this is the earliest of her surviving publications.\textsuperscript{27}

Because these expressions and sentiments of love do not observe \textit{kaona}, or Hawaiian poetics and metaphors, and instead were written with a Western-oriented expression of love, this piece was also translated and published in English. Therefore, an entire genre was created, where the expression of love is more closely aligned to the Western sensibilities of romance while still in the Hawaiian language. Pukui describes the genre as an expanded \textit{mele aloha}, or a song of love or affection.\textsuperscript{28}

\textbf{1860s: Composing for Solace and National Responsibility}

After a two-year engagement, Liliʻuokalani married John Dominis in 1862. Dominis, an American-born statesman, was a former schoolmate of Liliʻuokalani’s at the Royal School. The married couple moved into Washington Place with Dominis’s mother in an estate built and maintained by Dominis’s father.\textsuperscript{29} These living arrangements were not ideal for Liliʻuokalani, who felt that Dominis’ mother was threatened and angered by her presence.\textsuperscript{30}

Despite the tensions at Washington Place, Liliʻuokalani wrote about turning to composing for solace and escape. During this time, she began to write works for Indigenous singing schools. Her work “Onipa’a” (Stand Firm), was utilized as a training piece for many Indigenous singing schools and was celebrated as a way to rouse nationalism amongst youth. The work urges the listener and performer to support a

\textsuperscript{27} Liliʻuokalani, \textit{The Queen’s Songbook}, 6.
\textsuperscript{28} Kanahele, \textit{Ka Mele Hawaiʻi a me ke Poʻe Mele}, 171.
\textsuperscript{29} Mary Richards, \textit{The Chief’s Children School} (Honolulu: Honolulu Star Bulletin, 1937), 184.
\textsuperscript{30} Liliʻuokalani, \textit{Hawaiʻi’s Story by Hawaiʻi’s Queen}, 24.
reformed Indigenous constitution proclaimed by the king of that time, Kamehameha V.
This piece was a significant educational and political contribution by Lili’uokalani, as it not only brought awareness to the need for a more codified Indigenous framework for music education, but also to the need for political reform. At this time, Lili’uokalani’s husband, John Dominis, was also the personal secretary to Kamehameha V.  

Composing and working with singing schools served as a catalyst for Lili’uokalani’s output. Hamohamo, one of Lili’uokalani’s family residences in Waikīkī, was one of Lili’uokalani’s favorite recreational areas and provided both a sanctuary away from her mother-in-law and a place to compose. Several works were written at Hamohamo during this time, such as “Ehehene Ko ‘Aka” (Giggle, Giggle Goes Your Laughter), “He Ali’i Nō Wau” (I Am Indeed a Chief), and “Pilipili Ka Ua I Ka Nahele” (The Rain Clings Close to the Forest).  

Gaining recognition as a successful composer, she was asked by Kamehameha V to compose a new anthem in 1866. Before his inquiry, “God Save the Queen,” a song that originated in Britain, served this purpose. However, much of Kamehameha V’s reign focused on securing a rooted, Indigenous identity amongst the kingdom’s populace.

Lili’uokalani wrote about how inspired she was at this honor and composed “He Mele Lāhui Hawai‘i” (The Hawaiian National Anthem) within several days. Within a year, the Anthem was printed and available for purchase in Hawai‘i. This was her first published piece for public use and also the first national anthem written in the Hawaiian language.

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31 Lili‘uokalani, *The Queen’s Songbook*, 256.
32 Bruce Irwin, *I Knew Queen Lili‘uokalani* (Honolulu: South Sea Sales, 1960), 82.
“He Mele Lāhui Hawai‘i” continued to be the National Anthem until 1867, when the reigning King Kalākaua would replace it with his own “Hawai‘i Pono‘ī.”

During the time of “He Mele Lāhui Hawai‘i,” Queen Lili‘uokalani was also named as the choir director and organist at Kawaiahaʻo Church. This church was built to serve as the national church of the Hawaiian monarchy during the time of Kamehameha II and Kamehameha III. Liliʻuokalani remained in this coveted position for several years; it is there that she conducted her premiere of “He Mele Lāhui Hawaiʻi.” At Kawaiahaʻo, Queen Liliʻuokalani also instructed the Singing Club of Honolulu, where she began to establish herself not only as a composer but a choral pedagogue as well. Her role as a choral conductor largely stemmed from her work at Kawaiahaʻo Church, with training in choral pedagogy from her time at the Royal School.

During this time, the newspaper Ka Nūpepa Kuoka, one of the primary Hawaiian language newspapers of this time, mentions a “young white man” in an article about Liliʻuokalani’s ensemble. Though he remains unnamed, Gillett suggests that the “young white man” was a pedagogue to Liliʻuokalani at this time. Under his instruction, Liliʻuokalani received lessons in composition and refined her skills in organ, guitar, and piano. She even wrote about the inclusion of these instruments during performances and rehearsals with her ensembles.

1870s: Composing for Political Sustainability and the Celebration of a Lineage

Gillett discusses a shift in Liliʻuokalani from a focus on the composition of music to a focus on lyrics in this decade. Her argument is based on Liliʻuokalani’s increasing

33 Liliʻuokalani, The Queen’s Songbook, 257.
34 Irwin, I Knew Queen Liliʻuokalani, 84.
35 Liliʻuokalani, The Queen’s Songbook, 262.
involvement in politics during this time and her need to ration her time accordingly. Therefore, in this era, Liliʻuokalani set her music by championing a new form for Native Hawaiian listeners, where the verse and chorus both utilize the same melodic material, placing more focus on text than on musical affect.\footnote{Ibid., 257.}

The year 1873 marked the arrival of Henry Berger, a Prussian Kapellmeister who also worked under Johann Strauss II. Berger was sent by the German government at the request of Kamehameha V to be the director of the \textit{Royal Hawaiian Band}, a concert wind ensemble founded by Kamehameha III. Under the direction of Berger, the practice of Western performance in Hawai‘i was elevated. He also began to compose concert band pieces dedicated to Hawaiian monarchs and pieces with Native Hawaiian titles. His dedication to his post had a great influence on Hawaiian music and on Liliʻuokalani. Once Berger started his 43-year service as the director of the Royal Hawaiian Band, Liliʻuokalani’s output drastically increased, despite political responsibility.\footnote{Scott Smith, \textit{The Royal Hawaiian Band: Its Legacy} (Honolulu: Island Heritage Publishing, 2004), 12.}

However, Kamehameha V died before the arrival of Berger in 1872, only to be followed by a short reign of King Lunalilo, Liliʻuokalani’s former fiancé, who died in 1874. This death brought a feud between the widowed Queen Emma and Liliʻuokalani. Queen Emma lobbied her dying husband to name her as his successor despite his constant refusal. In response to Queen Emma’s behavior, Liliʻuokalani composed “Ka Wai Ōpua Makani” (Wind of the Water-of-Cloud-Banks) that shamed Queen Emma’s efforts for the kingdom.

After an election was held in the national legislature, Kālakaua, Liliʻuokalani’s brother, was named as King. Overjoyed, Liliʻuokalani wrote “Ka Hae Kalaunu” (The
Flag of the Crown). This piece is significant, as it is one of the few pieces of this decade that does not follow Lili‘uokalani’s imposed form of verse and chorus containing the same melodic scheme. Instead, the text of the verse alludes to Kalākaua and his siblings, then transitions to a jubilant chorus, where the text disengages from allusion to blatantly celebrating Kalākaua and his siblings. This piece serves as a clear example of Lili‘uokalani’s ability to traverse the intersection of Hawaiian understanding and poetic prowess and Western understanding and rhetoric.38

    Two more pieces were written in 1874, “La‘i Au Ė” (Peaceful Am I) and “Lei Ponimō‘ī” (Carnation Lei). These pieces have great ties to Kalākaua, naming Leleiōhoku, his younger brother, as the heir to the throne; they were then rehearsed and performed with Lili‘uokalani’s singing groups at Kawaiaha‘o. During these two years, Lili‘uokalani solidified her role in utilizing choral compositions as political testimony that intertwined the wishes of the monarchy with those of the general populace. Recognizing Kawaiaha‘o as a beacon of faith and social gathering where many Native Hawaiians would listen to her ensembles, Lili‘uokalani understood the importance of choral anthems. Consequently, she utilized her music as a political vehicle to garner support for the royal family.39

    In 1877, Prince Leleiōhoku died at 23 years old, leaving Lili‘uokalani as heir to the throne. Despite the family tragedy, Kalākaua composed a mele inoa, a song to honor the name and family of an individual, entitled “He Inoa No Kalanikauikamoku, Lili‘uokalani.” This is a significant work, as this is one of the first mele inoa that was dedicated to Lili‘uokalani, marking her influence not only as heir apparent but as a significant musician in Hawai‘i as well. Not long after the death of her brother and her

38 Kanahele, Ka Mele Hawai‘i a me ke Po‘e Mele, 230.
announcement as heir apparent, she set out on a nationwide tour to present herself and her new title.\textsuperscript{40}

Her tour proved to be a time of inspiration, and her output expanded exponentially during this time. As she toured islands outside of O‘ahu, she began to write a canon of \textit{mele inoa} for her niece, Ka‘iulani. Allen argues that these contributions came from receiving a \textit{mele inoa} from her brother and her desire to continue the royal lineage.\textsuperscript{41}

While traveling to Maui, Lili‘uokalani adopted a baby girl, Lydia Ka‘onohipanioniokalani Aholo, through the Hawaiian protocol of \textit{hānai}. In Maui, she composed a \textit{mele inoa} called “Liliko‘i.” Her time in Maui proved fruitful for composition, as she wrote five more compositions ranging from “Na‘u Nō ‘Oe” (You Are Mine), a \textit{mele aloha} in waltz form, to “Aloha ‘Oe” (Farewell to Thee), her most published and most famous composition, and another \textit{mele inoa} for Ka‘iulani.\textsuperscript{42} Smith states that Lili‘uokalani’s ascent to the status of heir apparent was the one of the main reasons that she completed more songs in the 1870s than ever before. Lili‘uokalani was to be the Queen of Hawai‘i. Her family was no longer subservient to the Kamehameha lineage, and her motives to compose evolved from music as a means to achieve political sustainability to music as a celebration of life.\textsuperscript{43}

1880s: Composing in Times of Death and Travel

This era marks a significant reduction in composition for Lili‘uokalani. According to Kuykendall, this diminution in repertoire was due to the inception of competing

\textsuperscript{40} Lili‘uokalani, \textit{Hawai‘i’s Story by Hawai‘i’s Queen}, 53.
\textsuperscript{41} Allen Helena, \textit{The Betrayal of Lili‘uokalani} (Glendale: Arthur Clarke, 1982), 43.
\textsuperscript{42} Lili‘uokalani, \textit{The Queen’s Songbook}, 14.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., 15.
nations seeking to assert power and dominance over Hawai‘i. Tabrah argues that an underlying reason could be the smallpox epidemic that occurred in the islands during Liliʻuokalani’s regency while Kalākaua left for a tour around the world.

However, Liliʻuokalani did not cease composing entirely. She translated and arranged “Hoʻoheno” (A Tender Tribute) as an act of respect towards the composers and longtime retainers Joseph ‘Ae‘a and Joseph Heleluhe. In her first published arrangement, Liliʻuokalani championed the practice of choral arranging through Western notation.

In 1884, Liliʻuokalani composed “A Chant” for the funeral of her hānai sister, Bernice Pauahi Bishop. Defined as a mele kanikau, or a chant of mourning, these chants are normally monophonic and improvisatory. However, Liliʻuokalani evolved the genre by setting this chant in a four-part, hymn-like style with text from the biblical book of Job. This work is seen as an example of Liliʻuokalani’s mastery of Hawaiian protocol and Western sensibility. Considering that Pauahi was also a devout Christian, Liliʻuokalani wrote this as a piece that encapsulated Pauahi’s identity as a Native Hawaiian cultural practitioner and a fervent Christian.

In 1887, Liliʻuokalani suffered another death in her family with the passing of her sister Likelike in 1887. During this year, Liliʻuokalani was also invited to attend the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria of England. Before traveling to London, the Hawaiian contingency stopped in Boston, which lifted Liliʻuokalani’s spirits. She wrote about how inspired she was after attending an operetta with her husband’s family and dining with President Cleveland. Traveling from Boston to London, Liliʻuokalani composed a composition to Queen Victoria entitled “The Queen’s Jubilee”, which was gifted to

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44 Ralph Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1938), 362.
Queen Victoria at her Jubilee. The piece begins with the keyboard instrument imitating a fanfare, showcasing Liliʻuokalani’s understanding of the use of brass fanfare entrances to mark the arrival of a British monarch. Though it was a successful trip politically for the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi, Liliʻuokalani expressed her longing for Hawaiʻi during her stay in Europe through her composition “Ka Huna Kai” (The Sea Spray). This piece, while a choral work, also marks her contribution to the evolution of hula or Hawaiian dance. It was a hula kuʻi, a type of form that joined ancient dance steps with the current dances of her time.47

1890s: Composing for an Annexed Kingdom

The 1890s were turbulent years for Liliʻuokalani. She lost her brother, Kalākaua, who died of health-related issues while he was in San Francisco in 1891. Queen Liliʻuokalani took the throne shortly after the announcement of his death only to lose the entire Kingdom of Hawaiʻi to American power in 1893. After being arrested for treason against the American government, she was imprisoned in her own palace for eight months.48

During her imprisonment, Queen Liliʻuokalani composed seven songs, including “Kuʻu Pua I Paoakalani” (My Flower at Paoakalani), a choral work dedicated to a boy who delivered her flowers from her properties around the city. In this piece, she also employs a double meaning that suggests that the flower can be a signal of opposition against the American government. During this time, Queen Liliʻuokalani turned back to

47 Liliʻuokalani, Hawaiʻi’s Story by Hawaiʻi’s Queen, 280.
48 Allen, The Betrayal of Liliʻuokalani, 381.
Hawaiian poetics to communicate opposition to the overthrow of her Native Hawaiian Kingdom.⁴⁹

Queen Liliʻuokalani received a full pardon and restoration of her civil rights from the American government in 1896. At this time, she set her text “Ka Wai ‘Apo Lani,” a work rooted in Native Hawaiian metaphor, once more. She references taro, a symbol of life and sustenance for the Hawaiian people. Through this image, Liliʻuokalani utilizes Hawaiian metaphor to describe the ruler-subject relationship she endured during the annexation of Hawaiʻi.⁵⁰

Despite Liliʻuokalani’s morbid themes before the turn of the century, she encountered great success in publishing her works. She compiled a book of her compositions entitled “He Buke Mele Hawaiʻi” (A Hawaiian Songbook) and sent one copy to Queen Victoria and another to the United States Library of Congress.⁵¹ This collection includes compositions starting from her first trip to the United States.

With the exception of two known compositions, Liliʻuokalani ceased to compose after compiling her songbook. She continued to endure tragedy throughout her remaining years, losing all of her hānai sons due to poor health before her death in 1917. Upon her death, the words of her choral work “Aloha ‘Oe” were engraved at the grounds of Washington Place.⁵²

⁴⁹ Liliʻuokalani, Hawaiʻi’s Story by Hawaiʻi’s Queen, 350.
⁵⁰ Liliʻuokalani, Hawaiʻi’s Story by Hawaiʻi’s Queen, 352.
⁵¹ Irwin, I Knew Queen Liliʻuokalani, 33.
⁵² Liliʻuokalani, The Queen’s Songbook, 30.
CHAPTER III
CHORAL TONE AND BALANCE

According to ethnomusicologist Elizabeth Tatar, genres of Native Hawaiian chant, monophonic communal vocal music, and Hawaiian choral music have played a more prominent role than instrumental music throughout the history of Hawai‘i. While Western instruments were introduced to Hawai‘i in the nineteenth century and certainly contributed to the evolution of the Hawaiian music soundscape, they have been predominantly used to accompany the choir or solo voice, just like the instruments of Hawai‘i before Western contact.\(^5\) For example, Western instruments such as the piano and guitar were relegated specifically for use as accompaniment by Lili‘uokalani in her own choral compositions.\(^4\)

Because of Lili‘uokalani’s influence as a choral pedagogue, choral composer, and Hawaiian monarch, participation in the choral craft of Hawai‘i was a national one. Choral music was looked upon by the Hawaiian people as an opportunity to establish and celebrate community, an important and integral concept of the Hawaiian worldview. Grimshaw makes the following comment about Polynesian choral music during the late nineteenth century: “Solo singing does not attract the Pacific Islander at all; music is above all things a social function, in his opinion, and if he can get a few others to sit down with him on the ground and begin a chorus, he is happy for hours and so are they.”\(^5\)

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\(^4\) Lili‘uokalani, *The Queen’s Songbook*, 11.

Due to the inclusivity of choral singing, the Western protocol of auditioning to sing with an ensemble was rarely done during the nineteenth century. As Stillman states, “Everyone sang. Singing was everywhere.” Hawaiian music scholar Dr. Kanahele states that while an individual of superior musical skill and ability was celebrated in the ensemble, solos and leadership positions of the ensembles were given to elder singers. This philosophy followed the Hawaiian value of respecting and celebrating the elders of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

As a result of the inclusivity of Hawaiian choral practice and its integration with Hawaiian cultural values, choral singing quickly became an integral practice throughout nineteenth century Hawai‘i. Lili‘uokalani started traditions of secular choral singing through her repertoire at her place of worship, Kawaiaha‘o church. She also led amateur singing groups to sing her compositions in contest with her other siblings Kalākaua, Likelike, Leleiohoku. Formal and informal singing groups began to regularly rehearse and perform throughout Honolulu. Under Lili‘uokalani’s influence, choral music became common practice in both sacred and secular contexts and quickly became a communal cultural practice nationwide and, therefore, a part of the cultural fabric of Hawai‘i.

**Hawaiian Choral Music and the *Bel Canto* Style**

As choral singing evolved nationwide, three intersections of vocal production in turn shaped Hawaiian choral tone of the nineteenth century. Before Western contact, Indigenous Hawaiian vocal production came from a tradition of Native Hawaiian chant. Upon the arrival of the missionaries, missionary singing schools were built and hymn

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56 Kanahele, *Ka Mele Hawai‘i a me ke Po‘e mele*, 239.
57 Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman, interview by author, May 13, 2016.
singing was introduced. Concurrently, as hymn singing was practiced, the Hawaiian kingdom received other visitors from across Europe, bringing access to opera and the *bel canto* style of singing that quickly inspired the music of Liliʻuokalani and spread throughout Hawaiʻi.⁵⁹

The *bel canto* style, according to vocal pedagogue Philip Duey, originated in Italy and culminated in the nineteenth century with the rise of opera.⁶⁰ While contemporary pedagogues continue to propagate new intersections and interpretations of *bel canto* technique within different styles and genres of singing, the majority of vocal pedagogues agree that the technique of *bel canto* is reliant on the following: an onset of tone that comes from the breath, a low laryngeal position, and the blending of vocal registers to maximize range.⁶¹ This definition is one that contemporary conductors Nāhulu and Salā propagate in their ensembles.

In my experience, contemporary interpretations of historically and culturally-informed performances of Liliʻuokalani’s music utilize Western *bel canto* vocal technique. My work as a singer and conducting protégé in the choral ensembles of Nāhulu and Salā affirm that their interpretations of *bel canto* techniques were passed down from their mentor, Dorothy Gillett. For example, Nola Nāhulu states that she regularly practices and subscribes to a choral tone that uses *bel canto* technique when performing the music of Liliʻuokalani.⁶² This statement is significant as one of her

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⁵⁹ Kanahele, *Ka Mele Hawaiʻi a me ke Poʻe Mele*, 237.
⁶² Nola Nāhulu, interview by author, July 14, 2016.
conducting posts as the church choir director of Kawaiahaʻo Church is a position formerly held by Liliʻuokalani.

Nāhulu, Salā, and Stillman all agree on the use of bel canto singing for the repertoire of Liliʻuokalani. Salā and Stillman argue that much of Liliʻuokalani’s music is written in ways that suggest the style of an Italian art song of this time period. Salā states:

The harmonic language and the style of accompaniment of many of her works are reminiscent of the Italian art song that she was exposed to. If she was inspired by the soundscape, then it makes sense that she was inspired by the vocal production. When singing her music, this is the approach that I use, this was the approach my teachers used, and their teachers beforehand. In fact, as a choral and solo singer that sings in the bel canto style that is innately eurocentric, it is the propagation of this style that I see as a Native cultural practice when I sing Liliʻuokalani’s music.63

Nāhulu similarly argues that the use of bel canto is appropriate due to her patronage and her life as a monarch. She states:

I use and follow techniques in my work with Liliʻuokalani’s music for multiple reasons. For starters, much of her compositions occurred during a time when Hawaiʻi’s royalty was exposed to opera and Italian art song by way of ships. Secondly, Liliʻuokalani herself sponsored opera recitals. I honor the sound and production that Liliʻuokalani was inspired by.64

Additional Perspectives on Hawaiian Choral Tone

As with most music, there remains some discrepancy in regards to choral tone between Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars, and current practitioners. In contrast to the bel canto approach, earlier non-Indigenous scholars and musicians documented the timbre of the Hawaiian choir somewhat differently; as a bright and reedy sound, similar to the way that the Hawaiian language was spoken and chanted during the nineteenth

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63 Aaron Salā, interview by author, October 7, 2016.
64 Nāhulu, interview.
However, in my own observation, these characterizations are normally not consistent with the philosophies of contemporary Native Hawaiian conductors.

During this time, European scholars of Hawaiian music observed that the sounds of the spoken, chanted, and sung timbres were consistent with each other. For example, Edwin Burrows, a German musician who visited Hawai‘i in the nineteenth century, states the following about the Hawaiian choral sound: “From a little distance, the music sounds as though it were produced by a splendid reed organ or by an orchestra of woodwind instruments.”66 Similarly, Robert Engle, an American choral scholar specializing in Polynesian choral music, shares a similar opinion, describing the choral tone of Hawaiian choirs as “reedy, nasal, and bright.”67

While cultural outsiders describe the tone of Hawaiian choirs in similar ways, Native scholars and conductors seek to provide more clarification to the description. Eric Sholin, a Native scholar specializing in Polynesian choral music, describes the treble parts as being “high and bright,” while the tenors and basses “carry the lower parts with full, deep tones.”68 Dorothy Gillett, a significant Native Hawaiian choral conductor of the twentieth century and scholar, arranger, and composer of Native Hawaiian choral music, provides more nuance by describing the sound as “bright in the melody, but much more rounded and richer in the remaining voice parts.” She also states that this sound was intentional and was meant to bring as much attention as possible to the melody, a practice

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that she says was passed down from Native Hawaiian pedagogues of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{69}

During my own personal observations, I have found that contemporary Native Hawaiian choral conductors champion the pedagogy of bel canto technique. While they do honor Gillett’s description of prioritizing the melody, they do not lead the singers towards a sound that is bright and reedy. Instead, the sound is consistently rounded and rich throughout all vocal parts. My time as a chorister with the University of Hawai‘i’s Hawaiian Chorus maintained this sound under Nola Nāhulu’s direction. I have also implemented this philosophy in my own work with Nā Wai Chamber Choir (See Appendix II).

\textbf{Choral Balance}

Choral balance of the nineteenth-century Hawaiian choral sound is similar to the considerations of Hawaiian choral tone. While some scholars believe that the melodic line is considered the brightest in terms of choral tone, it is also considered to be the most important in terms of balance.\textsuperscript{70} According to Salā, Stillman, and Nāhulu, balance is attained by giving the melodic line the most attention. Nāhulu states:

The prioritization of the melodic line is very important for the choral works of Liliʻuokalani because in many cases, Hawaiian choral conductors would re-voice the divisis and use varying instrumentations based on what was around and who was available. Therefore, in this practice of cultural inclusivity, the melodic line was the only thing that remained or was left untouched. Consequently, as we practice the culturally informed values such as doing what works for our ensembles, we must highlight and anchor the melody at all costs. I view the melody as the voice of

\textsuperscript{69} Liliʻuokalani, \textit{The Queen’s Songbook}, 36.
\textsuperscript{70} Kanahele, \textit{Ka Mele Hawaiʻi a me ke Poʻe Mele}, 230.
Liliʻuokalani.\textsuperscript{71}

Salā has similar remarks regarding the prioritization of the melody, stating that the amplification of the melody is due to the celebration of the poetry. Salā remarks:

In a Hawaiian worldview, the ear and the main bearer of poetry is the melody. Even if the harmony is homophonic with the melody, the Hawaiian ear will find the metaphor and the nuance in the melody. Therefore, to honor the cultural perspective that Liliʻuokalani comes from, it is fitting to consistently highlight and prioritize the melody.\textsuperscript{72}

Stillman remarks that the prioritization of the melody was passed down from the musical traditions of Hawaiʻi before Western contact. She states:

Liliʻuokalani came from a tradition of monophonic chant. There was no harmony, only melody. That was what was the tradition of her ancestors. These other phenomena—harmony, foreign instruments and instrumentation—these were introduced to her, to her kingdom, and to her people. Therefore, if a conductor were to present a performance that is culturally informed, then the conductor would prioritize the melody at all costs.\textsuperscript{73}

I would agree that the prioritization of balance is first with the melody. However, in my time as both chorister and conducting apprentice to both Nāhulu and Salā, I find that these conductors propagate a choral sound that consistently prioritizes the melody and equally balances all other musical facets, such as remaining voice parts and instrumental accompaniment. This conception of a choral sound could be quite different from other Eurocentric philosophies of choral balances. For example, Western conductors are often used to a tiered heirachy of sound that first favors the basses, then tenors, followed by the altos, then lastly, the sopranos. However, the sound that Nāhulu and Salā propagate for the repertoire of Liliʻuokalani is a hierachy of the melody first, followed by

\textsuperscript{71} Nāhulu, interview. \textsuperscript{72} Salā, interview. \textsuperscript{73} Stillman, interview.
a balanced sound of all other musical facets, a philosophy I have also implemented with Nā Wai Chamber Choir (See Appendix II).

**Vibrato**

Before Western contact, Indigenous Hawaiian chant incorporated elements of vibrato. Depending on the circumstance, the type of chant, and the location, vibrato was used with varying rates. Therefore, as Eurocentric music was introduced to Hawai‘i and as Hawaiian musicians were exposed to the *bel canto* style of singing, scholars report that the implementation of vibrato within Western music was a seamless transition.\(^74\)

According to Salā, Stillman, and Nāhulu, the use of vibrato within the choral ensemble is a practice that is historically and culturally informed when performing the choral music of Queen Lili‘uokalani. Nāhulu states that this practice was one that was passed down from generation to generation dating back to the era of Lili‘uokalani. Nāhulu states:

> My work and my position at Kawaiahaʻo Church is one that was passed down from the Queen herself. Vibrato has always been used and encouraged. If we are to embrace the cultural notion that all are welcome in our ensembles, then we also abandon this Western ideal of pristine straight tone singing. When singing the work of Liliʻuokalani, beauty is found in vibrato.\(^75\)

Salā remarks that the use of vibrato is also innately an Indigenous concept as well, considering that vibrato was used before the arrival of Western contact. He states:

> When we embrace that vibrato is a Native concept, a concept that Liliʻuokalani and her ancestors knew about and used before the arrival of missionaries, then we can see this practice as one that is culturally informed. When we observe the fact that Liliʻuokalani was exposed to

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\(^74\) S. E. Solberg, "Hawaiian Lyrics, Chant, and Dance: An Introductory Note with Bibliography," *MELUS* 6, no. 2 (1979), 37.

\(^75\) Nāhulu, interview.
works and styles of European vocal music that used vibrato and implemented these styles in her music, then we can also see this practice as historically informed.⁷⁶

In my observations of the ensembles that Nāhulu and Salā conduct, I find that while vibrato is encouraged, vibrato is ensemble-based as opposed to individually-based. Nāhulu and Salā work to create a sound where the rate of each individual’s vibrato is consistent throughout the choir. This is an important concept, as this philosophy of vibrato honors the Hawaiian cultural value of community over individuality. Stillman states:

The transfer from Indigenous communal vocal chant to choral music was an easy one. We experience our world as Hawaiians as one of community. This is an important aspect for the conductor to realize. Was there vibrato? Yes. But when singers or chanters use them, the idea is to match the rate of vibrato with each other as a symbol of community.⁷⁷

For an audio example of a performance rehearsed with Stillman’s, Nāhulu’s, and Salā’s approach on choral tone, balance, and vibrato, the conductor should refer to Nā Wai’s performance of “Ahe Lau Makani” (See Appendix II). The conductor should pay special attention to the melodic line of the soprano part and its contrast in timbre with the alto section and piano accompaniment. The conductor should also note how the performance prioritizes the melody in terms of balance.

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⁷⁶ Salā, interview.
⁷⁷ Stillman, interview.
CHAPTER IV

HAWAIIAN LANGUAGE, PRONUNCIATION, AND POETIC DEVICES

Historical Background of the Hawaiian Language

ʻŌlelo Hawai‘i, or the Hawaiian language, is a Polynesian subset of the Austronesian language family with a pīʻāpā, or alphabet, consisting of five vowels and eight consonants. Before the 1778 arrival of Captain Cook, the first European navigator on record to arrive on Hawaiian shores, the Hawaiian language was strictly an oral one. As missionaries arrived in the nineteenth century, ʻŌlelo Hawai‘i was expanded by missionaries to include a written component for the purpose of converting the Native Hawaiian population from the Indigenous Hawaiian belief system to Christianity. By 1839, the entire Bible had been translated into Hawaiian, Hawaiian language newspapers had been established, collections of Indigenous legends had been printed, and Hawai‘i had quickly become one of the most literate countries in the world.78

In 1893, the Kingdom of Hawai‘i was overthrown by a group of American missionary families and foreign businessmen that were supported by the American military. During the overthrow, Queen Lili‘uokalani was promptly imprisoned by the American government, causing Hawai‘i to become a Republic under the United States. In 1896, education in the Hawaiian language in private and public schools was declared illegal by the United States. Teachers were told that any instruction or conversation in the Hawaiian language would result in immediate termination. By 1898, the Republic of

Hawai‘i was annexed by the United States with a requirement that the language laws remain intact.\textsuperscript{79}

While instruction in the Hawaiian language was outlawed in the late nineteenth century, Hawaiian language outside of school grounds and the distribution of Hawaiian language newspapers were still deemed legal.\textsuperscript{80} Many Hawaiian language newspapers during the late nineteenth century into the early twentieth century reported a decline in Hawaiian language speakers and the standard of Hawaiian being spoken. Many Native Hawaiians abandoned their mother tongue to assimilate to a colonialist identity during this period.\textsuperscript{81}

During the 1920s, the Territory of Hawai‘i allowed the Hawaiian language to be taught as a foreign language in public schools and at the University of Hawai‘i. However, records show that class sizes were diminutive. While Hawaiian language scholars Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert made significant contributions to the Hawaiian language by creating the Hawaiian language dictionary and translating countless newspapers, legends, and novels, efforts to revitalize the language did not thrive until after Hawai‘i became a state in 1959.

In 1976, the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa began to offer undergraduate majors in Hawaiian language and culture, and Governor Waihe‘e declared the Hawaiian language an official language of the state in 1978. In 1984, Hawaiian language immersion schools for adolescents began to open, and in 1986, a bill allowing Hawaiian to be a medium for education in public schools was passed. Since that time, the

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{79} Macpherson, Nettle, and Romaine, \textit{Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World’s Languages}, 95.
\bibitem{81} Ibid., 55.
\end{thebibliography}
University of Hawai‘i’s Hawaiian language program has evolved to include graduate
degrees, and Hawaiian language immersion schools now serve students from
Kindergarten through 12th grade. As a result of these efforts, the numbers of Hawaiian
language speakers has grown from 1,500 in the 1980s to an estimated 10,000 speakers
today.82

**Pronunciation**

**Consonants**

The Hawaiian alphabet contains eight consonants (See Table 1): p, k, h, l, m, n, w.
Scholars also recognize the glottal stroke, referred to as the ‘okina or ′, as a consonant as
well.83

*P* and *K*

According to Hawaiian language scholars Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel
Elbert, the letters p and k are pronounced as voiceless stops, p as a bilabial stop and k as a
velar stop. These consonants are pronounced in the same way as the English
pronunciation of these consonants but with less aspiration.84

*H*, *L*, *M*, and *N*

Like the consonants p and k, h, l, and m are pronounced in the same way as
English with the exception of n. N is pronounced as a dental nasal consonant, articulated
with the tip or blade of the tongue at the back of the upper front teeth, whereas the

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83 Samuel Elbert and Mary Kawena Pukui, *Hawaiian Grammar* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press,
2001), 11.
84 Ibid., 12.
English $n$ tends to be alveolar, where the consonant is articulated with the tip or blade of the tongue at the alveolar ridge.\footnote{Elbert and Pukui, \textit{Hawaiian Grammar}, 10.}

$W$ and $V$

According to Pukui and Elbert, $w$ and $v$ are permutations of the same sound.

While Native speakers grow up utilizing one consonant over the other depending on the island on which they are raised, Pukui and Elbert created a codified pattern based on the vowel before the $w$ or $v$ that is used as a guideline for Hawaiian language instruction. If $w$ or $v$ is preceded by the vowels $i$ or $e$, the $w$ or $v$ is pronounced as a $v$. If $w$ or $v$ is preceded by the vowels $u$ or $o$, the $w$ or $v$ is pronounced as a $w$. However, if $w$ or $v$ is preceded by the vowel $a$ or is not preceded by a vowel at all, the $w$ or $v$ is used interchangeably.

While the conductor is given the option to choose between either consonant sound, it is strongly encouraged that the choice remain consistent throughout the entire piece.\footnote{Alberta Hopkins, \textit{Ka Lei Ha‘aheo} (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1992), 6.}

‘ (‘Okina)

The ‘okina or ‘, is pronounced by closing the glottis, also referred to as a glottal stroke or a coup de glotte when singing. Like other Hawaiian consonants, the ‘okina is always heard before a vowel sound. However, in words that begin with the ‘okina, capitalization rules affect the next letter instead.\footnote{Elbert and Pukui, \textit{Hawaiian Grammar}, 11.} For an audio example of the ‘okina in the context of performance, conductors should reference the recording of Nā Wai’s performance of “Puna Paia ‘A‘ala” with specific attention given to the pronunciation of the word ‘a‘ala (See Appendix III).
Nāhulu cautions the Western conductor to make sure that the approach of the ‘okina is not strenuous. The glottal stroke should not be approached as a hard onset; complete abduction of the vocal folds prior to phonation results in subglottal pressure as the expiratory muscles are engaged. Instead, the singer should approach the glottal stroke as a coordinated onset. In a coordinated onset, vocal folds are still abducted prior to phonation, but the vocal folds come together to oscillate the moment airflow begins. The ‘okina can be difficult for the choral musician, as there has been much debate in Western vocal pedagogy on the approach of the glottal stroke since the nineteenth century. However, since the ‘okina is the second most common consonant in the Hawaiian language and is a crucial component in Hawaiian pronunciation, the conductor must include the ‘okina when performing Native Hawaiian choral repertoire.

Table 1. Hawaiian language consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Hawaiian Example</th>
<th>Example in IPA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>Hali</td>
<td>[hali]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>Kane</td>
<td>[kane]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>Lilo</td>
<td>[lilo]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>Maka</td>
<td>[mak a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>Nani</td>
<td>[nani]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>Peni</td>
<td>[peni]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>[w]</td>
<td>Wili</td>
<td>[wili]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[v]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[vili]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘</td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
<td>He‘e</td>
<td>[heʔe]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

88 Nāhulu, interview.
89 Nāhulu, interview.
Vowels

There are five Hawaiian vowels (See Table 2): a, e, i, o, u. Pukui and Albert describe the pronunciation of the Hawaiian vowels utilizing the terms front, central, and back, referring to the position of the tongue in the mouth, and lowered and raised in terms of the angle of the tongue in the mouth.\(^{90}\) When considering the overall pedagogy of Hawaiian vowels, conductors should be cautious to avoid neutralizing vowels as dark. Stillman remarks that many conductors perceive the Hawaiian language as dark, limiting the precision and range of the diction required for culturally informed practice. Because the Hawaiian language consists of only eight consonants, the vowel carries more weight in Hawaiian diction, making accurate pronunciation of Hawaiian vowels crucial.\(^{91}\)

The vowel a is similar to the sound of the a vowel in the English pronunciation of the word father, or the symbol [a] in IPA, when stressed. While in common pronunciations Pukui and Albert would clarify the vowel as central, there are some dialects from the island of Niʻihau that pronounce the vowel with more of a raised articulation. When unstressed, the vowel a is then pronounced in a fashion similar to the English pronunciation of the word cup, or the IPA symbol [ʌ].\(^{92}\)

The vowel e is pronounced similarly to the IPA symbol [ɛ] if paired with the consonant l or n. In other instances, e is then pronounced as the front pronunciation of the IPA symbol [e]. Non-Native speakers should be careful that e is not pronounced as the diphthong [ei] if trying to make the vowel as front as possible. While the diphthong and the pronunciation of e are similar, the English off-glide of the second vowel should not be pronounced.

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\(^{90}\) Elbert and Pukui, Hawaiian Grammar, 11.  
\(^{91}\) Stillman, interview.  
\(^{92}\) Elbert and Pukui, Hawaiian Grammar, 14.
The vowel o faces issues similar to e. O is identified as a back and unrounded vowel, pronounced as [o]. However, when the vowel is stressed, non-Native speakers should avoid the common habit of pronouncing the common English off-glote to the second vowel of the diphthong [ou].

I and u are the most common vowels in the Hawaiian vowel family. Pukui and Elbert both describe the vowel i as front and unrounded, similar to the IPA [i]. U is described as back and unrounded like the IPA [u]. Even when stressed, the pronunciation of the i and u remain consistent.

Table 2. Hawaiian language vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Hawaiian Example</th>
<th>Example in IPA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>[a] (Stressed) [ə] (Unstressed)</td>
<td>Kali Puka</td>
<td>[kali] [puk a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>[ɛ] (If paired with the consonant l or n) [e] (All other instances)</td>
<td>Kane He</td>
<td>[kane] [he]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>Lili</td>
<td>[lili]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>[o]</td>
<td>Koko</td>
<td>[koko]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>Hū</td>
<td>[hu]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowel Stress and the Kahakō

In the Hawaiian language, vowel stress or the length of the vowel is crucial to the pronunciation and understanding of the language. The macron, or the kahakō, serves as an indicator of where the stress should be and is normally marked as follows; ā, ē, ī, ō, or

93 Hopkins, Ka Lei Ha’aheo, 12.
94 Elbert and Pukui, Hawaiian Grammar, 15.
ū. If the vowel occurs with a macron or a *kahakō*, it is an indicator for the conductor to make sure that the choir emphasizes that particular syllable.⁹⁵

If there are multiple *kahakō* that follow each other with a consonant between, Isamu Abe, one of the first scholars to utilize spectrograph analyses on the Hawaiian language, states that the second vowel receives more emphasis.⁹⁶ If the word is without any *kahakō*, then Hawaiian language scholar Pualani Hopkins states that the strongest syllable in the world is normally the penultimate vowel. Therefore, unless the final syllable has a *kahakō*, the conductor should treat the final syllable as the weakest syllable of the word.⁹⁷

The conductor should be cautious with approaching the *kahakō* in a choral setting. Nāhulu warns that the conductor should not instruct the singers to provide articulatory emphasis, such as an accent, on the *kahakō*. This kind of emphasis could disrupt the melodic phrase and is out of the character of the language. However, if the melody allows it, the use of messa di voce or a slight crescendo towards the *kahakō* can be an appropriate musical device to honor the language.⁹⁸

*Diphthongs and Vowel Clusters*

Pukui and Elbert list the diphthongs of the Hawaiian language as follows; *ai, ae, au, ao, ei, eu, oi*, and *ou*.⁹⁹ Nāhulu, Salā, and Stillman agree that in approaching the diphthong, the conductor should always stress the first vowel sound, and place the second vowel sound right before the cutoff. If the phrase ends in a diphthong, I utilize ¾ of the

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⁹⁵ Hopkins, *Ka Lei Ha’aheo*, 16.
⁹⁸ Nāhulu, interview.
value of the note on the first vowel, and the remaining $\frac{1}{4}$ on the final vowel (fig. 1 and fig. 2).

All other paired vowels outside of Pukui and Elbert’s list of diphthongs constitute as a vowel cluster. According to Pukui and Elbert, stress is given on the second member of the cluster.\(^{100}\) If the musical phrase ends on a vowel cluster, I employ the reverse of the diphthong strategy, placing $\frac{1}{4}$ of the note value on the first vowel and $\frac{3}{4}$ of the note value on the final vowel.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure1.png}
\caption{Original text underlay of Liliʻuokalani’s “He Mele Lāhui Hawai‘i”}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure2.png}
\caption{Underlay with suggested treatment of diphthong and vowel cluster}
\end{figure}

\textit{Kaona}

According to Pukui and Elbert, \textit{kaona} is defined as a “hidden meaning, concealed reference, as to a person, thing, or place; words with double meanings that might bring good or bad fortune.”\(^{101}\) This literary Indigenous phenomenon is an important expression for the choral works of Liliʻuokalani. \textit{Kaona} is especially crucial to a culturally informed

\(^{100}\) Elbert and Pukui, \textit{Hawaiian Grammar}, 16.

performance, as Liliʻuokalani wrote the poetry in addition to the music for her choral works.\textsuperscript{102}

\textit{Kaona} is a broad concept and can be applied through a multitude of literary devices; symbolism, allusion, riddling, and/or metaphor. Moreover, \textit{kaona} can be unveiled through layered or multiple meanings. Thus, \textit{kaona} is an integral part of Indigenous communicative etiquette and deeply rooted in storytelling, poetry, and songwriting. Common forms of \textit{kaona} invoke debates or political challenges, public decorations of emotion, and masking of intimate, awkward, or difficult topics such as personal, social, and political critiques.\textsuperscript{103}

Kaona as Irony and Resistance

One example of \textit{kaona} as a literary device to unveil layered or multiple meaning is Liliʻuokalani’s \textit{Ke Aloha O Ka Haku}. Composed during her imprisonment, scholars see her poetry as a work of double meaning. The following is a translation of the first, second, and third verses of \textit{Ke Aloha O Ka Haku} as taken from the Queen’s Songbook.\textsuperscript{104} I have also included a recording of this piece (See Appendix IV).

\begin{verbatim}
‘O kou aloha nō,
   Aia i ka lani,
   A‘o kou ‘oia‘i‘o,
   He hemolele ho‘i

Ko‘u noho mihi ‘ana
   A pa‘ahao ‘ia,
‘O `oe ku‘u lama,
Kou nani ko‘u ko‘o.

O Lord, Thy loving mercy
   Is high as the heavens,
   It tells us of Thy truth,
   And ‘tis filled with holiness.

Whilst humbly meditating,
Within these walls imprisoned,
Thou art my light, my haven,
Thy glory my support.
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{102} Nāhulu, interview.
\textsuperscript{104} Liliʻuokalani, \textit{The Queen’s Songbook}, 47.
Mai nānā ‘ino‘ino
Nā hewa o kānaka,
Akā, e huikala,
A ma‘ema‘e nō.

Oh! I look not on their failings,
Nor on the sins of men,
Forgive with loving kindness,
That we might be made pure.

At the time of performance and publishing, many missionaries and churches utilized *Ke Aloha O Ka Haku* as a work of worship. The translation of the second verse was included in published editions and freely used throughout church services because foreign missionaries interpreted the text such that the prisoner is a symbol of mortal men, and the light, glory, and support are a reference to God. Strong implications of Christian obedience and worship are therefore implied. However, while many missionaries and pro-annexation supporters saw this composition as a work of Christian faith, many Native Hawaiians and protestors of Liliʻuokalani saw this as a work of protest. Thus, the prisoner is in fact Liliʻuokalani herself, and the light, glory, and support are a reference to those who still supported the Hawaiian kingdom. The *kaona* is multilayered, as it also emphasizes two important facets of Liliʻuokalani’s identities: a fervent Christian and an unapologetic Native Hawaiian who speaks the language and identifies as a cultural practitioner.  

Scholars also remark as to how Liliʻuokalani’s use of *kaona* may be ironic as well, since the overall rhetoric of this piece relies on the intersection of Christian worship and Indigenous protest. Even though Liliʻuokalani identified as a fervent Christian, for example, she lived within a framework of intersectionality that accommodated Indigenous language, advocacy, and ritual in addition to her Christian practice and faith. Furthermore, while the Queen spent much of her life identifying as Christian, many

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American-identifying missionaries in Hawai‘i were also responsible for her imprisonment and overthrow. Much of the American missionary leadership in Hawai‘i provided the rationale used to undermine the Hawaiian culture, ultimately bringing her rule to an end, shifting the balance of power, and leading to domination by the American missionary.\footnote{Cynthia Morris, “The Prison Songs of Lili‘uokalani” (master’s thesis, University of California Santa Cruz, 2013), 113, accessed February 16, 2016, http://escholarship.org/uc/item/4jx613tr.} Her use of kaona as a means to express this intersectionality and irony is supported by a diary entry in which she writes, “I do not feel like going to church—perhaps never more. I never saw a more unchristian like set as these Missionaries and so uncharitable as to abuse me in the manner they do from the pulpit. Is it godly—No—It makes me feel as if I would not like to do anything more for Churches.”\footnote{Julia Flynn Siler, Lost Kingdom: Hawaii’s Last Queen, the Sugar Kings and America’s First Imperial Adventure (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2012), 230.}

Nature and Kaona

Since antiquity, Hawaiian poetics utilized the imagery of nature to conjure alternative meanings because nature was the central hub of Hawaiian culture. As the Hawaiian scholar Herb Kane states, the foundation of the Hawaiian worldview is to live in balance and harmony with nature. Therefore, a vast majority of Native Hawaiian gods and goddesses take the form of elements or specific plants or flowers, and different types of emotions or omens are described as particular winds or rainfalls. For Native Hawaiian poetry, the topic of nature is a signifier of kaona.\footnote{McDougall, Finding Meaning: Kaona and Contemporary Hawaiian Literature, 134.}

Lili‘uokalani was a consistent practitioner of kaona through nature, and this is especially evident in her piece “Ku‘u Pua I Paoakalani.”\footnote{Lili‘uokalani, The Queen’s Songbook, 55.} I have also include a recording of the piece (See Appendix V).
E ka gentle breeze e waft mai nei,
Hoʻohāliʻaliʻa mai ana iaʻu,
E kuʻu sweet never fading flower
I bloom i ka uka o Paoakalani.

O ye gentle breeze that waft to me,
Sweet cherished memories of thee,
Of that sweet never fading flower,
That blooms in the fields of Paoakalani.

Chorus:
‘Ike mau i ka nani o nā pua
O ka uka o Uluhaimalama,
‘Aʻole naʻe hoʻi e like
Me kuʻu pua i ka laʻi o Paoakalani.

Lahilahi kona mau hiʻona,
With soft eyes black as jet,
Pink cheeks so delicate of hue
I ulu i ka uka o Paoakalani.

Her face is fair to behold,
With softest eyes as black as jet,
Pink cheeks so delicate of hue,
That grew in the fields of Paoakalani.

Nane ʻia mai ana kuʻu aloha,
E ka gentle breeze e waft mai nei,
Oh come to me kaʻu mea e liʻa nei,
I ulu i ka uka o Paoakalani.

Now name to me the one I love,
Ye gentle breezes passing by,
And bring to me that blossom fair,
That bloometh in the fields of Paoakalani.

Composed during her imprisonment, much of the piece speaks of a place called
Uluhaimalama, a flower garden located on the island of Oʻahu that Liliʻuokalani set
aside for public use. However, while a codified place on the island, the name itself is
kaona as Uluhaimalama translates to “as the plants grow out of the dark into the light, so
shall light come to the nation.”¹¹⁰ Thus, the poem could be interpreted either as a flower
garden or as symbol of resistance, for many supporters of the monarchy would gather at
Uluhaimalama during her imprisonment.

Scholars have interpreted her “beauteous flowers” and “blossom fair” as members of her kingdom and those who supported the monarchy. In Hawaiian poetics, flowers consistently resemble beloved individuals of the writer or orator. Consequently, the Indigenous perspective of this piece is symbolic, as many of these flowers, or supporters of the kingdom are placed in *Uluhaimalama*, a flower garden of resistance.\(^{111}\)

While *kaona* is a codified framework in the implementation of Hawaiian poetry, Stillman, Nāhulu, and Salā all agree that the conductor’s interpretation of Lili‘uokalani’s *kaona* is crucial to the rehearsal and performance of her work. Because many of her compositions are void of dynamic labeling, Nāhulu suggests a motive that the absence of dynamics was to give the conductor more leeway to interpret the *kaona* and implement that interpretation through a variety of means, including dynamics. Nāhulu welcomes different interpretations of Lili‘uokalani’s poetry and *kaona*, as long as the conductor has also researched the historical background of the piece. Nāhulu states, “The bottom line is that it is the conductor’s responsibility to do something historically and culturally informed. So if you are able to stand behind your work by referencing and utilizing your interpretation of the poetry, right on.”\(^{112}\)

Stillman comments that a conductor’s interpretation of *kaona* is crucial to the artistic treatment of pronunciation. Stillman comments, for example, that the pronunciation of the ‘okina can be dependent on the conductor’s interpretation of the *kaona*. Stillman states:

> It would be a hard thing to say that there is only one way to coach an ‘okina. And that could also be said that there is only one correct way towards Hawaiian pronunciation. That is simply not the the case. There are occasions that ‘okina should be there, but perhaps it is a very soft

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\(^{111}\) Mellen, *An Island Kingdom Passes: Hawaii Becomes American*, 300.

\(^{112}\) Nāhulu, interview.
moment in the time or in the arrangement, that it is very easy for the
‘okina to get lost. At that point it is superficial to say, “you missed the
‘okina!” There has to be a point where we put the context into
consideration. In that instance, I would coach the choir to implement an
‘okina and to gradually soften the approach.\footnote{113}{Stillman, interview.}

Salā offers similar comments with the treatment of diphthongs. Like Stillman’s
philosophy, the nuance of the pronunciation can be treated in different ways dependent
on the interpretation of the kaona. Salā states:

Now we are at a place to ask a question about discussing the diphthong. In
previous generations, we needed to be strict about the implementation of it. Now,
we can consider both the diphthong and how it affects the overall textual
meaning. So if it is a trite word, we close it. If it is not, then we consider being a
bit more relaxed with it. It is about the text. As of right now I think there is too
much attention at making sure the diction is perfect. It is about the poetic context.
There needs to be balance.\footnote{114}{Salā, interview.}

It is my opinion that conductors should utilize their own personal interpretations
of Lili‘uokalani’s text in conjunction with the consideration of the traditions and
interpretations of her time period. As much of her work was meant to be accessible and
inclusive, it is important for conductors to champion their own opinions and
interpretations of the work after researching its history and language. Once the choir has
a grasp of the basic pronunciation of the Hawaiian language and nuances such as
diphthongs, the ‘okina, and kahakō, then the conductor should be able to make informed
decisions as to how the nuances of language should be treated in consideration of the text.
To aid in the conductor’s practice of tracing and interpreting kaona in the works of
Lili‘uokalani, I have included Lili‘uokalani’s own poetic translations of her published
works in the Queen’s Songbook from Hawaiian to English (See Appendix I).

\footnote{113}{Stillman, interview.}
\footnote{114}{Salā, interview.}
CHAPTER V

INSTRUMENTATION AND ACCOMPANIMENT

Historical Background of Nineteenth-Century Instrumentation in Hawai‘i

While many of Lili‘uokalani’s published works were written for SATB choir with piano and chord charts, she was exposed to a gamut of Western instruments and ensembles throughout her compositional career. During her life, Hawai‘i was exposed to a plethora of American and European musical instruments and styles. Lili‘uokalani grew up with Indigenous styles of chant as well as hymn singing during her formative years at the Royal School and was later exposed to waltzes, military band repertoire, opera, and oratorio during her time as a princess, regent, and Queen. Throughout her life, Western instrumentation, musical style, genre, and form established a strong presence in Hawaiian choral music.\footnote{Lili‘uokalani, \textit{The Queen’s Songbook}, 10.}

The Piano

At the Royal School where Lili‘uokalani spent her formative years, the education of Western music revolved around hymn singing and the piano. There were very few pianos available to the Kingdom of Hawai‘i during the 1840s, but the Royal School was one of the first to secure one. The piano was heavily sought after by American missionaries throughout the building and administering of schools created for Hawaiian royalty and Native Hawaiian children, as it became a symbol of taste and refinement for the Kingdom of Hawai‘i.\footnote{Kanahele, \textit{Ka Mele Hawai‘i a me ke Po‘e mele}, 240.} For example, Punahou School headmaster Reverend Daniel
Dole and Royal School missionaries Juliette and Amos Cook all aimed to make singing and piano playing a crucial part of their respective music education curricula.\textsuperscript{117}

Thus, many young Native Hawaiian royals grew up with an ability to sing and accompany themselves or others, predominately utilizing hymnals as the foundation of their repertoire. Liliʻuokalani and her siblings would sing in four-part harmony, while she or another individual would play colla parte on the piano with them. She would also sing a different part other than the melody during her individual practice as she accompanied herself as part of her sight singing training. Either way, the purpose of the piano at its introduction to Hawaiʻi was as an instrument to accompany hymns for Church or as a part of the music education curriculum for missionary schools.\textsuperscript{118} Liliʻuokalani incorporated this style throughout her compositional output. For example, “A Chant,” one of her works based on biblical text, was normally played with the piano accompanying the choir colla parte. The texture of the piece utilizes a hymn-like style, paying further homage to her musical upbringing.\textsuperscript{119}

However, as she began to be exposed to art song and waltzes, the compositional style of her piano accompaniment shifted dramatically, with repetitive rhythmic ostinati fluctuating between the verse and chorus or elements of Alberti bass beginning to appear throughout much of her music.\textsuperscript{120} As much of her accompaniment writing tends to be straightforward and the tradition of this time favored and highlighted the poetry or voice,

\textsuperscript{117} Advertisement, \textit{Bellingham Herald}, December 14, 1906.
\textsuperscript{118} Liliʻuokalani, \textit{Hawaiʻi’s Story by Hawaiʻi’s Queen}, 40.
\textsuperscript{119} Liliʻuokalani, \textit{The Queen’s Songbook}, 27.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., 25.
conductors should coach the pianist to play what is written with the exception of soloistic introductions. The piano serves strictly as a tool for accompaniment.\textsuperscript{121}

The Violin

By the end of the 1850s, the piano became to be a more accessible instrument, available to royal and community schools, churches, and formal and informal gatherings. During this same period, the violin was also included in the pantheon of instrumental accompaniments in Hawai‘i, specifically within the monthly meetings of the \textit{Musical Society}, a musical performance group organized by foreigners living in Honolulu during the 1850s.

When included in the performance of Hawaiian choral music, the violin was encouraged to play the melody line within four-part hymn settings or, at times, an arranged obbligato during the final verse and chorus while the piano was playing (fig. 3).\textsuperscript{122} If the conductor decides to include a violinist in both rehearsal and performance and wishes to arrange an obbligato part, it is important that the conductor adhere to Lili‘uokalani’s harmonic language and chord progressions (fig. 4).\textsuperscript{123}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure3.png}
\caption{Violin colla parte accompaniment, Lili‘uokalani’s \textit{Ahe Lau Makani}}
\end{figure}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{121} Nāhulu, interview.
\textsuperscript{123} Nāhulu, interview.
\end{flushleft}
Figure 4. Violin obbligato accompaniment, Liliuʻokalani’s *Ahe Lau Makani*

The Flute, Clarinet, and Organ

By the middle of century, military bands from America and across Europe arrived in Honolulu by way of warships. When ships docked, these bands would play for a multitude of both formal and informal occasions.  

124 These ensembles also provided the

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basis for what was the *Royal Hawaiian Band*, a wind ensemble founded by King Kamehameha III to perform in government-sponsored parades and formal occasions.\(^{125}\)

Lili’uokalani would hear these instruments playing in highly formalized concerts, but she was also audience to these musicians playing informally, normally for closed parties. Throughout the course of a day, she would watch a concert of Sousa marches with full performing forces, then retire to an informal musical performance consisting of two fiddles, a clarinet, and a trombone.\(^{126}\) By the 1860s, the local community of Honolulu was exposed to a variety of Western ensembles of all sizes and instrumentations.\(^{127}\)

While Western-style music and Western instruments of the 1800s all made frequent appearances in Hawai‘i, few Western instruments were readily available for Hawaiians to own and play. Some missionaries succeeded in securing organs for churches to use throughout their services, primarily due to financial support from the monarchy. However, outside of the piano and organ, Western instruments imported for Hawaiian use needed to be small and portable for the sake of expense and space on cargo ships. Therefore, shortly after the violin, flutes and clarinets became available to the Hawaiian people as well.\(^{128}\)

Lili’uokalani began to use these instruments as obbligato instruments for performances of her works at Kawaiaha‘o Church. Like the violin, these instruments would play colla parte w\(i\)th the melody, and the player would play an arranged obbligato during the iteration of the final verse and chorus.\(^{129}\) Again, if the conductor wishes to

\(^{125}\) “Is Leading a Hawaiian Troupe on the Keith Empire Vaudeville Circuit,” *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 5, 1901.


\(^{127}\) Stillman, interview.

\(^{128}\) “Saturday’s Matinee,” *Hawaiian Gazette*, March 17, 1891.

arrange an obligato part for flute or clarinet, the conductor should follow Liliʻuokalani’s harmonic language and chord progressions.\textsuperscript{130}

The Guitar

While the piano was a foundational instrument in the musical upbringing of Liliʻuokalani, evidence shows that she played guitar as well during her time at the Royal School in the 1840s.\textsuperscript{131} Research suggests that guitar at the Royal School was utilized for informal music making or for times outside of the music curriculum.\textsuperscript{132} Early references state that the guitar was brought over by the Mexican \textit{vaqueros}, brought to Hawaiʻi during the 1830s to manage herds of wild cattle in Hawaiʻi. However, the widespread inclusion and practice of the guitar and use of the guitar within instrumental accompaniment for Hawaiian music did not take place until the 1860s. By the 1870s, the guitar was readily available throughout music stores.\textsuperscript{133}

Liliʻuokalani herself was an avid guitar player and utilized the guitar during performances of her work. In many instances, the guitar was her principal instrument when she composed. She includes chord charts in her compositions, thereby championing the inclusion of guitar. Codified accompanying techniques during this time period were performed in two ways. Firstly, utilizing the chord charts supplied by the composition, guitarist strummed an ostinato of consistent quarter notes, using a strum pattern of a down strum on the first beat of every measure followed by consecutive up strums for the remainder of the measure (fig. 5).\textsuperscript{134}

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{130}] Stillman, interview.
\item[\textsuperscript{131}] Liliʻuokalani, \textit{The Queen's Songbook}, 15.
\item[\textsuperscript{132}] Helen H. Roberts, \textit{Ancient Hawaiian Music} (Honolulu: The Bishop Museum, 1926), 36.
\item[\textsuperscript{133}] Kanahele, \textit{Ka Mele Hawaiʻi ʻa me ke Poʻe Mele}, 303.
\item[\textsuperscript{134}] Jim Tranquada and John King, \textit{The 'Ukulele: A History} (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012), 112.
\end{itemize}
Secondly, in collaboration with the conductor, the guitarist plays an arpeggiated accompaniment such as Alberti bass, a rhythmic figure Lili‘uokalani frequently uses throughout her compositions. While these practices are up to the conductor's discretion, Nähulu and Stillman state that these choices of accompaniment should be based on the interpretation of the poetry. When possible, these accompaniment

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136 Nähulu, interview; Stillman, interview.
techniques of strumming or picking should follow the chord charts that Lili‘uokalani provides (fig. 6).

Figure 6. Guitar picking accompaniment, Lili‘uokalani’s of “Ka Ōiwi Nani”

The ‘Ukulele

The ‘ukulele is a guitar-like instrument based on of the Portuguese machete, cavaquinho, timple, and rajão. Introduced in the 1880s, this instrument was brought to Hawai‘i by way of Madeira and Cape Verde. A Hawaiian newspaper credits Manuel Nunes, José do Espírito Santo, and Augusto Dias as the first ‘ukulele makers in Hawai‘i and celebrates their contributions: “Madeira Islanders recently arrived here, have been delighting the people with nightly street concerts.”

While most European and American instruments were identified by their original names in Hawai‘i, the machete, cavaquinho, timple, and rajão were all coined as the ‘ukulele by the Native Hawaiian populace. The instrument became quite popular amongst the kingdom, and was fervently supported and promoted by King Kalākaua. During his kingdom, he often included the ‘ukulele in performances at royal gatherings.\(^{138}\)

Like the guitar, the ‘ukulele was used as an accompaniment in two ways. Using the chord charts provided, the ‘ukulele player strummed consistent quarter notes using a down strum for the first beat of each measure followed by consecutive up strums. The ‘ukulele player could also play an arpeggiated accompaniment that follows Liliʻuokalani’s aforementioned rhythmic scheme.\(^{139}\)

**Instrumentation and Performance**

Nāhulu, Stillman, and Salā argue that culturally and historically informed performance of Liliʻuokalani’s works welcome a gamut of nineteenth century instrumentation from the Hawaiian, American, and European traditions, as Liliʻuokalani was exposed to a variety of Indigenous and Western instrumentation during her life.\(^{140}\)

While the majority of her compositions were scored for SATB choir, piano, and chord charts, Nāhulu argues that the conductor should not feel limited to those instruments:

> It depends on what is available! Again, if it honors the harmonic language and what is written, then that is fine. By the time she was composing, we had a variety of instruments available to her. It is written out in piano, so depending on what is written, it is quite easy to divide the parts. Low instruments could play the left hand, higher instruments in the right hand. The main thing is that it honors what is written.\(^{141}\)

\(^{138}\) Ibid., 35.
\(^{139}\) Ibid., 113.
\(^{140}\) Nāhulu, interview; Stillman, interview; Salā, interview.
\(^{141}\) Nāhulu, interview.
Nāhulu emphasizes inclusivity in utilizing Western instrumentation for nineteenth century Hawaiian choral music. Stillman also points out that a crucial reason why Liliʻuokalani’s music was scored for choir and piano with chord charts was for economic inclusivity as well:

Why wouldn’t there be other instruments? Because those instruments were present. You know. If you think about the economics of music publishing, it was not financially feasible to print accompaniments with anything other than piano. So then, what were the other instruments performing? Where they reading the piano score, playing individual lines of the piano score? Possibly.\(^{142}\)

Salā also argues that such inclusivity of instrumentation was also due to Liliʻuokalani’s training in so many instruments. For example, she received piano training during her formative years at the Royal School, played organ during her time as the choir director at Kawaiahaʻo Church, and played guitar throughout her life.\(^{143}\) Salā states:

Well, what is interesting is that she was a guitarist as well. So yes, piano…but the chord charts also opens up the possibility of a wide range of instruments. She herself played many. She was a radical musician championing many new ventures for Hawaiian music. We make her to be a humble person, but she had an intricate and complex view of the world because of her identity and training. She teetered two worlds. For example, she was an avid guitarist and was subject to so much instrumentation between herself as a royal, a composer, a conductor. So why would we not include what is available to us? Her compositions are an open book to her life. She wanted her musical messages to be available.\(^{144}\)

In my opinion, instrumentation should be up to the vision and means of the conductor. If conductors consider what is available within the scope of their program, the instrumentation of nineteenth century Hawaiʻi, and the poetry of Liliʻuokalani’s work, then the instrumentation would result in a culturally and historically informed

\(^{142}\) Stillman, interview.

\(^{143}\) Liliʻuokalani, *The Queen’s Songbook*, 27.

\(^{144}\) Salā, interview.
performance. Since Lili‘uokalani herself utilized a variety of instrumentations for performances of her work, it is only fitting that conductors celebrate the same practice.

**Choral Voicing**

The majority of Lili‘uokalani’s music is consistently scored for SATB choir; however, Stillman, Nāhulu, and Salā all argue that the SATB voicing can be altered depending on the ensemble of the conductor. Therefore, conductors of SAB, treble, and tenor/bass choirs should feel free to re-voice Lili‘uokalani’s music in ways that are accessible and appropriate to the choir.\(^{145}\) Salā comments on the flexibility of music making of the nineteenth century, as Lili‘uokalani composed and performed her music with a variety of divisi and instrumentation. He states, “I think we should allow ourselves the freedom to explore. You know, she did it all, text and music. There is no strict SATB back then, so it wouldn’t make sense to do it now for the sake of being a purist.”\(^{146}\)

Nāhulu shares the same sentiments and advocates for an Indigenous understanding of music making, where one does not necessarily need to meet criteria of instrumentation or divisi to perform the work of a Hawaiian composer. Nāhulu states, “I agree with the philosophy of revoicing because it gives more people the opportunity to sing Lili‘uokalani’s music. Hawaiians back then and today did not always have SATB choirs or divisi choirs, we just sang.”\(^{147}\)

Stillman celebrates the idea of revoicing as well. However, she cautions the conductor to make sure that revoicing does not lead to interfering with the form or the

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\(^{145}\) Nāhulu, interview; Stillman, interview; Salā, interview.

\(^{146}\) Salā, interview.

\(^{147}\) Nāhulu, interview.
original harmonic intent of the composition. Stillman also comments that the revoicing of
the piece must also honor the conductor’s interpretation of the poetry:

Making sure that you are staying as true to the harmonic structure and
form of the piece and of course, making sure that you are informed by the
poetry. If you have a women’s choir singing this repertoire, great! Figure
out what works best for the ensemble. Do you have altos that can sing the
tenor part? Is it possible for them to even sing in SATB in ways that do
not make it sound artificial or displeasing to your ear and the interpretation
of the poetry? It merits some thinking to think about if historical
performance is available sonically; rather, historical performance is a
result of incorporating culturally informed performance.¹⁴⁸

I also believe that it is the conductor’s perogative to re-voice Liliʻuokalani’s
works if the ensemble is not able to sing with SATB voicing. Liliʻuokalani taught her
compositions to a variety of ensembles and communities, allowing the choral conductor
to follow suit. However, it is important for the conductor to ensure that revoicing the
choral parts does not venture into altering pitches or the harmonic language. As Nāhulu
states, “If you want to stay true to her intentions, then re-voice the choral parts so that the
limits of your choir are able to serve her intention. However, once you stray away
harmonically, then you need to say, ‘It is mine, this is an arrangement that strays away
from composer intention.’”¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Stillman, interview.
¹⁴⁹ Nāhulu, interview.
CHAPTER VI
PERFORMANCE RITUAL

The cultural protocol for Hawaiian choral music of the nineteenth century lies at the intersection of Indigeneity and Western practices. During this time period, Native Hawaiians were exposed to a gamut of American and European missionaries, businessmen, and musicians. Therefore, as many Native Hawaiian musicians began to incorporate Western protocols of choral practice within their music making and choral performances, they also incorporated their own Indigenous protocols as well, resulting in a series of performance protocols that combine both the Western and Indigenous.\textsuperscript{150}

ʻOli

Since many Native Hawaiian practitioners consider the presentation or performance of Native Hawaiian choral music an act of propagating or practicing Hawaiian culture, it has become common practice for Indigenous choirs or performing groups to begin their concerts with an ʻoli kāhea, especially for the works of Liliʻuokalani. ʻOli is a traditional Hawaiian cultural practice of chant that was utilized before the arrival of American and European missionaries, throughout the era of Liliʻuokalani, and continues to be practiced today.\textsuperscript{151}

ʻOli can be used to acknowledge one’s genealogy, to honor a specific person or place, or as a protocol before cultural activities. Considering that Liliʻuokalani is a

\textsuperscript{151} Tatar, \textit{Nineteenth Century Hawaiian Chant}, 3.
monarch and an important figurehead in Hawaiian music, the performance of ‘oli is considered appropriate when performing her repertoire. The ‘oli kāhea is a chant asking for permission to enter, expressing humility and gratitude in acknowledging the legacy and traditions of one’s ancestors. Many Indigenous choirs will chant to their conductor and audience, seeking permission to perform. Likewise, after the choir performs the ‘oli kāhea, the conductor then grants their permission with an ‘oli komo, or a chant granting permission to those seeking to enter.

The ‘oli kāhea (fig. 7) and ‘oli komo (fig. 8) continue to be important cultural practices for the Hawaiian community. While there are many entrance chants written and collected by the Native Hawaiian community, it is also a codified practice to improvise or extemporaneously deliver an entrance chant as well.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ku mai au he Hawaiʻi</th>
<th>Here I stand as a Hawaiian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E hōʻihi</td>
<td>To be respectful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E mālama i nā kuleana</td>
<td>And to take care of my responsibilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E maliu</td>
<td>Hear my call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E maliu mai ē</td>
<td>My permission to enter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 7.** An ‘oli kāhea written by Kahoʻokele Crabbe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E hea i ke kanaka e komo ma loko</th>
<th>This is the reply for the person to enter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He aloha ka loko o kauhele nei</td>
<td>Love abides in this dwelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He mai, e pilialoha mai ē</td>
<td>Come, enter, join together in love</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 8.** An ‘oli komo written by Kahoʻokele Crabbe

156 Ibid.
When teaching or learning an ‘oli for the Indigenous choir, it is important to note that it is normally taught by rote because this was the pedagogical framework for learning an ‘oli before the arrival of American and European missionaries. Consequently, the act of teaching an ‘oli through rote emphasizes the cultural practice of passing down knowledge and legacies from one generation to the next, a Hawaiian value called ho’omau, to perpetuate. Thus it is rare for an ‘oli to be notated and learned based on Western notation.157

While the protocol of ‘oli may not be a necessary component of creating a historically informed performance of an individual piece of work by Lili‘uokalani, it is worth considering if the conductor is planning a stand-alone concert of her works or an entire concert of Hawaiian repertoire. The Kamehameha Schools, an Indigenous Hawaiian private school system located throughout Hawai‘i established by the estate of Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop in 1887, provides online resources for educators looking to incorporate and integrate Hawaiian cultural protocols with their students.158 The resource gives the conductor the opportunity to peruse a selection of ‘oli kāhea and ‘oli komo with audio and video examples at the following website:

_Hawai‘i Aloha_

Fondly known as Hawai‘i’s second anthem, Hawai‘i Aloha (fig. 9) is an integral part of communal singing in Hawai‘i. With poetry written by Lorenzo Lyons, an early missionary of the kindgom of Hawai‘i, the lyrics of Hawai‘i Aloha first appeared in a

Hawaiian language newspaper entitled *Ka Nūpepa Kuʻokoʻa* in the late 1800s. However, while the hymn was performed within churches throughout Hawai‘i, it was not until 1924 that it was published with notation in the Hawaiian Mormon hymnal *Nā Mele O Ziona*.\(^{159}\)

While the hymn was intended for sacred instances during Liliʻuokalani’s lifetime, *Hawai‘i Aloha* quickly evolved into a cultural protocol that involved singing the hymn at both formal and informal gatherings as well as in sacred and secular circumstances. This was especially true during the imprisonment of Liliʻuokalani, as many Native Hawaiians and individuals in support of the Hawaiian monarchy viewed the text as having a patriotic, nationalistic message. For many Native Hawaiians, singing *Hawai‘i Aloha* is also a practice that honors Liliʻuokalani.\(^{160}\)

Today, the hymn is sung with joined hands at graduation ceremonies, assemblies, formal and informal family gatherings, the inaugurations of governors, and opening and closing sessions of the Hawai‘i State House of Representatives and Senate. Furthermore, both performers and audience commonly join together in singing *Hawai‘i Aloha* at the end of Native Hawaiian concerts and other performances. For choral performances, *Hawai‘i Aloha* is sung at the end of the program and was a codified practice since the era of Liliʻuokalani. Traditionally, the last chorus is sung with hands raised above heads, as a symbol of community. Many Native Hawaiians consider the performance of this piece as an act of respect to the monarchy, and to Liliʻuokalani.\(^{161}\)

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\(^{159}\) Kanahele, *Ka Mele Hawai‘i a me ke Po‘e mele*, 160.


\(^{161}\) Kanahele, *Ka Mele Hawai‘i a me ke Po‘e mele*, 160.
Lei

Through a pragmatic and practical lens, a lei is a garland of flowers, leaves, shells, or feathers that are meant to be worn around the head or neck. Since antiquity, the giving of lei is a symbolic gesture of affection, respect, appreciation, and celebration towards a deity, an elder, or someone who has completed an achievement. As foreigners began to arrive, and as Native Hawaiian musicians began to interact and participate in concerts and recitals in the nineteenth century, it became common practice for audience members, as well as friends and family of the performers, to give lei to the chorus at the end of the performance as a congratulatory gesture for the performer’s achievement.

\[162\] Nā Mele o Ziona (Hawaii: No ka Misiona o ka Ekalesia o Iesu Kristo o ka Poe Hoano o Na La Hope Nei, 1909), 13.
However, many singers will give the conductor *lei* prior to the performance as a sign of respect and gratitude for their leadership. This practice is still followed today.\(^\text{163}\)

Many Hawaiian choirs also incorporate *lei* into the choral uniform. Since the era of Liliʻuokalani, amateur Hawaiian singing groups have gathered for formal and informal choral competitions. Each group would adorn itself with a specific type of *lei* to differentiate itself from the other competitors. The Kamehameha Schools has taken on that same tradition for their annual high school song contest, where every grade level would have a corresponding *lei* to wear based on its class color. Now, many Native Hawaiian singing groups incorporate a specific *lei* into their uniform based on the season, the cultural significance of the flower, or the theme of the concert.\(^\text{164}\)

**Hula**

*Hula* has been a crucial component of Hawaiian culture since antiquity. While a number of Western-based sources define *hula* simply as a dance specific to the Indigenous culture of Hawaiʻi, Indigenous sources state that these movements and gestures tell about and celebrate the pantheon of Native Hawaiian deities, procreation, creation, mythology, legend, culturally significant places and events, and royalty. Many Native Hawaiians view the preservation and propagation of *hula* as a spiritual practice.\(^\text{165}\)

However, upon the arrival of the missionaries, *hula* was quickly abolished and suppressed because it served as a cornerstone of Hawaiian religion. Therefore, from the years of 1820-1870, the practice of *hula* was considered immoral from the growing...
missionary presence in Hawaiian society. *Hula* was then mostly practiced in secrecy until the reign of Kalākaua, who sought to champion the propagation and preservation of *hula* in the 1880s. Upon his proclamation and support of the cultural practice, *hula* was integrated into a variety of performance contexts, including choral performance. Thus, a cultural intersection occurred between Western constructs of musical performance and Indigenous dance during performances in the later part of the nineteenth century.\(^{166}\)

Today, *hula* has evolved into two separate genres, *hula kahiko* and *hula ‘auana*. Stillman defines *hula kahiko* as “ancient hula”, where the style of dance, instrumental accompaniment, and the repertoire of the genre came from pre-European contact. The genre of *hula ‘auana* originated from the legacy of King Kalākaua. *Hula ‘auana* is described as a genre that incorporates a Westernized style of dance with instrumental accompaniment that included guitar, ‘ukulele, and even piano. Distinctions between these two genres are that *hula kahiko* is vigorous and robust, while *hula ‘auana* is a style of grace.\(^{167}\)

Keeping Stillman’s descriptions of *hula* in mind, the incorporation of *hula* in Lili‘uokalani’s music is traditionally done in the style of *hula ‘auana*. However, in my experience and observations, the incorporation of *hula ‘auana* for choral performances of Lili‘uokalani’s work is normally done with her secular works only. It is quite controversial to incorporate *hula* with Lili‘uokalani’s sacred music. Also, *hula* is normally done in common time or cut time. Therefore, based on my personal observations, compositions by Lili‘uokalani that are written in triple meter are not normally performed with *hula*.

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The vast majority of culturally-informed hula schools, or hālau, are led by a kumu hula, a master hula teacher. The title of kumu hula is culturally revered in Hawai‘i and by hula practitioners, as this title takes years of study and ritual to attain. The study of hula is very gendered, as many hula competitions require separate women’s and men’s divisions. Also, the styles of hula kahiko and hula ‘auana have distinct dancing styles for men and women.168

If the conductor is interested in implementing hula with the repertoire of Lili‘uokalani, it is imperative that they reach out to a kumu hula for guidance. With hālau located in all major cities in the United States of America, Asia, and Europe, hula has became an accessible art form throughout the world.169 Conductors are able to locate the nearest hālau with a database provided through Mele.Com at the following website: http://www.mele.com/resources/hula.html. Mele.Com is an online resource for Hawaiian music and hula.170

Conclusion

Conductors must realize that the central hub of historically and culturally informed performance practice of Lili‘uokalani’s choral music is a thorough understanding of her poetry and a commitment to inclusivity. Stillman, Salā, and Nāhulu advocate for the conductor to draw conclusions and interpretations of Lili‘uokalani’s poetry. The informants of this study also believe that inclusivity results in giving the conductor a choice to re-voice the work of Lili‘uokalani as needed to better suit a particular choir. Also, the conductor is given the opportunity to accompany the choral

169 Ibid., 361.
works of Lili‘uokalani with what is available, allowing the conductor to orchestrate her work depending on the needs and means the ensemble, and the conductor’s interpretation of the poetry.

However, while the conductor interprets the poetry and re-voices and orchestrates her works based on the needs of the choral ensemble, Stillman, Salā, and Nāhulu also encourage that the conductor consider Hawaiian poetics and metaphor such as kaona when developing individual interpretations. The informants also caution the conductor to maintain the integrity of Lili‘uokalani’s harmonic language, musical style, and melody if the conductor decides to re-voice her work and to consider the instrumentation that was available to nineteenth century Hawai‘i for the sake of historically informed practice.

According to Stillman, Salā, and Nāhulu, the appropriate choral tone for the repertoire of Lili‘uokalani is rooted in bel canto technique. Vibrato is encouraged within the ensemble. However, vibrato is not based on the individual. It is viewed as a communal construct. Therefore, the conductor should work to maintain vibrato that is consistent throughout the ensemble. Additionally, Nāhulu, Salā, and Stillman believe that the melodic line should have precedence dynamically over all musical material.

Lastly, Stillman, Salā, and Nāhulu all celebrate the use of cultural ritual in coordination with the performance of Lili‘uokalani’s repertoire. The practice of an ‘ōli kahea (entrance chant) and an ‘ōli komo (chant of welcome), and the performance of a traditional concert closer entitled Hawai‘i Aloha are observed in coordination with the programming of Lili‘uokalani’s repertoire as these practices were all observed during the nineteenth century. The informants also celebrate the practice of giving and offering lei either as an act before or after a performance, and incorporating them as a crucial part of a
choir’s uniform. From a Hawaiian worldview, the lei is a symbol of cultural pride and the congratulation of one’s hard work and a connection to the poetry of Liliʻuokalani, which mentions specific flowers or lei in her music.

As the conductor considers what is integral to the performance of Liliʻuokalani, several conclusions can be drawn based on the scope and research of this study and its cultural informants. These conclusions come from culture bearers, primary sources, and personal observations. These concepts, when applied to score study and rehearsal, can create a performance that is historically informed and culturally aware.
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Appendix I

TRANSLATIONS OF LILIʻUOKALANI’S PUBLISHED WORKS

A Chant:
Text taken from Job 14:7-14; 25-26
Translation by Liliʻuokalani

If a man die, shall he live again?
All the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come.

If a man die, shall he live again?
All the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come.

If a man die, shall he live again?
All the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come.

If a man die, shall he live again?
All the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come.

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If a man die, shall he live again?
All the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come.
Ahe Lau Makani:
Text by Lil‘uokalani, Likelike, and Kapoli
Translation by The Three Graces of Hamohao

He ‘ala nei e māpu mai nei,
Na ka makani lau aheahe
I lawe mai a ku‘u nui kino.
Ho‘opumehana i ko aloha.

There is a breath so gently breathing,
So soft, so sweet by sighing breezes,
That as it touches my whole being,
It brings a warmth unto my soul.

Chorus:
E ke hoa o ke ahe lau makani,
Halihali ‘ala o ku‘u ‘āina.

Chorus:
We, fair one, together, shall enjoy such
moments, while murmuring wind sweeps,
o’er my fatherland.

He ‘ala nei e moani mai nei,
Na ka ua noe Līlīlehua
I lawe mai a ku‘u poli.
Ho‘opumehana i ku‘u poli

There is a breath so soft and balmy,
Brought by sweet zephyrs, Līlīlehua,
And while wafted to my bosom,
It brings a yearning for one I love.

Aloha ‘Oe:
Text by Lili‘uokalani
Translation by Lili‘uokalani

Ha‘aheo ka ua i nā pali,
Ke nihi a‘e la i ka nahele,
E hahai ana paha i ka liko,
Pua ‘āhihi lehua o uka.

Proud swept the rain by the cliffs,
As on it glided through the trees,
Still following ever the “liko”,
The Ahihi lehua of the vale.

Chorus:
Aloha ‘oe, aloha ‘oe
E ke onaona noho i ka lipo,
A fond embrace a ho‘i a‘e au,
Until we meet again.

Chorus:
Farewell to three, farewell to thee,
Thou charming one who dwells in shaded
bow’rs, one fond embrace ‘ere I depart,
Until we meet again.

‘O ka hali‘a aloha i hiki mai,
Ke hone a‘e nei ku‘u manawa,
‘O ‘oe nō ka‘u ipo aloha,
A loko e hana nei.

Thus sweet memories come back to me,
Bringing fresh remembrance of the past,
Dearest one, yes, thou art mine own,
From thee, true love shall ne’er depart.

Maopop ku‘u ike i ka nani,
Nā pua rose o Maunawili,
I laila hia‘ai nā manu,
Miki‘ala i ka nani o ka liko.

I have seen and watched thy loveliness,
Thou sweet Rose of Maunawili,
And ‘tis there the birds oft love to dwell
And sip the honey from thy lips.
He Mele Lāhui Hawaiʻi:

Text by Liliʻuokalani
Translation by Liliʻuokalani

Ka makua mana loa,
Maliu mai ē mākou
E haliu aku nei,
Me ka naʻau haʻahaʻa,
E mau ka maluhia
O nei pae ʻāina
Mai Hawaiʻi a Niʻihau

Chorus:
E mau ke ea o ka ʻāina
Ma kou pono mau,
A ma kou mana nui,
E ola, e ola ka mōʻī.

E ka haku mālama mai
I ko mākou nei mōʻi.
E mau kona noho ʻana
Ma luna o ka noho aliʻi.
Hāʻawi mai i ke aloha
Ma loko o kona naʻau,
A ma kou ahonui,
E ola, e ola ka mōʻī.

Ma lalo o kou aloha nui,
Nā aliʻi o ke aupuni
Me nā makaʻāinana
Ka lehulehu nō a pau,
Kiaʻi mai ē lākou
Me ke aloha ahonui.
E ola nō mākou
I kou mana mau.

Almighty Father bend thine ear,
And lift a nation’s prayer,
That lowly bows before thy throne,
And seeks thy fostering care.
Grant thou peace through-out the land,
O’er these sunny, sea-girl isles,
Keep the nation’s life, O Lord,
And upon our sovereign smile.

Chorus:
Grant thy Peace, through-out the land,
O’er these sunny, sea-girl Isles,
Keep the nation’s life, O Lord.
And upon our sovereign smile.

Guard him with thy tender care,
Give him length of years to reign
On the throne his fathers won,
Bless the King thy loving grace,
And with wisdom from on high,
Prosperous lead his people on,
As beneath thy watchful eye.

Bless, O Lord, our country’s chiefs,
Grant them wisdom so to live,
That our people may be saved,
And to thee the glory give,
Watch thou o’er us day by day,
King and people with thy love,
For our hope is all in thee,
Bless us thou who reign’st above.
**He Pule:**
Text by Liliʻuokalani
Translation by Liliʻuokalani

Nānā mai e ka haku
I nā kauā āu
E noʻi aku nei
I kou ahonui.

Bend thine eyes on us, O Lord,
We, thy humble servants,
Who thy grace beseecheth,
And thy loving care.

Hanai mai iā mākou
I ka mana lani,
Hoʻomau kou ‘uhane
I ka naʻa au maʻemaʻe.

Feed us all we pray thee,
With the heavenly manna,
Ever may the Spirit
Purify our hearts.

Hoʻopakele iā mākou
Mai nā ‘ino a pau
Hāʻawi i lokomaikaʻi
I ka maluhia.

May thy loving watchfulness
Guard us from all danger,
Graciously bestowing
Comforts and peace.

No nā pōmaikaʻi,
E hoʻonani ʻia
Ka inoa o ka makua,
Ke keiki me ka ‘uhane. ‘Āmene.

Now for all these bounties,
Praise we give to thee
In the name of the Father,
Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

**Ka ʻŌiwi Nani:**
Text by Liliʻuokalani
Translation by Liliʻuokalani

I ke ahiahi Poʻakolu
Kuʻu ʻike ‘ana iho
He ʻalele waha ʻole na ke aloha
E ʻi mai ana iaʻu:

It was on a Wednesday evening
That tidings came to me,
‘Twas a voiceless message from my loved one
And thus it said to me:

E ʻi mai ana ʻi mai ana,
Aia Keʻala i ka nahele,
Kahi i walea ai,
I ka ʻolu o ia uka.

And thus it said, thus it said to me,
Keala has gone to the woodland,
And while on her downy bed of Palai reclining, She inhales the flowers.

A he nani ʻiʻo nō ia pua
Me he lāʻī pala ala ke memele,
Ka ʻōiwi nani o ke kāmakahala,
Lamalama i ka uka o Lanihuli.

Bright and lovely is that flow’ret
Like the Laʻi pala so fair,
Or the beautiful form of the Kamakahala
That sheds radiance o’er all Lanihuli.
**Ka Wai Māpuna:**
Text by Liliʻuokalani
Translation by Liliʻuokalani

Ka wai māpunapuna lā
E naue mālie nei i ka laʻi,
Lipolipo launa ʻola lā,
Kauwahi ʻale ʻole iho.

Kokōhi i ka ʻono
Unahe i ka poli,
Ka wai o Lohia.
Paheʻe ka momoni,
A he ʻolu ka ihona iho.

Lei ana Hiku i ka noe lā
Hoʻohihi Līhau i ka lipo lā,
Anahe ʻo ia ala e inu lā
Ka wai ʻula ʻili ahi.

Iā ʻoe ka ʻuhene e ka wai,
Ka nēnē liʻiliʻi i ke ulu aumoe.
Hoʻolaʻi Kauaʻula lā
Kālele nuʻa i ka palai.

The spring water churns leisurely,
Stirring quietly in the calm,
A deep, rich blue color not seen before,
Revealing hardly a ripple.

Restrain the craving
For that which washes softly against the bosom, it is the spring water of Lohia.
How smoothly it glides across the tongue,
Feeling cool as it goes down.

Hiku is wreathed by a music
That enraptures the deep forest heights of Līhau, gently she approaches to sip
From the pool of fire red color.

This flirting tune is to you, O water,
Slowly being allured in the late night.
Kauaʻula reposes peacefully
Upon a bed of thick ferns.
Ke Aloha O Ka Haku:
Text by Liliʻuokalani
Translation by Liliʻuokalani

ʻO kou aloha nō, O Lord, thy loving mercy
Aia i ka lani, Is high as the heavens,
Aʻo kou ʻoiaʻiʻo, It tells us of thy truth,
He hemolele hoʻi And 'tis filled with holiness.

Koʻu noho mihi ʻana Whilst humbly meditating,
A paʻahao ʻia, Within these walls imprisoned,
ʻO oe kuʻu lama, Thou art my light, my haven,
Kou nani koʻu koʻo. thy glory my support.

Mai nānā ʻinoʻino Oh! I look not on their failings,
Nā hewa o kānaka, Nor on the sins of men,
Akā, e huikala, Forgive with loving kindness,
A maʻemaʻe nō. That we might be made pure.

No laila e ka haku, For thy grace I beseech thee,
Ma lalo o kou ʻeheu Bring us 'neath thy protection,
Kō mākou maluhia, And peace will be our portion,
**Ku‘u Pua I Paoakalani:**  
Text by Lili‘uokalani  
Translation by Lili‘uokalani

E ka gentle breeze e waft mai nei,  
Ho‘ohāli‘ali‘a mai ana ia‘u,  
E ku‘u sweet never fading flower  
I bloom i ka uka o Paoakalani.

Chorus:  
ʻIke mau i ka nani o nā pua  
O ka uka o Uluhaimalama,  
ʻAʻole naʻe hoʻi e like  
Me kuʻu pua i ka laʻi o Paoakalani.

Lahilahi kona mau hiʻona,  
With soft eyes black as jet,  
Pink cheeks so delicate of hue  
I ulu i ka uka o Paoakalani.

Nane ʻia mai ana kuʻu aloha,  
E ka gentle breeze e waft mai nei,  
Oh come to me kaʻu mea e liʻa nei,  
I ulu i ka uka o Paoakalani.

Chorus:  
Thoʻ I’ve often seen those beauteous flowʻrs  
That grew at Uluhaimalama,  
But none of those could be compared  
To my flowʻr that blooms in the fields of Paoakalani.

Her face is fair to behold,  
With softest eyes as black as jet,  
Pink cheeks so delicate of hue,  
That grew in the fields of Paoakalani.

Now name to me the one I love,  
Ye gentle breezes passing by,  
And bring to me that blossom fair,  
That bloometh in the fields of Paoakalani.
Nani Nā Pua Koʻolau:
Text by Liliʻuokalani
Translation by Liliʻuokalani

The flow’rs of Koolau in their beauty
Fill the vale, fill with golden gleam.
I cull and wreathe them for my lov’d one,
At morn and night she fills my waking dream. Where art thou, fairest of all fair ones? Where art thou sweetest of all sweets?
A flow’r of Paradise thou seemest,
That the morning breeze ever kindly greets.

I praise thy beauty, thou my fair one,
Thou the flow’r art of flow’rs to me.
The “lehua” flower whose ardent sweetness
O’erpowers that wand’rer o’er the lea,
And I cry “Where art thou, my loved one,
My spirit would dwell with thee.”
To taste hours of tranquil pleasure
And wander ‘neath Koi-ahi’s tree.

The thrilling notes of hidden songsters,
As they sport round the jasmine bower,
Whose odor yet in mem’ry lingers,
Reminds of thee, the fairest flower,
Of Vi-li-au the sweetest blossom,
Without thee, my life is lone.
Come fill my hours with bliss, I pray thee,
My flower, my bird, my chief and chosen one!
Puīa Ka Nahele:
Text by Liliʻuokalani
Translation by Liliʻuokalani

No ka uka ʻiu i ka wao
Ke ano haliʻahalīʻa
Ke kau ʻana mai o ka ʻālua ahihoi,
Hiki pū mai me ke aloha

For the lovely woodland and dells
Shall our fond songs ever be,
For as the shades of even draw nigh
Bring cherished memories of thee.

Chorus:
Puīa ka nahele
Māpu mai ke ʻala,
He nahele, nahele
Ona ʻia e nā manu.
E ka ʻIwi ʻIwi maka onaona,
Hoʻi mai kāua e pili nō, e pili

Chorus:
How soft and sweetly fragrant the air
In the deep blue woods where birds oft love to dwell,
Thou, O Iwi Iwa bird, with loveliest eyes,
Come thou back to me, oh, never to part again.

Noe wale mai nō ka nahele
He ua nihi pali,
Luhe ka lau o ka palai
ʻElo i ka ua Waʻahila.

Now see the mist pass oʻer the trees,
Now closely press near the cliffs,
Gracefully droops the leaf of the Palai,
Laden with crystals of the Waahi

Puna Paia ʻAʻala:
Text by Liliʻuokalani
Translations by Liliʻuokalani

Iā Puna paia ʻaʻala,
Pili mau na ke onaona,
I laila ke kāunu ʻana,
Kau pono ana na ka manaʻo

Puna’s bowery walls of fragrance
Are laden groves of sweet flowers,
There my heart yearns to be loved,
To dwell there, my sincere desire.

Chorus:
Puna paia ʻaʻala,
Kilihea i ke onaona,
Ona wela i ke aloha,
Ua lawa iā ʻoe me aʻu.

Chorus:
Puna’s shaded bowers
Are made redolent with perfume,
Sweet in language, full of love,
Binding ever thee and me.

Hoʻohihi i ka nani
Pua mai a ka lehua,
Ānehe au e kiʻi
I pua kau no kuʻu umauma.

So I long for thy image,
Bright flower of the Lehua,
I would take thee and pluck thee,
And press thee near to my heart
The Queen’s Jubilee:
Text by Lili‘uokalani
Translation by Lili‘uokalani

Mahalo piha, mōʻi o ʻEnelani,
Kuʻi kou kaulana nā ʻāina a pau,
Nā kai ʻākau nā one hema
ʻIkea kou ʻihi mana nui.
Eia mākou i kou kaʻa kai
I kou lā nui jubili,
I hiʻi mai i ko mākou aloha,
Ma luna ou ka malu o ka lani.

Hauʻoliʻoli, ʻemepela o ʻInia
I kēia makahiki jubili,
ʻĀkoakoa nā aliʻi ʻaimoku
A puni ke ao holoʻokoʻa
E hiʻilani, e miliiani,
Ua hui pū ʻia me Hawaiʻi
E uhi mai ka lani i kona nani,
E ola mōʻī i ke akua

All hail to thee, Great Queen of England,
Fair Queen who rul’st o’er land and sea,
From Northern seas to Southern shores
Thy sway is known both far and near.
We come to thy shores, most gracious Lady,
On this great day of thy Jubilee
To bring kind greeting from afar,
May Heaven bless the, long may’st thou reign.

All hail, all hail, Empress of India,
In this thy year of Jubilee.
Now Kings and Queens and Princes great
Have all assembled here today
To pay due homage and reverent love,
Hawaii joins with loyal fervor,
May heaven shed her smiles on thee,
God bless the Queen, long may she live.
Appendix II

AUDIO RECORDING OF AHE LAU MAKANI

Ahe Lau Makani

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bFta3ThkpZ0

This audio example was performed by the Nā Wai Chamber Choir on Saturday, July 15th, 2016, at the Cathedral of St. Andrews in Honolulu, Hawaiʻi. The audio was mixed and mastered by David Tucciarone.
Appendix III

AUDIO RECORDING OF PUNA PAIA ‘A’ALA

Puna Paia ‘A’ala

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=__9yZ89fCu0&t=9s

This audio example was performed by the Nā Wai Chamber Choir on Saturday, July 15th, 2016, at the Cathedral of St. Andrews in Honolulu, Hawai‘i. The audio was mixed and mastered by David Tucciarone.
Appendix IV

AUDIO RECORDING OF KE ALOHA O KA HAKU

Ke Aloha O Ka Haku

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=61ImkOmkOL

This audio example was performed by the Nā Wai Chamber Choir on Saturday, July 15th, 2016, at the Cathedral of St. Andrews in Honolulu, Hawai‘i. The audio was mixed and mastered by David Tucciarone.
Appendix V

AUDIO RECORDING OF KU’U PUA I PAOAKALANI

Ku’u Pua I Paoakalani

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kNMDDLo0ZF1

This audio example was performed by the Nā Wai Chamber Choir on Saturday, July 15th, 2016, at the Cathedral of St. Andrews in Honolulu, Hawai‘i. The audio was mixed and mastered by David Tucciarone.
Appendix VI

INTERVIEW WITH NOLA NĀHULU

Jace Saplan, Interviewer

August 25, 2016
**Jace Saplan**: Aloha Aunty Nola!

**Nola Nāhulu**: Okay I am just going to jump right in. So this arrangement of ‘Imi au iā ‘oe, composed by Lilli‘uokalani and arranged by John Magnussen, this is very accessible. It is arranged for Soprano, Alto, and Baritone because that is what Magnussen had in his choir at the time. This is a piece where nobody knows her melody just her poetry, what they do know is Charles E. King’s melody. So Magnussen preserved the original melody and poetry and made the arrangement specifically for his choir.

*JS*: So this arrangement was made for the sake of celebrating culturally and historically informed performance, as well as accessibility for his choir at the time.

*NN*: Totally. But, I think in generally for people who have never sung this, this is a great jump off point, and a great example of how in Hawaiian terms, culturally and historically informed performance is not necessarily being a servant to the specifics of score, but rather honoring the melody, of course the poetry, and making it accessible for the choir.

*JS*: Awesome.

*NN*: There is also a string quartet accompaniment for it. Mind you, he is not composing an entirely different piece, he is not staying away from her harmonic language that she clearly outlined, he is not even straying away from what is written in her accompaniment. He is simply playing with different timbres because that is what was available, and of
course there were string quartets during Lili‘u’s time so why not?

**JS:** How interesting. So he was informed by her work and made it work for his own group. So say for instance, for my particular ensemble, Nā Wai, we are a treble choir taking on Lili’uokalani’s SATB repertoire and will be presenting her works where the tenor and bass part are left out, leaving the accompaniment to suggest the full harmonic weight of the chord. If needed and able, some of the Alto’s will sing tenor or even bass. The main purpose in this is to make sure that while we may be a treble ensemble, it is still possible to present her works in ways that are culturally and historically informed. So if a chord needs to be re-voiced for the sake of realizing her harmonic intention with the forces that we have, then we re-voice. We are not revoicing for the sake of altering her intention. Do you agree?

**NN:** I agree with the philosophy of revoicing because it gives more people the opportunity to sing Lili‘uokalani’s music. Hawaiian’s back then and today did not always have SATB choirs or divisi choirs, we just sang. We have to be flexible enough where we are not making new arrangements, unless that’s your intention, so that the intent of the composer or arranger is still there.

**JS:** So the intention of the text.

**NN:** Yes. It is good to expand to this day and age, but know your roots. If you want to stay true to her intentions, then re-voice the choral parts so that the limits of your choir is
able to serve her intention. However, once you stray away harmonically then you need to say, “it is mine, this is an arrangement that strays away from composer intention.”

JS: So the fine line between revoicing as an act for culturally or historically informed performance versus changing the harmonic language as a means to create an individual arrangement.

NN: Exactly. Anyway, I just thought we would discuss ‘Imi au iā ‘oe as a jump off point.

JS: So when you find yourself working with the language, what are some of the common issues that you find?

NN: If we are taking it directly from her original work, we assume the treatment of the underlay. Such as the treatment of the diphthong. So say for instance if we are holding on the word wai, if we are used to the language we know to stay on the first vowel. However, if you are unfamiliar with the language we get a multitude of treatments where some will stay on the first vowel, and some will stay on the second. That is what it boils down to, understanding the treatment of the language, knowing what the text means because emphasizing the first vowel as opposed to the second vowel can result into two different words. This is why we have the kahakō. So if you are going to do a piece in Hawaiian, understanding the mechanics, the diacritical markings are important. The finite things can make the world of a difference. One thing you have to understand is that composers back then did not write out a note value for each vowel, much of
Liliʻuokalani’s work had an entire diphthong on a held note because the performance practice of the diphthong was commonplace. So, many conductors might find themselves having to write in or thinking about separating each vowel into different note values, especially if you are new to Hawaiian choral music. I also encourage conductors to IPA the text, use recording devices of a Native speaker speaking through the lyrics. Use what we have now to your advantage.

**JS:** IPA and recording Native speakers, such as the different “a” vowels of ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi.

**NN:** Right.

**JS:** What does a choir sound like for this repertoire?

**NN:** There is attention to melody. The prioritization of the melodic line is very important for the choral works of Liliʻuokalani because in many cases, Hawaiian choral conductors would re-voice the divisis and use varying instrumentations based on what was around and who was available. Therefore, in this practice of cultural inclusivity, the melodic line was the only thing that remained or left untouched. Consequently, as we practice the culturally informed values such as doing what works for our ensembles, we must highlight and anchor the melody at all costs. I view the melody as the voice of Liliʻuokalani. There is also vibrato. My work and my position at Kawaiahaʻo Church is one that was passed down from the Queen herself. Vibrato has always been used and
encouraged. If we are to embrace the cultural notion that all are welcome in our ensembles, then we also abandon this Western ideal of pristine straight tone singing. When singing the work of Lili‘uokalani, beauty is found in vibrato.

*JS*: Here is another jump off point, if you look at her music, in this time period, why do you think there is an absence of dynamics? Contrary to other composers of this time, much of her music gives minimal dynamic instruction.

*NN*: Because, she assumed that people knew the language. Thus she wanted to give composers the freedom to interpret the poetry. Secondly, she taught all of her compositions as well. Remember, she was a composer and a conductor. For example, she taught *Aloha ʻOe* on her return back from an excursion to a group of people, so she was able to teach it with nuances already.

*JS*: So if I was not a Hawaiian language speaker...

*NN*: Does not matter, that is why there is translations available with her music now. Also, she is a genius, if you listen to her music, the poetry, the harmony, the melody, everything matches so well. Yes it is important to know the poetry to make an informed decision about the dynamics, but the other parts of her composition clearly point you in the right direction.

*JS*: So if there was a performance where a group of conductors made drastically different
desicions on dynamics it would be okay as long as their desicions were informed by their interpretations of the text?

**NN**: Yes. Absolutely. Now if you are going to change something that disagrees with what is written, for instance changing meter or a ostinato, then I would not embrace that. Because it goes against with what is on the page.

**JS**: Ah, and these elements are not dynamics.

**NN**: Yes. The bottom line is, is that it is the conductors responsibility to do something historically and culturally informed. So if you are able to stand behind your work by referencing and utilizing your interpretation of the poetry, right on.

**JS**: Yes.

**NN**: You will have kūpuna (elders) come your way and say, “why did you do it that way?” and you will have to stand behind your interpretation.

**JS**: Stand behind your truth.

**NN**: Of course. You will find youself pondering, why did she put a forte marking here? Then you reference the text and wonder if it is anguish, frustration...it goes down to your interpretation of the poetry.
JS: When you are utilizing dynamics and teaching that in a rehearsal, how does that look like? Gesture...discussion?

NN: For me?

JS: Yes.

NN: Gesture first and foremost, but I am an Eichenberger person, but that means they have to be watching you. So if differs by which ensemble you are doing this with. Another thing too, is that we are a kinesthetic culture. Look at hula. We tell stories with our bodies all the time. Discussion is important yes, but I find it effective to feel the poetry with the body. For example, I find myself saying “Look at this poetry, do you feel it building and building? Let’s try!”

It is about flexibility. Did you interpret the poetry? Go ahead and show what your interpretation is. Is the piece that you are interesting in doing not neccessarily written for the voices that you have? Well, make it work. Re-voice the chord without changing the language.

We need the purists. We do not want to forget as to where we come from.

JS: Yes. We need people asking the questions. We need the people asking why we did it
in that particular way and hold us accountable.

**NN:** And also to remember the melding of the poetry and the music. Especially for her because she did both. She was both poet and composer. Everything is from her na’au (gut).

**JS:** Yes. Exploring her work has been a journey of humility.

**NN:** Queen’s prayer. That is humbling. With everything that was happening, she writes a prayer of humility. She writes about her life!

**JS:** And she was unapologetic about it.

**NN:** Everything, if she went somewhere...everything.

**JS:** You know, she was one of the first to pioneer a waltz style in the Hawaiian language as well.

**NN:** Yes, look at the time period! They were holding balls, and those balls had waltzes. Growing up as a princess, she was surrounded with that type of thing, she grew up hearing waltzes.

She also shows her prowess in going between English and Hawaiian. She was royalty.
She knew these things. She lived in two words, the Indigenous and the Western.

*JS*: That is an important point. Deciphering what is the Hawaiian language and what is English.

*NN*: Well if you have mastery of the English language it is quite clear. However, it is important for conductors to know that the English words should not be pronounced with Hawaiian pronunciation. English words were pronounced as if they were English, because she spoke English. I have coached choirs in the past where that has happened. For instance “I bloom i ka uka...”, the first word is a Hawaiian word, not an English word. This would have been avoided if you know the text and know the poetry.

*JS*: Huh. It is what it is.

*NN*: Yes. We are so used to that mix of languages. There are many unusual things about the Hawaiian language to the Western mind. Our language was not always written down, then missionaries came and developed a written language, then Hawaiians integrated English words into their language, then Spanish...etc. It is part of the evolution for us and I don’t think people realize that it is reflected in our choral music. It is more than just folk music. We have composers who wrote music, and notated it specifically for choral contexts, such as Liliʻuokalani.

*JS*: When you are working with choirs on this type of music, what are the first things you
try to fix in terms of choral tone or vocal production?

**NN:** Usually the first thing I do, is to unravel the poetry or the story behind the piece. That changes the sound and the color palate of the choir. It is no longer syllables, these words have meaning and require interpretation, so why would you sing something the exact same way for each word? And that is true in any language of course. Now, if I want to change the sound, I do it through gesture. Remember...our culture is kinesthetic.

**JS:** It all comes back to the text.

**NN:** Yes. Because she did both, poetry and music, it lays together.

**JS:** Going back to a previous discussion, how do you teach the nuances of the language? Such as the ‘okina or kahakō?

**NN:** You know what I fix more of, is the mistake of the contraction and the ‘okina. Anyway, I fix it through demonstration. Simply modeling it works for me.

**JS:** What about kahakō?

**NN:** Again demonstration. I speak it first, then have the ensemble repeat it in time.

**JS:** Instrumentation? What is the ideal instrumentation?
NN: It depends on what is available! Again, if it honors the harmonic language and what is written, then that is fine. By the time she was composing, we had a variety of instruments available to her. It is written out in piano, so depending on what is written, it is quite easy to divide the parts. Low instruments could play the left hand, higher instruments in the right hand. The main thing is that it honors what is written.

JS: In your work as a Hawaiian conductor, what are some protocols that you celebrate? What are some that you have seen that is not necessarily accurate? Like lei?

NN: Lei is what we do! It is our mahalo and aloha. It takes work to get there, to perform, to do this repertoire. It is a visual acknowledgement. It is even stronger if they made it themselves. If it came from your yard. Lei is important.


NN: Of course.

END OF INTERVIEW

Jace Saplan – transcriber
8/25/16
Appendix VII

INTERVIEW WITH AMY STILLMAN

Jace Saplan, Interviewer

May 13, 2016
**Jace Saplan:** Dr. Stillman, as a scholar of Native Hawaiian music, what constitutes as a historically and culturally informed performance of 19th century Hawaiian choral music, or the choral works of Liliʻuokalani? What are some things you look and listen for?

**Dr. Amy Stillman:** Pronunciation and tune. To me, these are the most important elements. As long as the tune is there then the arranger can do he or she wants to do. I understand arrangement to be completely separate from tune. If you were to take a hardline historically informed approach, then anybody who chooses to do that would be stuck with the scores from that period. For me, respectful accuracy would mean fidelity at least to the tune. At least tune is still there.

**JS:** What are some common mistakes that you hear in terms of pronunciation?

**AS:** Syllables, unstressed syllables on stressed musical beats.

**JS:** Do you hear anything in terms of diphthongs? Such as treating the word *hae*? Do you have a preference as to what is more appropriate? Do we stay on the first or second vowel in a choral setting?

**AS:** My approach would be to prefer the first vowel, because that is usually the accented vowel.

**JS:** Ok.
AS: And if that is the last note or last part of the phrase, my preference would be to have the choir unison stay on the ha syllable and then a unison turn up to the e right at the cutoff.

JS: Thank you for that. Do you hear anything else on culturally informed pronunciation besides diphthongs or stressed vs. unstressed syllables?

AS: ‘Okinas.

JS: Ah. So if you are in a situation where you were to coach a choir and ‘okina or the glottal stroke is not part of their modicum of language, how would you coach that.

AS: Tirelessly. The ‘okina may not be part of their modicum of language, but if they are going to reflect Hawaiian repertoire respectfully, then they have got to come into the Hawaiian language realm. There is no excuse.

JS: Do you find yourself, when you are listening to choirs and singing groups’ approach the ‘okina, that they are different artistic approaches to the ‘okina and kahakö? Is it acceptable? Can we coach these nuances in different ways?

AS: Yes. It would be a hard thing to say that there is only one way to coach an ‘okina. And that could also be said that there is only one correct way towards Hawaiian
pronunciation. That is simply the case. There are occasions that ‘okina should be there, but perhaps it is a very soft moment in the time or in the arrangement, that it is very easy for the ‘okina to get lost. At the point it is superficial to say, “you missed the ‘okina!” There has to be a point where we put the context into consideration. In that instance, I would coach the choir to implement an ‘okina and to gradually soften the approach.

**JS:** So being technical first, and then layering on the nuance.

**AS:** So at least they understand what the baseline is and where to depart from it.

**JS:** Awesome. Thank you. Let’s talk about the kahakō for a little bit. When we are looking at mele or ‘oli in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i, and you are listening to a tune and there is a kahakō—we think about it a stressed syllable—do you hear it in ways where it go be too stressed.

**AS:** Oh yeah. You know where that happens the most is when the choir is holding on a kahakō which results in a volume increase, and it just throws everything off. There is some context where the kahakō might get lost for the sake of melody. When you have kahakō that functions with a word where the word is a possesive marker, not as an adjective then you might have to let it go.

**JS:** Let the gramar speak for itself.
AS: Lovely. Yes.

JS: Maybe it is not necessarily an intensification of volume, but perhaps you could a little rubato or maybe you could think about it as having a tenuto over the note.

AS: Again it is going to depend on the poetry.

JS: Yes. What I am hearing is that a lot of it has to do with the composers knowledge of the poetry.

AS: Exactly.

JS: Therefore, it most contexts, musical decisions are subordinate to what language is saying, what it means,

AS: You know, I would prefer, when you said subordinate, to reframe it as artistic decisions are made in the service of enhancing the music.

JS: So, from where your expertise lies, it serves as the same vein where the kahakō is placed on an unstressed beat. So, that would prove the point where you do not need to make a big deal of that as well.

AS: Yes. You also have instances where the kahakō and the next vowel are the same, and
you can run it all together. It is going to be important for you to come up with several very concrete examples.

**JS:** Ah. So. What does a culturally and historically informed choir sounds like?

**AS:** Liliʻuokalani came from a tradition of monophonic chant. There was no harmony, only melody. That was what was the tradition of her ancestors. These other phenomena, harmony, foreign instruments and instrumentation, these were introduced to her, to her kingdom, and to her people. Therefore, if a conductor were to present a performance that is culturally informed, then the conductor would prioritize the melody at all costs. Also, The transfer from Indigenous communal vocal chant to choral music was an easy one. We experience our world as Hawaiians as one of community. This is an important aspect for the conductor to realize. Was there vibrato? Yes. But when singers or chanters use them, the idea is to match the rate of vibrato with each other as a symbol of community.

**JS:** Absolutely. So as we think about Liliʻuokalani and her canon of repertoire, what are some things that you champion as informed performances of her music today, and what do you find to be misinformed?

**AS:** Text underlay. Dead give away.

**JS:** Mahalo. When you are thinking about the time period of Liliʻuokalani, in terms of
vocal production, what do you think is the must historically informed way to celebrate
the repertoire? How would you coach that choir?

**AS**: Here is the logic that I would follow, yes Lili‘uokalani was educated by the
missionaries, but she was also a very active member of Honolulu’s musical life. Secular as
well as sacred. And when you look at the kinds of recitals that were going on in
Kawaiha‘o Church where many of her songs received their premiere, these were art
song recitals, many with singers trained in the bel canto style, as they were singing
operatic arias. So, she was positioned to present her songs as arts songs in that world.

**JS**: I agree. We can take in account as to how her accompaniment was written as well. As
much of her accompaniment mirrors the same sentiment of an Italian art song.

**AS**: You need to also consider her interactions with Henry Berger, as there is strong
marching band influence as well.

**JS**: Another consideration of tone, while it is clear that she wrote in a style similar to the
Italian art songs of her time, she also has written pieces that are homophonic and in a
chant like setting as well.

**AS**: Yes.

**JS**: What is your opinion about that?
AS: Let me turn the question around. Can you explain her stating that some of her music is in an art song style?

JS: So if we were to look at a piece like *Ahe Lau Makani* and you were to look at the accompaniment, the style and the harmonic language mirrors a lot of art song during this time.

AS: Okay. Moreso, than the homophonic hymn setting?

JS: Yes.

AS: Interesting. Okay! You know, one thing I think might be worth developing, as a kind of validation of that assertion, for the sake of argument, it might be worth also taking about Charles E. King, whose music came after Lili‘uokalani. He too is known nationally. Therefore you could consider King somewhat of a student of Lili‘uokalani’s music. He would represent the canon of art song that you claim.

JS: Yes. She is one of the first Hawaiian composers in which the instrumentation is not written in colla parte with the choir.

AS: Yes. That and the homophonic section is the easiest for mutiple singers to do together. It’s accessible.
JS: Exactly!

AS: Therefore, it was done for the sake of inclusivity. Not necessarily done with the intention of going between two different styles of singing. That would result in a conductor's understanding of the poetry. I do not think it was about singing bel canto for this accompaniment and a British choral tone for the homophonic.

JS: Got it. Now how would you piece together a historically and culturally informed performance of Liliʻuʻs repertoire? You will notice, that much of her accompaniment is for piano, with occasional chord charts.

AS: Why wouldn’t there be other instruments? Because those instruments were present. You know. If you think about the economics of music publishing, it was not financially feasible to print accompaniments with anything other than piano. So then, what were the other instruments performing? Where the reading the piano score, playing individual lines of the piano score? Possibly. You will notice that many early recordings of her pieces also celebrate the guitar as well. For example, like the vocal lines of her sheet music, you hear instrumentation where there is a solo accompaniment for the verses, and different instruments playing together in homophonic, four part harmony during the choruses.

JS: Thank you for this information!
AS: You will also hear obilgatto lines at some points, in where flutes or violins play over the melody.

JS: Did you say flute and violin? Wow. So in terms of today, Hawai‘i’s has mirrored a reality of choral accessibility similar to Hawaiian choral performance of the 19th century. For example, based on who comes, we may have an alto jump back and forth between the alto and tenor part, we might re-voice a chord that essentially serves the same purpose harmonically but is more suited to the performing forces of our choir. Everyone has a place in present-day Hawaiian choral performance. In your opinion, do you think that it is possible to still present a culturally and historically informed performance with this philosophy of inclusivity?

AS: Hah! Hand the dude a triangle and keep you mouth shut! Hah. Why not. Just because the sheet music was SATB, does not mean that was always a reality for Hawaiian choirs right? So yeah. Sometimes you sing in duet, a trio, sometimes the piano takes the melody.

JS: Great. Then what would be the most wisest desicion? Between balancing what is reality and what is informed?

AS: Making sure that you are staying as true to the harmonic structure and form of the piece and of course, making sure that you are informed by the poetry. If you have a women’s choir singing this repertoire, great! Figure out what works best for the
ensemble. Do you have altos that can sing the tenor part? Is it possible for them to even sing in SATB in ways that does not make it sound artificial or displeasing to your ear and the interpretation of the poetry? It merits some thinking to think about if historical performance is available sonically, rather historical performance is a result of incorporating culturally informed performance.

**JS:** Ah. So for you, where does this intersection lie?

**AS:** Ah. So to me the question is, is it possible to make a claim of sonic fidelity in the absence of sonic evidence? And in my mind, the answer is no. Because it is anybody’s guess. So, how close can you get to the spirit of it rather than the sonic fidelity of it and that opens up multiple avenues of fidelity.

**JS:** Right. And I think that creates a spirit of courage, where conductor’s should feel empowered to perform this music, as long as you have done the research, score study, and created a philosophy informed by the culture and the historical evidence that we do have.

**AS:** Yes. Because we can then say, yes, a women’s choir can create an informed performance of her SATB repertoire. It is common knowledge that our ancestors would perform this music with two singers and a pianist. You stick with what you have, and the challenge then is what content each singer is gonna take.
JS: Hm.

AS: But the decision to go ahead with just soprano and alto is informed by the fact that choirs in the 19th century sang and performed with what was available to them. A violinist sawing along? Great.

JS: Yeah. It is inclusive. It is not about parameters, it is about capturing the spirit of the poetry.

AS: Yes, and if the spirit is one that is inclusive, embracing, and full of aloha then there is a place for everybody. The challenge is what is that place.

JS: Wow. Mahalo. With that I am out of questions! What a way to end. Thank you!

AS- You know, it is possible to be historically informed and totally creative. What is the framework you start with, what do you view this framework to be? That is where I see the challenge for many people starting with less than a fully loaded deck.

JS: Mahalo nui. It has been such an honor to have this conversation.

END OF INTERVIEW

Jace Saplan – transcriber

8/25/201
Appendix VIII

INTERVIEW WITH AARON SALĀ

Jace Saplan, Interviewer

October 7, 2016
Jace Saplan: Aloha mai Aaron! Thank you so much for taking the time to talk with me today!

Aaron Salā: I am happy to help!

JS: Shall we get started?

AS: Yes!

JS: So, Aaron, in terms of historically and culturally informed performance practice of Hawaiian choral music during the era of Liliʻuokalani, what are some common things that choirs are doing that stand in the way of that?

AS: I think that the Renaissance screwed us up. And what the Renaissance does is try to leap from 1893 to 1968 and does not acknowledge anything in between. So the Renaissance says is you do not define for me what is Hawaiian, I define for myself what is Hawaiian, which is fine but they went ahead and defined what is Hawaiian. And if you don’t do all of those things back in the 1800’s then you can’t be Hawaiian. And then they negate everything that happens in between 1893 and 1968. So then my biggest thing in terms of asking what is historically and culturally misinformed is that as a society, we don’t accept…talk a little bit more and we will get back to it.

JS: Okay. What I am hearing is that this is about agency. Or reclaiming a sense of what is
Hawaiian. But musically, what are we disregarding? Text underlay, vocal production.

**AS**: I think we are disregarding vocal production or technique. We are disregarding nuance. Back then it was about what the lyrical content meant and recreating these musical pictures. So what the Renaissance does is negate Western ways of thinking about the world without accounting for the generations and traditions of Hawaiians domesticating a Western idea. So I can take and use that chord introduced by the Westerners, and I can use that chord and incorporate it in my Indigenous palate.

**JS**: So I am hearing two things. A world view that is expansive of what is globalized and then making it Hawaiian. The next is a rejection of what is anything outside of what is traditionally Hawaiian.

**AS**: Yes.

**JS**: Now thinking about Lili‘uokalani specifically, if you were look at her works today, do you think performances of her work today are doing a good job at honoring her work? For instance, language and pronunciation?

**AS**: Yes. Now we are at a place to ask a question about discussing the diphthong. In previous generations, we needed to be strict about the implementation of it. Now, we can consider both the diphthong, and how it affects the overall textual meaning. So if it is a trite word, we close it. If it is not, then we consider being a bit more relaxed with it. It is
about the text. As of right now I think there is too much attention at making sure the
diction is perfect. It is about the poetic context. There needs to be balance.

**JS**: Ah. So now that we have more of an ownership of the language, and now that we feel
more comfortable we can exhibit the language in more artistic ways. So what I am
hearing that now is a time for a balance. But, if I am a conductor that is not aligned with
the Hawaiian culture, then how do we coach them?

**AS**: For me teaching choirs who have had no access to Hawaiian music or Hawaiian
knowledge…there is such a curiosity now and people want to know. However not
everyone understands or is familiar with what an amazing choral tradition we have. So I
approach it on a choir by choir basis. Some choirs have done the work of interpreting the
text, some have not. How am I going to be of use if you did not do the groundwork?

**JS**: So what about instrumentation? What is culturally and historically informed? What is
written in the Queen’s Songbook is piano and chord charts.

**AS**: Well what is interesting is that she was a guitarist as well. So yes, piano…but the
chord charts also opens up the possibility of a wide range of instruments. She herself
played many. She was a radical musician championing many new ventures for Hawaiian
music. We make her to be a humble person, but she had an intricate and complex view of
the world because of her identity and training. She teetered two worlds. For example she
was an avid guitarist and was subject to so much instrumentation between herself as a
royal, a composer, a conductor. So why would we not include what is available to us? Her compositions are an open book to her life. She wanted to her musical messages to be available.

\textit{JS}: So with a wide plethora of instrumentation, would you transfer that same concept to choral tone?

\textit{AS}: Of course. With musical training from the American missionaries, exposure to a gamut of international performances, opera, and Indigenous chant. It is hard to classify what tone goes where. There needs to be a freedom to explore. It all comes down to text.

\textit{JS}: Inform yourself, know the poetry, and go try.

\textit{AS}: Yes. Exactly.

\textit{JS}: So in a nutshell, what does a Hawaiian choir sound like.

\textit{AS}: In a Hawaiian worldview, the ear and the main bearer of poetry is the melody. Even if the harmony is homphonic with the melody, the Hawaiian ear will find the metaphor and the nuance in the melody. Therefore, to honor the cultural perspective that Liliʻuokalani comes from, it is fitting to consistently highlight and prioritize the melody. As for vibrato, when we embrace that vibrato is a Native concept, a concept that Liliʻuokalani and her ancestors knew about and used before the arrival of missionaries,
then we can see this practice as one that is culturally informed. When we observe the fact that Lili‘uokalani was exposed to works and styles of European vocal music that used vibrato and implemented these styles in her music, then we can also see this practice as historically informed.

*JS:* So in terms of voicing, she predominately writes for SATB choirs. However, for so many Indigenous Hawaiian identifying choirs of her time as well as today, we may or may not have that divisi in our ensembles. What are your opinions about revoicing the divisi so that it works with what we have? Is that acceptable?

*AS:* I think so. I think we should allow ourselves the freedom to explore. You know, she did it all, text and music. There is no strict SATB back then, so it would make sense to do it now for the sake of being a purist.

*JS:* It is about being as inclusive as possible.

*AS:* Exactly.

*JS:* Mahalo nui, Aaron!

**END OF INTERVIEW**

Jace Saplan– transcriber