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## HAWAIIAN HOUSEHOLD CUSTOMS

By LAURA S. GREEN AND MARTHA WARREN BECKWITH

### THE HOUSE

THE ANCIENT Hawaiians lived in thatched houses of rectangular shape, the roof sloping from a ridgepole much as in our own cottages of wood and shingle. An ancient house-site at Opihikao in Puna district of the island of Hawaii shows a laid stone platform as foundation for the house.

The parts of the house were all named.<sup>1</sup> The central post of the house was called *pou*, a name also applied to the mast of a canoe. The ridgepole was called *kaupaka*, the word *kau* being also applied to the horizontal pole hung over a canoe to support the mats that served for its protection. The rafters were the *kua*, or "back"; the cross-sticks which held the thatch in place were the *a-a-ho*; the outer walls of the ends of the house in distinction from the sides were called *kala*; the lintel was the *lapa kawila*, shortened to *la-pa'u-i-la*; the low opening at the back of the house just wide enough for a person to crawl through was the *puka pakaha*, or "narrow door."

The material used in thatching depended upon the locality.<sup>2</sup> A coarse wild grass filled at seeding time with sharp stickers (*pili*), which grows near the seashore but was also carried inland for thatching, gave the name of *hale pili* to the thatched house.

<sup>1</sup> The terms here given differ in some respects from the much fuller nomenclature recorded by Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, 158-167. Cf. Fornander, *Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum*, 5: 640-656.

<sup>2</sup> For full information as to old thatching practises see Fornander, *op. cit.*, 644-646; 650-656.

*puā* was the common method. Miss Green has seen both methods practised in feeding children. The following story told in Hawaiian by Mrs. Pukui illustrates the feeding etiquette in a chief's household.<sup>9</sup> It must be remembered that the child of rank was a divinity whose head could on no account be touched by a person of inferior rank; the office of keeper therefore was a very sacred charge since the etiquette accompanying the daily routine of living had the nature of a ritual.

KA MOOLELO NO KA HANAI ANA O KEKAHI KEIKI ALII

*Mamua o ka hele ana o kekahi alii o Hawaii i ke kaula, kauoha aku nei oia i kona kahu e malama i ke kapu o kana keiki uuku, a e hanai i ke keiki, a hoi mai oia. Hooke no ke kahu ma na ano a pau.*

*I kekahi la, nele iho nei lakou i ka ia—nolaila kahea aku nei oia i kana keiki, o eono makahiki, a kauoha aku nei ia ia e malama i kona kahu opio.*

*I kona hele ana i kahakai, uwe iho nei ke keiki alii i ka pololi. Kii aku nei ke kahu iki i ka umeke ai o me ka ipu kai, a hoonoho ihola iluna o ka moena.*

*Ua maa ke keiki a ke alii i ka "ai kau," me ka "ai puā," a ua lilo no hoi keia i hana nui no ke kahu iki.*

*Ua lohe oia i kona makuakane, he kapu ke poo o keia alii iki, nolaila aole oia i paa mahope o ke poo, aka, ua apo mai ma ka pookiwi. No ka hemahema ia ia ka "puā," hanai "kau" aku nei oia, a maona ke keiki.*

*Aole laua nei i manao ua hoi mai ke alii o lakou, a ke kilo mai nei ma ka puka. I ke oia i ka ihiihi o ka lawelawe ana a keia keiki uuku i kana keiki, nolaila hooihi aku nei oia e lilo mau keia keiki i kahu no kana kamaiki.*

*I ka hoi ana mai o ka makuakane o ke keiki, puiwa oia i ka ike ana i ke alii; komo mai la ka manao hau pu e hoopai ia ana oia i ka hooemahema i kona kahu opio. Hookekeke mai nei oia me ka pihohoi; aka, i kona lohe ana i ka maikai a me ke akahai o kana keiki i ka malama ana i ke kapu o ke alii, hoololi ia kona pihohoi i ka hauoli.*

*Hoi no ke keiki a ke alii me kona makua, hoi no me kona kahu opio.*

*Ina ua malama ole keia keiki i ke kapu o ke alii, ka hoopai, oia no, ka pepehi ana o ke alii i ua keiki nei, a me ka makuakane, pu*

THE STORY OF THE FEEDING OF THE YOUNG CHIEF

A certain chief of Hawaii before going to war charged one of his trusted servants to keep the taboo and care for his little son until his return, a charge which the keeper fulfilled in every particular.

One day, the supply of fish having failed, the man called his six-year old son and commanded him to care for his young master.

After he had left for the shore, the royal child cried with hunger. The small nurse fetched the calabash of vegetable food and that in which meat was kept and placed them on the mats of the floor.

<sup>9</sup> Malo says that "when a tabu-chief ate, the people in his presence must kneel, and if anyone raised his knee from the ground, he was put to death."

The baby chief had been accustomed to being fed either by the *kau* or the *puā* method, a practise which complicated matters for the young nurse.

He had learned from his father that the head of the chief was taboo, hence he did not place his hand back of the child's head but grasped him by the shoulder. As the *puā* fashion was awkward for him, he fed the child by the *kau* fashion until the child was satisfied.

The chief, who had not been expected back so soon, was all this time watching the performance at the door. He noticed with what reverence the small boy treated his son and forthwith coveted him as a constant attendant for his beloved child.

When the keeper returned, he was alarmed at sight of the chief and quick troubled thoughts came to mind lest he be punished for neglecting his charge. Fearfully he drew near, but when he heard of the skill and gentleness of his boy in keeping the royal taboo his fear was turned to joy.

The royal child returned home with his father, and with him went his young nurse.

Had this boy neglected to keep the taboo of the chief, the punishment of death would have fallen upon both the boy and his father.

A few customs in connection with the folk-lore of food are still in use today among old-fashioned people. When an old Hawaiian receives a cup of *awa* or any other intoxicating liquor to drink, he will dip the index finger of the right hand into the cup and sprinkle the drops over his shoulder, saying, "E (name of a god) ! eia ka ai kaula, a ooe e (name of the family deity) *hele mai kaula e inui*" that is, "O—! here is food, come, let us eat and unto this—let us drink!" After this he could enjoy his liquor as he pleased.<sup>10</sup>

Mrs. Pukui's grandmother never allowed a matter of importance to be mentioned after the calabash of pounded *taro* root had been placed upon the table. If one of the children mentioned, for example, a trip to Olaa she would say, "*Kahaha! ke hoole mai nei ka umeke poi*," that is, "Indeed! the poi bowl does not consent to it."

Biting the lips or the lining of the mouth when eating is a sign of something good to eat about to be received. Spilling something is a sign that some one is coming hungry.

FISHING CUSTOMS

Kanaka-o-kai ("Man-of-the-sea") is the great god of the sea.

<sup>10</sup> Fornander (6: 72 note) mentions the custom in sorcery practise.

Ku-ula and Hina, his wife, are invoked as the gods of fishing,<sup>11</sup> but in addition to these universal gods, each district has its own special fish-god in the shape of some fish, plant, or, more commonly, some rock which is supposed to attract the fish to that particular locality. Many old stone fish-gods are to be seen about the coast of Hawaii where offerings are still laid by fishermen. One was pointed out to me on the beach at Waialua<sup>12</sup> and another is sunk in a brackish pool near the beach below Hiilea in Kau district. This last is one of a pair which used to entice the fish through a causeway into the pool until freshets broke away the walls, when the discouraged votaries sold one god to a collector. An old Hawaiian woman named Walanika says that in old days a diviner (*kilo*) named Kukalia lived in Manoa valley back of Honolulu near the place where the Castle Home now stands. He kept watch over the ocean, and when he saw how selfish the men at the shore were who drew up the nets of fish, he caused great numbers of fish to swim up the stream into an *umeke*-shaped rock to supply fish for the people of the valley. Walanika herself used to get fish there, but now the basin is filled with trash and has neither water nor fish any more.

When men are out fishing,<sup>13</sup> all inquiries as to their whereabouts should receive non-committal answers. One says that they have perhaps gone to the mountains after leaves, or, if they are engaged in river fishing, that they have gone to a certain beach. This is to put unfriendly spirits off the track who might otherwise follow the fisherman and make him trouble. The word "death" (*make*) should not be mentioned or the name of a deceased friend, lest spirits be summoned who will deceive the fisherman as to where to cast the net. The people at home must refrain from

<sup>11</sup> "Through Kuula all the different methods of fishing and the fishes became established throughout these islands," and the story of their establishment and the methods of fishing so taught are described fully in Fornander, 6: 172-190. For the legend of Kuula and of Aiai, his son, see Thrum, Hawaiian Folk Tales, 215-249; Fornander, 4: 554-558.

<sup>12</sup> See Thrum's version of the legend of Kaneaukai, op. cit., 250, and Fornander's story of Hinaaimalama, 5: 272. It was the Hina in this story who "turned the moon into (vegetable) food and the stars into fish."

<sup>13</sup> Compare Malo, 274-281, and Fornander, 6: 118-120; 190, note 72.

dancing and singing the *hula* lest their merriment be turned to grief. A fisherman can tell by observing the actions of certain fish whether the family at home are behaving properly. If the fish wag their tails and sport about, this is a sign that the family is enjoying itself; the man should go home and beat his wife in order to insure luck the next time. If while out fishing the man sees a number of *uhu-kai* fish touching noses he knows that his wife is unfaithful.<sup>14</sup> A bird-catcher comes to the same conclusion if he sees birds billing while he is away from home bird-hunting.

Those who accompany a fishing excursion must refrain from eating sea-moss or shell-fish until the fishing party have returned, lest the god of the sea be angry and raise a storm. No one should eat the fish until the first one caught is offered to Kanaka-o-kai by placing it on a crude stone altar dedicated to the many gods of the sea.

A number of omens are quoted in regard to the use of fishing utensils.<sup>15</sup> A hook made from the bone of a hairless person brings great luck in fishing; so does a hook made from the bone of a good fisherman. Should an eel or a crab (*elekuma*) catch upon a hook, the hook will ever after be unlucky and is generally thrown away. Should anyone walk or sit on a fish-net or pole, that net or pole will be unlucky. Should one step over fish-bait in a container the fish will reject the bait; such bait must be thrown away and fresh bait prepared. It is unlucky for one on the way to fish to hear the call of the "canoe bird," the woodpecker called *elepao*. Its note is said to resemble the words *Ono ka ia*, "Good is the taste of the fish," interpreted by Mrs. Pukui as a kind of taunt,— "I like fish, you will get none!"

Other signs connect the fate of the fisher or bather with the spirit world. If the fisher sees a bright dazzling light moving over the surface of the ocean at night he should go home at once, as this is a sign of spirits abroad. If he hears a sound in the sea as if one had thrown a stone into it, some spirit has evil designs against him. The same is true if a crab or a small fish "with-

<sup>14</sup> See Grey's story of Manaia, Polynesian Mythology (2nd. edition), 138, 139.

<sup>15</sup> Malo (page 109) lists some of the names given to the different kinds of fish-hooks used in ancient times.

only-one-tooth" (*kuniho-kahi*) bites at his toe. This omen shows him that an enemy has called upon his shark *aumakua* to destroy the fisher. The presence of a shark is indicated to him if an *uluu* or an *opelu* fish (these two being fishes friendly to man) strikes his leg with its tail or if a turtle rises quickly and stays on the surface for some time in front of a swimmer. A bite from an eel means that the person bitten has done something to offend his *aumakua*. When sharks toss their victims about on the surface of the water as they chew the limbs, it is a proof that they are the emissaries of a sorcerer. The presence of a shark is indicated by an unusual warmth in the sea as sharks are believed to be closely related to the volcano goddess. If the sea is luke-warm, an eel is near. A stream that is turbid is inhabited by an eel; one that is limpid, by a *moo*.

Hawaiians living in the mountains watch the bearing of certain fruit-trees to tell when particular fish are to be had. When bread-fruit trees bear, they say it is squid season; when the mountain apples (*ohia*) are ripe, the sea-eggs (*wana*) will be fat and plentiful; when the pandanus (*hala*) ripens it is the season for shell-fish (*hou-ke-uke*). In this way the farmers gauge the time to go fishing.

It is said that those fish which have a foul odor like the *palani* and *kala* can be rid of it by holding the fish on the palms of both hands with the head turned to the left and the tail to the right and blowing over the fish from head to tail, then expelling the breath with the head turned away and blowing in similar fashion upon the other side.

If a fly falls into a dish of fish, the owner may expect to receive fresh fish before sun-down.

In dividing a fish a man should always give his neighbor the head end lest the neighbor's *aumakua* be angry and cause his feet to wag back and forth like the tail he has offered to his neighbor.

Sea-bathing has also its rituals. Mrs. Pukui's grandmother taught her grandchildren before venturing into the sea to pacify the unfriendly spirits inhabiting both land and water by grasping a handful of edible sea-weed (*limu*), breaking it in two and throwing half ashore with the words "*Ko uka, no uka no ia!*" ("Of land

for land is this") and the other half seaward saying, "*Ko kai, no kai no ia!*" ("Of ocean for ocean is this").

To bring about a good sea for surfing the custom still is to lash the water with a length of the common convolvulus vine of the seashore crying, "*Pii mai, ka kai, a nui!*" ("Swell, sea, mightily!").<sup>16</sup>

#### PLANTING CUSTOMS

The influence of mimetic methods of planting upon the success of crops is occasionally to be observed in modern folk usage.

Plant sweet potatoes on the day of the full moon. To insure size, place a little cutting between each finger of the "planting hand" (the right) and, spreading the fingers, draw them tightly together again before dropping the cuttings into the ground, as if holding a big potato, at the same time making use of exclamations extolling its prodigious size.

Plant water-melons on the day after full moon, called *mahealani* ("full moon") to insure fullness in the fruit. The seed should be soaked over night in a bowl of water sweetened with sugar or honey. In the morning lock the fingers of both hands together to form a cradle and dip the hands into the bowl, take up as many seeds as will remain in the locked hands, then, holding the elbows crooked as if carrying a huge melon, stagger to the hole prepared for the planting and drop two or three seeds into each by means of unlocking the fingers and letting the seeds slip through.

Squash seeds are planted in the same way, but without the

<sup>16</sup> The point seems to lie in the pun on the name of the vine, which contains the syllable *hu*, "to well up." See Fornander, 6: 206 for the full incantation:

*Ku mai! ku mai! ka nalo nui mai Kahiki mai,  
Alo poi poi! ku mai ka pohuehue,  
Hu! haikoo loa*

Arise! arise! great surfs from Kahiki,  
The powerful curling waves. Arise with the (sea convolvulus)  
Well up! long raging surf!

<sup>17</sup> Hawaiian methods of agriculture are detailed in Fornander, 6: 160-170; lucky days on pages 120-124; the significance to farmers of the month Ikiiki (April to May) on page 142. Malo has a chapter on agriculture, pages 269-273, as also in the chapter on foods, pages 67-70.

sweetening process. Sometimes the day after *hua*, when the moon is egg-shaped, is that chosen for planting squash or melon.

Flower-seed is planted after *mohalu*, the night when the moon begins to round, so that the blossoms will not grow crooked but will form perfect blooms.

Bananas should be planted on the day before or after the night called *muku*. This is the night on which the moon disappears and the month ends. The saying is that the lesser god, Muku, descends to Milu at this time to report the wrongdoings of men. Sorcerers fear and hate Muku, but banana planters believe in his favor. The word *muku* names a measure about a yard and a half in length obtained by placing the tips of the fingers of the left hand on the chest, stretching the right arm as far as possible from the side, and taking the distance between the left elbow and the tips of the fingers of the right hand. The idea is that a tree planted on the night of Muku will bear a bunch of bananas corresponding in size to the *muku* measure.

Old Hawaiians of Moanalua wait until the full of the moon (called *mahealani*), then, after the hole is dug, strip the clothing from a small boy, hold him suspended over the hole with his back to the moon and slip the plant into the hole. This method insures a large bunch of fruit within the year.

The ordinary method is, after first making the hole, to grasp the young plant firmly, throw it over the shoulder, grunt and groan and stagger a little backward in dropping it into place, at the same time exclaiming, "*Auwe! ka nui o keia maia, ei!*" ("My! what a big bunch of bananas!").<sup>19</sup>

Mr. Joseph Emerson furnishes the following directions for planting banana shoots given to him in Hawaiian by J. Kaelemakule of Kailua, Hawaii, on November 19, 1903:

*E kanu koke aku i na pohuli, oia ke mea e waliwali ai ka maia. O ka waiho loihi i na pohuli mamua o ke kanu ana, he mea ia e uaua (loliloli) ai ka maia.*

*Ke ano o ka kanu ana i maia i na kanaka Hawaii:—*

*E ai a maona mamua o ke kanu ana. Aia a kupono ka la i ka lolo (aina awahea paha), alaila kanu. E umi i ka hanu i ka wa e hōpai ae ai i ka pohuli e hookomo iloko o ka lua, me he mea kaumaha la. O ke kumu o keia, i nui ka ahui*

<sup>19</sup> In Fornander (op. cit., 6: 164) is quoted an incantation to be used at this time—"It will take two men to carry it with difficulty."

*o ka maia). Mahope iho o ka uhi ana i ka lepo a paa ka pohuli e ku iho ka mea e kanu ana maluna pono o ka lua maia, e oihelei ana na wawae ma kela aooa a ma keia aooa oka lua, alaila e hoi mai ana ke aka a ku pono. Oia ke kumu e lua koke ai o ka maia, aole hoi e lolohi ka pii ana. A o ka oi loa aku no o ia ku ana iho maluna, e wehe loa ne ka lolelawae.*

Plant the shoots at once (after cutting). This makes the fruit luscious. Leaving them a long time before planting makes the fruit tough and unsound.

Customary mode of planting practised by the Hawaiians:—

Eat a hearty meal before planting. Wait until the sun is overhead, at noon, then plant. Hold the breath while taking up the shoot to place it in the hole, as if it were heavy (the reason for this is that the bunch may be large). After filling the earth about the shoot, the planter must stand over the hole with his legs straddling one on one side and the other on the other side of the hole, then stand upright over the shadow. Thus will the tree bear the sooner and not delay its growth. Best of all, while thus standing over the tree, take off entirely the trousers.

#### TRAVELLING

The traveller, no matter what the time of day, is welcomed hospitably with the call, "*E-o! mai! mai a ai!*", "Ho! come! come and eat!" On Kauai, if one refused the first call one got no second, for some one would run ahead to the next house to warn against inviting the traveller in and so on to the second until he might go on all day half starved. He was expected to eat a little at each house—a bit of sweet potato at one place, a shrimp at another, a guava or orange at a third; in this way no one host would be incommode.

The old-fashioned Hawaiian was careful not to give a direct answer to the question where he was going, lest the spirits overhear and bring him bad luck. He might say politely, "*E hele ana au i kuu wahi e hele ai!*" ("I'm going where I am going"), or he might frame a riddling answer. "*E hele ana i ka ohi-kihiki!*" ("Going to dig with a sharp stick"), one answers on Hawaii.

To the question whether one possesses a certain article, a negative answer is given by turning the palm (one or both) over quickly. An affirmative is expressed by coupling the particle "*no*" (truly, indeed) to the name of the thing inquired for. A story used to be current on Maui of two foreigners who nearly starved to death while travelling about the island because they were unfamiliar with the affirmative "*no*" in Hawaiian.

Certain signs are concerned with the making of a journey.

If a hat unexpectedly falls off a peg, the owner will go somewhere. If it blows off the head while on a journey, the mission will be unsuccessful. It is considered unlucky to meet a person with the thumb thrust between the index and middle finger or one who draws down the lower eye-lid; an enemy will often do this to injure another. To meet a naked adult is bad luck, and should one stumble over a stone it is hopeless to go on. To meet a single blind man on the road, a lame man, a bow-legged or a hunchback is unlucky; but a combination of any two of these is a sign of good luck. In Kau district it is considered lucky to meet a cross-eyed man, but this is exceptional; ordinarily it is considered unlucky. Hawaiians never cross their hands behind their back while walking or talking to others; it is interpreted as a wish that burdens may be carried. Hiding the hand in the sleeve (called *muumuu ka lima*, or "crippling the hand") also is regarded as a sign that a near relative will become a cripple.

Animal signs which presage the coming of visitors do not differ much from those current in this country. In old days, if a number of cocks crowed at night a large number of guests were expected to visit the village. Such night-crowing is called "*ulu-moku*." A cock crowing before the door is the sign of a stranger's visit. If insects buzz about the nose, if a dog scampers about the yard in glee, if a plover (*holea*) screams and flies about the yard, if a spider drops from its web to the floor, one may expect a visitor. If the spider turns and goes back again to the ceiling, the visitor is coming to gossip. If there are knots in its web, he will bring a present. If a spider drops to the floor at night, kill it or one will hear of a friend's death. If a lizard drops in front of a person, he will have a present; if it falls upon a woman, she will have a lover. If a large night moth, a butterfly or a dragon-fly comes into the house, the family expect a long visit from a relative or friend. Throbbing of the knees has a similar meaning. An itching nose means a kiss; a throbbing right hand, a gift to be received; a throbbing left, a gift to be given; a twitching mouth a scolding to be given. If the left foot throbs, one will go on a visit; if the right, one will have a visitor.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> See Fornander, 6: 132-134.

Clouds are in the first place weather signs<sup>20</sup> and in the second place indications of the movements of chiefs.<sup>21</sup> This lore of the clouds is known to certain soothsayers called *Poe-kilo-ouli*, diviners from clouds. The sign clouds are those which lie low along the horizon, called *ao ouli*.<sup>22</sup> When they follow the rim of the ocean they are known as *ao ku*; when they lie on the mountain-tops they are called *naulu*. The diviners distinguish spirits of the dead in the clouds and make connections between them and events to come. Before starting on a journey the head of the house will sit directly in front of his door and, after a muttered prayer to his god or to his ancestral guardian (*aumakua*), watch the shape the clouds take. If he lives near the shore he will watch the *ao ku*; if he lives in the uplands he will observe the *naulu*. If the clouds take the form of two men fighting, the journey will be futile; on the other hand, should he discern the animal shape of his *aumakua* he would be prospered. Shapes such as knives, spears, coffins, or a leering face are unlucky; a house means that the traveller will be kindly received; a calabash, that he will be given food; flowers or fruit, a woman, or a beckoning hand, are looked upon as signs of good omen.

Rainbows are looked upon as signs of the approach of chiefs and their interpretation is handed down from generation to generation in Hawaii. The following signs regarding rainbows are given by the old lady from Kona district on the island of Hawaii who is the last *kahu* (guardian) of the bones of Ke-alii-o-ke-lani, high chiefess of Oloa. If a rainbow has one foot at the door of a house and another over a near-by hill, a visiting chief will come from the direction of the hill. If one end rests on the ocean, a chief from over seas will appear within five days. If both feet rest on the ocean, a chief is traveling over the sea. The rank of the visiting chief may also be gathered from observing the rainbow. A bow whose feet do not touch the earth belongs to a divine chief (*alii akua*) descended from the gods. It is called

<sup>20</sup> See Malo, 32, 33; Fornander, 6: 84-86.

<sup>21</sup> Described in Fornander, 6: 82-86.

<sup>22</sup> Called *ouli* in Fornander (6: 52), where they are listed among "those things in the heavens which were worshiped."

*onohi* ("eye-ball") because it is believed that the gods from whom the chief claims descent give him this sign of their watchful care. Rainbows whose feet touch the earth are a sign of the *alii aimoku*, the "chiefs of the land," who do not claim descent from chiefs migrating from the South Seas. These chiefs are called *pu-oa*. The predominating color in the rainbow is also important in determining the family of the chief to whom the sign belongs. If the dominant color is red, he claims the favor of Pe-le. The pure white rainbow belongs to Ka-moho-alii, king of the sharks and brother of Pe-le. Other signs also occur. A broken rainbow is called *kakili*. If it has only one leg and looks as if its top were broken, it is a sign of the chief's death. The low-lying rainbow, the *ua-koko*, that rises after the sun is set is a sign of trouble and disease.

#### THE WEATHER

Propitious weather for any undertaking is in the hands of the gods.<sup>23</sup> Rain at night after a supplication by day is a propitious sign assuring the petitioner of a gracious answer to his prayer. On the other hand the gods show their anger by sending bad weather during the day upon anyone who breaks their taboos.

Mrs. Annie Aiona's mother taught her children, when they went to the mountain after ferns and fruit, to repeat before plucking a red *lehua* blossom, "*E, Pe-le, e! mai kahi lehua!*" ("Oh, Pele, hearken! give a *lehua*-blossom.") because all things red belong to the volcano goddess. Country girls used always to observe this point of etiquette when they went on a tramp, else rain or mist would fall on the company. Mrs. Pukui was taught never to pluck flowers or berries on the way up the mountain, but to pluck them on the way down and to leave a bit at some legendary spot as a good-will offering.

Particular caution is to be observed during a thunder-storm. When a clap of thunder is heard, all open dishes such as calabashes, bowls, baskets, flower-pots and cans should be removed from the

<sup>23</sup> Diviners read the signs in relation to the prayer offered. See Fornander, 6: 98-100. If rain falls when the *pala* fern is being plucked on the mountain for the sacrifice at the breaking of the *opelu* fish taboo, it is considered a lucky sign. At the birth of a child of rank a storm is likely to sweep over the island.

front of the house to the back and turned upside down. The reason given for this precaution is lest Kane-hekili (Kane-of-the-thunder) should be angry to see them lying empty of offerings. Persons who are lying down should turn on their sides or face lest the god give them a slap in the pit of the stomach. No one should whisper; all should speak in loud tones lest the god suspect them of speaking ill of him; nor should one exclaim at the flashes of lightning. If a particularly loud clap of thunder is heard, some one is suspected of breaking the taboo.

An old woman from Puna district says that lightning is feminine, thunder masculine. "*Ke alii wahine!*" ("The queen!") she said of a slight thunder-shower. A little boy in Puna called lightning "God's light," and Hawaiians believe that spirits are in the whirlwind.

Certain signs presage rain or wind. When a *koae* (bosun bird) flies upland, a storm is coming. The *iwa* (the black frigate-bird) brings wind. If a *naia* (killer-whale) swims against the wind the weather will be clear; if with the wind, a storm is brewing. A whale leaping and blowing presages a storm. As soon as such a storm clears there will be found near shore thousands of young fish called *ohua-manini*. A ring around the moon is called *lua kalai lani* and denotes rain. Rats scampering about the house are called *ua lani pili* and also signify storm.

Particular legendary spots are especially associated with the activities of rain deities. Such a place is Ku-mauna in the foothills back of Hilea in Kau district. I have myself twice visited this place accompanied by its native keeper or his family and can testify to the awe with which it was surrounded at that time, in the winter of 1913.<sup>24</sup> The old keeper reminded us that we must on no account offend the rain deity by any "fooling." At the entrance to the valley he made us dismount from our horses and went through a kind of baptismal ceremony for the "foreigner" (*haole*) from a little pool of water caught in the rock, for the once well watered valley is now quite dry. When we reached the lump of

<sup>24</sup> Fornander (Polynesian Race, 2: 243) speaks of the blot left by Kaeokulani upon the minds of Hawaiians because of his desecration of sacred places during his wars with Kamehameha.

lava rock on the floor of the valley which is supposed to represent the transformed body of the god, he clasped it very lovingly while relating in Hawaiian the story of its transformation. On the return ride he trilled an old *oli* (chant) which he abruptly ended when he caught us listening, for old Hawaiians are fearful of revealing to strangers the secrets of the gods. They call it *Hoo-maunau wa i ke inoa o ke akua* ("Taking the name of the god in vain") and believe it leads to mischief. Though completely uninhabited at this time, the valley had formerly seen the habitation of a chief, a fact attested by the hollows scooped into a flat rock for the playing of the Hawaiian game of checkers. Still visible across the valley is the trail used by the king's runners who took messages from one side of the island to the other.

The story of Ku-mauna is taken directly from the account written down for me in 1913 by Mr. Joseph Emerson from the version given to him by Keoni Kupa, as the Hawaiians call the man who was formerly in charge of the Hilea sugar plantation. This John Searle had the story from Kaiwinui, the guardian of the valley. I myself saw the mass of rocks said to have been cast by the wrathful god into the yard of the profane manager of the plantation; and my guide showed me the particular plant mentioned in Mr. Emerson's story as substitute for the *opelu* fish,—because of the peculiar watered marking on its leaf like that on the fish's back. The story told me at the time varied a trifle from Mr. Emerson's: it was the first-fruits of his banana crop that the old god refused to Pe-le, and the time between the insult done by Mr. Searle to Ku-mauna's elbow (the fire incident had fallen out) was shortened to a single day.

#### THE LEGEND OF KU-MAUNA

Ku-of-the-mountain was a tall foreigner (*haole*) with a long beard who came to these islands from Kahiki. In his home at Kahiki he had been used to a liberal diet of bananas and before establishing himself in his new home he made diligent search for a place where bananas grew in abundance. Such a place he at length found in the district of Kau, Hawaii, in a very marshy inland section of Hilea south of and near the base of the lofty peak called Ka-iho-lena ("The-yellow-core," name of a banana with pink flesh growing wild in Hawaii). In this rainy spot the rich *iholena* banana grew in great abundance. Here Ku-mauna built his hut and made his home. In addition to the bananas he raised enough taro for his own use; but the place was so

wet that he was in the habit of carrying his taro-roots to the seashore to cook and pound into poi.

One day as Ku-mauna was opening his oven and taking out his hot taro, a woman whom he did not recognize stood before him and demanded some of the taro for herself.—"Why should I give any of my taro to you?" he said. "Would you refuse taro to Pe-le if she demanded it?" replied the woman. "Why should I give it to Pe-le since she is able to get it for herself?" said he. Upon this the woman with a look of fury in her eyes left him and he recognized that she was indeed Pe-le. On returning to his inland home, he found himself all doubled up by the cold with his hands pressed against his face. While he was in this posture, Pe-le suddenly came upon him in the form of a burning stream of *pa-hoe-hoe* lava (lava of the smooth, unbroken kind) and turned him into a solid rock; then she stopped, so that he now appears as the terminal point of the flow.

Ku-mauna to-day often takes the form of a dog and imitates voices so as to cause people to be led astray in the woods. For this reason people visit his haunts in groups of two or more, never alone.

Ku-mauna does not receive from the natives the worship usually given to a god. When, however, they want rain, they are in the habit of taking an *opelu* plant and smiting with it the rock which bears his name. This is supposed to bring rain.

About the year 1896, Mr. John C. Searle, then in charge of the Hilea plantation, went with a party of natives to shoot wild cattle, but they were unsuccessful in securing any. On their return home they passed the Ku-mauna boulder. Stopping for a moment, Mr. Searle jestingly said, "Here is the cause of our not getting anything!" So saying, he pointed his rifle and fired a charge straight at Ku-mauna. The natives who were with him were horrified at this defiant act and fled into the woods,—he saw nothing more of them until he got home. Some time later, after a period of prolonged drought, he broke off a piece from the same boulder and carried it home with him. Then, taking a Hawaiian named Kainoa-kupuna with him into the kitchen, he threw the piece into the fire saying as he did so, "There, Ku-mauna, I am throwing you into the fire where it is hot; there is nothing that will cool you but water. If you want to keep yourself cool you will have to send water." Two or three weeks after this, the greatest flood ever known (in these parts) visited Hilea and Kaalaiki. A tremendous freshet poured down from the mountain bringing with it a great quantity of stones and boulders with which the beautiful garden (in the rear) of Mr. Searle's house was completely covered. The natives believe that this was due to the insult offered to Ku-mauna.

THE FOLK-LORE FOUNDATION,  
VASSAR COLLEGE