

**Essays upon Ancient Hawaiian Religion and Sorcery
by Nineteenth-Century Seminarists**

Translated & Annotated by Bacil F. Kirtley and Esther T. Mookini

The nine essays presented in these translations are samplings from a total of thirty-four which were printed between January 5, 1865, and April 14, 1866, in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (lit., The Independent Newspaper),¹ possibly the most openminded and generally readable of the nineteenth-century Hawaiian-language weeklies. These writings, not previously published in English, contribute valuable and fresh information upon numerous areas of Hawaiian religious practice and social custom. That they were compiled and printed at all is owing to the scholarly curiosity and enterprise of the Reverend William Patterson Alexander (1805-1884), who held a pastorate in Maui and who in 1863 founded the Theological School at Wailuku.²

In a letter dated December 20, 1864, Alexander wrote to Reverend Luther Halsey Gulick, editor of *Kuokoa*, and offered to send him approximately a year's supply of essays upon the Old Hawaiian religion, if Gulick wanted to use them.³ Then, precipitately the next day (conjecturally he was prompted by the imminent departure of a mail boat), he penned the following letter:

[Rec. Dec 26]

Wailuku Dec 21st 1864

Rev. L. H. Gulick

Dear Bro,

I herewith send you 33 manuscript essays, prepared by my class on Hawaiian antiquities, which I have arranged in the order in which I think they ought to be presented to your readers: of this however I will leave you to judge. They are as follows [notes to the translations explain the following names and terms]:

Bacil F. Kirtley is Professor of English at the University of Hawaii, Honolulu, with a special field interest in Pacific folklore and ethnology.

Esther T. Mookini is a scholar specializing in periodicals in the Hawaiian language and holds the M.A. in Pacific Studies.

1. by Z. Poli. Na hana hoomana ma Hawaii i ka wa kahiko [Religious practices in Hawaii in ancient times]
2. by Naimu. Ka moolelo no Kane [The story of Kāne]
3. by Waiamau. Ka moolelo no Kaneloa [The story of Kaneloa]
4. by Kauhane. Ka moolelo no Kukaili [The story of Kukaili]
5. by Kaawa. Ka moolelo no Pele [The story of Pele]
6. by Kupahu. Ka moolelo no Milu [The story of Milu]
7. by Naimu. Ka moolelo no Keawenuikauohilo [The story of Keawenuikauohilo]
8. by Holokahiki. Ke Kaahele ana o na Akua i ka Po [The Activities of the Gods of the Night]
9. by Waiamau. Na Akua Hoounauna [The sending-gods]
10. by Holokahiki. Na Akua o ka poe lawaia [Fishermens' Gods]
11. by S. Ekaula. Na Aumakua [Guardian Spirits]
12. by S. Ekaula. Na Lapu [Ghosts]
13. by Kaawa. Na Kupua [The Demigods]
14. by Kupahu. Na Kaula [Prophets]
15. by Naimu. Na Kahunapule [Praying Priests]
16. by Noa Pali. Ka puleanaana [Sorcery prayers, black magic, *maleficium*]
17. by Kaawa. Na Kuahu, na Heiau, & na Lele [Altars, religious sites, sacrificial slabs]
18. by Kupahu. Na Mohai [Sacrifices]
19. by Waiamau. Na oihana hoomana a me ke kilokilo ana i Na hoomakaukau ana i ka hele loihi aku [Religious practices and divining in preparation for long journeys]
20. by Naimu. Na hana hoomana i ka hele ana i ke hana [Religious practices for going to work]
21. by Kekoa. Na hana hoomana i ke kanu kupapau ana [Religious practices for burying a corpse]
22. by Kekoa. Ka hoopalaui & Hoao ana [Betrothal and marriage]
23. by Kekoa. Na hana hoomana i ka hanau keiki ana [Religious practices for childbirth]
24. by Holokahiki. Ke Umikamalii ana [Infanticide; lit., infant suffocation]
25. by Holokahiki. Na ahaaina a ka lehulehu [Feasts of the populace]
26. by Kaawa. Na Kuauhau, Hakumele, Kaaio etc [Genealogies, Composers, Tales, etc]
27. by Waiamau. Na Papa a Kanaka [The classes of men]
28. by S. Ekaula. Ka oihana lapaau me ka Puaahiwa, moa lawa, etc, etc [Medicine with a Black Pig, white cock, etc, etc]
29. by Waiamau. Na paani Kahiko o Hawaii nei [Games of Ancient Hawaii]

30. by Naimu. Ka loulou, ooihe, honuhonu, kuikui, etc [Finger-pulling contests, spear throwing, unseating-each-other contests, boxing, etc]
31. by Kupahu. Ka Hula & Haa [Hula- and *haa*-dancing (the *haa* was danced with bent knees)]
32. by S. Ekaula. Ka Lua & Powa [*Lua* fighting (an explanation of *lua* occurs in the notes to the translation) & murder]
33. by Kekoa. He Alemanaka Kahiko o Hawaii [An Ancient Hawaiian Almanac]

Besides these I have given out a few other subjects . . . when the essays are ready I'll send them.

I think Mr. Pogue can furnish you an interesting essay on *Pepekauila* and another on *Lanikauila* (sic: Lanikaula): they were deities of Molokai & my class could not get the materials necessary.⁴ [What follows is not related to the essays.]

Gulick reacted promptly and did not leave the seminarists' efforts moldering on the in-tray, for he printed in *Kuokoa* in English, January 5, 1865 (p. 2), the following appreciation:

The article by Z. Poli on the Ancient Worship of Hawaii nei, is the first of a series prepared during the last past year by the students studying theology under the Rev. W. P. Alexander at Wailuku, Maui. We shall be greatly disappointed if these essays do not prove to be of high value to the Antiquarian.⁵

On January 11, 1865, Alexander wrote again to editor Gulick upon *Kuokoa* matters (Alexander apparently was agent for Maui subscriptions—numbering at that date forty-five) and included this statement: "I send you herewith two more essays on Hawaiian Antiquities, one on Ancient Hawaiian Astronomy and the other on Hawaiian Cannibalism."⁶

Surviving identified correspondence concerning *Ka Ho'omana Kahiko*, as these translated essays were later termed,⁷ contained one document of quite general interest in Hawaiian historical studies, blandly revealing as it does a policy of cool and deliberate suppression of information regarding disapproved behavior. Alexander wrote on January 12, 1864:

Jan 12—Yesterday Dr. Rittinger arrived, also your favor of the 10th. It will be necessary for you to *expurgate* occasionally, the essays I send you. Indeed Hawaiian antiquity cannot be recorded intelligently without much we should hesitate to print—I leave that to you—

W. P. A.⁸

The translators were unable to see clear evidence of bowdlerization, and a few passages still remain in the texts which could offend those who are affronted by reality and Nature. Perhaps the excisions were not too excessive, but certain sentences make strange reading indeed.

Most of the seminarists contributing to this newspaper series became ministers. Alexander wrote Gulick from Wailuku on September 8, 1864:

The call from the Lunas of Wailupe to Z. Poli came to hand yesterday and I have advised him to go down tomorrow on the Kilauea so as to be with them on the Sabbath next. He agrees to go. He has been my *best* teacher.⁹

Alexander, in a letter to Gulick on May 26, 1866, mentioned the assignments of others:

- My first class consisted of 11. Nine of whom entered the ministry.
Vizl (Virgel?) Kauhane on Hawaii and
J. Naloloa (?) at Kaupo, Maui.
3. Kaawa at Kaupo, Maui
 4. Noa Pali at Lanai
 5. Poli on Oahu
 6. Waiamau on Kauai
 7. Naumu on Kauai
 8. Kupalu on Niihau
 9. Kikoa on Oahu
 10. Nawahinelua dismissed as unpromising
 11. N. Holokahiki who is still with me.¹⁰

The translators deeply appreciate the help they received from Mrs. Cynthia Timberlake, librarian of the Bishop Museum, who allowed them to peruse an earlier translation of a portion of *Ka Ho'omana Kahiko*. Thomas G. Thrum probably was the main translator. His version was very helpful, and upon several occasions, when we had variant readings, we deferred to his interpretation—though we did not borrow, in so far as we can recall, more than a few of his phrases. Also, we wish to thank Ms. Barbara Dunn of the Hawaiian Historical Society and Mrs. Lela Goodell of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library who presented us the MS. correspondence of Alexander to Gulick, which placed the essays in a historical context. Finally, we wish to thank Ms. Marian Morrison, head of the University of Hawaii Committee for the Preservation and Study of Hawaiian Language, Art, and Culture, who presented us with xeroxed copies of *Ka Ho'omana Kahiko*.

NOTES

¹ This newspaper appeared from October, 1861 until December, 1927. Its files contain a rich and varied horde of news and narrative. See, for instance, Rubellite Kinney Johnson's anthology of *Kuokoa* items in her *Kukini 'Aha'ilono* (Honolulu: Topgallant Pub. Co., 1976). Text and translations.

² Bernice Judd, *et al. Missionary Album*, Rev. ed. (Honolulu: Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, 1969), pp. 19-20.

³ Unpublished MS in Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library (hereafter cited as HMCS).

The Reverend Luther Halsey Gulick, M.D. (1828-1891) was a far-traveled medical missionary and at various periods resided and worked in the Caroline Islands, the

Marshall Islands, Hawai'i, the Marquesas, California, Spain, Italy, China and Japan (Judd, pp. 106-107). Gulick was editor and co-editor of *Kuokoa* from 1861-1879 (Esther K. Mookini, *The Hawaiian Newspapers* [Honolulu: Topgallant Pub. Co., 1974], p. 36).

⁴ Alexander to Gulick, MS. HMCS.

The essays, when published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, do not correspond with the information given in Alexander's letter. The essays' numbers disagreed because some of them, owing to their length, were printed in two parts. Also, additional essays, mentioned in the letter, were added. The authors, in a couple of cases, ascribed in the printed essays, are different from those assigned in the letter. This discrepancy, conjecturally, was caused by Alexander's haste in writing a letter requiring immediate dispatch.

⁵ *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, Jan. 5, 1865, p. 2.

⁶ Alexander to Gulick, Jan. 11, 1865, MS, HMCS.

⁷ These articles, under the title *Ka Ho'omana Kahiko* (Ancient Worship) were typed out, assembled and reproduced by xerox duplication by the University of Hawaii Committee for the Preservation and Study of Hawaiian Language, Art, and Culture. The translators have worked largely from this work, except where obvious mistakes indicated that a check back to the original was needed.

⁸ Alexander to Gulick, MS. HMCS.

⁹ MS. HMCS.

¹⁰ MS. HMCS.

Ka Nupepa Kuokoa. February 16, 1865

Ancient Worship. Number 7.

MILU,¹ HIS POWER AND HIS DEALINGS

Milu was not his name when he lived as a human on earth. This name was given him after his death. The following is a clarification of this statement. Kū² was both divine and mortal. Because he ate corpses, putrid bodies crawling with worms, he was known by the name Kū-waha-ilo³ [Kū-the-maggot-mouthed]. When he lived on earth, his role was that of a chief. When he died, he went below and was called Milu. Since this name Milu is associated with Kū, the eater of rotten beings crawling with worms, he was called Milu. Therefore, a connection exists between him and the *pule 'anā'anā*⁴ [praying of a person to death] of the ancient people of Hawai'i.

They say there are many places where people live. They say the following: "Above, above taken into the black clouds, taken up inside. There below, below with Milu."⁵

THE POPULACE OF MILU'S COUNTRY

His people are spirits. There are so many that one cannot count them all. His realm is said to be so filled that there is not the slightest free space. The

souls of those who died, it is believed, make up Milu's people. The path these souls take to descend, it is said, are at places well-known as *Ka-leina-a-ka-uhane*⁶ [the-leap-of-the-souls]. *Ka-ma'o-ma'o*⁷ is one such place known by this designation and there are others on all the islands of Hawai'i. Here is another. They say that another way to descend is the 'ulu, a large breadfruit tree known as 'Ulu-leiwalu.⁸ The soul that climbs on a branch of this breadfruit tree of *Leiwalu* dies. However, the one which is about to climb but is snatched back by one of his friends who is already dead, or by an 'aumakua,⁹ perhaps, that person has just fainted and the soul returns quickly to life again. It is the same at *Ka-leina-a-ka-uhane*. Should the soul depart, it is surely dead; but if the soul is about to depart and is brought back by the 'aumakua, then it will recover.

THE POWER OF MILU

The following will explain. Kawelu¹⁰ was the daughter of Olopana,¹¹ and Kiku¹² was the son of Kū-ka-'ohi'a-Laka¹³ and Hina.¹⁴ Living in the forest, Hiku reached maturity, as did Kawelu. One day Hiku came down from the forest and approached Kawelu's house. He loosed his arrow, which flew and entered the house. Hiku stood outside asking for his arrow. Later, the two were married. After living together for a while, Hiku got up to return to his home. Kawelu followed him. When Hiku approached Pu'u-ku-'akahi¹⁵ Kawelu chanted after him:

"Hiku is climbing Pu'u-ku-'akahi,
Sharp and pointed is Pu'u-ku-'alua,
O Hiku, I love you."

Hiku spoke, "Go back, I will not return." As Kawelu drew near to Pu'u-ku-'akahi, Hiku was climbing Pu'u-ku-'alua. Kawelu chanted after him:

"Hiku is climbing Pu'u-ku-'alua,
Sharp and pointed is Pu'u-ku-'akolu,
O Hiku, I love you."

Hiku tried to dismiss Kawelu. "Go back, I will not return." That was the way they climbed, until Hiku reached Pu'u-ku-'akolu and Kawelu, chanting, reached Pu'u-ku-'alua. They continued to climb in that manner until Hiku reached Pu'u-ku-'aumi. Then Kawelu chanted the following new song:

"Hiku is climbing to the top of the mountain,
The branches are spread out
Being beaten down by rain.
The flowers are scattered below,
The flowers of Maluakanalua.
Bring flowers back to string into my lei.
Adorned by Koolino.
O Hiku, turn your eyes backward and look behind.
Here is your sister-sweetheart."

Then Hiku turned around and spoke to Kawelu. "Go back. I will not return." Hiku resumed his climbing and went into the forest. He caused the area to become entwined with the 'ie¹⁶ vine, the uluhe¹⁷ fern, and the maile-pāhaka¹⁸ and the maile-ha'i-wale¹⁹ shrubs. When Kawelu climbed up, the place was blocked by the 'ie vine, the uluhe fern, the maile-pāhaka and the maile-ha'i-wale shrubs. She tried to go on, but the way in front was blocked. Her clothing was torn to shreds. She returned home, hanged herself, died. Then, the soul of Kawelu was fetched to go below to Milu. In the meantime, Hiku remained in the forest. Then one day he came down to his wife's place.

"The cold Pu'u-lena²⁰ wind has gone on to Hilo,
Searching for Papalauahi."

(She was already dead.) Then all the people were ordered to go and get some rope, an enormous length of it. A few days passed and this was ready. Hiku smeared himself with rotten kukui²¹ nut. He descended by this rope until he reached bottom. He told the people to hold on to this rope. "If I tug on the rope, then all of you pull."

THE ACTIVITIES IN MILU

These were gambling, checkers, and swinging on vines. In the story told, that is, when Hiku descended to the bottom of the pit, he saw the above amusements in Milu.

When Hiku got down below, he saw a great number of souls living in Milu. He saw the soul of Kawelu, his wife, also living there. Before Hiku arrived down below, Kulioe²² had lost all his property, except one thing, his bones, to the daughters of Milu, whose constant amusement was gambling. When Hiku got down below, Kulioe saw Hiku and said to him, "If you are possibly skilled in gambling, play with them, the daughters of Milu." Hiku said to Kulioe, "I don't have any money to bet the two girls with because I only came today." Kulioe then said, "My bones will be what you will bet." Hiku agreed to their plan. The daughters of Milu began to spin the first gourd, winning five points.²³ Then Hiku chanted as follows:

"You see, o Papa, o Wākea,
The eyelashes of the sun,
Elewawau is the small, stocky one of Oioi,
Mine is the gourd of Ha'akumailani."

When the gourd was spun, it did not hit the stake in front of Hiku. These daughters then took another gourd and won ten points. It did not hit the stake in front of Hiku. Hiku chanted. The daughters grabbed a new gourd again, scoring twenty points. It did not hit the stake in front of Hiku. Then Hiku took his turn at spinning the first gourd and he scored five points. When he spun it, it hit the stake in front of these daughters, scoring again. He took the gourd again and scored ten points. He spun the gourd and in spinning, since it touched the stake, he scored ten points. He grabbed the new gourd again for

twenty points. He spun the gourd and in spinning, it touched the stake. Hiku won. All of Kulioe's property was returned. While they were gambling, Hiku saw that it was getting light. He ran and placed himself on the rope by which he had descended and began to swing back and forth. When the spirits saw Hiku swinging on his vine, some of them went to their vines, each spirit to his own vine. Then Hiku uttered these words:

“Little child without a vine, too weak to stand alone,
Just sitting at the base of the *kukui* tree there,
Your back like old limestone, too weak to stand alone.”

Since what Hiku was doing seemed to be a game to the spirits, each one ran quickly to his rope, all except his wife, Kawelu. She asked all the spirits to give her a vine, but she was not given one. Then Hiku said, “Let you and me swing together on our rope.” When Kawelu agreed, they swung on their rope with Hiku holding Kawelu securely. Hiku tugged on the rope and the people above hauled the two up.

CONCERNING THE FOOD OF THE SPIRITS

Butterflies and cobwebs are the food of these spirits. Spirits without friends live in a miserable state.

D. S. KUPAHU.

NOTES

¹ Milu: see Bacil F. Kirtley and Esther T. Mookini, “Kepelino's ‘Hawaiian Collection’: His ‘Hooilili Hawaii,’ Pepa 1, 1858,” *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, Vol. XI (1977), p. 68, n. 30.

² Kū is the ancestral god of heaven, the male principle, who with Hina, the female principle, has general control over the fruitfulness of the earth and the generations of mankind: see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Hawaiian Mythology* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1970), pp. 12–30.

³ Kū-waha-ilo is a god of sorcery and by tradition a man-eater. Also, he is the god believed responsible for the introduction of human sacrifice: see Beckwith, pp. 15, 29.

⁴ *Pule 'anā'anā*; see Kirtley and Mookini, pp. 67–68, n. 28.

⁵ This portion of the text lacks logical continuity.

⁶ *Ka-leina-a-ka-'uhane* is the name of the leaping-off places of the souls of the newly dead. Here, it is said, stands a branching tree which serves as a roadway for the soul. If the soul's *'aumakua*, its ancestral guardian spirit, is present to protect and shelter it, the *'aumakua* will guide it safely to its destined place in the other world: see Beckwith, pp. 155–156; and Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ka Po'e Kahiko*, trans. by Mary K. Pukui and ed. by Dorothy B. Barrère (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1964), pp. 47–53.

⁷ *Ka-ma'o-ma'o*, feared plains on Maui believed to be haunted by wandering malicious spirits: Beckwith, p. 154.

⁸ *Ulu-leiwalo*, *Ulu-la'i-o-walu*, or *Ulu-o-Leiwalo*, is the tree which stands as a roadway of the soul: see note 5.

⁹ *'Aumakua*; see Kirtley and Mookini, p. 66, n. 8.

- ¹⁰ Kawelu, the female, and Hiku, the male, are lovers in the Hawaiian legend. A lover goes in disguise to the underworld after the soul of his dead mate, retrieves it, and restores her to life. This is a version of the nearly universal Orpheus and Eurydice legend: see Beckwith, pp. 146-149.
- ¹¹ In the legend of Kama-pua'a (pig-man), Olopana, married to Hina, is the chief of the northern district of O'ahu, where the two champions fight a number of battles: see Beckwith, pp. 202-204.
- ¹² Hiku: see note 10.
- ¹³ Kū-ka-'ōhi'a-Laka is the god Kū of the forest, and in the body of the 'ohi'a lehua tree was worshiped by canoe-builders: see Beckwith, pp. 12-17.
- ¹⁴ The goddess Hina was the wife of Kū (see note 2). Together they were invoked as the great ancestral gods of heaven and earth and to them was ascribed general control over the fruitfulness of earth and the generations of mankind. Hinas [Hines] abound in Polynesian mythology, and whenever a narrative bestows a name upon a female character, it will be, almost without exception, Hina [Hine]. The name is a basic Oceanic root word for "female," "woman."
- ¹⁵ Pu'u-ku-akahi (lit., hill-that-stands-alone) was the name of the tarrying place of souls. It was where souls of living persons might obtain reconciliation with an estranged 'aumakua god: Mary K. Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1971), p. 331.
- ¹⁶ 'Ie is the aerial root or vine of the 'ie'ie, an endemic woody branching climber (*Freyinetia arborea*), and grows luxuriantly in forests at an altitude of about 1500 feet: Pukui and Elbert, p. 89.
- ¹⁷ *Uluhe* is the false staghorn fern (*Hicriopteris pimata*); Pukui and Elbert, p. 341.
- ¹⁸ *Maile-pākaha* is a native twining shrub (*Alyxia olivaeformis*) and has blunt, ovate leaves: Pukui and Elbert, p. 206.
- ¹⁹ *Maile-ha'i-wale* is a variety of *maile* (*Alyxia olivaeformis* var. *myrtillifolia*) with small, rounded leaves: Pukui and Elbert, p. 206.
- ²⁰ *Pu'ulena* is the name of a famous cold wind at Ki-lau-ea, figurative Hawaiian for love chilled through, or by, desertion: Abraham Fornander, *Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1918), V, p. 580.
- ²¹ *Kukui* is the name of the candlenut-tree nuts. These contain oily kernels and were used for lights. Rotten *kukui* nuts produced a corpse-like odor: Pukui and Elbert, p. 163; Fornander, p. 186.
- ²² *Kulioe* was a spirit in Milu: see the story "The Bride from the Underworld" in William D. Westervelt, *Legends of Gods and Ghosts* (Boston and London: G. H. Ellis, 1915), pp. 224-240.
- ²³ This game was *kilu*, or quoits. Players frequently used it like Spin-the-Bottle, to win amatory partners (see Pukui and Elbert, p. 140 *s.v.* *kilu*); but, as we see in this story, it was also the medium of property wagers.

Ka Nupepa Kuokoa. February 23, 1865.

Ancient Worship. Number 8.

KEAWE-NUI-KAU-O-HILO,¹ AN ANCIENT GODDESS OF HAWAI'I

Keawe-nui-kau-o-hilo is not a goddess from the oldest time, as are Pele,² Hi'iaka³ and some other deities. Keawe-nui-kau-o-hilo was a mortal woman

who died, was paid worship, and became a goddess. She remains a deity in Hawai'i to this time.

A god to be errand-sent is called up as follows: if the keeper of this goddess Keawe-nui-kau-o-hilo is angry at Kekoa,⁴ because he envies his property; he will procure therefore his death by the *pule* 'anā'anā and will send his goddess Keawe-nui-kau-o-hilo on her errand with these words: "O Keawe-nui-kau-o-hilo, go to Kekoa. Enter his head. Enter his rectum. He is your poi. He is your fish. Kekoa is your house to live in until you kill him. Kill Kekoa. Carry out my wish! Don't you stay and think of those here, of your guardian. You have no food here." And thus the goddess Keawe-nui-kau-o-hilo completes the errand that her keeper sent her to do. The work of this goddess is like that of the gods, Kuamu,⁵ Kuawa,⁶ Kapo,⁷ and Pua.⁸ Their words are alike, as is their god-rank.

NAIMU.

NOTES

- ¹ Keawe-nui-kau-o-hilo. Keawe-nui-kau-of-Hilo is listed by Kamakau among those sorcery gods to whom corpses were dedicated for the purpose of transfiguring them into supernatural entities: see Kamakau, p. 133. Malo speaks of Keawe-nui-kau-o-hilo as one of the deities who figured in possession séances: David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, trans. by Nathaniel B. Emerson (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1951), p. 116. Emerson counts him as a member of Pele's family. After they left Kahiki and arrived on Hawai'i, she named Moku-aweo-weo and Mauna Loa: Nathaniel B. Emerson, *Pele and Hi'iaika*, (Honolulu: Star-Bulletin, 1915), p. XV.
- ² Pele (lit., lava flow, volcano, etc.) is a goddess of vulcanism and also a goddess frequently invoked in incantations. The members of her family, like Kapo and Hi'iaika, are also sorcery deities: see Beckwith, Chapters XI-XIV; Kirtley and Mookini, p. 65, n. 2.
- ³ The word Hi'iaika was a part of the names of Pele's twelve sisters, all sorcery deities. The most renowned is Hi'iaika-i-ka-poli-o-Pele, Hi'iaika-in-the-breast-of-Pele, heroine of the long romance of Lohi'au: see Beckwith, Chapter XI.
- ⁴ Kekoa was one of the contributors in this series of articles.
- ⁵ Kuamu is a sorcery goddess, and with Keawe-nui-kau-o-hilo and others is associated with ritual transfiguration of the dead into supernatural beings: see Kamakau, p. 133.
- ⁶ Kuawa is a sorcery god not further known to the translators.
- ⁷ Kapo, a sister of Pele, is a principal goddess of sorcery. She figures notably in the famous legends of the *Kālai-pāhoa* grove and Kama-pua'a. For further information, see Beckwith, pp. 111, 186-187 and *passim*; Malo, p. 116; Kamakau, pp. 28, 67, 129-130, 132.
- ⁸ Pua is yet another sorcery goddess and associated with spirit possession: see Malo, p. 166; Pukui and Elbert, p. 397; Beckwith, pp. 113-114. John Papa Ii in *Fragments of Hawaiian History* (trans. by Mary K. Pukui, ed. by Dorothy B. Barrère [Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1963], pp. 118, 148) quotes two chants, however, in which Puanui (Big Pua) is termed the wife of Kapo. How this sex-transformation occurred is not clear.

THE BELIEF OF THE PEOPLE OF OLD ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES
OF THE GODS OF THE NIGHT

The gods form two classes, say the people of old: 1. gods which are worshiped, 2. ghost-gods of the night.¹

1. Gods which are worshiped. A number of kinds of gods were worshiped by the people of old. Here are some of the deities they worshiped: birds, fish, Pele,² Hi'iaka,³ Ka-moho-ali'i,⁴ Kāne,⁵ Lono,⁶ Keawe-nui-kau-o-hilo,⁷ Kapo,⁸ Pua,⁹ Kuamu,¹⁰ and many more. The people of old believed that the gods went about by day and by night in the form of a wind and could be seen sitting on their keepers; they conversed with their keepers in tiny, belching voices. Some people believed these gods went on missions to which they were dispatched by their keepers, whose hatred was stirred against someone, as might happen in the following instance. Pali, say, is the person who makes "sendings," and since he hates me, he arranges his sending as follows: "O Keawe-nui-kau-o-hilo, O Keawe-ho'opōhaku,¹¹ O Kapo, O Pua, O Kuamu, go all of you and enter into Holokahiki, enter his head, enter his rectum, kill him." And they would go, whether day or night, because of this sending.

2. The ghost-gods of the night. These are spirits of dead people. The people of old sincerely believed and said that the ghost-gods of the night were spirits of the dead. If somebody dies, one does not go out alone at night, because he is afraid. He believes the spirit of the person just deceased will appear to him as a ghost. Indeed, some people believe that the spirits of the dead do not ascend to the heavens, but stay here on earth, where they must feed on moths. And some [dead] people go to the volcano pits of Pele. Thus the spirits of the dead reveal themselves in the following ways: by making a smacking noise, whistling, and calling.¹² One's eyes grow fixed and one says, "The gods are haunting me with a spirit." Again, spirits are seen going about as real bodies, as Napela tells me, for he saw the spirit of the keeper who took care of him, and because of what he witnessed, his fear lasts to this day. He believes the spirits of the dead walk at night. Not only Napela, but the majority of the people believe so.

Indeed, some people believe in the procession of gods by night. Upon someone's death along the roadway, they say, "He fell to the death marchers, that is, the long procession." The many gods are the spirits of chiefs. Such I have heard, and I have myself seen a dead person on a roadway in Hawai'i, and it was said, "The death marchers killed him." Many people believe strongly and say that there are many ghost-gods.¹²

Furthermore, I am told that there are many [types of] ghost-gods: gods which whistle,¹³ gods which peep, gods which peer, gods which are tall, gods which are short, gods which make a smacking noise, and gods which travel long distances.¹⁴ I have heard the following prayer of Pakeaulani, a Moloka'i

man. In the evening, he prayed as follows: "O long god! O short god, O god which makes a smacking noise, O god which travels long distances, come visit, eat. Grant life to me, Pakeaulani, and to my father, Kaimunahanaha, living here in this land of Moloka'i. *Amama*. (This is the amen.)" So he did every night.

Therefore, after the two illustrations in this explanation, the belief of the people of old about the activity of the gods of the night has perhaps become clear; it is believed to be, possibly, a clarification of this subject.

S. N. HOLOKAHIKI.

NOTES

- ¹ Ghost-gods were wandering desolate spirits looking for a way to the underworld. They were also called *akua hele loa*; see note 14; and Westervelt, pp. 247-248.
- ² Pele: see Number 8, February 23, note 2.
- ³ Hi'iaka: see Number 8, February 23, note 3.
- ⁴ Ka-moho-ali'i was Pele's older brother. He was a powerful sorcerer and could assume the forms of sharks and other fish, in addition to his human shape: see the "Glossary of Hawaiian Gods" in Pukui and Elbert, p. 386; and Beckwith, pp. 129, 167, 169-172, 192, 206.
- ⁵ Kāne, worshiped under a multitude of qualifying names, was the most important of Ancient Hawai'i's major deities. He was associated with procreation, fertility in general, thunder, sorcery, canoe-building, kava-drinking, plant cultivation, and fishponds: see Beckwith, Chapter IV.
- ⁶ Lono, one of the four chief deities of Ancient Hawai'i, was associated with cloud signs and the phenomena of storms and was consequently invoked for rain and good crops. The *Makahiki* festival, the most important of Hawai'i's annual ceremonies (held yearly from October to February), was in Lono's honor: see Beckwith, Chapter III.
- ⁷ Keawe-nui-kau-o-hilo: see Number 8, February 23, note 1.
- ⁸ Kapo-ula-kina'u (lit., red-Kapo-eel-woman [Beckwith, p. 185]), or possibly Kapo-of-the-feather-cloak-made-of-yellow-feathers-having-black-spots [Nathaniel B. Emerson, *Pele and Hiiaka* (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1915), p. 67]: see Number 8, February 23, note 7.
- ⁹ Pua: see Number 8, February 23, note 8.
- ¹⁰ Kuamu: see Number 8, February 23, note 5.
- ¹¹ Keawe-ho'opōhaku (lit., Keawe-who-makes-stone?) is not further known to the translators. He is obviously a sorcery god invoked in malefic sendings.
- ¹² Ghostly processions: *huaka'i-o-ka-pō*, usually called in English "marchers of the night," are quite popular themes in Hawaiian folklore: see Beckwith, p. 164. Also, O. A. Bushnell has incorporated the theme in his novel *Molokai*.
- ¹³ Whistling spirits: *akua kōkio*, are widely reported in Oceania; see Bacil F. Kirtley, *A Motif-Index of Traditional Polynesian Narratives* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1971) s.v. Motif *E 402.1.1.7, where instances are documented for the Tuamotus, Niue, and Hawai'i.
- ¹⁴ Ghosts who were great travelers: *akua hele loa*, were those "ghosts who enjoyed foolish, silly pranks. They would sweep over the old byways in troops, dancing and playing. They would gather around the old mats where the living had been feasting, and sit and feast on imaginary food" (Westervelt, p. 247).

Ka Nupepa Kuokoa. March 9, 1865.

Ancient Worship. Number 9.

SENDING-GODS¹ OF HAWAI'I

Hawai'i possesses many—a multitude, even—of gods, and they were divided into individual categories and assigned their separate names. Here are some of the divisions into which they were separated: ghost-gods,² gods-going-a-far-distance,³ deliberately created familiar spirits,⁴ ancestral guardian spirits,⁵ gods patronizing canoe-carving, farming gods, gods who right canoes [which are overturned], sending gods, and so on. But, indeed, it is not my intention to describe all of them and their functions. I have been asked to direct my explanation to the sending-gods, and it now follows. The sending-gods of Hawai'i are Kapo,⁶ Kāne-milo-hai,⁷ Pua,⁸ Keawe-nui-kau-o-hilo,⁹ and Kuamu.¹⁰ These are the sending-gods of Hawai'i which will be described in this account.

What they do is go out and murder. They would be sent out by their keepers¹¹ in the following way. If the keeper of one of the above gods goes to the door of a house and sees something there he wants—maybe fish, a tapa, clothing, indeed, anything else—if he asks for it and doesn't get it, that will be his grudge. He will return to his house. There he will call up his spirits, and they will come. Then he will send them to murder the person he wants [dead]. The keeper will speak to them in this way. "Go to that person there . . . (to, for instance, Naimu,¹² the person desired dead). . . . All of you go to Naimu, he will be your house to live in, your place to sleep. There will be your clothing, your poi, your fish, your water. All things for you will be there. Don't return here later. If you come back here excrement will be your food, urine your water. All of you go there and eat him to death." At the end of the keeper's speech, they all go and enter into Naimu, and this will cause his death. But if a skilled healing *kahuna* lives there, he does as follows. He sprinkles water on Naimu's eyes or probes his body. If Naimu cries out in pain, he continues to press that spot. After a while, he will sit up and speak. This is known as Mākūoa'e.¹³ Then on the *kahuna*'s asking the reason for his coming, the gods possessing Naimu reply, "We were sent to eat this person to death." Again the *kahuna* inquires, "For what offense do you beset this person here?" "He refused fish to our keeper; therefore we were sent here." Again the *kahuna* inquires, "Who is your keeper?" "Kaawa,"¹⁴ they reply. And if the *kahuna* is knowledgeable, he will ask them to have delicious things to eat. When they agree, he will at once seek something proper, and getting it, he will feed them. When they have finished eating, the *kahuna* will say, "Hey! You have wronged me. You have eaten my poi and my fish. Because of that, it is wrong for you to possess this person here. All of you go back to your keeper. He is your poi, your fish, and all your other things. Don't possess this person here or I will be the death of you completely." In no time at all they cry out for their

keeper's death. Finally, they do return to their keeper and eat him to death. The sick person recovers and so the matter ends.

J. WAIMAU

NOTES

- ¹ Sending-gods: *akua ho'ouinauna*. The term "sending," in the sense of indicating a sorcerer-directed spirit or automatum, is an old one and sanctioned by long usage: see Maria Leach, *et al.*, *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend* 2 vols. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1949), II, 996, *s.v.* "sending."
- ² Ghost-gods: *akua lapu*. See Number 9, March 2, note 1.
- ³ Gods-going-a-far-distance: *akua hele loa*. See Number 9, March 2, note 14.
- ⁴ Deliberately created familiar spirits: *'unihipili*. See Kirtley and Mookini, p. 66, n. 4.
- ⁵ Ancestral guardian spirits: *'aumakua*. See Number 7, February 16, note 9.
- ⁶ Kapo: see Number 8, February 23, note 7.
- ⁷ Kāne-milo-hai is listed among the *'aumakua* gods by Kamakau, p. 58, as "Kāne-accepter-of-sacrifice." He is a brother of Pele and accompanied her from Tahiti to Hawai'i. He was left on an islet in the northwestern end of the Hawaiian group to guard this outpost and is represented as a catcher-of-souls and a resuscitator, and is associated with healing and saving: see Beckwith, pp. 170, 177, 452. Why he is ranked among such sinister gentry as Pua, Kapo and Kuamu is not clear.
- ⁸ Pua: see Number 8, February 23, note 8.
- ⁹ Keawe-nui-kau-o-hilo: see Number 8, February 23, note 1.
- ¹⁰ Kuamu: see Number 8, February 23, note 5.
- ¹¹ Keepers: *kahuna*. Although there are revisionists insistently reading abstruse, esoteric, and unflaggingly highminded and mystical implications into the whole body of ancient Hawaiian religious practices, the term *kahuna* most consistently means a "keeper," one who cares for and manipulates a familiar spirit. *Ka* and *huna*, it is true, can also mean "the hidden," but in the texts of writers like Kepelino, Malo, Kamakau, Ii, and Haleole this meaning is seldom revelant.
- ¹² Naimu was one of the contributors in this series of articles.
- ¹³ Mākūkoa'e is the tropic-bird phantom, a poetic name for death and the spirit of death: Pukui and Elbert, p. 213. Birds such as the *koa'e*, *hauŋu*, *'alae*, and albatross were implicated in sorcery. Maka-ku-koa'e is the god who brings madness or raving insanity or imbecility: see Beckwith, p. 115.
- ¹⁴ Kaawa was one of the contributors in this series of articles. The names given by the writers to the sorcerers and victims are obviously an expression of comradly badinage.

Ka Nupepa Kuokoa. March 23, 1865.

Ancient Worship. Number 11.

WHAT ARE THE *'Aumakua*¹ ACCORDING TO THE BELIEFS OF THE ANCIENTS?

I asked the old people as to the meaning of this word *'Aumakua* and received no answer. It was the same when I asked this question on Kaua'i, as

well as here on Maui. I gave this subject much thought these past few years, and today here is the result of my deliberations.

There are two parts to the word *'aumakua*, *'au* and *makua*. *'Au* is a word meaning a plural number, as in *'Aumoku Kāua o Amerika Huipua* [the Navy of the United States of America]. The navy is not made up of a single ship but of many ships. If the word is *moku*, then it is a single ship. It is the same with the word *'auwa'a* [canoe fleet], which is not a single canoe but a number of canoes. It is the same with the word *aukanaka*, which means a thickly populated place. It is the same with the word *'aumakua*. Our ancestors believed there was a desolate place, entirely deserted. We supposed that this was a place of the ghosts, the *auakua* [ghost-ridden]. Such is the meaning of the first part of these *au* words. That is to say, our ancestors worshipped many spirits.

Here is the second. It is believed that the ancestors of chiefs and commoners and those they worshiped are called *makua* [parents]. It is their spirits that are worshiped. These words, *'au* and *makua* combined, spell *'aumakua*, which refer to the great number of those worshiped by their ancestors.

Here are the places the gods live: on the pali, in the sea, in the crater at Kī-lau-ea,² in the upper air-regions, as the wind, as an *'unihipili*.³ Those placed on the pali are the pali-climbing spirits who are worshiped by some people. It is believed that when a body is thrown into the sea, the corpse, they claim, is changed into a shark, or perhaps into an eel, and is worshiped as such. It is the same when a person's body is thrown into fresh water. It is believed to become a *mo'o*,⁴ and is worshiped as such. Likewise, when corpses and bones are thrown into the crater at Kī-lau-ea, they become fire and lava, it is believed, and are worshiped. They are worshiped down below in Milu. Also in the sky are the spirits spoken of as hidden in the dark-blue heavens, which some people worship as wind spirits. This type of spirit possesses a human being when he sneezes or belches. Such a human is called his *ipu*⁵ [vessel] or his *kahu* [guardian] and has a faint squeaky voice. The *'unihipili* are spirits of dead children or perhaps grandchildren. This is what an *'unihipili* does. First, it eats the flower of the *hala* [pandanus] in the morning and in the evening. At that eating of the food by the parents or grandparents, he will call out "O Holokahiki, come back and eat. Here is the poi and the fish." That is the way he keeps on calling, until later, the spirit returns and mounts upon his keeper. All these are called *'aumakua*.

Concerning the *'aumakua*'s great docility. It is said that the shark-*'aumakua* is very gentle. People can rub its head and mouth; it will take the juice of *'awa*⁶ to drink, and then swim away. Bird-*'aumakua*, similarly, are said to be tameable. The *alaeaha*⁷ will stand in the hand of his *ipu*. So, too, the owl, who can save his *kahu*. If the *kahu*'s arms and legs are bound with a rope, the owl will be able to loosen them.⁸ All the *'aumakua* are alike in being docile and helpful.

The *mana*⁹ of the *'aumakua* is as follows. Should a man go out to sea and his canoe be swamped and he cannot refloat it, he may call out for the shark.

“O Kū-hai-moana,¹⁰ take me to shore.” Then the shark will appear quickly. The *kahu* will then climb on to the shark’s back, hold tightly to its fins and say, “Look ahead. Go quickly and don’t wait.” Then the shark will be off, giving his all, puffing like a steamboat. The god of *lua*¹¹ fighters, Ku’i-a-lua,¹² does the same thing. If a *lua* fighter goes to a place where no one lives, he is not afraid, for he (Ku’i-a-lua) will give him strength and help him in killing those who resist him. The owl helps in the same way. If the *kahu* of the owl is beaten to death and is buried in the earth, the owl will come to get him. He will brush the earth with his wings, then finding the body, he will revive it and bring his *kahu* back to life. The *’unihipili* spirit does the same. If someone were to do me wrong or if somebody complained of my beating [him], I will be told. If I were to be tried for stealing or adultery, I will be told that I may escape punishment. It will be the same with sickness. He will tell me which medicine will cure the illness. The *alaeaha* bird does the same. If I were to be angry at you, I would send him to get you and he would attack you and put an illness on you which would be your immediate death. It is similar with the sending-spirits. They go after a person, eating his throat and anus, shutting up the hole so that dung cannot come out. Similar is the *Kālai-pāhoa*,¹³ a powerful spirit, according to the old people. It throws a lethal thing into the food bowl—into poi, sweet potatoes, taro—and the victim, not knowing about it, dies. Or it [the poison] is, not known [by the victim], in fingernails or in the stopper of the water gourd. The sickness will be dropsy, asthma, or the like.

The sacrifices that please the *’aumakua* are as follows: If a *mo’o* is angry at his *kahu* or maybe the *kahu*’s family, either of the latter will become ill and probably most weak. The victim must offer the following things: a brindled dog along with *’awa*, a red fish such as the *kumu* [goatfish], a piece of red sugar cane, and some grass which grew in taro patches wrapped in yellow tapa. These must be taken into the *mo’o* pit and placed securely therein. Then the *mo’o* *’aumakua* will be appeased and the sick will be cured. It is the same with the shark-*’aumakua*. A black pig, a dark-red chicken, together with *’awa* wrapped securely in *kolikoliko*,¹⁴ which was made from a young *wauke*¹⁵ plant by a young virgin, (who would spread this *wauke* out until it became bleached white) are offered. This is all wrapped securely and is taken to the seashore to an altar (a place of worship). Then [the supplicant] calls out as follows: “O *’aumakua* from the rising sun to the setting sun, from north to south, from top to bottom; spirits of the pali, of the sea and in the water. Here is the offering, a gift from Naimu. Bring life to us, to the aged needing a cane for support, having withered and wrinkled skin. This is our life from the gods.” Then he throws [the bundle] into the sea, buries the chicken alive and places the pig on the altar. He then returns home and looks for rain. If rain falls, the spirit understands. The rain washes away bad luck and the defilement is ended. If rain falls heavily from black clouds, then it is good. It is the same with Pele’s¹⁶ and Hi’iaka’s¹⁷ family. Offerings to them are *’awa*, green taro tops. So too are the offerings to other spirits.

NOTES

- ¹ *'Aumakua*; see Number 7, February 16, note 9. The thought in this essay is cloudy indeed.
- ² *Ki-lau-ea* is the name of an active volcano on the flank at Mauna Loa, Hawai'i, and the home of Pele: see Mary K. Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert and Esther T. Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1974), p. 111; Emerson, p. 1.
- ³ *'Unihipili*; see Number 9, March 9, note 4. The faulty parallelism of this sentence cannot be rectified without reconstructing the thought entirely.
- ⁴ *Mo'o*; see Kirtley and Mookihi, p. 67, n. 17.
- ⁵ *Ipu* (lit., gourd, vessel, drum). Gourd is the most likely translation. The connection between Siberian shamans and the ceremonial drum, which they use in lengthy trance séances is intimate. However, in Hawai'i, since the gourd was the universal container and since the *kahuna* housed the spirit whom he interpreted, gourd seems the intended meaning.
- ⁶ *'Awa*; see Kirtley and Mookihi, p. 66, n. 7.
- ⁷ *Alaeaha*. Perhaps this is the *'Alae-a-Hina*, mudhen of Hina, from whom Maui wrested the secret of fire. This bird is deeply invoked in sorcery practices and beliefs: see Beckwith, p. 115.
- ⁸ Hawaiian folktales frequently depict owls in the role of helper or rescuer: see Kirtley, *s.v.* motif S461.2.
- ⁹ *Mana* (lit., supernatural or divine power). Individuals, Polynesians believed, were great, powerful, and effective in proportion to the quantity of *mana* they possessed.
- ¹⁰ *Kū-hai-moana* is one of the most important of the ancestral sharks and is called "the largest and most celebrated of Hawaiian shark gods," thirty fathoms long, with a mouth as big as a grass house. He is king shark of the broad ocean, lives in deep water off Kaula islet, and is said to be a man-eater: (Beckwith, p. 129).
- ¹¹ *Lua* is the general name for the type of hand-to-hand fighting that included bone-breaking, quick turns and twists of the spear, noosing and leaping: see Pukui and Elbert, p. 196.
- ¹² *Ku'i-a-lua*: see Kirtley and Mookini, p. 67, n. 22.
- ¹³ *Kālai-pāhoa* (lit., dagger carving): see Kirtley and Mookini, p. 68, n. 38.
- ¹⁴ *Kolikoliko*, a kind of white tapa: see Westervelt, p. 252.
- ¹⁵ *Wauke*, the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), a small tree or shrub, from eastern Asia, was known throughout the Pacific for its usefulness. The bark was made into tough tapa used for clothing and bed clothes: Pukui and Elbert, p. 353.
- ¹⁶ Pele: see Number 8, February 23, note 2.
- ¹⁷ *Hi'iaka*: see Number 8, February 23, note 3.

Ka Nupepa Kuokoa. May 4, 1865.

Ancient Worship. Number 16.

THE ANCIENT *Kupua* OF HAWAI'I

Kupua, to the people of old Hawai'i, meant a type of being known to their ancestors which performed fabulous deeds.

1. The *kupua* is a most ancient being, coming down from the time of Papa and Wākea, the oldest ancestors of Hawai'i, to the time of Kau-i-ke-aouli (Ka-mehameha III) and to our chiefs living today.

2. Marvelous things were known by our ancestors concerning the *kupua*'s knowledge, its skill, its famous deeds, and its strength in battle. Among these [beings] were Ke-paka-'ili-'ula,¹ the powerful prince of Hawai'i, 'Umi of Liloa,² and so on.

3. The most famous chiefs were *kupua*. Ka-ulu-lā'au,³ Kakaalaneo's⁴ child, who fought the spirits of Lā-na'i and who uprooted the breadfruit trees of Lahaina, was a *kupua*. Another *kupua* was Kana,⁵ Hina's elastic son, who broke up the stretching hill of Ka-pepe'e-kauila⁶ of Mōloka'i. Kawelo⁷ was a mischievous *kupua*, the champion spear-throwing chief of Kaua'i, the commander in battle who challenged Kauahoa,⁸ the handsome hero of Hanalei. Ka-ha'i-nui-a-hema⁹ was a *kupua* who traveled over the seas looking for his father, whose eyes were gouged out by Aaia-nukea-lawai'a-kāne¹⁰ and who was placed inside Ke-ana-ka-ua-lehu, The-cave-of-ashes.¹¹

Lono-i-ka-makahiki,¹² kapu child of Kalani,¹³ was a *kupua*. Kalani [here, presumably, meaning "the chief," and referring to Lono-i-ka-makahiki] was a kapu child of Keawe,¹⁴ a famous high chief of Hawai'i. Lono-i-ka-makahiki challenged Ka-kuhihewa,¹⁵ the high chief of O'ahu.

Maui,¹⁶ Hina's fleet-footed son, was a *kupua*. He made fire, which was a secret of the mudhen folk, by rubbing the forehead of 'Alae-iki-huapī [little-red-billed-mudhen]. It was also Maui who broke the sun's rays because it moved too fast and his mother's beaten tapa could not dry out.

Another characteristic of the *kupua* is as follows: A *kupua* is born on a sort of day marked by extreme marvels. For a person so beloved by the heavens, thunder roars, rain falls, the earth shudders, red mist rises up, the earth acts strangely, islands overturn. Such are known as divine *kupua*. They are the ones the gods cause to be born in a strange manner.

For example, the children born above the status of ordinary humans. Such as level ten, in some cases, level eleven in others.¹⁷

Second. The god-like beings from Tahiti¹⁸ who came to Hawai'i did deeds more extraordinary than those of humans. They were called the *kupua* of Tahiti. Lono-ka-'eho,¹⁹ Kama-pua'a,²⁰ Haumea,²¹ Pele,²² Kāne,²³ and Kanaloa²⁴ were such *kupua*.

The spirits who came from Tahiti desired the beautiful women of Hawai'i, married them and had children. These children were most famous for their skill and great strength in battle. They were called the ancient *kupua* of Hawai'i and were beings like Nani-wai-'ale'ale,²⁵ a high chief of Kaua'i, Kawelonaakalailhua,²⁶ and Hina-hānai-a-ka-malama,²⁷ the woman who leaped to the moon and whose legs were cut off by her husband. She was then called Lono-muku.

Another thing about *kupuas* is that the children born with a *kupua* nature do not have human bodies. They have wonder-bodies like Kū-'ilio-loa's²⁸ of

O'ahu, a supernatural being of O'ahu. (He lives on top of Kane-hoa-lani²⁹ at Kua-loa.) His chant is as follows:

Kū-ilio-loa stands at the large opening, at Kulokuloku,
At the swollen path of Hoonewa,
The upper jaw is stripped like the skull,
Dead the evil spirits of the ocean.

Ke-au-miki and Au-ka³⁰ were the *kupua* of the sea.

Lima-loa³¹ was a *kupua* of Kaua'i. He made a circuit of Kaua'i in a single day. Also, Papanui,³² a woman of Moloka'i, and Aukele-nui-a-iku³³ [were *kupua*].

P. W. KAAWA.

NOTES

- ¹ Ke-paka-'ili-'ula (lit., born-with-red-skin), the child of Kū and Hina, was born as an egg in Puna, Hawai'i. He was wrapped for forty days and nights in a red feather cloak and he became a beautiful child with red skin and eyes. His appetite for food was prodigious, as were his feats at arms. He reigned on Maui, Kohala (Hawai'i), and O'ahu. His feats are summarized by Beckwith, pp. 423-424, 460-461.
- ² 'Umi-a-Liloa ('Umi-the-son-of-Liloa), is a famous early king of Hawai'i and his legends have been quite popular. He is a kind of King Alfred, living a part of his life humbly incognito, fishing and farming. Beckwith, pp. 389-392, synthesizes his life. A version is given also in Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961), pp. 1-21.
- ³ Ka-ulu-lā'au (lit., the-grove-of-trees) was a famous trickster figure. The son of the ruling chief of Maui, Kakaalaneo, he got in trouble because of his incessant mischief and was exiled to Lā-na'i, an island then populated solely by spirits. By clever deceptions, he rid the island of these pests, and was taken back home to his father. Other exploits are told: see Beckwith, pp. 441-442.
- ⁴ Kakaalaneo (Kukaalaneo, Kaalaneo), an ancient ruling chief of Maui, was a fabulous spear-thrower. According to legend, a party of strangers (*haole*) arrived during his days were still remembered at the time of Captain Cook's visit: Beckwith, p. 384.
- ⁵ Kana is a famous stretching *kupua* or wizard who can extend himself to the sky and who has five alternate, non-human, bodies. His adventures are varied and extravagant, and Kana's stretching contest with a magic hill is told in several versions. See Beckwith, Chapter XXXIII.
- ⁶ Ka-pepe'e-kauila (lit., the-jagged-lightning) was a Moloka'i chief who abducted Hina, Kana's mother, from Hilo, Hawai'i, and brought her to Moloka'i. Legends tell of Kana's stretching contests and of how Hina was finally returned: see Beckwith, Chapter XXXIII.
- ⁷ Kawelo, a natable hero of Hawaiian legendry, was a warrior-hero who killed 'Aikanaka's (lit., man-eater's) soldiers and sent that chief into exile. Many versions of his heroic career are extant. Apparently he was a historical figure: see Pukui and Elbert, p. 388; and Beckwith, pp. 405-414.
- ⁸ Kauahoa was the most formidable and handsome of the warriors of 'Ai-kanaka, the chief of Kaua'i whom Kawelo defeated. Kauahoa used an entire tree as a club and was about twenty fathoms in height. Kawelo, however, because of superior cunning, was able to kill him, and thus eliminate 'Ai-kanaka's primary defender: see Samuel H. Elbert, ed., *Selections from Fornander's Antiquities and Folklore* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1959), pp. 92-98.

- ⁹ Ka-ha'i-nui-a-hema (lit., Kaha'i-the-strong-son-of-Hema) is the hero of a folktale, widespread in Polynesia and with many variants, of a young hero who (in Hawaiian versions) ascends to the Upperworld to restore his father's eyes, plucked out by a demon-albatross: see Beckwith, pp. 248-258; further comparative materials are cited by Kirtley, *s.v.* motifs F10, F51, F51.1.
- ¹⁰ Aaia-nukea-lawai'a-kāne (lit., white-beaked-fishing-albatross-of-Kāne) is one of the species of Hawaiian birds figuring in sorcery practices: see Beckwith, pp. 115, 245.
- ¹¹ Ke-ana-ka-ua-lehu (lit., the-cave-of-ashes) is said here to be the place where Hema's, the Maui chief's, eyes, snatched out by the albatross of Kāne, are kept. In other versions of Hema's life, these organs are said to be at Ulupaupau: Beckwith, pp. 245-246.
- ¹² Lono-i-ka-makahiki is the son of Keawe-nui-a-'Umi and Haokalani. Lono, upon his father's death, ruled the districts of Ka'ū and Puna, Hawai'i. His life is related in Kamakau, pp. 36, 45, 47-63; Beckwith, pp. 392-394.
- ¹³ Kalani (lit., the very high chief) was honorifically termed the "divine" or "heavenly."
- ¹⁴ Keawe-nui-a-'Umi, son of 'Umi-a-Liloa, became the kingdom's ruler after his father's death. He, like his father, was a beneficent ruler. He figures largely in the legend of Paka'a: see Kamakau, pp. 36-46.
- ¹⁵ Ka-kuihewa was a contemporary of Keawe-nui-a-'Umi and Lono-i-ka-makahiki and was high chief of the Ko'olau side of O'ahu. Kakuhihewa figures in a number of other legendary and mythological narratives: see Beckwith, pp. 124, 183, 337-338, 393, 410, 417, 419, 429, 494; Kamakau, pp. 38, 42, 54-55, 244.
- ¹⁶ Maui is one of the major mythological figures of Polynesia, and figures also in the mythologies of Micronesia and Melanesia. His exploits are myriad, and are extensively and expertly treated in Katherine Luomala, *Maui-of-a-Thousand-Tricks; His Oceanic and European Biographers*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 198 (Honolulu, 1949). The secret of fire, mentioned here, was, in a Hawaiian myth, originally possessed exclusively by mudhens, and Maui obtained the secret of its generation for mankind: see also Beckwith, Chapter XVI.
- ¹⁷ The translators understand the words, but find the signification of the sentence absolutely mystifying. We think that the writer means that occasionally children are born talented strikingly in excess of ordinary human beings. Perhaps there is a typographical error or some missing lines.
- ¹⁸ "God-like beings from Tahiti . . ." This reference would include in addition to those subsequently named in the text, Pele's brothers and sisters.
- ¹⁹ Lono-ka-'eho (lit., Lono-the-stone) was a chief of impeccable lineage ruling in Tahiti at the time when some Tahitian voyagers were settling the Hawaiian chain. The settlers sent back to Tahiti an invitation for high-born chiefs to come and to rule them. Lono-ka-'eho was asked first, but declined, and sent as a substitute Pilikaaiea: Beckwith, pp. 372-373.
- ²⁰ Kama-pua'a (lit., hog-man) is the half-hog, half-human *kupua* who is the principal of a cycle of wondrous encounters and contests with adversaries almost equally formidable—the goddess Pele was one. His stories were enormously popular, and despite the fantastic character of his exploits, he was nevertheless assigned a historical role in the royal genealogies. A key to this literature is given in Beckwith, pp. 193, 201-203, 418-421.
- ²¹ Haumea—Earth-mother, personification of fertility-principles, appeared under other identities, including that of Papa (who, in one myth, is her daughter) and of La'ila'i, who according to the *Kumulipo*, the major Hawaiian creation-chant, was the first woman. Haumea, impregnated in turn by her husband, Wākea, and her lover, Lua, gave birth to the Hawaiian Islands. She was accounted the mother of the Hawaiian

people, and was believed to have borne the first taro plant. She was the goddess of childbirth and taught human beings to bear children by natural means, rather than by a type of Caesarian operation fatal to the mother: see Beckwith, pp. 63, 79-80, 115, 276, 278, 282-284, 378; and Sir Peter Buck, *Vikings of the Sunrise* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), pp. 247-248. First ed. 1938.

²² Pele: see Number 8, February 23, note 2.

²³ Kāne: see Number 9, March 2, note 5.

²⁴ Kanaloa, one of Hawai'i's major deities, was in many ways Kāne's double. In his own right, he was honored as the god of squid and as the god of navigation. He and Kāne were thought to live in an elusive paradise, said to be either a floating and nebulous island or else a beautiful cloudland suspended between sky and earth: see Beckwith, Chapter V, and pp. 67-69, 71, 277-278, 309-311.

²⁵ Nani-wai-'ale'ale (lit., beautiful-rippling-water) is not further known to the translators.

²⁶ Kawelonaakaialehua is probably, either an alternate name for the famous *kupua* hero Kawelo-a-mahuna-lei, or one of his close relatives, many of whom were named Kawelo: see Beckwith, pp. 404-414.

²⁷ Hina-hānai-a-ka-malama or Lono-muku. Lono is the 28th day of the Hawaiian lunar month; *muku* means cut short. She is also known as Hina-'ai-malama (lit., Hina-eating-the-moon). Her myths are discussed in Beckwith, Chapter XV and *passim*.

²⁸ Kū-'ilio-loa (lit., Kū-long-dog) was described as a dog with a human body. He had supernatural power and was a great warrior, until destroyed by Kama-pua'a: see Beckwith, pp. 346-349.

²⁹ Kāne-hoa-lani (lit., Kāne-royal-companion) is the name of a mountain ridge on O'ahu: see Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini, p. 84.

³⁰ Ke-au-miki (lit., tide) and Au-ka (lit., current) are mentioned in a chant, "Prayer to the god Alala-la-he," concerning the Great Flood: "O the tides Keaumiki and Keauka still flow on . . ." Martha Warren Beckwith, ed. *Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii*. Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 95 (Honolulu, 1932), p. 185. The *kupuas* Ke-au-miki and Ke-au-ka were Pele's paddlers when she left Kahiki: Beckwith, p. 169.

³¹ Lima-loa (lit., long-hand) is, in two stories, an assistant to Kama-pua'a in the latter's courtship of Kaua'i damsels: Beckwith, pp. 104-105.

³² Papanui, "a woman of Moloka'i," could not be further identified by the translators.

³³ Aukele-nui-a-iku (lit., far-swimming-son-of-Iku). This word, which floats in syntactic isolation, is the name of a Hawaiian romance, synopsized by Beckwith, pp. 490-495. What the author intended by this name is, of course, endlessly conjectural.

Ka Nupepa Kuokoa. May 11, 1865.

Ancient Worship. Number 17.

THE ANCIENT PROPHETS OF HAWAI'I

We will begin with an explanation of prophets on the island of Hawai'i and then move to all the other islands of Hawai'i. During the time when Liloa¹ was reigning as king of Hawai'i, lived Nunu and Kakohe,² *kahunas*. They were prophets, but, indeed, *kahunas* and prophets of this kind are related to

the people of the Otherworld [Pō] called *'aumakua*. The gods from ancient times (their names are not remembered) and the gods of Hawai'i together are the beings called *'aumakua* and from them came the knowledge of the prophets. While Nunu and Kakohe were living during the time of Liloa, the latter died and the kingdom went to Hakau.³ At that time, Nunu and Kakohe sent a man to talk to Hakau and request *'awa*, poi and water to drink for themselves. Hakau replied, "Go back and tell them that their piss is their drink, that their shit is their poi, and that the hair of their ass is their *'awa*." Upon his return, the messenger repeated, "The chief said piss is to be your drink, shit your poi, the hair of your asses your *'awa*." Then immediately, in their capacity as prophets, the two said, "So be it. Because of his act, he will have no land." And afterwards, their saying was fulfilled.

Hewahewa⁴ was another prophet, but prophets also had the role of priests, so I have been told.

Lua-ho'omoe⁵ was a Maui prophet. During the time that Hua was the ruling chief of Maui, Lua-ho'omoe was then at his height as a priest and prophet. Because Hua had a passionate fondness for petrel birds, he ordered his men to climb into the mountains after them. After going up into the mountains and searching around, the men could not find any. Then they went down again to the shore to look for a bird, and got one. They went inland again, climbed the mountains, smeared the feathers with dirt from the mountain, and returned once more to the lowlands, where the chief saw the bird. Lua-ho'omoe smelled the bird and said, "The bird is not from the uplands but from the shore. The bird was caught at the shore then taken upland and smeared with dirt and brought here to you, o chief." Then the bird-catchers replied, "The bird is not from the shore, but from the mountains." Then the chief asked, "How do you know the bird is from the shore?" Lua-ho'omoe answered, "The bird has the stench of the sea. It was taken upland and smeared with mountain dirt, and brought here to you, o chief." The chief replied with angry words, "Did you go along with them and see them get the bird at the shore?" The chief, after this angry outburst, decided to kill Lua-ho'omoe, and Lua-ho'omoe knew that he and his two sons were to die. He ordered his sons first to get three feathered-gourd rattles and to place them inside the house. Then he said to them, "Listen. When they come to burn us in the house, I will die and you two will live. Should you see that the smoke is leaning over there, don't go. If the smoke leans toward the mountain, you are to take to that way and seek to save your lives."

Afterwards their house was burned down. The smoke leaned toward the ocean, leaned toward the windward, leaned over yonder. Then it leaned toward the mountain, whereupon the children of Lua-ho'omoe left to go to live upon Hana'ula.⁶ When these children had reached the mountain, the feathered-gourd rattles burst. When the first one burst, the men said, "That was the father;" when the second gourd burst, they said, "That was the first-born, Kaakakai;" and when the third gourd burst, they said, "That was the last-born, Kaanahua." Then the blazing of the fire died down. After this, the land began to dry up. At the end of three years and six months, water had dis-

appeared from the rivers. After this, plants did not grow. Shortly afterward, Hua the chief died. (And, consequently, the saying, "The bones of Hua are rattling in the sun.") When we come to the prophets of Kaua'i, we can continue the story.

The prophets of O'ahu. Not clearly known.

The prophet of Kaua'i: Naula-maihea.⁷

He was a Kaua'i prophet, living on Kaua'i during the time when Hua was chief of Maui. In his role of prophet, Naula-maihea looked about and did not see the slightest bit of rain falling any place on Kaua'i. Not even a small cloud rested on its mountains. He looked over to O'ahu, and there, too, he did not see a single cloud hanging over Ka'ala.⁸ It was quite parched. The streams had dried up, and there was not the least bit of rain. Nothing was growing. Then Naula-maihea looked toward Maui and saw a patch of rain-cloud with a fragment of a rainbow above Hana'ula. There was no trace of hovering clouds anywhere else, only this rain-cloud with its fragment of a rainbow resting on the place where lived the children of Lua-ho'omoe, Kaakakai and Kaanahua.

Then, with a pig, a white cock, and suitable offerings,⁹ Naula-maihea sailed at once to Maui. He then went up to the top of Hana'ula. Before his arrival at the top of Hana'ula, Kaakakai and Kaanahua had spotted him at a far distance. They ran to him there at Kula,¹⁰ and received Naula-maihea, who sacrificed the pig in the manner customary in ancient times.

Lani-kāula¹¹ is a prophet of Moloka'i. He was the prophet who died after his dung was taken to Lā-na'i and burned.

KUPAHU.

NOTES

¹ Liloa was a ruling chief, a sacred high chief, of Hawai'i, who was noted for his good deeds. His son was 'Umi-a-Liloa: see Kamakau, pp. 1-21; and Number 16, May 4, note 2.

² Nunu and Kakohe, their slight by Hakau and their subsequent destruction of the rash chief are described fully in Kamakau, pp. 12-14.

³ Hakau was the first-born son of Liloa: see Kamakau, pp. 1, 7, 9, 13-14.

⁴ Hewahewa was the last *kahuna-nui*, high priest, of Hawai'i. In this role he advised Ka-mehameha II to abandon the ancient Hawaiian gods and to acknowledge the new one. See Joseph S. Emerson, "Kahunas and Kahunaism," *The Mid-Pacific*, (June 1926), pp. 503-512, on Hewahewa's later life as a Christian convert.

⁵ Lua-ho'omoe, the Maui prophet "who flourished during the reign of Hua *ke 'Lii* (Hua the chief) of Maui . . .," was apparently noted for his uprightness and piety: see Kamakau, p. 223; Beckwith, pp. 380-381, gives additional information.

⁶ Hana'ula (lit., red bay) is the name of a mountain in West Maui: see Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini, p. 41.

⁷ Naula-maihea (Naula-a-Maihea), who lived upon Kaua'i during the time when Hua reigned upon Maui, was a prophet who came with La'a-mai-kahiki from the south. It was he who prepared for the sons of Hua the offering which brought the end of the drought caused by Hua's rash act: see Beckwith, pp. 380-382.

⁸ Ka'ala is the name of a mountain in the Wai-'anae range, O'ahu: see Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini, p. 60.

⁹ These are all items for ritual sacrifice and are mentioned frequently in accounts of sorcery. The pig is usually specified as being black.

¹⁰ Kula is the name of a land section on Maui: see Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini, p. 123.

¹¹ Lani-kāula (lit., divine prophet) killed off the ghosts of Lā-na'i. He made a practice of hiding his dung upon an offshore islet. A friend, Kawelo, visited him and stole some of his waste and burned this in his own sacred fire. This act, typical of the category of sorcery which Sir James Frazer termed sympathetic magic, of course killed Lani-kāula: see Beckwith, pp. 108, 110-111.

Ka Nupepa Kuokoa. May 25, 1865.

Ancient Worship. Number 18.

DEATH-PRAYING [*'anā'anā*]

The first task [of the aspirant sorcerer] is the perfect memorization of the prayer. After the ceremony marking the completion of his instruction, he directs his spell. If he directs it at a man, the man dies; if at a stone, the stone breaks; if at a tree, the tree withers and dries up. After an *'anā'anā*-spell has been laid on a man, he dies. There are, moreover, two types of death-praying *kahuna*: one is the *kahuna* who casts his victim's bait into the sea¹ and the other is the wantonly destroying *kahuna*. The *kahuna* who casts his victim's bait into the sea appears in broad daylight, lights the fireplace for the *kuni*² ceremony in broad daylight, witnessed by a crowd of people. The wantonly destroying *kahuna* gathers bait, then says his death-prayers in secret, secretly praying to death someone he envies in order to get his property. Also, if your loved one dies—perhaps a husband, perhaps a wife, or perhaps a child—then take an offering—a pig perhaps or perhaps a piece of clothing—to the death-praying *kahuna*. When the offering is brought, the *kahuna* sees the spirit of the person who is to be prayed to death. The *kahuna* says, "Agreed. Here is your eating companion. Go home and I will come back early tomorrow morning. First you must get wood for rubbing a fire out of green *'akia*,³ a bunch of *kukui* nuts and the bitter gourd." The next morning the *kahuna* arrives, lights the fire with the green *'akia* as the rubbing stick. The prayer [the *kahuna* says] while plowing the fire alight goes like this.

O Lualuapuanono,⁴ where is the fire to be plowed?

O Lualuapuanono, the bitter *'akia* lights the fire.

Then the fire blazes. The prayer ends. The *kahuna* throws the bunch of *kukui* nuts, while saying, "I hurl down the bunch of *kukui* nuts. If it bounces outside, death is due to an outsider; if it bounces inside, death is due to an insider." When this is over, the bait—hair, spittle—is cast into the fire, as he calls Uli,⁵ the deity of *'anā'anā*.

O Uli, you see the one who is to be prayed to death, A.
 O Uli, the man, and Uli, the woman, attack him.
 Gird on your *malo*,⁶ fasten on your *pā'ū*.⁷
 Naked is the '*anā'anā* priest,
 The arm branches out,
 The hair branches out, the skin is spotted.
 The *ti* leaf of Naueue,⁸
 The '*alae* bird of Hina⁹ comes.
 Paehele¹⁰ has the power to mount and run.
 Death is in the fireplace of Uli.
 The eyes of the Tropic-Bird-of-Death¹¹ are burning.
 The Great-'Alae-Bird-of-Hina is cheeping, shining white.
 Should he descend,
 Down into the emptiness of hell,
 Lowered below into Milu,¹²
 Milu will ask, what is going on with those above?
 They have a fireplace, they are practicing sorcery,
 They are praying a victim to death."

The death-invoking prayer is over. The priest casts the collection of bait into the sea and declares, "The illness causing death will be the bloody flux and insanity."

NOA PALI.

NOTES

¹ *U-ha'u-hu'i* was the name of a certain prayer used by the *kahuna* in the *pule 'anā'anā* (prayer to curse and destroy an enemy). When the priest in his incantation reached this part of the prayer, he took from his assistant the ashes of the *maumu'anā'anā* ("bait" for the incantation; that is, anything belonging to the victim, such as a bit of tapa, spittle, hair) and wrapped it in a leaf of '*ape* (a large taro-like plant) to be cast into the sea: see Lorrin Andrews, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*, revised by Henry H. Parker (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Special Publication, no. 8, 1922), p. 592.

² *Kuni*; see Number 18, May 18, note 1.

³ '*Akia*; see Kirtley and Mookini, p. 68, n. 29.

⁴ Lualuapuanonono is not further known to the translators.

⁵ Uli: see Kirtley and Mookini, p. 68, n. 31.

⁶ *Malo* is a male's loincloth.

⁷ *Pā'ū* is a woman's sarong.

⁸ Naueue is not further known to the translators.

⁹ '*Alae*-bird-of-Hina: see Number 11, March 23, note 7.

¹⁰ Paehele is not further known to the translators.

¹¹ Tropic Bird: see Number 9, March 9, note 12.

¹² Milu: see Number 7, February 16, note 1.

THE PRIESTS IN THE OLD DAYS. HOW DID ONE BECOME A PRIEST?
WHAT DID THEY DO? THE SEERS

This topic was put to me and I will explain individually about each type and its method.

1. How did the priests in the old days become priests? 2. What did they do? 3. The seers.

1. How did the priests in the old days become priests? I will now give you the answer to this question. My instructor told me the following. They are not admitted as in god worship, but in the following way. If my father knew the prayers of *kuni*,¹ *'anā'anā*,² fishing, canoe-carving or any other prayer, then he would teach me whatever he knew, perhaps the *kuni* or perhaps the *'anā'anā* prayers. When a father died, his child would receive this knowledge, which he could then pass to his descendants. That was the way it was done, and it was not a true ordination into the priesthood.

2. What did they do? They did the following. They prayed against the person, who through *'anā'anā* injured somebody, perhaps killing one's son or daughter or other relative. If he was a *kuni* priest or an *'anā'anā* priest, he did the following. He took such bait as spittle or hair from the person's head, or if not these, then perhaps he got a handkerchief, or whatever he might obtain. The person he was angry at died. Such was the purpose of the *'anā'anā* prayer. If it was a prayer to the *'aumakua*, he did the following. The prayer was composed with the keeper gesturing with his hands to his *'aumakua* and offering *'awa*,³ pig, and so on. Other keepers did the same. They are not preordained to the priesthood. These things were first widespread in Hawai'i—the *kuni* and *'anā'anā* prayers as well as others.

3. The seers.⁴ They were a totally different type of priest, not like the priests of *kuni*, *'anā'anā* or others. This is what they did. They searched for things in the sky, such as signs of war, death of a chief, period of sickness and so on. These people could see times of peace and times of pestilence, windy times, rainy times and so on.

WAIMEA.

NOTES

¹ *Kuni* is essentially a form of counter-magic in which murdering sorcerers are magically executed by a more competent *kahuna* working as an agent of retaliation on behalf of a victim's family. The avenger throws *mauna*, "bait," from the body of the murdered person into a fire made in public at broad daylight and through its instrumentality is able to summon the apparition of the living death-working sorcerer(s) before him. The *kahuna* then pronounces the manner and time of his (their) death and his sentence(s) later come to pass: see Kamakau, pp. 36-37. Another description, giving very specific details and the text of chants is given by

David Malo. The expense of a *kuni* ceremony, according to Malo, was exorbitant, and of an *ali'i* (noble) was exacted a tribute of as many as four hundred dogs and numerous fowls: Malo, pp. 100-104.

² 'Anā'anā. See Number 7, February 16, note 4.

³ 'Awa. See Number 11, March 23, note 6.

⁴ *Kilo* (lit., seer). Not only were these *kahunas* astrologers and diviners, they were also steeped in practical, empirical star-knowledge. In his unpublished book on Hawaiian religion, William Tufts Brigham has a delightful anecdote involving the infallibly correct time-telling of a *kilo*-trained Hawaiian whose statements Brigham checked with his watch (Ms. in Bishop Museum).