THE WORKS OF THE
PEOPLE OF OLD

Na Hana a ka
Po' e Kahiko

KAMAKAU
THE PEOPLE OF THE NA PEARL HARBOR AREA

Much was done during the war to keep the water clean and to prevent the Pearl Harbor area from being polluted by the poisonous and dangerous materials that were used. The problem of preventing loss of value in the water was not a new one. Much research was done on the value of the water before the war, and it was found that the use of the water during the war did not have any serious effects on its value. A paper on the subject was prepared and presented at a meeting of the Pacific Oceanographic Society.

By Mary K.

Translated from the Pacific Journal of Science.

By Dorothy

Arranged and

Illustrated by Bernice P. Bishop

BISHOP MUSEUM

Honolulu

The Work

Due:

 fluent
The Works of the People of Old
Na Hana a ka Poʻe Kahiko

By Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau

Translated from the Newspaper Ke Au ʻOkoʻa
By Mary Kawena Pukui

Arranged and edited
By Dorothy B. Barrère

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Na Hana a ka Po'e Kahiko is a sequel to Ka Po'e Kahiko (Kamakau, 1964), and both are translations from Samuel Manai'akalani Kamakau's series of newspaper articles which ran from October 14, 1869, through November 3, 1870, in Ke Au 'Oko'a. Kamakau called this series “Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i,” and numerous references found in the literature on Hawaiian culture give this title as their source. Most of these references are quotations or paraphrases from the manuscript translation in Bishop Museum which was translated and edited by Martha Warren Beckwith and Mary Kawena Pukui in 1934.

A comparison of the Hawaiian texts of David Malo's “Mo'olelo Hawai'i” and Kamakau's “Mo'olelo Hawai'i” reveals that Kamakau began this series as an amplification of Malo's earlier work (see Malo, 1951, Chapters 1-7). His first four articles in the series are incorporated in a manuscript on mythology and legends now in preparation at Bishop Museum. We begin Na Hana a ka Po'e Kahiko with what was his fifth, and last, article following Malo's arrangement (1951, Chapters 5-7). Thereafter, the articles which are included in this volume were more or less detailed accounts of the material culture of his people. He included in these accounts information extracted from the Reverend J. F. Pogue's Moolelo Hawaii published at Lahainaluna School in 1858 (and in the newspaper Ka Hae Hawaii from April 7, 1858, to May 11, 1859). That mo'olelo was a reprinting of the first Mo'olelo Hawaii (Dibble, 1838; see also Tinker, 1839; Remy, 1862), to which had been added material gathered by the students of Lahainaluna School in the 20-year period between the publications. Kamakau added considerable fresh material to these earlier accounts.

Some aspects of the older Hawaiian culture were already abandoned or were fast disappearing by Kamakau's day, and some were still very much
alive. Kamakau often differentiated in his text by the use of past and present tenses; we have for the sake of conformity used the past tense almost exclusively. Many of the details which Kamakau gave have become our only sources of information on old techniques. Some of the terms he used are now obsolete, and the definitions of them found in the translation are taken from Lorrin Andrews' *Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language* printed in 1865. Terms and excerpts from the original Hawaiian text have been included parenthetically to preserve Kamakau's actual words; editor's interpolations have been set off in brackets. An extract from the newspaper *Ku'oko'a* for August 12, 1865, has been included to round out Kamakau's several published articles on heiaus.

Acknowledgment is made again of the indebtedness of the editor to Dr. Mary Kawena Pukui for her patience and unstinting help when the work of updating the Kamakau manuscripts was undertaken early in the 1960's. Since then the editor has also called upon the technical knowledge of Dr. Kenneth P. Emory, Mrs. Malia Solomon, and Mr. Lloyd Soehren, to whom thanks are here expressed. Grateful acknowledgment is also made to Mrs. Catherine C. Summers and Mrs. Mary S. Judd for their criticisms and suggestions in the final wording of this volume, and to Mrs. Judd for typing the manuscript and helping in the selection of illustrations.

DOROTHY B. BARRÈRE

*Honolulu, Hawaii*  
November, 1973
the mouth of a shallow rushing stream, a *kahawai*, is called a *nuku kahawai*.

Water flowing over a cliff is called a *wailele*, waterfall. If the water divides in falling (*kahe makall'alu*), it is called a *waihi*, cascade; if the water sprays (*kulu makati'i*) in falling over a cliff it is called *huna wailele* or *wai puhia* or *wai ehu*.

The area near the sea, makai of a village or a group of houses, is called *kalawa kahaone*, curve of beach, or *kahahone manawanawa*, beach with *manawanawa* plants, or *kahahone pohuehue*, beach with *pohuehue* plants, or *kahahone mahikihiki*, beach with *mahikihiki* grass. The part of the beach where 'ohiki crabs live is the *one wai*, wet sand. These terms apply only to low stretches of sandy beaches; the terms for rocky shorelines are different.

**THE SEAS**

*Ka po'e kahiko* distinguished by name the waters along the coast, out to sea, and to the deep ocean. The place on land where waves break and spread is the *lihi kai* or *'ae kai*, edge of the sea. Where they wash over the land is called *pahola*, *kohola*, or *palaha* ("spread"). and the place where they break and spread toward land is called *pu'eone* or *po'ina nalu* or *po'ina a kai*.

The overall term for a place where shallow seas come in without rising [into breakers] is *kai kohola* or just *kohola* (the shallow sea within the reef). The water on the mauka, or land, side of the *kohola* is called the *kai 'elemihi* [for the 'elemihi crabs that are to be found there]; the makai, or seaward, side of the *kohola* is called the *kai kaha papa'i* (the sea in which to feel for *papa'i* crabs). The mauka part is also called *kai kakehaheha* because of the many small salt-collecting sea pools, or *kai ki'oki'o* because water remains in the rocky basins after the tide goes down, or *hapuna* [for the puddles of standing water]. Seaward of this area are the *kai hele ku*, the sea for wading: the *papa he'e*, the octopus grounds; the *kai 'ohua*, feeding grounds of young fishes; and the *kai 'au kohana*, the sea for bathing naked.

Then comes the *kai he'e nalu*, surf-riding sea, or *kua'au*, and *kai nalu*, or *po'ina nalu*, or *po'ina*, where the waves break. Just beyond this surf line is the area called *kua nalu*, back of the wave, or *kulana*, pitch and toss, and then the *kai kea*, white sea; or *kai lu'u*, sea for diving; or *kai pava'a*, sea for pole fishing. Outside of there are the areas of the *kai 'o leho* and *kai 'okilo he'e*, sea for octopus fishing; the *kai maka uhu*, sea for netting *uhu*; the *kai ka'ili*, sea for fishing with hook and line; and the *kai lawai'a*, sea for [deep sea] fishing.

Just before the sea becomes very dark is the *kai lu he'e*, the sea in which to catch octopuses with lures, and where the sea is very dark blue is the *kai malolo* and *kai hi aku*, the sea in which to fish for *malolo* and *aku*. Outside of there are the *kai hi kahala* and *kai ahi* hi 'ahi, the fishing grounds, *kai*, for *kahala* and 'ahi. Beyond is the ocean, *moana*, called *lepo* or *lewa* or *lipo*—the dark blue-purple sea of Kane, *kai popolohua mea a Kane*—that extends to the clouds on the horizon.

Where the sea is a very dark blue it is called the *kai popolohua mea a Kane*;
where it is white [with foam] it is called kai ke'oke'o; where it becomes reddish colored, like 'olaea, it is called kai 'ula'ula; where it becomes yellowish colored, like 'olena, it is called kai lena'ena. A sea that is mottled or streaked is a kai ma'oki'oki. Where the sea is calm and tranquil it is called kai malino or kai poha or kai papaea; where it floats in puddles it is called kai kaheka or kai ki'o or kai hapuna.

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A sea where waves each break up into individual waves (po'i pakahi), is called a kai kulana and, if they break into innumerable waves (po'i kuakini), a kai ko'o rough sea, or nalu ku ka halelo (jagged waves). Where waves dash against points of land the sea is called kai maka lae; where they dash against cliff bases it is called kai kuehu. Where waves break in a cave or crevice and blow out forcibly is called kai puka or kai pahu or kai papaea; where it floats in puddles it is called kai kaheka or kai ki'o or kai hapuna.

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A sea that extends inland and is almost surrounded by land is a kai haloko or kai pahi lola; one that extends inland but is wide open on one side is a kai ku'a. One that is entirely surrounded by land is a loko kai, lagoon, or haloko kai, sea pond, or loko pa'akai or loko l'iu, salt pond. The sea that flows into a loko is a kai hi, and the sea that evaporates in the sun is a kai iwolu'u or kai pa'akai (a sea that stores or makes salt).

Sea water in a dish, pa, is called kai penu or kai miki, "sopping gravy." Sea water in a basin is called kai ku, kaikuehu, or kaikfa; these names apply to sea water used for enemas.6

THE WAVES

Here is something further. That which swells and rolls in "furrows" ('aui kawahawaha) just makai of the surf line (ku'a'au) is a nalu, a wave. A wave that breaks along its entire length is a kai palala, nalu palala, or laloa; if it breaks on one side, that is a nalu muku. A wave that is sunken inward when breaking (po'opo'o iloko ke po'i ana) is a nalu halpale (cavernous wave) [called "tube" by modern surfers]; one that draws up high is a nalu puka; one that does not furrow or break is an 'aio, a swell; one that sinks down just as it was about to break is a nalu 'opu'u. A wave that swirls and "eats away" [the sand] (po'ai 'onaha) is a nalu 'a'ai or 'ae'i; one that rolls in diagonally (waiho 'ao'ao mai) is a nalu kahela.

Where waves meet at one place because of some rise on the sea bottom—or a mass of coral heads perhaps—is called a pu'iao and where they break constantly at coral heads they are called nalu ko'aka.

The "furrows" (kawahawaha) of the ocean that are stirred up by the wind become waves called 'ale, billows or ni'au; a swell that blows off above (pu'o iluna) and breaks below (po'i iho) is an 'ale ni'au. A long swell, aio, that breaks and spreads in (po'i pohola mai) is an 'ale laloa; long swells that break in lines [in sets] are 'ale kuakono. A swell that twists about and breaks here and breaks there in an agitated manner (kupikishopo'i po'i ana) is an

THE ROSE

From March to a Kane10 the kapu months, the kapu is established for a month or two, but in time, some months of the year.
The little swell that "grows" (kapu) occurs close to the ama, or float, of a canoe and keeps curling is called an 'ale kuloko, a "local" swell, or 'ale hui'e, a "flowing" swell. The one that curls under the forward outrigger boom, kau 'ako maui, is called the 'ale hui'e i maui, the flowing swell in front; and the one that curls at the rear 'ako is called the 'ale hui'e ihope, the flowing swell in back. The swell that curls in front of the canoe is the 'ale po'i i ka ihu, the swell curling at the "nose"; the double curl (po'i palua) at the middle of the canoe is called the 'ale hui'e or 'ale kapo or 'ale pani, and the swell curls "outside" (mawahu) [behind] the canoe is called the 'ale 'ahu.

THE TIDES

Here again is something further. As the sea rises it is called kai holo, or kai po'i, running or rising sea [tide]. When very full (nui) [high tide], it is called kai nui or kai paha or kai ho'omau—big or full or deep sea. When it stops rising [mid tide] it is called kai ku, standing sea, or kai apo, surrounding sea, or kai holoholo, rippling sea. As the sea recedes it is called kai moku, "cut" sea, or kai emi, ebbing sea, and when the shallow sea floor is exposed (wataho kau papa ho'ohana) it is called kai mako'a "dry" sea, or kai makoe, "dead" sea; or kai 'anaka, "parched" sea [low tide]. If the sea rises high and then recedes it is a kai hui'e, "mounting" sea, and kai muniki, receding [or sucking] sea, and if the land is covered over by the sea (a i nui ia ka honua e ke kai) it is a kai a ka hulumana, or kai a hahimale'e.5

THE RECKONING OF TIME

From remote times the months of the year, the days of the months, and the kapu periods (la kapu Sabaha; literally, sacred Sabbath days) within the months have been clearly reckoned—from the time of Milipomea,7 who established the seasons of the year and the kapu periods. Later, in Wakea's time, some new kapu divisions were made, and still later the reckoning of the year was changed about.

THE SEASONS

There are two seasons in the year, Makali'i and Ho'oilo. Welehu (March–April) is the month when the sun, standing on the alau na pokaikino a Kane10 [the equator], turns [and goes] to the north until the month of Kaulua (June–July), when it stands at its northermost limit [the Tropic of

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5November 11, 1869.
"Those who had no help had a small lo'i..."


Cultivation

MAHAI’ANA—CULTIVATION

My people have been cultivators from very ancient times; it was by agriculture that they made a living for themselves, for their families, and for those dependent on them. For some it was a favorite occupation.

Ka po'e kahiko were not well supplied with proper tools; they had no iron digging implements, no cattle, no horses. Their tools were their hands and their backs—these were their cattle, horses, and carts. Their hands were their lifting implements and their shoulders their carts for hauling rocks, great logs, and all heavy things. If they wanted canoes, or posts for their houses or fences, thatching sticks, or any other kind of wood they might want for themselves or for others, their hands had to serve as axes, ko'i li'pi, adzes, ko'i holua, ko'i hahela, ko'i ho'oma, ko'i wili, and planes, ko'i kahi; their hands had to break the wood and carry it to the lowlands. Because of this lack of proper tools, they used adzes of stone, shell (pupu maku'a) and wa'ahe'e wood—and also their teeth. Fire was a man’s plow and his clearing implement. With his hands he softened the earth, weeded, raked, and spaded, with only the help of a wooden digging stick.

THE CULTIVATION OF SWEET POTATOES

The methods of planting sweet potatoes were not the same in all places, because the places were different. The place might be on the lower mountain slope, aapa'a; in open country, kula; in the forest, kuahwi; or on bottom lands, puawai; it might be pitted, or stony, or uneven.*

There were two main kinds of sweet potato cultivation in ancient times, one called the malo 'eka (“dirty malo”), and the other, ha'aheo (“aristocratic”). The ha'aheo method was used on the bottom lands. These

*November 11, 1869.
Palawai lands were not planted during the wet weather, but in dry weather during the season of Kau. When leaves were turning yellow, this is the way the planting was done on palawai lands. About a hundred or more acres intended for planting were set on fire, and after a week had gone by, the land was softened by digging, and all stubbles of grass and brush were removed. Thus it lay for a month, until the moisture in the ground rose to about half an inch from the surface. Then sweet potato slips, lau, were gathered. If they were gotten from a distance, the slips were broken off and allowed to wilt in the sun. Then the leaves were plucked off, leaving about four inches before planting. The slips were made up into bundles, from about eighty to a hundred in a bundle, and bound with cords. These were wrapped in ti or other leaves to keep them moist, and left for a week or two before planting.

The planting day was a festive day (la haʻaheo)—one on which the planters wore fine malo, snugly girded around their bodies (puʻali a kau kaʻiono), fine kihei shoulder coverings, and entwined leis of ilima on their heads. If there were ten, twenty, or more men, they were all dressed like this; and so were the women dressed festively. This is how haʻaheo planting was done. Each man carried an ʻoʻo ku, a digging stick three or four anana [meters] long, or longer, and about eight inches in circumference at the middle. It was made of kawila, oʻa, koʻaiʻe, kame, or some other suitable wood, peeled of its bark and rubbed smooth. The top was rounded to a knob (hamo kaWelau a poheheo) and the bottom (kumua) was flattened out like the bill of a duck. One side of the blade was flat, while the back was slightly swelling (kahilihi ʻohu ke kua; convex). The whole blade was about two and a half feet long, and the point was about six inches long. This was the kind of ʻoʻo used in planting bottom lands.

The planting of the slips began with the first row, which was laid out very straight with fishline or rope. The mounds for the potatoes were to be spaced three or four meters apart. It was not well to have them too close together, lest the growing vines become entangled with each other. After the line had been stretched the men stood on either side of it. The men stood along the width of the field with their backs to it and began digging. Their arms moving in unison, all thrust their ʻoʻo down in front of them. They thrust once, twice, and at the third thrust the ʻoʻo entered deep into the soil. The ʻoʻo was bent back, turning up the moist soil below; a foot was pressed on the soil that stuck to the ʻoʻo to remove it and to break it up, and then the ʻoʻo was lifted. Women followed with the slips, dropping two into each planting hole and other women placed them side by side and packed the earth down around them with their feet. A proud sight it was to see (he makaʻai haʻaheo keia) as the ʻoʻo ku rose, fell, and were bent back all in perfect unison, the men's arms rising together as though beckoning. Only a single late afternoon was required to plant a field of acres or more.

The sweet potato slips were then left alone until they had sprouted rootlets, then they were cultivated. After that, the vines were allowed to grow and spread out from the mounds until they softened until the vines had grown and were becoming entangled. A mound to prevent them from check excessive growth. The mound, and so big that in check excessive growth. The mound, and so big that in

There was one great fall of sunny winter season (hoʻoiui), and all was well. But when hard enough to lay the sur, ready to save the potatoes, wood was required for the canoe. A canoe could sail on its own, and lifted up onto the beach, and then was ready to be rebuked; this was the wood used by those who planted on the hills. ʻWauke was also used to make the canoe. ʻWauke was also used to make the canoe. Bananas were unharmed, for ʻau keia was collected in sufficient quantity to save the potatoes, 

Palawai lands were far more fertile than other lands, because he sidled along ʻau keia was collected in sufficient quantity to save the potatoes, and the mothers and children rejoiced. This was the month of ʻau keia, because he sidled along ʻau keia was collected in sufficient quantity to save the potatoes, and the mothers and children rejoiced. This was the month of ʻau keia, because he sidled along ʻau keia was collected in sufficient quantity to save the potatoes, and the mothers and children rejoiced. This was the month of ʻau keia, because he sidled along ʻau keia was collected in sufficient quantity to save the potatoes, and the mothers and children rejoiced. This was the month of ʻau keia, because he side...
grow and spread out from the planting holes, and the mounds were kept softened until the vines had lengthened out to about three or four meters and were becoming entangled. The runners were wound up high on the mounds to prevent them from becoming entangled with each other and to check excessive growth. Then tubers appeared; huge ones that filled each mound, and so big that in order to cook them thoroughly they had to be cut in pieces.

There was one great fault with such lands [and that was flooding]. In a sunny winter season (ho'oiola lola) without heavy rains, the plants flourished and all was well. But when dark rain clouds lowered and the wind blew hard enough to lay the sugar cane prostrate, then racks, haka, were made ready to save the potatoes, ten or more racks for each man's crop. Plenty of wood was required for the rack frames and rails. The land was so flooded that a canoe could sail on it. The sweet potatoes were trampled out with the feet and lifted up onto the racks. Everybody helped himself to them without being rebuked; this was "lost" food anyway (he 'ai poho 'ia). The people who planted on the hillsides ('apa'a) escaped loss, for the water did not reach there. Wauke was also destroyed by the water, but the sugar cane and bananas were unharmed, except when uprooted and carried away by the flood.

Palawai lands were famous in the old days for their rich soil. No trouble need be taken to water them; sugar cane grew there as tall as trees and wauke plants developed wood large enough for house posts and rafters. No rites of worship were observed by the planters on such lands, 'aina ha'aheo, so fertile they were. Instead, the planters indulged in surfing, fishing, and other pleasures; and when they saw their sweet potatoes bearing in abundance, they broke up their 'o'o. This was the sort of land famous for the "great sweet potato of Hinauone" that "grew as large as a house, so that four men could sit within it and light an oven." Kina'u and the governor of Hawaii saw such large sweet potatoes for themselves. The potatoes were laid as rollers under their boats, Puahulali and Wailele, they were so large. Perhaps such lands are like Egypt. When the water of the river Nile overflows the land, it becomes fertile; after the land dries again, everything grows. Then the people gather rich crops.

On other kinds of lands, the way of planting and the time of planting potatoes were different because of the great dryness of the ground. On those lands the best time to plant was during the winter rains. Those were the "lands cultivated by Kanepua'a" [made productive through ritual service to the god Kanepua'a]. On such lands, the planter was called a malo 'eka, "dirty malo," ihu 'eka, "dirty nose," or pepeiao hohonu, "smelly ears," because he sidled along the ground while tilling the soil, and because he built large bonfires so that the smoke would serve as a shade to shelter the patch from the heat of the sun. When a cloud hovered over his patch, he rejoiced. This was the method of planting on dry grasslands, kula papā'ala, and the mothers and children on such lands sometimes suffered from hunger and had to live on wild lau-lele plants.
The planters on such lands worshiped Kanepua'a (Pig-Kane), Kukeaolewa (Ku-of-the-floating-cloud), and the ancestral guardians, 'aumakua, of planters when they made their 'o'o in order to obtain their help in cultivating. The 'o'o was made of some such hard wood as mamane, 'ulei, 'a'ali'i, uhiuhi, walahe'e, o'a, kauila, or koa'i'e. When the tree from which the 'o'o was to be made was selected, the ancestral gods, akua 'aumakua, of the mountains to whom it was believed the trees belonged were invoked thus:

'E Kualanawao.
'E Kupa'aike'e,
'E Kuho'oholopali.
Ke kua nei au i ke kUlllu 0 ka la'au.

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'E Kuho'oholopali.
Ke kua nei au i ke kUlllu 0 ka la'au.

There were three times when the kula lands were cultivated: when the sun was hot (pu'e 'uala po'ola); when the sun's heat lessened (pu'e 'uala o ka la iki); and when the rains came (pu'e 'uala o ka ua kele).

There were many pu'e 'uala po'ola, mounds cultivated in the hot season, and they required much care. The planter worked constantly with his 'o'o, stirring up the soil, and weeding, and getting rid of wild growth, and when the first showers kuaua mua fell he planted his new slips, kumu lau, and sprouts, ha'awele'e, and old vines, kalina. He tended his replanted patch pahulu well, and when the first showers of Hanaia [November-December] fell, the pu'e po'ola fruited. The sprouts had sent forth runners that had been layered, and the old growth had spread from its old tubers and had been layered and they bore small tubers.

When the heavy rains (ua kele) of 'Ikuwa, Welehu [February to April] and the first of Makali'i fell, the eyes of those who had taken no thought of time were half closed from hunger, and they yearned for the last showers, kuaua hope, to fall [so they could harvest their late planting, the pu'e 'uala o ka ua kele].

This is how sweet potato patches were cultivated. Some were new fields, wela, and some were old, pahulu. The pahulu were patches that had been cultivated before, and when the old potatoes were pau, finished, the soil was worked over until it was ready.

The patches must not be untended, for the caterpillars and cutworms; they must be tended to every detail. When the first heavy rains fell, if their leaves were not kept cut they hindered the planting. This also applied to the sprouts. When the farmer saw the new slips. There were many varieites which prevented famine because of the bountiful potato supply. Among the quick-growing varieties were hualo, and ne'ene'e. Some were hardy varieties, but they did not yield enough. There were also varieties such as the kalihai, which prevented famine because of the bountiful potato supply.

After he had gathered slips, he would separate them, and tie them together to be planted. He would then crown all the 'o'o, and, sidling along, plant them. He left them along the runners. Then he prodded the runners to grow for themselves again. If it did not come as it pleased the gods' ('imi ke ola i ke akua) it was as if the 'aumakua of cultivators was not pleased.

E molia e alana ia 'oe
E Kukeaoleoa, e Kukeaopoko, E Kukeaoho'omihamihikalani:
I kela ao nui 'ele'ele i ka maka o ka 'opua la,
E ha'ule mai e ka ua naulu,
E ka ua koko kulele,
E ka ua lewalewa;
E mokupawa ai ka ua mahina'ai,
E pulu mai kela iwi a keia iwi,

Ma'i kela ka ika, a keia ka ika,
I pulu ka lepo,
I momona ko kau ka kau,
I lulu ka kau mau mea kau,
I ai 'oukou i ka 'ai a'u a me ko'u 'ohana,
I ai 'oukou i ka ma'a a'u a me ko'u 'ohana,
I a'ahu 'oukou i ka maha a'u a me ko'u 'ohana,
I a'ahu 'oukou i ka maha a'u a me ko'u 'ohana,

'Amama ua noa.
was worked over until it was fine and free from all rubbish.

The patches must not be trodden upon, lest nesting places be made for caterpillars and cutworms; and chickens must not be allowed to scratch there. When the first heavy showers fell and *popolo* and other plants sprang up, if their leaves were not torn it was a sign that no pests were likely to hinder the planting. This also applied to fields that had been set on fire.

When the farmer saw that all was well, he went to cut *lau*, sweet potato slips. There were many varieties to choose from. There were varieties which prevented famine because they bore quickly, such as the Kanepua'a variety. As soon as the vines spread out on the mounds they would begin to bear, and in four or five weeks after planting the mounds were full of potatoes. Among the quick-bearing varieties were the *huulani*, *helelei*, *huamoa*, and *ne'ene'e*. Some varieties took a long time to bear and had hard potatoes, but they did not become watery and they lasted nearly a year. Such varieties were the *kalikolehua*, *keoe*, *apo*, *kake*, *kihi*, *kawelo*, and many others.

After he had gathered slips of different varieties, the farmer bundled them separately, tied them with cord, and left them until the day they were to be planted. Then he crouched down and trenched planting holes with his '0'0, and, sidling along, placed his slips into them. This he did all around the field. He left them alone until the slips developed and began to form runners. Then he prodded the soil for a few days and then left them to themselves again. If it did not shower, then the farmer "sought life from the gods" ('imi ke ola i ke akua), appealing for rain. For recognized offspring of the 'aumakua of cultivators, rain would fall shortly. Here is such a call, *kahea*:

E molia e alana ia 'oe
E Kukeaoloa, e Kukeapo'oko,
E Kukeaho'omihaihaki'ali:
I kela ao rui 'ele'ele i ka maka o ka 'opua la,
E haule mai e ka ua nalu,
E ka ua kulokuloku,
E ka ka lewalewa;
E mokupawa ai ka ua mahima'ai,
E palu mai kela iwi a kena iwi,

Mai kela ka ika, a kela ka ika,
Pulu ka lepo,
I momona ko kakou kihapai,
I ulu ka kakou mau mea kanu,
I ai 'oukou i ka 'ai 'au a me ko'u 'ohana,
I ai 'oukou i ka ma'a 'au a me ko'u 'ohana,
I a'ahu 'oukou i ke kapa, i a'ahu 'au a me ko'u 'ohana.

'Amama ua noa.

Set apart is an offering to you
From that great black cloud hanging over the horizon,
Make fall a heavy shower.
A rain of many droplets.
A rain that moves in columns;
Break forth the cultivating rains.
Drench [the patch] from that boundary to this,
From that side to this.
To soak the soil.
To make our garden fruitful.
To make our plants grow.
So that you all may eat of my food with me and my family,
So that you all may eat of my bananas with me and my family,
And be clothed in *apa* with me and my family.

'Amama, the kapu of the prayer is freed.
Set apart is an offering to you
God,
(To) your many forms, O Lono in the heavens:
The long cloud, the short cloud, the peeping cloud, the peering cloud, the clouds that gather in the sky. From Ulunui, from Ulului, From Melemele, from Hakalau'ai. O great cloud that appears from the borders of Kahiki. Shade, O give shade to our garden,
From that side to this,
From that boundary to this,
From that corner to this;
Shade each mound, Shade each vine, Shade each slip, So that they may grow, and bear, and the mounds be full of potatoes. O great horizon cloud there in the sky. Shade our field, From upland to sea, from windward to leeward, O shade it. *Amama*, the kapu of the prayer is freed.

After rain had fallen, and the earth had been softened, the plants were mounded up, and the vines wound around the mounds, from one end of the patch to the other. Then an appeal was made to Kanepua'a that the potatoes might yield abundantly, that the mounds be filled with fruit; that the mounds bear fruit, the large stalks bear fruit, the vine stems bear fruit, the layered vines bear fruit, the creeping roots bear fruit, the planting slips bear fruit. The appeal went thus:

He mola he mohai, he makana,
He `alana ia `oe, e ke Akua;
O na kino pu'a ou, e Kane ia ka lani.

*Amama, ua noa.

Set apart is a sacrifice, a gift.
An offering to you, O god:
(To) your pig forms, O Kane in the heavens,
In space, and on earth:
O black pig, brown-striped pig, barred pig.
Shoulder-spotted pig, all-white pig, black-and-brown pig.
Spotted pig, white-jowled pig, pig with reddish hams.
Pig speckled with dots;
O black pig with white hoofs.
White, bright-eyed pig of Kahiki;

After the prayer to Kanepua'a, e mau e, e huli.
E Kanepua'a, e `e'eku, e kulapa e ho'owahi;
E mehulu i ka lepo i nenelu i 'ae'a;
E `eku i uka, e `eku i kai.

*E `eku i na'e, e `eku i la'o,
E `eku i waena e o ko kakou kihapai 'uala nei,
E Kanepua'a;
E `eku 'oe mai kela kihi a keia kihi,
E `eku 'oe mai kela ka ika a keia ka ika,
Ma'i kela iwi a keia iwi,
Ma'i kela kihi a keia kihi;
E malu `oe i ko kakou waena nei,
E malo `oe i ka pu'e,
E malo `oe i ke ka,
E malo `oe i ka lau,
I ulu, i hua, i piha ka pu'e i ka 'uala.

Since the prayer to Kanepua'a, e mau e, e huli.
He ho'oulu i ka Hale, he ho'oulu i ka Hale.

A hou 'ia 'oe i ka pohaku, A hou 'ia 'oe i ka 'o'o, A ku 'oe i ka 'o'o, A pa `oe i ka pohaku a 'eha 'oe, A mainino `oe i ko ha'i waena, E Kanepua'a e ho'i mai no 'oe a kakou waena, Haila no `oe e `eku aia, E malama i ko kaua waena, I kupu, i ulu, i hua, I ola na `ohana, i ola na malihini ki'a i ko kakou hale, E Kanepua'a, e ho'i mai no 'oe, E kolona i ko ha'i waena, E Kanepua'a, e ho'i mai no 'oe, E kanepua'

After the prayer to Kanepua'a, he ho'oulu ʻia na Kanepua'a, *Amama, ua noa.

After rain had fallen, and the earth had been softened, the plants were mounded up, and the vines wound around the mounds, from one end of the patch to the other. Then an appeal was made to Kanepua'a that the potatoes might yield abundantly, that the mounds be filled with fruit; that the mounds bear fruit, the large stalks bear fruit, the vine stems bear fruit, the layered vines bear fruit, the creeping roots bear fruit, the planting slips bear fruit. The appeal went thus:

He mola he mohai, he makana,
He ʻalana ia ʻoe, e ke Akua;
O na kino pu'a ou, e Kane ia ka lani.

*Amama, ua noa.
After the prayer to Kanepua'a had been uttered, the patch became tabu. For perhaps a month or two no one was allowed to throw stones into it, or thrust sticks into it, or to walk about it. When the patch was again visited, the soil that had been heaped into mounds was seen to have been pushed aside by the potatoes within, and the stem ends of the plants were exposed. The soil was humped up and the field furrowed (mokupawa) as though a pig had been rooting there. The taproots, the stalks, the layered vines, the creeping roots, and the slips were bearing. When the potato and other plants were exposed to the sunshine that shone down on the farmer, he was filled with happiness, and his lungs palpitated with joy. As he looked
at the banana stalks bent over with the weight of their fruit, the tall bunches of sugar cane with their ripened stalks tied together lest they become uprooted by the wind, and the wauke patch luxuriant as the kukui trees, he leaped with joy. At night as he rested he thought of his crops with happiness and desire, as a lover thinks of his beloved one, and his hands were eager to grasp his 'o'o. As he slept, his hands throbbed to till the soil. When the morning star arose, his 'o'o was heard thumping in the hollows of the stony soil, in the humped-up mounds, and around the planting holes.

The one thing left for the farmer to do was to prepare an imu kahi, the "first oven" [in celebration of the first fruits of his new field]. When the planter saw that his sweet potatoes had yielded abundantly, he fetched his kinsmen and friends and they prepared a feast. This imu kahi feast was a feast to honor all who had helped in the growing of the food ('aha'aina maka luhi ho'oulu 'ai). Some dug up sweet potatoes, some gathered wood, and some prepared several imu, ground ovens, for pigs, dogs, chickens, and fish. One small imu was made to hold a fat pig, a chicken, and a number (mau kauna) of sweet potatoes. This was the imu ho'oma'alili, the imu from which the planter ate, and from which he called to the gods. When the sweet potatoes, pigs, dogs, chickens, and fish were cooked, cut up, and placed before the gathering, the planter stood up to pray. If the planter were an ali'i, a kahuna ho'ouluulu 'ai (a kahuna who inspired food growth) recited the prayers with an offering of 'oloa tapa, but if the planter were a commoner, he himself was the kahuna pule, the priest. This was what he did; he stood up, with a pig's head in one hand and a potato in the other, and prayed to the gods thus:

E ke akua; e Kukulia,
E Kukeaoloa, e Kukeapoko,
E Kuakeolowa, e Kukeohu'omihamiaikalani,
E Kupulupulu, e Kumokuhali'i, e Kuka'ohi'alaka;
Ou mau kino, e Kama i ka lani,
E Kanepua'a,
Eia ka 'ai, eia ka 'ia,
Eia ka 'ai, e ke akua,
E Kahela, e ka wahine e moe ana iluna ke alo,
O Moe a Hanuna, O Milika'a-aka-kalepoahulu,
O Pahukini, O Pahulau, O Kulana-aka-pahu,
O 'Olekahua,
O Kapapailaka, O Kapaaepenuialei-moku e,
E ala!

E ala e ka ua, e ka la, e ka po,
'Ohu kolo mai i uka, 'ohu kolo mai i kai,
Kai kane, kai wahine, kai ulala,
Kai hehena, kai piliaiku, e.
Ua puni na moku i ke kai;
O hu'ahu'a nui ke kai
A ka 'ale iki, a ka 'ale moe.
A ka 'ale hako'iko'i i ka lana a Kahiki.
E ola, e ola i ka Mo'ii,
E ola i na'ili'i,
E ola i ka hu, i ka maka'aaimana,
E ola ia'u, i ka mahr'ai nui.
E ola i ko'u 'ohana,
E ola i ko'u 'ohua,
E ola i ka 'ai a u a ka mahr'ai nui;
'Ele'e i ola ka honua.

'Amama, ua noa; lele wale aku la.
E 'ai, e 'ai.

Sometimes famine, bitter become parched through the between the first showers of rains of Hilina (December-March-April), and the beg Sudden showers (ua nat rains accompanied by wind plants spring up, and that p some people learned ho Kanepeua'a. Most people, ho growth of food plants, and were called mahi'ai po'ola, p: not sheltered by the gods].

**THE CULTIVATION OF Taro**

Taro is a plant food tha 'aina malo'o. On lands was planted from before t' grass and the 'ama'u ferns gr to the kuahiwi. Where rain f
Awake O rain, O sun, O darkness,
O mists creeping upland, mists
creeping seaward,
O violent sea, mild sea, mad sea,
Delirious, numbing sea.
The islands are surrounded by
the sea:
The sea foams
With small billows, low-lying
billows,
Turbulent billows that float
from Kahiki.
Grant life, grant life to the king,
Grant life to the chiefs,
Grant life to the masses, to the
commoners.
Grant life to me, the mighty
farmer,
Grant life to my family,
Grant life to my household
of the mighty farmer;
From the depths grant life
to the earth.

E'ama, the kapu is freed;
the prayer has flown.

E'ama, ua noa; lele wale aku la.
E ai, e ai.

Sometimes famine, bitter famine, came over the land because it had
become parched through the excessive heat of the sun and the lack of rain
between the first showers of Ka'aona (October–November) and the heavy
rains of Hilina (December–January), 'Ikuwa (February–March), Welehu
(March–April), and the beginning of Makali'i (April–May).

Sudden showers (ua naulu) fall during the Makali'i season. These are
rains accompanied by wind gusts and where they fall, tau-lele and popolo
plants spring up, and that place comes to life with wild growth. Therefore,
some people learned how to inspire growth and how to worship
Kanepua'a. Most people, however, merely planted without praying for the
growth of food plants, and without worshiping Kanepua'a. Such people
were called mahi'ai po'ola, planters with heads exposed to the sun [that is,
not sheltered by the gods].

The Cultivation of Taro

Taro is a plant food that was raised on "wet" or "dry" lands—'aina wai
or 'aina malo'o. On lands where rain fell abundantly, dry taro, kalo malo'o,
was planted from before the door of the house to where the kukaepua'a
grass and the 'ama'u ferns grew, clear to the edges of the forest and right up
to the kuahiwi. Where rain fell less abundantly, dry taro was found under ti
plants, 'oma'u ferns, and in wooded places. There were two ways of dry plantings, one on fields, mala, and patches, kihapai, that had been burned over, or cleared of 'oma'u ferns. On some lands, the ha'aheo method of planting was used, and on others, the malo'eka method, which was similar to the way of planting sweet potatoes on very dry kula lands. In this, the planter sidled along, and his back was scratched from carrying the dried grass he used as mulch for the young taro cuttings.

When the planting was done by the ha'aheo, or "aristocratic" method, a long 'o'o two or more meters in length, was used. The land was well mulched beforehand with kukaepua'a grass if it were a burned-over field and bundles of taro tops for planting, huli, were secured. On the morning of the planting day, the planters arose early, went to the sea to fish, returned, broiled the fish, ate heartily, and then got ready to plant the cuttings. In the meantime the women strung hala keys and 'ilima flowers and made head leis for them. Arriving at the planting field, waena kihapai, with their bundles of huli and long 'o'o, the men began planting. They stood upright, holding the 'o'o in one hand and the huli in the other; each raised his 'o'o and thrust it down into the earth with his right hand, then tossed, hula'e, a cutting into the hole with his left hand. They turned this way and that as they moved backward like a school of pate'na crabs, and a fine sight it was to see as they swayed hither and thither.

The huli were just dropped into the planting holes and when the kihapai was all planted, the cuttings were left until rootlets spread and the plants began to grow. Then the planting holes were pressed closed and mulched with grass. When the planter saw a fine growth of taro from one end of the field to the other, with four or five leaves to a plant, he set the whole field on fire, regardless of the green taro leaves. When all was burned over, the taro grew up again out of the soil so luxuriantly that a man could be hidden among the leaves—providing the soil were mulched again.

The cultivation of dry taro was a very simple task in some places—a piece of work done in an evening or early morning. When the huli had been planted, the farmer returned home and went fishing, or did some other work. In other places dry planting was a burdensome task, and a wearisome one. Help was employed to cut down the undergrowth, dig the planting holes, mulch, and cover the holes. Some of the matured taro went in exchange for this help.* Fishes and pigs and other things to eat were also given in exchange for help, and ka po'e kahiko "pounded and pounded and lay down and rose up again like the 'iako booms of a canoe," a ku'i aku a ku'i aku, a moe ilalo a ahi mai me he 'iako wa'a la [worked hard and constantly].

In some planting places dry taro matured early; before a year had passed new shoots were growing sturdily and in nine or ten months the taro reached maturity. In other places, it took a year and a half sometimes two years to mature, and in still other places, dry taro did not reach maturity for three or four years. But those who planted taro in such places were unusual and their that.

There were many ki planting on mountain 'Apa'a planting was done malo tightly up around h stood in mire up to his until the sun grew war planter went home to e;

Cultivation of wet t mahi'ai kalo poho; it was in the loins, the chest, while kuawehi, "black back," pl black by the sun. This is l planter went to pull up v find and laid them in a l Then he sought as muc leaves as he needed, tie and heaped them up on brighty, he ate heartily bunched up his private bulrushes around his he water. He set the 'ilima b or less, in circumference, five lengths of morning morning glory leaves and mud with his hands wh brought up the mud wit reached down with his h; tom to doing this was w The latter stirred up the bound loosely. The kama trimly, whether he shape chose.

POND FIELDS—LOT

The making of a lo'i | work. If the planter were hundred to a thousand wo therefore large. This was large family (ohana) and 1 Those who had no help h worked day and night mi

This is how such a new water was flowed over the

*November 18, 1869.
were unusual and their families suffered. There were very few lands like that.

There were many kinds of wet taro plantings, two important ones being planting on mountain slopes, ‘apa’a, and planting in marshlands, poho. ‘Apa’a planting was done by the ha’apeo method, and the planter girded his malo tightly up around his navel and wore papahi ‘ilima leis on his head. He stood in mire up to his calves and planted cuttings from early morning until the sun grew warm. The work was finished by that time and the planter went home to eat, and after the meal turned to other work.

Cultivation of wet taro in boggy places was marshland cultivating, mahai‘ai kalo poho; it was miry work. A man sank into mud up to the thighs, the loins, the chest, while the water rose as high as the chin. This was called kuawehi, “black back,” planting because the back of the planter was burned black by the sun. This is how such lands were planted. On a certain day, the planter went to pull up whatever ‘ilima and other suitable shrubs he could find and laid them in a heap, and went on gathering until he had enough. Then he sought as much grass, trash, morning glory, and castor bean leaves as he needed, tied them together with wilted morning glory vines, and heaped them up on the banks. On a warm day, when the sun shone brightly, he ate heartily, went to the planting place, removed his malo, bunched up his private parts and tied up “the snout of the pig,” bound bulrushes around his head [to shield him from the sun], and entered the water. He set the ‘ilima bushes upright in circles of some ten meters, more or less, in circumference, bound these ‘ilima mounds securely with four or five lengths of morning glory vines, and filled each mound with trash, morning glory leaves and grasses, and then with mud. He reached for the mud with his hands where it was shallow, and where it was deep, he brought up the mud with his foot, and when it was close to the surface, reached down with his hand and transferred it to the mound. One accustomed to doing this was very skillful, but the inexperienced was awkward. The latter stirred up the mud and lost it in the water, and his mound was bound loosely. The kama‘aina, however, built up his mound neatly and trimly, whether he shaped it round or square or in whatever shape he chose.

POND FIELDS—LO‘I

The making of a lo‘i [irrigated terrace or pond field] required much work. If the planter were a chief, the work was easy, for he had from a hundred to a thousand workers to do his work for him. The chiefs’ lo‘i were therefore large. This was also true of a prominent person or one with a large family (‘ohana) and many kinfolk (makamaka); he too had a large lo‘i. Those who had no help had a small lo‘i, although an industrious man who worked day and night might have a large one.12

This is how such a new taro patch, a hakupapa‘a, was made. For a few days water was flowed over the land selected for the lo‘i, perhaps a kula land, or
some other place suitable for such a purpose. A few days later, when the soil was thoroughly soaked, “food” and “fish” were brought to the scene of labor; if pigs were brought they were baked there. When the men had gathered—perhaps to the number of several hundred—most of them were lined up at the lower bank of the patch. If the bank were forty anana\(^3\) in length, they were perhaps in two or three rows. Along the two shorter sides there might also be two or three rows.

Then the embankments, the kuauna, were raised by heaping up dirt from below. Two or three meters away from each bank they dug down for three or four feet and, leaving the dirt of the bank to make a solid foundation, they heaped up the dirt to raise the embankment, and leveled the dirt on the bank. They stamped the sides facing the lo'i with their feet to straighten them, then beat in sugar cane tops until they disappeared, then beat in coconut stems, ha niu. To make firm the foundation underneath, they pounded in large Hat rocks, covering them with damp soil and pounding that in. When the sides of the three kuauna were even and the foundation smooth, they covered them with fine soil, trash, and grass to prevent them from cracking in the sun.

After that the lo'i itself was dug out. This digging took from a month to some years to complete. Then it was treaded. On the day of treading the lo'i was filled with water, and the owner of the patch made ready plenty of “food” (poi), pork, and “fish.” It was a great day for the men, women, and children, and no chief or chiefess held himself too tabu to tread in the patch. Every man, woman, and child bedecked himself with greenery, and worked with all his might—trampling here and there, stirring the mud with his feet, dancing, rejoicing, shouting, panting, and making sport. This treading was done so that the water would not sink into the soil, and to allow the taro to grow. The taro was not planted until the next day, when the mud had settled to the bottom.

Select taro cuttings (huli wae) were planted. Among the varieties preferred by ka po'e kahiko were, the hoku, because it produced many suckers; the ipuolono; the ipuolonoa; also called piko; the pi'iali'i, also called makohi; the nohu; the 'ili'a; the lehua kukanawa; the ka-i; the 'elepaio; and many others.\(^4\) Ka po'e kahiko were familiar with the nature of their huli, and in cutting them, noted those that were weakening in vigor, and marked their bases with a cross, leaving the select tops unmarked. The planters knew that the marked huli were not to be planted in the row lest the taro decay; their strength was spent and they were worn out. But the select tops were strong, and the plants would last a long time.

After the lo'i had been planted with taro, the embankments were planted with bananas, sugar cane, and ti. Fishes such as awa, pua 'ama'ama, 'o'opu, and aholehole were liberated in the reddish-brown water of the lo'i. When the huli had grown three or four leaves—the laupa'i and the lau'a'awa leaves—the planter of the new patch gave thanks to the god. He plucked a number of these lau'a'awa leaves, made two or more bundles of them, went back home, lighted a fire, cooked them until they were well done, prepared

his “food” (poi), and gave to E kula e ikumaumaaua e ke akua;
E Kane, e Kaneikawaiola;
Eia ka la'au, ka lau'awa mau o ka 'ai a kakou;
E ho'i e 'ai ke akua;
E 'ai ho'i ko'ou'ohana,
E 'ai ka pua'a,
E 'ai ka 'ilio,
E ola ho'i a'u i ko pulapala,
I mahi'ai, i la'awala, i kukulu hale,
A kaniko'o, baumakai'ole, a palalahula,
A kau i ka puaaneane;
O kau ola ka ho'i ia.
'Amama, ua noa; lele wale aku la ho'i.

After his praying and appraising, he thought of his poi, and gave to E kule. E Kukulia, E Kukeolowalu:
He olowalu ka ulu o ka kaua kalo, e Kukeolowalu;
He ma'a ka ha o ka kaua kalo e Ku,
He 'ape ka ha o ka kaua kalo e Ku,
Lau ma'a ka lau o ka kaua kalo e Ku,
Nalowala kanaka ilalo o ka kaua kalo e Ku;
E Kukeolowalu, ku'aakua a hiki i ke o'ana o kalo, e Ku;
'Amama ua noa lele wale ho'i.

After that it was tabu for the planter and for his pigs too.

When the taro was grown, the huli pressed firmly into the lo'i, and the lo'i was raised. In the morning after the third day of the new patch and utterance of the lo'i, E ke akua. E Kukulia, E Kukeolowalu:

He olowalu ka ulu o ka kaua kalo, e Kukeolowalu;
He ma'a ka ha o ka kaua kalo e Ku,
He 'ape ka ha o ka kaua kalo e Ku,
Lau ma'a ka lau o ka kaua kalo e Ku,
Nalowala kanaka ilalo o ka kaua kalo e Ku;
E Kukeolowalu, ku'aakua a hiki i ke o'ana o kalo, e Ku;
'Amama ua noa lele wale ho'i.
After his praying and appealing to the god, the planter ate the lau'awa with his poi until satisfied, and gave some to the pigs. This was to signify that he had plenty of “food” (taro); there was enough for the mighty planter and for his pigs too.

When the taro was growing vigorously the weeds were pulled out and the huli pressed firmly into the earth from one side of the patch to the other. In the morning after this was done the planter went to the first bank of the new patch and uttered this prayer and appeal to the god:

E ke akua, E Kukulia, E Kukeo'olowalu.
He olowalu ka ulu o ka'aua kalo e Kukeo'olowalu.
He ma'a ka ha o ka'aua kalo e Ku.
He 'ape ka ha o ka'aua kalo e Ku.
Lau ma'a ka lau o ka'aua kalo e Ku.
Nalowale kanaka ilalo o ka'aua kalo la e Ku;
E Kukeo'olowalu, ku'u akua a hiki i ke o'o ama o ka'aua la e Ku;
'Amama ua mau lele wale hō'i.

O god, O Ku-[of-the-striver],
O Ku-of-joint-effort.
Make our taro grow prolifically,
O Ku-of-joint-effort;
Make our taro have stalks like banana, O Ku,
Make our taro have stems like the 'ape, O Ku,
Make our taro have leaves like the banana, O Ku.
That a man may be hidden amongst our taro, O Ku;
O Ku-of-joint-effort, my god until the taro reaches maturity, O Ku;
'Amama, the kapu is over; the prayer has gone on its way.

After that it was tabu for anyone to go into the loti or to cultivate it until the taro matured. The plants on the banks were, however, constantly cared for. It was a matter of pride to the planter to have flourishing plants on the kuauna, and a man skillful in this work was a “chief” (he ali'i ke kanaka ma'au...
PRAYERS AND RITUALS

The taro in the lo'i thrived and grew like weeds, with stalks as big as banana trunks and leaves as big as those of 'ape. When the planter saw that the growth slackened and the leaves were yellowing, he knew that the taro would soon mature. After a few months, or perhaps a year, when the planter went to the banks of the patch he would see the taro corms standing out like squat-shaped water gourds (ipiwai ha'a), and as tall as calabashes made out of hala trunks. The shoots, 'oha, white and curved like the tusks of a pig, were as lovely as the peeping thighs of a desired one as she stands doing the hula dance step. The planter gave thought to his god, and in the evening he prepared a ritual fire (ho'omaki). He got an 'oha and some lu'au, and offered them with a prayer, saying:

F ku'u akua i ke o'0 ana o ke kalo.
F Kukeolowalu,
A kakahiaka e uhuki ka 'ai a kakou,
F huihui ka 'ai, e aumakua e uahi ka 'ai;
F ho'ana ka umu o ka 'ai,
F kala ka umu o ka 'ai,
F hu'ai ka umu o ka 'ai,
F i'ili ka 'ili o ka 'ai;
F kuli ka 'ai a kakou,
F bahu ka 'ai i ka 'umeke;
F ho'owali ka 'ai a kakou
A Kukeolowalu la,
F kaka ka wahine,
F ho'a ka umu,
F o'umiki ka pu'a,
F muumu ka hulu o ka pu'a,
F kui'i ka pu'a,
F kalua ka imu o ka pu'a a kakou,
O Kukeolowalu
La mo'a ka pu'a, e 'oki'oki ka pu'a:
F 'ai kane, e 'ai ka wahine, e 'ai kamalii
I ka pu'a, i ka poi, i ke kalo a kaua—
A ka mahai'ai nui, e Kukeolowalu.
A papa iki, a papa nui:
'Eli'eli kapu, 'eli'eli noa.
The Cultivation of Bananas

Bananas and sugar cane were among the good things much planted by ka po'e kahiko. When eating “food” and “fish,” bananas helped to fill one, and also when there was no “fish.” Bananas were good to fill the body in time of hunger, in time of plenty, in time of pleasure, and when worshiping the gods. Bananas were a food much liked in the worship of the gods. They grew in wet lands, along streams, in gulches, in woods where there is a thin seepage of water and on level open lands (kula) where water could be made.
ends to form arches and small stones were tied to the four tip ends. When the sticks were crossed and fastened at each tip end to the marginal cord, the sticks arched up like rainbows. This was called the la of the net; the he of the net were the outside cords that attached the tips of the walahe'e sticks to the net corners.

Some 'upena uhu were square and spread out flat. Tied to the pu (junction) of the bases of the walahe'e sticks was the rope of the hanai (cord that held together the crossed sticks at their junction) to close the net by bringing together the crossed sticks.8

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**Fishing with Lures**

*Ka po'e kahiko* had many other ways of fishing besides net fishing. Using a cowry-shell lure to catch octopuses (*lulu he'e; lu he'e*), and a mother-of-pearl shell lure to catch *aku* fish (*pa hi aku*) were two “aristocratic” (*ha'aheo*) ways of fishing that were widely engaged in. It was not necessary for the fisherman to go into the sea or the ocean; these “fishes” were obtained from the surface.

One skilled in fishing with a cowry, *leho*, could predict beforehand, “This *leho* will get twenty *he'e*; that one will get forty; this one, twice forty,” and so forth. Very choice cowries were the *leho ahi* and the *leho kupa*, and they were desired and searched for, as a beautiful woman is sought. The *ahi* is red like the red of a firebrand. Its well-formed “double canoes” (*kona mau wā'a kaulua*) [its lips] are covered over by a mantle (literally, feet; *na wawae*) which envelops the shell to the top, *pu* [where the edges of the mantle meet]. The *kupa* is alike in beauty to a shade-ripened mountain apple; it is a deep dark color through which shows red. A *leho* has a body and mantle alike from top to lips.

A fisherman would boast, “I will go after *he'e* today—these are the days of rising tides.” Just as a woman with lustful eyes (*maka leho*) entices many men, so a beautiful *leho* arouses the desire of the *he'e*, and two or three of them at once might be pierced by the *kakala* hook, or because they clung fast to the *amana*, the wooden stem of the lure. The proper cowry to use in the morning was the *ahi*; when the day grew warmer, the *leho 'olupalaha* or the *pauhu*; and at midday the *kupa 'ohi'a pe'emalu*. The *ahi* had been smoked over a fire.9

A stone had to be used with the *cowry*—a handsome one, to enhance the loveliness of the “female,” the cowry. The handsome stone was the “husband” to the cowry, and the cowry was “married” to the stone. When the two matched in beauty, and they swayed in dance in the ocean, the *he'e* came to watch the joyful dance. Those of them who wished to “kiss” (*honi*) the cowry, leaped to embrace and kiss her because they were aroused by the dance. When the fisherman saw one hug the cowry, he braced himself and kept shaking the lure. When the octopus took hold of the cowry, the
fisherman pulled up the cord swiftly with his right hand, grabbed it with his left hand, and pulled it hard against the side of the canoe, which forced the kakala hook into the octopus. It came up so fast through the water that its head stood up straight and its tentacles trailed like the branches of a willow, wilou, tree. With the fisherman shaking the lure, it was like an 'ala'apapa hula, and many he'e came to embrace the dancer, unaware of the hook underneath. The octopus did not want the cowry or the stone to eat; papa'i and 'ohiki crabs and other small Crustacea (mea 'ano papa'i) were its food; but the fisherman enticed it with a sort of hula, and the octopus was "taken in" (ua puni). There were many kinds of stones obtainable, but the fisherman of old especially looked for certain ones—the komana, pu'uku'ua, maili, polipoli, pupukea, kalapaiki, 'iole, kaua'ula, and the '0 'io. There were many, many stones that were put to suitable uses by ka po'e kahiko, but today most of them have been forgotten.

The 'amaxa of the hook was a small wooden stem or shank about six inches in length. The back portion of the 'amaxa was shaped flat for three inches and at the very top it was notched to take a small cord. From the middle the 'amaxa was Y-shaped like the space between the fingers, and the tip end stretched out like a finger for three inches or a little more. The tip (distal) end was flattened on the upper surface and was notched underneath, and that is where the kakala "spur," was fastened. The spur was the hook, and was made of dog or human bone filed sharp. Its point, maka, faced inward toward the 'amaxa, and it was lashed on with fine cord. The stalk of a ti leaf—or perhaps the scale of a large uhū—was attached under the tip end of the 'amaxa, and the whole bound up tightly. That describes the kakala hook and the 'amaxa stem.

The stone was shaped like a large cowry; its front was flat, and its back humped, with a narrow groove from end to end. The stem was attached to its flat side. First the stick was lashed to the stone, then the cowry fitted to the stone at the place where it was attached to the stick—the stick being between the stone and the cowry. The snood, ka'a, that fastened the cowry on was shoved into the "tail" (puapua) of the cowry, and came out through a hole on the back of the cowry. A piece of human bone or of 'ekaha ku moana [black coral] or of kukui nut shell was placed at the "tail," and bound on by the snood, which then stretched to the "mouth" (waha) [front indentation] of the cowry. It was shoved through a hole there, and looped and secured. At the "tail" and at the front loop-fastening a small cord held the cowry together with the stone and the stem. All that remained was to go fishing.

When the days of good tides come, they rise up—that is, in the beginning and when they have finished rising they go down gradually, like the lowering tides of the Ku and 'Ole days. That was when the he'e would pay attention and watch the hula. Then the fisherman lowered two cowry lures. He shook one about with his foot and the other with his right hand while his left hand sculled the paddle to keep the nose of the canoe into the wind. When an octopus took hold of the lure held by the foot, he transferred the line in his hand to his fo until it was close to the canoe. He thrust the body of the fisherman would throw it down that cowry again. A cowry held by the foot an and pulled up that line. Another octopus after another. Who was red like the red of the the octopus move here and did not cease to yearn for thing that made the fishe much immersion in the sa A choice cowry was given by a mother, a wife, or of a chi and so was Hualalahu. Lon how, when they were mere rise up and fill the canoe.

'Okilo He'e

Another way to fish for fish eyes were used for fishing method could be used only if and where the water was cl The fisherman who would octopus before he could be just "lay by the fireplace" (t unskilled novice could see. conceal itself amongst the pentacle out; or it might loo urchin, or it might show o marching along in a process There are many other ways fisherman.

Kukui nut [oil] was his m hundreds of fishes, the flat blad up in the sea, until he reach There the fisherman chewed an octopus, he picked stone—perhaps from an imu a kakala hook and bound tog 'amaxa, stem. This he low burrow. When the he'e saw t
line in his hand to his foot, and pulled up the line the octopus was on until it was close to the canoe, holding it off so that it would not cling to the canoe. He thrust the body with a spear and the octopus would go limp. The fisherman would throw the octopus into the front of the canoe and let down that cowry again. By then another octopus had taken hold of the cowry held by the foot and the fisherman wound this line about his foot and pulled up that line. So it went, with the fisherman pulling up one octopus after another. When you looked at an octopus you would see that it was red like the red of the cowry, and you could see the changing colors of the octopus move here and there. These were the days of many he'e. They did not cease to yearn for the cowries, and would fill the canoe. The only thing that made the fisherman stop was concern over his cowries—too much immersion in the salt water would dim their luster.

A choice cowry was given the name of a grandparent, a father, a mother, a wife, or of a chief. Mulali was a famous cowry of ka po'e kahiko, and so was Hualalahu. Long stories are told of these famous cowries and of how, when they were merely shown alongside a canoe, the he'e would just rise up and fill the canoe.

‘OKILO HE'E

Another way to fish for octopus was by the ‘okilo he'e method. In this, the eyes were used for fishing, rather than a red cowry lure. The ‘okilo he'e method could be used only in shallow seas from six to ten fathoms in depth, and where the water was clear; it was impossible where the sea was dark. The fisherman who would use this method had to learn all the ways of the octopus before he could become skillful. He was not after the octopus that just “lay by the fireplace” (waiho ka'e kapuahi), curled up in a ball—this an unskilled novice could see. The ways of the octopus are countless. It might conceal itself amongst the pebbles, or close up its hole and thrust one long tentacle out; or it might look like the mouth or head of an eel or of a sea urchin, or it might show only its beak; it might look as though it were marching along in a procession, or as though it were a blob of excrement. There are many other ways of the octopus that were known to the ‘okilo he'e fisherman.

Kukui nut [oil] was his magnifying glass. He would scull amongst hundreds of fishes, the flat blade of his paddle stirring the springs that welled up in the sea, until he reached a clear place where he could see bottom. There the fisherman chewed and spewed out the kukui nut meat. When he saw an octopus, he picked up his stone [lure]. This was a small crude stone—perhaps from an imu—attached to a wooden stem, la'au 'amana, with a kakala hook and bound together with cord, with a few blossoms tied to the 'amana, stem.11 This he lowered to perhaps a yard away from the octopus' burrow. When the he'e saw the stone, its tentacles crept toward it, its body
came out of the burrow and drew toward the stone until it was directly upon it. The fisherman pulled on the line, and the octopus was impaled on the \textit{kakala} hook. The \textit{'okilo} fisherman kept moving along in his canoe and searching out \textit{he'e}. When the wind blew strongly this would put a stop to his searching, and he would return to shore. On a day when an \textit{'okilo} fisherman went out, he would fill his canoe with \textit{he'e}.

\textbf{O He'e—Octopus Spearing}

In the old days \textit{he'e} were a famous seafood of lands with reef flats and coral beds. There were so many that a stench would arise from these lands. They were also a tabu “fish,” although they were not made tabu exactly the same in all places. In some places the \textit{hau} branch was set up [signifying that a fishing tabu was on] in the month of Kaelo [May–June], and in other places in Kaulua [June–July]; in some places the tabu might last four, five, or six months, and in others, fewer. When the rainy, winter months (\textit{ho'oilo}) began, the \textit{he'e} were speared. Some speared them from canoes, some while diving, and some while wading.

During the months that the \textit{hau} branch was posted, it was tabu for canoes to go out fishing; tabu for women to go to the beaches; tabu to fish with nets. Only the overseers, the \textit{konohiki} and the \textit{luna}, went to look at the \textit{he'e}, which had come up to the sandy shores. When the tide was high the \textit{he'e} moved along the edge of the sea in files like schools of mullet, “marching” along as though in a procession (\textit{e ka'i a huaka'i}), each one’s tentacles forming a single arch, the opening in its head section extended like gills, and its blow-tube pumping seawater like the machines of a steamer. Its sucking in and blowing out of the water is what made it go like a real fish. When the tide was low and the overseer went to look, the reef floor would be furrowed as if rooted by pigs, with burrows scattered in every direction, and the \textit{he'e} spread out like lumps of dark earth, with heads swaying. If they saw a man they would squirt water at him—he had to run to escape; if a canoe came close, they would cling to it. (See the story of [the islet of] Kapapa at Kahalu‘u; from Kualoa to Kahuku, from the cape Kukuilau‘ania to Kahahe'e).

In the morning there would be octopus spearing, it was announced to the men and women. There would be many, many of them, some on canoes, and some afoot carrying spears an \textit{anana} or two long made of \textit{walahe'e}, \textit{ulei}, \textit{a'ali'i}, \textit{uhuhi}, or other hard wood sharpened to a point. Those who were fast ran about swiftly gathering the \textit{he'e} that were lying there spread out, and stringing them on cords. As soon as a cord was full it was laid on the dry, exposed reef floor; each person would have four or five strings of them. When an octopus was speared in its hole, it twined its tentacles around the spear and came out. The fisherman killed it by biting it on the back of the neck, or by shoving the spear through at its beak. The spearing went on until the tide came in, then the fishermen went ashore, some in canoes—from ten to forty—were gathered in one place, the to each. In this way they were dire\textit{haku}; the chiefs, and those who he hid part of his catch in the sea and got it. Innumerable \textit{he'e}—and they raised a stencil.

The \textit{he'e} were salted and dried. The number of \textit{he'e} caught during the old days. V slapped about (\textit{kanono kio'o}) and way to handle a large \textit{he'e} with a that they trailed when it was Kakena—was to leave it overnight slamming about (\textit{lomi me ka 'upa'o}) leave it to turn pinkish. After neck cut open, and the \textit{he'e} dried would not whiten from the salt, a spoiling. If it were to be eaten : mixed with it and the \textit{he'e} slam. Then the tentacles were drawn vigorously until they contracted. taut about the head and neck (\textit{ha'ukeke}) the tentacles broke off \textit{fingernails}, tore readily. Then quantity of salt was shoved into grasped and pummeled until the then placed—\textit{slime} and all—\textit{make} it turn pinkish. However, \textit{and} salt were drawn off by hand cut up in pieces in a sauce dish, a \textit{lipa'akai} seaweed to make the dish a lord” (\textit{ka po'e 'imi haku}) did in t

\textbf{Aku Fishing—Lawai'a Hi A}

Fishing for \textit{aku}—\textit{lawai'a hi}—commoners in the old days and \textit{aku} diminished during the reign Kamehameha III and has now known to \textit{ka poi kahihi} and from abundance of \textit{aku}. They filled that most of them rotted. The \textit{auk} the time of Kamehameha III fr Hawaii—from Kawaihie to the c.