

E kahu i ka mea 'ai, i ole Plant food-plants, lest your
e nana na keiki i ka hali. children star at some-
body else's fast.

Hele ka makuahine, 'alaia When the mother goes out,
keiki i kauhale. the children cry at home.

Said of a neglectful mother.

FOOD PRODUCTION AND PREPARATION.

Offshore, reef and along-shore fishing was the function of men, while the collecting of shellfish, sea urchins, crabs and the like, and seaweed was done by women and children.

In planting, men alone planted the noble taro, while women as well as men cultivated the humble sweet potato and yam. Sugar-cane and gourds were cultivated by both men and women. In hard times everyone searched the forest for wild foods but under normal circumstances this miscellaneous foraging on and beyond the fringes of cultivated land, like the foraging for small marine life, was done by the women and children: men of action and dignity would scarcely "putter about" in this way unless times were hard.

Under the old system of *kapu*, requiring not only that men and women eat separately but that their food be cooked in separate ovens, the Hawaiian kitchen economy was somewhat complicated and certainly burdensome. It is small wonder that Kaahumanu's abolition of the *kapu* in 1819 was welcomed by the masses, if for domestic reasons alone. The Ka-'u rules were like those elsewhere. David Malo wrote (Chapter XI, p. 50) :—

"The man first started an oven of food for his wife, and, when that was done, he went to the *maa* and started an oven of food for himself.

Then he would return to the house and open his wife's oven, peel the taro, pound and knead it into *poi*, knead it and put it into the calabash. This ended the food cooking for his wife.

Then he would return to the *maa*, open his own oven, peel the taro, pound and knead it into *poi*, put the mass into a (separate) calabash for himself and remove the lumps. Thus did he prepare his food ('*ai*), and thus was he ever compelled to do so long as he and his wife lived."

Though the mashing of cooked taro corms to make *poi* was normally the work of men every woman knew how to do it and would make *poi* for herself when left alone.

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Certain foods were denied to women by reason of their sex. These particular *kupu* had nothing to do with prohibitions relating to guardian spirits (*kaupua*), gods (*akua*), or particular nature spirits, either *kupua* or *'i'i*, which might have family (or individual) personal psychic relationship to a woman or women in an *'ohana* or community. These foods were strictly forbidden to any woman unless it might be a high chiefess under particular circumstances, as when the mother of Kamehameha the Great craved, demanded, and received the eye of a tiger shark when she was pregnant, before giving birth to the great warrior chief and conqueror. To womankind these foods were *kupu*, for reasons given below:—

Pork, because it was feast food for gods, chiefs and priests; and also related to the god Lono, as Kamapua'a.

Bananas, because the banana tree was a body of Kanaloa.

Coconuts, because the coconut tree was a body of Ku.

Uluu fish (*Caranx* spp.), which was offered to the god Ku in his war ritual as a substitute for a human victim.

Kumu (a red goatfish, *Pseudupeneus* spp.), which served as an offering in various rituals, such as consecration of the main post of a new sleeping house.

Ninahi (The Great White Shark, *Carcharodon carcharias*) which is the largest and finest shark, a denizen of the deep sea, reaching a length of 30 feet. This shark was the symbol of the High Chief.

Honu (sea turtle), probably a form of Kanaloa. — God of the Sea
lower god.

'Ea (sea tortoise), probably a form of Kanaloa.

Nuno (porpoise), probably a form of Kanaloa.

Palaoa (whale), a form of Kanaloa. The whale's tooth was a sacred symbol of *ali'i*.

Hahakua or *Hihimamu* (spotted sting ray, *Actobatus narinari*), probably a form of Kanaloa.

LENDING A HAND.

By taking their part in so far as age and skill permitted in the respective activities of the older men and women of their household and of the *'ohana*, boys and girls acquired knowledge and skills by natural process, rather than by artificial means as in formal education. Young *ali'i* had guardians or tutors (*kahu*). In the simpler households, it was the grandparents of the respective sexes who were the tutors of the young, the transmitters of knowledge and lore. Hence arose the intimate sense of attachment between grandparent and grandchild which is recognizable today in the use of the affectionate appellation "*tutu*" for beloved elder.

an Family System in Ka-'u Hawaii,
., Tokyo 1972

NA MANO O HAWAI'I NEI— "Sharks of Hawai'i"



by Keli'i Tau'a

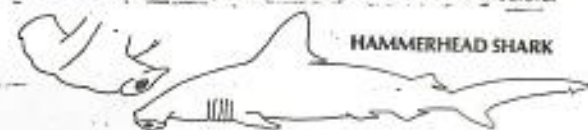


GREAT WHITE SHARK

■ The general Hawaiian name for shark is mano which figuratively means a passionate lover. Sharks in Hawai'i were classified in two different categories. The first was the mano'i'a, or ordinary shark, and the second, the mano kanaka. The mano kanaka were believed to be born of a human mother and sired by a shark god, or they were defied persons whose spirits possessed a shark or turned into a shark. The mano kanaka could take human form at will and have left numerous human progeny. The mano kanaka were fed awa (Piper methysticum) and bananas, and they were known to eat or bite people who did wrong.

I can recall vividly during my youth hearing numerous stories about the mano kanaka. The stories created within me a mystical fear of the shark which I kept for years. This prevented me from entering the ocean waters for a long period of time. I ignored the subject of sharks for a long time, then in 1970, I took a keen interest in the fish. At that time I did some research and had some encounters with the mano. I would like to cover some of the information I gathered from these experiences and some information I gathered from our knowledgeable kupuna (ancestors) who taught me to have a deeper respect for the mano, one of the many Hawaiian *aumakua* (family gods) of Hawai'i nei.

The mano i'a sharks were of five different species. The first, known as the *lalakea*, were reef sharks. They were about four to six feet long and grey with whitish fins. Periodically the *lalakea* followed fishermen about the reefs looking for the fish that the fishermen might discard. The Hawaiian observed these mano to be harmless. Since they never consumed human beings, the natives considered them edible.



HAMMERHEAD SHARK

The mano *kihikihi* was the hammerhead shark which grew to 15 feet or more. These shark were grey and they could be found in all warm seas. These shark were also edible to the Hawaiians.

→ The *niuhi*, reaching up to 30 feet, were the largest of the sharks and they were considered the most dangerous of all. During the night, these sharks could be seen from a long way off due to a greenish light that came from their eyeballs. It was said that these sharks would attack the long Hawaiian double-hulled canoes, and the only protection one could get from these fierce sharks was to flee away as fast as one could paddle. The kings, however, developed a special technique for catching these sharks; the idea developed into a dangerous Hawaiian sport. The teeth of the *niuhi* were highly prized for their cutting edges as knives. The *niuhi* were not eaten since they ate human beings.

— Samuel Kamakau, a Hawaiian historian, cites two other varieties of mano i'a—*lele wa'a* and *pahaha*—, but very little are known about them.

Fishing Methods for Sharks

The Hawaiians went shark fishing with *kupalupalu* mano (chum). The chiefs would use dead men for chum while the ordinary fishermen would simply use pigs for bait. The usual procedure when using pig was to kill the pig, cut it into chunks, and then let the flesh decompose in a container before use.

To catch a shark, the fishermen usually traveled far out to sea until the land looked level with the sea. After proper preparations, the prow of the canoe was turned into the current so the upwell of the current would be in the back of the canoe. The *koko*, or net, containing the chum with pebbles and broken kukui nut shells, was attached to the starboard side of the canoe at the starboard side of the forward boom. The net was then splashed in the sea and poked with a stick until the grease (*hinu*) ran through the pebbles and kukui shells. Soon after, the sharks would approach the canoe. When a shark was nearby, a fisherman would pat the head of the shark until it became familiar to being touched. Then the fisherman dared to rest his chin upon the head and then to slip a noose over the head. As he slipped the noose over the head, the fisherman would be sure to turn the palms of his hands away from the shark so the shark would not see the whiteness of the palms and turn and bite them. When the fisherman got the rope down to the center of the shark's body, he pressed a foot on the shark's head and tightened the noose. If close contact was frightening for a fisherman, then cross-sticks of *wauke* (mulberry) were used to seize the fish.

In other areas of the islands, the brave natives would capture the mano with their hands. One story I have heard during my youth which had been written by those who had witnessed the event said that they actually saw men who were skilled in riding sharks like a horse. The fin of the shark represented a pommel which was used as a steering device to turn the shark this way and that until the shark brought the rider to land.

Methods of Preparing the Shark

As was mentioned earlier, the *lalakea* and *kihikihi* were most commonly eaten because they did not attack or eat human beings. The other varieties were eaten but were *tabu* to some people.

They were a variety of methods used in preparing the mano for eating. In one method the skin was removed by first placing the shark over hot stones of the *imu* (Hawaiian underground oven) and then plunging it into hot water for just the right length of time. Afterwards, the flesh was cut into strips, salted, and dried. After it was well dried, the strips could be broiled or cooked in the *imu* whenever needed. In other method, the natives simply cut the flesh from the shark's backbone with the skin intact. The flesh was then cut into strips without breaking the skin. The flesh was salted and put into a trough-like container that was filled slightly to let some brine run out. The flesh was left in the brine overnight; the next day it was rinsed to remove some of the salt and dried. The meat was then prepared for broiling or cooking on the *imu*.

Other Uses of the Mano

In the early 1970's, I was developing and making different Hawaiian instruments. The *pahu* (Hawaiian drum) and the *puniu* (Hawaiian Knee drum) were instruments that I wanted to make using the shark's skin as a covering. From shopping around at different fishshops and being disappointed continuously, I decided to go home to Maui and try my luck at catching the mano myself with the help of my brother-in-law Anthony "Chono" Souza who has fished the Maui waters for many years. From Kokomo, we traveled all the way to Kaupo where Anthony had experienced many hookups with sharks. The spot that he selected was down a steep cliff. It was scary for me just to think that I had to climb down that steep cliff to catch a shark. Let me tell you, I hung on for dear life to all the rocks as I descended down to our destination. At the same time, my thoughts were simply, "what in heavens name am I doing here?!" I'm sure all of you have experienced that feeling some time in your life.

Finally after reaching our destination and being totally drained from fear and exhaustion, we settled down and prepared to shore cast for the mano. Since it was an area noted for *ulua* fishing, we hoped that we would be able to catch some *ulua* also. We knew, however, that we would have to be pretty lucky to achieve that wish since on most occasions if a shark is in the area, they would usually frighten the *ulua* away and take the bait themselves.

After midnight when the moon had surfaced, a mano of the *lalakea* type took the bait. Within a 45 minute period, we landed him. I was overjoyed that I had my prize possession. We left the shark to die and went to sleep since we didn't believe that we would get any *ulua* action for the reasons explained above.

During the time that we were sleeping, I kept hearing noises as though a baby was crying. The sound came from the direction of the shark. Since we were out in uninhabited lands, I couldn't figure out how a baby would be in the area. I covered my head with the blanket and sent to bed, too embarrassed to awaken the others to ask them about the sounds of the baby crying. In the morning when the others awoke, my nephew asked me if I had heard a baby crying in the night. Our conclusion was that it must have been the shark.

Not being too familiar with sharks, I wasn't that excited to cut it up to get the skin. The shark had a strong, foul scent, and I was happy when I finally finished the task.

Upon our return home to Kokomo, other fishermen were waiting with nets to go and surround a school of *moi* at lower Paia. So, without stopping to unload the *ulua* equipment, we packed the nets in the truck and headed for the school of *moi*. The bay that we went to was a bit dirty from the sugar can drainage but it was still clear enough to spot the school of *moi*.

When we were about to enter the water, we spotted a shark of the same *lalakea* family come swimming into the bay heading straight for us. It came within five feet to shore and turned around circling the bay. After a few minutes, it made a second run. At that moment, we decided that we would let the *moi* live for another day.

That evening, I went to visit my aunt who I enjoy talking story with about Hawai'i and our family. I happened to tell her the story about the baby crying and the other shark visiting us at the water's edge. Her response was "Oh you rascal boy, don't you know not to play with your family *aumakua* (family god)!"

To make a long story short, I returned the sharkskin back to the ocean and decided to use only calf skin for my drums. As the Hawaiians used to say, "Pau Pele, pau mano," (consumed by volcanic fire, consumed by shark). That is to say, "May I die if I don't keep my pledge..."

...Keli'i