

thirty feet. This shark was the symbol of the high chief.

*Honu* (sea turtle), probably a form of *Kanaloa*.

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

*Nuao* (porpoise), probably a form of *Kanaloa*.

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

*Hahalua* or *Hihimanu* (spouting sting ray), probably a form of *Kanaloa*.<sup>21</sup>

The *kapu* on certain foods was attributed by some to the fact that those foods caused a form of *'ea* which resulted in a build-up of mucous in the female body, especially in the reproductive and sexual organs. This in turn caused a loss of sexual pleasure, decreased fertility and increased miscarriage.

There were positive aspects to food. These included the psychic power of the words used to name a food as well as the food's body building properties. All the positive properties of food were utilized as soon as a woman knew of her pregnancy. Because they might cause a miscarriage, bitter foods such as sour sweet potatoes (*uala 'awa'awa*) and *'awa* were completely eliminated from the diet.<sup>22</sup> Foods salted by others, white fish (*aku*), mullet (*opelu*), and brown dogs were also removed from the diet as they also caused difficulties during the pregnancy.

The expectant mother was encouraged to eat as many greens as possible. These included *popolo*, *lu'au* (young taro tops), young sweet potato leaves and *'aheahea*. Mild herbs such as *ko'oko'olau* and *'akiohala* hibiscus blossoms were also added to the diet. The foods and herbs were eaten that they might build up the body of the child (*i pa'a ke kino o ke keiki i ka la'au*). After the sixth month the mother-to-be cut down on her food intake to prevent complications at the time of delivery. The amount of greens in the diet was increased and sweet potatoes took the place of the more fattening *poi*. As time passed *'o'opu* grass, *kamanomano* and *kanawao* were added to enrich the quality and supply of milk.<sup>23</sup>

As the pregnancy progressed the normally active expectant mother added special exercises to her daily routine. These included constricting and

The most common ingredient in these prescriptions was not the plant or herb but water. It might be *wai pa'akai* (salt water), *wai puna*, (spring water), or rain water that had been caught in a *kalo* leaf and was called *wai lani*, *wai pu'olo*, *wai hua*, or *wai 'apo*. It might also be dripping water (*pahi hi*) or water dripping from a precipice (*wai hi*).

The most commonly used plant in preparing medicine was *ko* (sugarcane). Before administering the medical potion the *kahuna* always tasted it to "know if it tasted good." If the mix was bitter he would add more cane juice.

Several minerals were used in the herbal prescriptions, the most common being *pa'akai* (salt) and *'alaea* (a red clay). These two were added to many compounds taken internally, as well as to enemas, purges and external counterirritants. *'Alaea*, by itself, was added to medicines and foods for all kinds of hemorrhages and menstrual disorders, as well as for the general building-up of the patient. This highly valued red clay was found on all of the islands, often in small remote pockets. *Palolo* (a whitish-gray clay) was used in some compounds, notably in medicines for vaginal disorders. This mineral was found in bogs, spring beds, ponds and other wet areas. *Ana*, a form of pumice, was also used in the compounding of medicines, especially in those used for the treatment of *'ea*.

Several marine animals were also compounded with herbs. These included marine snails, sea urchins, lobsters and the shell of the hawksbill turtle. Wood ashes might be used, especially in those prescriptions used on the patient whose life had been restored at birth by the burning of the afterbirth. Charcoal, sometimes called "black stones," or *'eleku*, was also found in some prescriptions.

Measurements for the preparation and administration of medicines were made by either the counting of individual leaves, flowers or seeds in units of four (*kauna*); by the amount that could be held between thumb and forefinger (a pinch, *apo 'oniki*); by the handful (*poho lima*); or in a cup made from the lower two-thirds of a halfway mature coconut shell split longways (called *'apu*).

Once the ingredients had been gathered, with appropriate rituals, they

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