During a stay of some months in the district of Puna, Hawaii, two years ago, I came across instances of a belief in animal helpers, half god, half human, who utter their counsel through the lips of some medium, who becomes for the moment possessed with their spirit. Such gods are called aumakua. They are bound by obedience to their devotee, who becomes their keeper, and their worship, and consequent service, extends to his family and is handed down from generation to generation. Hawaiians are very unready to discuss this belief with foreigners, or even with those of their own race who mingle with foreigners. My interpreter, a part Hawaiian woman educated in foreign schools, told me that her grandmother, although believing devoutly in the phenomena of spirit possession, would never talk with her upon the subject.

On the coast, sharks are the particular object selected for veneration. In the village where I was staying, I quickly discovered that one family of two brothers named Puhi (eel) were much feared among their neighbors for their power to transmit disease to any who fell under their displeasure. Consumption was common in the village, and its victims were supposed to have fallen under the malign spell of the Puhi, or of the one other sorcerer they feared, the native pastor of the evangelical church. On one occasion the younger Puhi made a birthday feast for his son, but upon report that he had been at pains to secure a black animal without a white hair for the underground roasting, in spite of the popularity of such entertainments, not a man, woman or child outside the family, dared appear at the feast for fear of Puhi's sorcery. The man had a wife subject to fits of insanity—a dark heavy-faced woman with some traces of beauty, and sister to two albinos, men of big frame, white skin, light reddish hair, and blue eyes. As
they quarreled with their brother-in-law, we never saw them at the coast. "They talk bad of my father," the son explained, who, handsome, bright-eyed and finely formed, nevertheless inherited his mother's mental lightness.

Under these circumstances it was no great surprise to learn that the Puhi had a supernatural helper or aumakua who appeared in the form of a particular shark inhabiting the waters off Cape Kumukahi. My informant was the native clergyman in the adjoining village of Kaneleau, named Kaiwi. Said he: "When the Puhi go fishing, the shark appears. The aumakua obeys the voice of man; name the kind of fish you want and it will bring it. The men give it some of the first catch, then it disappears, and they always come back with full nets. Only when the shark appears do they have luck (hence they recognize the god's intervention). Sometimes the aumakua tells them beforehand in a dream that it has gathered the fish together. Besides this, the Puhi family can never be drowned. If there is a storm and the boat capsizes, the shark appears and the man rides in on its back."

In answer to questions we drew from Kaiwi that this aumakua was a particular shark, light with yellow spots, called Ke-au. It originated when certain ancestors of Puhi had an abortive child. They buried it in the ground, but the aumakua came in a dream and told them this was not right, so they threw it into the sea and it became this shark. "How can one tell that a shark is an aumakua?" we asked. Kaiwi said: "You can tell because when the mother goes in to bathe, the shark will come and jump at the breast, as if to suckle; thus she knows it is her child, for it does this to no one else." As Kaiwi talked we heard his wife muttering in the back part of the house and presently she called him peremptorily from such dangerous gossip.

We asked the native clergyman of Puhi's own village, a man of higher intelligence than Kaiwi, to explain to us more fully the idea of the aumakua. "How does the god come to have the shape of a shark?" we asked. "The aumakua has no form," he said, "It comes in the shape of a wish into the mother. When she is in trouble she prays and the object comes before her. After the one dearly loved passes away, he is worshiped; the dead one's spirit is fed with awa (the intoxicating drink of the Hawaiian). Or if a child comes before its time, unformed, lifeless, such a child is thrown away. The spirit comes back. The mother is then unlike herself—the face is the same but the thought is changed. She says: 'Have you any awa? Have you any food?' when such may be before her in the house. The friends will say 'Who are you?' The mother says, 'I am so-and-so'; then the people flock about her and ask the aumakua to help them.'"

The idea is a simple one. The presence of a spirit is indicated by a divine possession in which the person possesses speaks not as he is accustomed but in the character and with the word of the spirit whose medium he is. His utterances are not his own but are the means by which, together with dream and vision, the spirit of the aumakua counsels his protege. In order that the aumakua may be strong enough to act as helper, he must receive offerings of prayer, and of sacrifice in the shape of food and drink called "feeding the spirit." For example, a woman living near Kealakekua was seen each night to carry a pail from her house to the cliff and empty it over into the sea. It was found that the pail contained awa drink which was being fed to the household aumakua.

May any creature, plant, or object, then, become an aumakua? Logically, yes; but practically there are only certain ones which are regarded as possible god bodies. Mr. J. S. Emerson enumerates 1 Miss Laura Green furnishes me with some notes as to this belief in spirit possession. When the aumakua comes into a home where illness or other trouble is present, it enters the body of some member of the family—by the head if a friendly, by the feet if an evil spirit. The person falls asleep, the aumakua taking the place of the spirit thus ejected. Such a medium is called a haka, and the seance a noho (sitting). If a friendly spirit, it offers advice as to how to escape the illness or other troubles—what prayers to offer, fish to catch, herbs to gather. To test the aumakua, a member of the family throws a wreath of some special plant (let or leimakau) about the neck of the haka. If it is a friendly spirit, it will take it, if an evil spirit, he will spit, glare, tear his clothing, or even plunge naked into the bushes. Such insularity is relieved by a drink made from a coarse kind of grass. To keep out these evil spirits, house and yard are sprinkled with water to which salt and a bit of root similar to the ginger are added. This ceremony is also used in case of death.

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these in his paper called "Lesser Hawaiian Gods" published among the papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society. The shark, cowry shell, limpet, squid, and eel are famous sea aumakua. The mudhen, plover, chicken, wild-goose, frigate-bird, besides song birds, are important aumakua. The spider among insects (not mentioned by Emerson) and the lizard among reptiles are worshiped, and of quadrupeds the pig, dog, and rat.

Rocks, too, are often set up as aumakua and worshiped as transformed deities. Certain trees, sweet-scented flowers and phenomena of nature and the elements, the volcano, for example, are powerful aumakua. In fact, the aumakua worship corresponds well with Polynesian utterances about the creation of the world in which earth, rocks, plants, and animals are imputed to sex birth and their race and lineage recorded. The singling out of special classes of objects perhaps signifies merely that to such names the aumakua of famous families of the past got attached and hence their descendants worship these inherited forms.

Are the aumakua friendly or evil spirits? Cases differ. Some, says Emerson, such as the shark and limpet, which calm the waves or provide food for their patron, are beneficent; some like the dreaded worm (enuhe) and the lizard (moo) are much to be feared. The dog is beneficent, but a great thief. The pig is a mischief-maker, symbol of lechery and filth. The rat is, like the owl, beneficent, from the classic tale of the rat-god who, when Makalii (Little Eyes—the Pleiades) tied up all the food of mankind in a net and hung it in the heavens, gawed the ropes and let it tumble back again to earth. Emerson and Fornander both point out the difference between Hawaiian and Tahitian feeling in this respect, the Tahitian oromatua being regarded as malevolent beings carefully to be propitiated. In general, the aumakua protects its own family, however inimical it may be to strangers.

Are the aumakua class or individual gods? In some cases, individuals are worshiped, in others all the species of a class. Emerson says:

In the case of the puaeo (owl) all birds of that species were equally considered as representative of the aumakua, known as "Puaeo nei o kona" (the great owl of Kona district, looked upon by a great portion of Kona people as their family god). They were not worshiped as individual owls, and when one died, the life of the aumakua was not affected.

On the other hand, each several locality along the coast of the islands had its special patron shark whose name, history, place of abode, and appearance were well known to all frequenters of that coast. Each of these sharks, too, had its Kahu (keeper), who was responsible for its care and worship. The office of Kahu was hereditary in a particular family and was handed down from parent to child for many generations, or until the family became extinct.

It is to these inherited shark aumakua that Puhi's helper belongs. Mr. Emerson has listed a number of similar shark aumakua identified along the coasts of various islands, the manuscript notes of which he kindly allows me to print here. For the Puna group my informants corroborated, in cases where the name was familiar to them, the story set down some thirty years ago by Mr. Emerson. At the name of Kupanihi, for example, a wooden-legged man of the party, named Moses Kuaana, spoke up. "That is my shark," he said. "He puts a person under his arm; he is like a father to me." Moses told me that his shark was rainbow-colored, that it was man before and became shark, and that it acted as protector to his family. Another bystander recalled the story of the abortive child of Aia of Palama (Emerson's Ahia) which was thrown into the sea. Its spirit came to the grandmother and told her it was living and wanted awa to drink, warning her to attend to its message lest one of the family die. This proves that the data not only

1 Miss Green says, however, that Pele, like the gods and goddesses, is not thought of in the aumakua class. Even the pig-god is a superior kind of aumakua because of his high lineage.

2 Polynesian Race, vol. 1, page 137.


4 But one informant tells me that the owl is classed as a god, not as an aumakua. According to old Hawaiian ceremonial, the opelu and ahi fish, excellent for eating, were held tabs each for six months at a time. On January 13 was performed a religious ceremony accompanied by human sacrifice, at which the ahi season closed and the opelu began. This commemorated the voyage of the priest Paoa from Tahiti with chief Pili, when schools of ahi and opelu accompanied the canoe all the way to still the waves. See Malo, Hawaiian Antiquities, pages 25, 109.
become a shark the moment he leaps into the sea. This tale, four variants of which Emerson has collected on Hawaii, resembles the stories of robbers or man-eaters that waylay unsuspecting travelers who pass by on the highway at some narrow passage. Two such spots I have seen, one an upland pass on Oahu between two gorges where Aikanaka lay in wait for his cannibal feasts, the other in Puna, where a high cliff presses upon the shore road. Here the natives still point out the mass of stones hurled in the final struggle with the dreaded highwayman Alohi.

In Emerson's first version, the shark-man (unnamed) lived in Kawaiuku at Kaalualu, Kau district. He had the form of a man with a mouth on his back. He was a great farmer and when people went to Kawaiuku, he resumed his shark form and devoured them. To destroy him the chief ordered all his men to assemble on a given day and cultivate the ground. A makaulu (prophet) discovered this shark-man among them by his concealing his back with a pau (strip of bark cloth). By the prophet's orders, the monster was seized before he could reach the sea and resume his shark form. They killed him and burned him up.

Portions of this shark, says Emerson, were cooked in the ovens (now open) of Kohapuuali, Papalahiau, Palahuna, Mahoiki, Kahiu. The oven Puuolokuana, however, remains unopened, for Kane and Kanaloa and the other gods were cooking the shark there when the day dawned, at which time gods cease their activities on earth.

The second version comes from Waipio valley.

Nenewe lived beside the large basin at the bottom of the water-fall on the west side of Waipio valley. As he cultivated his little sweet potato patch he was in the habit of watching the passers-by, and sometimes called out to them "Where are you going?" Perhaps the answer would come "We are going to bathe in the sea at Muli-wai" in which case he might answer, "Then look out that the shark there does not eat you." He would then rapidly get over the intervening space of about two miles, and, as a shark, await their coming at the seaside. In due time he would seize and devour one of their number. When this had happened several times, people began to suspect the fellow at the potato patch of being in some way connected with the shark of Muli-wai. They accordingly seized him one day at his home, and discovered the shark's mouth under the kihei (cape) which he always wore on land.

\[1\] See Thrum's Hawaiian Folk Tales, page 255.

\[2\] Compare Ibid., page 139.
In a third version corresponding with the above in almost every particular, the shark is named Niho-kahi (single tooth) and lives at Lai, on the north coast of Oahu. A fourth occurs under the name Ka-ai-poo (the head-eater). He lives at Keapahu, Puna, and carries the mark of the shark's mouth on his back.

Hawaiians often think of their aumakua as going to war among themselves. A second famous shark myth detailed by Emerson is that of the great shark war, in the course of which the man-eating sharks were driven from the group. To this event belong the most ancient and formidable gods described in the notes. Some details of the war point to a symbolic rendering of a real struggle between chiefs, but whether of a literal struggle to weed out cannibalism from the group is doubtful. There is no evidence that cannibalism was ever practised in Hawaii, nor, says Fornander, in the Society Islands. Among the Tongans the practice is said to be exceptional. But in the Fiji and the Marquesas, in New Zealand, to some extent in Samoa, the custom prevailed. The cannibal rite must therefore at various periods in the settling of the group have forced a decision. It is, however, more in accordance with Hawaiian symbolic analogy to employ the figure of the man-eater to represent a great war chief, who "eats" the land or his rivals in war, than in the more obvious analogy of the cannibal rite.

The story itself includes so many inconsistencies that it is hardly worth while in this paper to enter into its detail. I will merely enumerate the sharks named by Emerson, and indicate their place in the legend.

Kahuna-pahu (w) and her brother (or son) Kahu’aha, live in the Ewa lagoon off Oahu. She is in one version the friendly deity of the Ewa natives, who her-1

Collected April 10, 1907, from J. A. Kahiona, a mormon of Laia. 2

Compare the story of the great owl war, Thrum’s Hawaiian Folk Tales, page 200.

At one place in the story the hero shark and his companions meet a man-eater.

"They engaged him in conversation, when it appeared that he ate human flesh. They told him it was wrong, to which he replied that it was nice and that they must defeat him before he would stop doing so." In another passage "the spirit of the man-eater revived again, and as a tongue, now restored and alive, made its way to the coasts of Maui and Hawaii, pleading with the sharks of those regions for vengeance."

Kuhinamoana (w) is the greatest of all sharks. She lives at Kaua and is thirty fathoms long. Subdued by the Kau shark-god, she joins his party, but being mistrusted, is led into shoal water where she is stranded, and decides to return home.

Kuhinpio (k) is her son, seven fathoms long, who lives at Kaumoku, Haena. He is slain by the Kau shark-god. According to Emerson’s notes “He came from Kaua to live at Kaumoku. On his way he fell in with Mahaukinoa (k) of Ko'olau, Oahu, who became his aikane, and went with him to Homahau. There their spirits rested and directed the people of Pa'auhau to plant tame, which their keeper brought to feed them.”

Kuahihau (k) is the hero of the great shark war. He is born at Ninole, Kau, on Hawaii. He acts as the friend of man, his great work being to travel about the islands and slay all those sharks who feed on human flesh. Four companions accompany him.

Kalani (k) is "born on the coast of Waikinua (Kau district) from the eye of his mother. His blood has been seen on the forehead of some who worshiped him. He guarded all the people of Kau from the other sharks who might harm them. He went to the great shark war at Ewa, Oahu, with his kinsman and friend Kaholeakane. They were swallowed up by Kuhinamoana in this war. The little Kalani went first into the mouth of the monster, followed by his larger friend, whose size forced the monster to disgorge him. As he came out, the nimble Kalani darted out too. Then they swam into shoal water and thus led Kuhinmoana to her fate. She got stranded on a shoal and was kept from the battle. Kalani went too near the shore and had a portion of flesh cut from his back by the people of Ewa, who ate it." In another version, two pieces of his flesh form the spouting horn at Kola. The natives say "If a man in a canoe wears anything red, Kalani will pursue the canoe and upset it."

Kaholakone (k) is companion to Kalani in the great shark war, Kua (k) a Kau shark who joins Kalani in the shark war, Kane (k) companion to Kalani. Ka-ali-ke-ho-moana (the chief sailing over the ocean) (k) lives off Kekaha, Kauai, in the district to Ka-ali-o-wili-wai in Punau-nui.

"He began life a human child living on land, was a kaikoa-ali (low chief) under Iwakakaoloa, the blind chief of Puna. He was an expert fisherman, frequenting the sea in a canoe. At death, wrapped in Kapa-ahu-na’i, he was cast into the sea at Kealakeko and became a shark-god of the class called akua-ako who were supposed to 'dwell with or be over men as guardians.' He showed his friendship to men by warning them of the approach of hostile sharks by exhibiting himself above the level of the sea. He went with the other sharks to the great shark war at Oahu."

1 Collected March, 1883, from Kaumamu, and dictated by Mr. Emerson to H. E. M. Alexander.

2 Collected April 10, 1907, from J. A. Kahiona, a mormon of Laia.
Maloa, a shark that lived with Keō-kōlu-loa and went with him to war. Keō-kōlu-loa, the shutting out of the sun (k), is so named "because his enormous bulk would obscurce the sun should he come to land. He is the largest of the sharks. His usual haunts extended from the point Ke-ū-a-lamau in Kapoho, Puna, to Kamahākī point in Kona. He was friendly to the natives and "great things were expected of him when he led the Hawaiian sharks to war, but off Diamond Head he got stranded in shallow water and could proceed no further."

Besides these mythical and fabulous beings who are famous in the great shark war, Emerson lists a number of well-known shark-gods worshiped at various points about the group:

1. Hikwe-koleo, (k) of Puna, Hawaii, son of the Kau shark, Keō-kōlu-loa, and of Ahī, a woman of Kala'ōna. At birth he was covered with red tappa, the kind called puohubohu, and became a red shark. He had two forms, that of a shark at sea, that of a man on land.
2. Kane-i-kapakū, (k) of Puna, Hawaii.
5. Holoa, a shark of Mahana, Kau, who comes in his spirit form and teaches his ike the medicine to use to cure diseases.
6. Homaka, of Kaliuli, Kau.
7. Mākaelo, of Pokini, Mālādē cliff, Kau.
8. Pele.
9. Ukaunipo (the sun that sounds at night), two great sharks of Kaimauno in Kona, twin brothers. They lived at Kamanui and were regularly fed with sun. When the king wished to see them the keeper hung two bowls of ama from a forked stick, and each shark drank from his own bowl and went away.
10. Ohiakā, a stone image of a shark at Kapohii, in Puna, Kona, near the coast. It is about eight feet long and very heavy, and was the great god of Kamahameha I. It is situated a quarter of a mile south of the temple of Mo'okihi.
11. Hikoaneawenua, a shark who lives in a cave called Ke-ana-i-hikoaneawenua off Kohalaana pali, Kohala.

Collected March, 1888.
Collected December, 1892.
Collected April 2, 1886.
Collected March, 1888.
Collected March 16, 1907, from W. P. Kaneshii.

In 1888. Such images occur at many a good fishing ground along the coast, the shark being preeminently the fisherman's god. In a brackish pool on the coast below Hilo, Hawaii, I was shown such a rock. It lay on its side in water up to the waist, somewhat resembling a fish in shape, and was one of a pair once highly prized as gods who brought the fish; but a recent earthquake had destroyed the natural sluiceway up which the fish were wont to be driven, and the god's mate had since been sold for a couple of dollars to an enterprising collector.

Collected in 1885.

12. Hiiu, (k) (tail of a fish), listed among both Kohala and Maui sharks.
14. Lukahele, (w) (old woman) of Kohala.
15. Mahihine, (w) (stranger) of Kohala.
16. Mee-kikō, (w) of Kohala.
17. Na-kiaha, (the drinking cups) of Kohala.
18. Kauaūpōkau, (k) a shark born of human parents and living along the coast of Kohala. Emerson has seen it, and talked with the son of its late keeper. He quotes the prayer addressed to it.
19. Kealii-kaha, (k), living at Kawaihae, Hawaii. Kealii told me his story as follows: A couple lived at Puako, in Kawaihae. People from Maui used to bring food to Puako because the taro plant did not grow there. The shark would go out, capsize the boat, swallow the food and make off to his cave, where he would deposit it. Then he would go in a dream to his proteges and tell them where to find it. Emerson quotes the prayer by which the couple invoked him to capsize the boats when they needed food.
20. Mānaloa, (k) of Kohala, born of human parents, Kohaku and Kainui, now dead. In time of famine he sends a great turtle to "the lands of Niulii, Waiapuka, and Auau." The invocation is as follows: "O Mānaloa, listen to Nioletki, Nioletki of Kohali, the ancient one. Hear this cry. The children suffer with hunger. Behold the food; bring the turtle."
21. Puka, (k) (swollen), listed for Hamakua, Hawaii, and said to have eaten some natives there, also listed second among the great sharks of Maui.
27. Koi-pule-pule, (k) (swollen), listed among both Kohala and Maui sharks. People from Kohala used to bring food to Puako because the taro plant did not grow there. The shark would go out, capsize the boat, swallow the food and make off to his cave, where he would deposit it. Then he would go in a dream to his proteges and tell them where to find it. Emerson quotes the prayer by which the couple invoked him to capsize the boats when they needed food.
28. Kauelak, (k) of Kohala, born of human parents, Kohaku and Kainui, now dead. In time of famine he sends a great turtle to "the lands of Niulii, Waiapuka, and Auau." The invocation is as follows: "O Manaloa, listen to Nioletki, Nioletki of Kohali, the ancient one. Hear this cry. The children suffer with hunger. Behold the food; bring the turtle."
29. Pele, (k), living at Kawaihae, Hawaii, and said to have eaten some natives there, also listed second among the great sharks of Maui.
30-31. Mahiki, (k), Kawaike, Kawaiki, Kai (k), Ukaui, (k) sharks of Hamakua, Hawaii.
32. Koa-kaua-i-kaua, (k) (tail of a fish), listed among both Kohala and Maui sharks. People from Kohala used to bring food to Puako because the taro plant did not grow there. The shark would go out, capsize the boat, swallow the food and make off to his cave, where he would deposit it. Then he would go in a dream to his proteges and tell them where to find it. Emerson quotes the prayer by which the couple invoked him to capsize the boats when they needed food.
33. Moa-ualaka, (k) of Maui, also ascribed to North Kona, Hawaii.
34. Kane-i-kalī, (k) of Mahiki, Maui.

Collected December, 1892, and March, 1907 from Kawai, church elder and expert fisherman at Kohala, Kohala.
Collected April 10, 1907.
Collected December 15, 1907, from Kawai, Kohala.
Collected in 1885.
Collected April 20, 1886.
Collected March 25, 1886.
Collected April 2, 1907.
The idea of the aumakua in the Hawaiian theogony seems to be that of enforced helpfulness within a kinship group as a means to insure superhuman cooperation in individual human affairs; individual, because the akua is a national god, to be invoked in time of war or national calamity. The aumakua interests himself in providing food for the particular family to whose protection he is devoted, in curing disease, or avenging an enemy. For all such personal services, says Miss Green’s informant, the sufferer fears to invoke a national god, lest he be angry; he therefore calls upon his lesser gods. We find the aumakua, therefore, closely concerned with affairs of sorcery, and his keeper looked up as a magician of malignant power. Malo scoffs at the claims of the aumakua keepers, whom he accuses of duping the people by pretending to speak as if inspired by the god.

Nor is the aumakua, like the unihipili, subject to a particular keeper only. Emerson makes the ancestral, family character of the aumakua his distinguishing feature from the unihipili. He serves the whole family, and when one keeper dies, another takes his place.

For although worshiped like a god, the aumakua is nevertheless ranked as kaumana, or of the servant class, because bound to obey those whom he serves. He may be compared with the Arabian genii whose supernatural assistance is forced through the possession of some special talisman. In the case of the Hawaiian aumakua, that talisman seems to be the social fact of kinship, the act of invocation perhaps serving as a charm to enforce service. This same enforced obedience characterizes the relation between the unihipili and his keeper. “The dead are honored by being laid away in caves,” says Miss Green’s informant. “By being placed above ground they are humbled in their own eyes, as well as in the eyes of those who see their pu-o-lo (package form). Hence their implicit obedience to the will of the priests. They are truly kaumana, of the lowest class.”

Malo, in a curious chapter, which Emerson tells us has undergone mutilation, applies the strict laws of descent to the kaumana class. He says:

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1. Recited by Mahelona of Puukale, Maui.
2. Collected in 1888.
3. Collected March 16, 1907, of Barenaba.
4. For this classification, I am indebted to Miss Laura Green, social worker among the Hawaiians of Honolulu, whose informant was an intelligent Hawaiian woman well versed in native custom. See also Malo, Hawaiian Antiquities, pages 142, 155-158, and Emerson in Hawaiian Historical Papers, no. 2.
Those who were kauwa to their chiefs and kings in old times continued to be kauwa, and their descendants after them to the latest generation; also the descendants of the kings and chiefs, their masters, retained to the latest generation their position of masters. It was for this reason they were called aumakua, the meaning of which is ancient servant—kauwa kohiki. They were also called aku, i.e., superhuman or god-like, from some superstitious notion regarding their power.

Now according to Polynesian habits of analogy, we should look for the prototype of such a supernatural relationship as that involved between an aumakua and its keeper in the social organization itself. Malo himself, if we interpret his words correctly, asserts a close relation between the kauwa and the aumakua. It is possible to assume that Wakea's kauwa may have been an aumakua, and Papa's liaison was with that supernatural demi-god whose keeper and master Wakea was. Such relations with a kauwa were in Malo's day, as they still are, considered highly disgraceful and for this reason chiefs of pure blood were closely guarded to escape such a connection. According to Malo, members of the class bore distinct tattoo marks—a dot or V-shape over the eyes, or curved lines on either side of the temples—which recalls Mr. J. S. Emerson's note on the shark god Kolani: "His blood has been seen on the forehead of some who worshiped him." These things point to a direct relation between kauwa and aumakua.

The whole matter, however, remains still obscure. Light may be thrown upon it by comparing the Hawaiian kauwa with the Fijian tauvu relation described by Mr. Basil Thomson in The Fijians. Thomson explains the meaning of the word as "sprung from the same root" or "of common origin." He finds the tauvu relation existing between tribes "who may live in different islands, speak different dialects and have, in short, nothing in common but their god." He says:

A tribe never forgets the tribe with which it is kauwa. Members of this tribe may run riot in its village, slaughter its animals and ravage its plantations, while

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1 The kauwa class Malo derives from the kauwa of Wakea (ancestor of the Hawaiian race) whom his wife Papa took for her husband after Wakea's death. This seems to have occurred elsewhere than in Hawaii, for not until the fifth generation from Papa and her kauwa husband does Malo trace the "actual and real kauwa of Hawaii." Malo, Hawaiian Antiquities, pages 96-101.