

THE MIGRATIONS of a PANDANUS PEOPLE
as traced from a preliminary study of
FOOD, FOOD TRADITIONS, and FOOD-RITUALS
in the GILBERT ISLANDS.

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PART I. FACTS CONCERNING FOOD.

Introductory.

Part I of this work is a record of those Gilbertese practices relating to food which either are still extant, or else have been customary until quite recent times. The working axiom accepted from the outset is that the mere externals of material culture are almost valueless for evidential purposes when divorced from their historical, religious and social setting. It is therefore without apology that, in the discussion of such objects as cooking ovens, the traditions concerning their origin and the rituals associated with their use are reviewed; that, in dealing with concrete food-avoidances, a condensed account of Gilbertese totemism and totem-groups is given; and that notes on many other aspects of native life, however remotely connected with the subject of food, are appended to the text.

The general effort, however, has been to keep the account of material facts as distinct as possible from the record of traditional, religious and sociological data. Part I being allocated, roughly speaking, to the things and practices of open life, Part II is reserved for the analysis of certain traditions

concerning foodstuffs not now in use, but believed to have been common, in other times and lands, among the Gilbertese ancestors; while Part III is devoted to a review of the myths and socio-religious observances associated with growing food-plants.

A single tree — the pandanus — will be seen to stand out with increasing salience as the evidence proceeds, and an enquiry into its meaning to the race will occupy the remaining Parts of this work. The quest will involve the cutting of a section through all that is most vital in Gilbertese myth, religion and social structure; it will carry us far beyond the confines of Micronesia, and lead to the discussion of matters anything but gashonomic; its ultimate goal will be the identification of a culture stream that once passed, by way of the Gilbert Islands, into Polynesia; yet its chief theme will remain throughout that of a food-plant and, far from being irrelevant, many of the facts concerning food recorded in Parts I and II will be found highly pertinent to the final issue.

It is convenient to prelude the general subject with a rapid survey of the daily work of a Gilbertese woman: a useful insight into the common round of domestic

life will thereby be obtained, and the ground will be cleared of a good many minor points concerning food. My information was collected in the Northern Gilberts, but may be taken as fairly descriptive of custom throughout the Group, including Baanaba (Ocean Island).

§1. The daily work of a woman.

The woman awakes and gets up, with the whole household, at the hour just before dawn called te itingaaro: one who sleeps into the daylight becomes the butt of derisive comment and, if unmarried, risks her chance of securing a husband. After a drink of kamaimai (boiled coconut sap - a food which will be described later) she begins work. The cool hours "before the sun is over the tops of the coconut palms" are dedicated to her heavier tasks, which roughly divide themselves into (a) those connected with the dwelling, and (b) those concerned with agriculture.

In connection with the dwelling, the first duty is to examine the household's water supply and replenish it, if necessary, at the nearest seepage well (maniba). For the purpose of drawing water, a cluster of coconut shells (ibu) is slung over the shoulder at the end (or both ends) of a convenient pole. [Footnote. ^{See} This method of carrying is called te amoamo, and is used indiscriminately for all types of burden. The ends of a carrying pole are often seen resting on the shoulders of bearers of mixed sexes, the burden being slung from the middle).] The dawn-hour is also the moment for collecting certain raw materials for home manufacture, including pandanus leaf (rau) for plaited articles, coconut fibre (benu) for string-making, and dry coconut leaves (rin) for fishing torches. [Footnote. See Plates 2 and 3.] The incentive held out to young girls to proceed early to such tasks is that the leaves - especially the prickly leaves of the pandanus - are marau, or soft, before the sun rises.

In connection with agriculture, a woman's early morning business is centred upon the preparation of black soil for the

enrichment of the pits wherein the household's babai (alocasia indica) is cultivated. Her duty is to collect humus from beneath the ren and uri trees (tournefortia argentea and guettarda speciosa), for both her husband's pits and her own [(Footnote. A woman inherits land or interests in land, and disposes thereof, quite independently of her husband in the Gilbert Islands)]. She carries the humus to the side of the pit, and sifts it into a heap through a string sieve called te kamareirei; there it remains for the man of the house to dig in. The woman also gathers old babai leaves and stalks, to twist them into ropes with pandanus leaves, so that they may be laid by the man around the growing babai-roots, forming paniers to contain the richer soil. A third important labour is the collection of the petals of the kaura flower (wedelia strigulosa), which, after drying in the sun for two or three days, she mixes with the sifted humus at the side of the pit.

When the sun shows signs of rising "over the tops of the coconut palms", the woman returns home, for the hour of the early meal is near, and it is her duty to prepare the food and set it before the men of her household.

The distribution of her tasks over the remaining daylight hours is almost entirely dependant upon the state of the tides. She is required to take advantage of low water by hunting in crevices of the reef for the smaller kinds of octopus (kiika); by fossicking in the lagoon shoals for the various sorts of cockle (koikoi, katura, nakoa-rikiriki), or other molluscs; and by fishing in the shallows with a dip-net (riena-n-urakaraka), or off the edge of the reef with rod and line. As her fishing duties depend upon the hour of the tide, it follows that she may have to perform them by night, in which case she is accompanied by a companion of her own sex authorised by custom.

[Footnote. If she be married, her Kāinaba, husband's sister (On Baanaba Kāinuma) is her natural guardian. The husband's mother, uterine or classificatory, comes next in order. If she be unmarried, an elder sister or any senior female relative, with preference for the father's sister, is her companion.]

When a husband accompanies his wife at night, the man handles the dip-net, while the woman bears the torches, fish-basket, and other gear. Women often go with their menfolk on deep-sea fishing excursions after dark - especially at the season when the moon sets at about midnight, this being the time when flying-fish are plentiful. The method of fishing is that called te tatae - the man standing slightly forward of the waist of the canoe, a raised torch in his left hand, and in his right a long-loomed dip-net held at the point of balance, wherein the fish is caught as it rises to the light. The woman's share of work on such occasions is to light and hand up fresh torches at need, and to paddle the canoe as ordered.

If a woman accompany one of her menfolk for purposes of cultivation or food-collection, her function is to hand him whatever implement or material he may need for his business at the place of labour. She does not carry his tools to or from work; she does not dig when a man is present; and she is at all times prohibited from climbing [(Footnote. The prohibition seems to be founded on reasons of modesty alone; its tendency of latter years is to disappear. Several modern Gilbertese women known to the writer have won ^{public} ~~admiration~~ and respect by becoming experts in toddy-cutting, an occupation which necessitates much climbing)]. In the collection of nuts, pandanus-fruit or babai - the principal vegetable foods of the race - it is ^{generally} the man who wins the produce, and the woman who carries it home, walking behind him; but a very heavy burden may be carried between the two of them, and, as far as the winning is concerned, a girl or wife may, with the proper implements, pull down branches and knock off the fruit of coconut or pandanus palms. [(Footnote. The implement for pulling down branches, called te kai-ni-kareke (the stick-to-catch in a crook), consists of a fifteen-foot pole, at the distal end of which is lashed a small, barb-like crosspiece.

(Footnote continued)

The tool for knocking down fruit, called te butika, is often a plain pole, though it is more frequently seen with a knife lashed to the distal end. In former days, a blade of shell fashioned like a small triangular fin and attached in the manner of a flag took the place of a knife).

During the hotter part of the day, if agriculture or fishing does not take her abroad, the woman's chief work is the plaiting of mats and the preparation of food. It is generally an older woman of the household who does the cooking, builds the ovens, and collects firewood, but failing an elder there is no prohibition preventing a young girl from performing such duties, except at the time of menstruation.

From the first day of the menses until the fourth day after complete cessation every woman is absolutely prohibited from sharing in the cultivation of babai, and from touching any food - or implement, or utensil connected with food - save that intended for her own consumption. Pregnant or nursing mothers are usually held exempt from any but sedentary work, but are not obliged to abstain against their will.

Since the advent of European clothing (and alas! its universal adoption by the native) the duty of household washing (if any) has been added to the Gilbertese woman's tale of work. Her other common daily tasks are - the care of children; the manufacture of coconut oil (ba); thatch making (wai-rau); the making of riri, or kilts of leaf or grass - both her own and the men's; the plaiting of wreaths (kaue) for the dance; and the preparation of all ornaments for the personal use of her menfolk which do not require strength, skill in carpentry, or a particular magic ritual reserved to men, for their manufacture.

It is generally the men who make fire with the kai-n-iri (stick-to-rub), ^{See Plate 16} [Footnote. The common ploughing method is used] but a woman who learns to do this is considered, even in an age

of matches, particularly clever and helpful.

§ 2. Cooking methods.

(a) The covered hearth.

The word umuna means cook in a covered hearth. The process of cooking by this method is called te umum, the hearth itself being referred to as te ai-n-umum (the fire-to-cook).

The hearth is made as follows. A shallow depression about 10 inches deep and 20-24 inches in diameter is first scooped in the sand. This is lined, as shown in ^{Diagram A} ~~the diagram~~, with a layer (sometimes a double layer) of segments of coconut husk, quite dry ^{each} and ^{each} about four inches broad in the middle. Upon the husk is laid a stratum of coconut half-shells, mouths downward, as pictured. As a top-dressing over the coconut shells is thrown in a filling of small dry rubbish, generally composed of the chewed and discarded seed-cones of the pandanus fruit. In the centre of the filling is scooped a hole, right down to the level of the coconut shells, and this is filled in with a wick of te ing, the fibrous material which grows at the base of the coconut leaf. The whole is then covered with a double layer of stones, preferably flat or flattish, each about as big as a man's hand.

The wick of te ing having been lit, it is covered with a capstone, and the flame descends into the fuel. The fire is allowed to burn itself clear, the stones settling down as the fuel is consumed. When the stones are red-hot, and neither flame nor smoke issue from the interstices between them, they are spread out in a single layer so that they form a pavement in ~~the bottom~~ ~~of~~ the depression. The hearth is now ready for cooking.

Before the food is laid upon the hot stones, a little fence of stones or green husk is raised around the lip of the hearth. This serves to keep clear of stray sparks the mat with which the oven is to be covered.

The food having been put into the oven, an old mat is laid over it, totally concealing the hearth. For most foods except fish, babai, and pandanus fruit steam is used in the process of cooking: one edge of the mat is lifted, and about half a pint of water is poured on the outer edge of the ^{hot} stones; the mat is quickly pressed down again and the process repeated on all four sides. The act of pouring in water is technically called teboka-na [Footnote (teboka=washing; -na is the suffixed possessive, third person)]; when this is complete, the edges of the mat are buried in sand and the oven left to do its work.

According to the nature of the food, it may be ~~set~~ direct upon the hot stones, or kept clear of them by "keels" of green coconut husk or midrib laid across the pavement of the hearth. For steam cooking, each kind of food has its particular form of jacket. The pudding called buatoro [Footnote. See section ~~10~~⁸ for recipe] has a nira (winding) of babai-leaf, while that known as tangana has a baabaa (plaited basket) of coconut leaf. A fish, cooked dry, is enclosed in a spiral winding of coconut pinnules, knotted at head and tail, called a bara (hat).

The dimensions of an oven depend entirely upon the amount of food to be cooked. That which I have described and pictured is of the size appropriate to the ^{daily} need of a single household of three or four people, and is of the type known as te bora teuana - the single layer. This name refers to the single strata of husk and coconut shells respectively with which the bottom is lined: a larger oven generally contains two layers of each sort of fuel, laid alternately, and is called te bora uoua (the double layer). Four strata of husk and four of coconut shell are the most I have seen. In no case is there more than a single filling of small rubble.

A particularly deep and narrow form of steam-cooking oven is called te ai-ni-kiroro (the fire of Kiroro) or simply te Kiroro. The mechanical arrangement of fuel in this type of hearth is different

in no detail from that already described, but the depth of the pit prepared for the fire is so great in relation to its diameter that the sides are precipitous, and the hearth-stones eventually lie at the bottom of an almost straight shaft. This is one of the commonest forms of oven, being used when great quantities of food are to be cooked. It is stated to be "the fire of olden time", which is to say, a type long known to the Gilbertese ancestors who immigrated from Samoa some 22-25 generations ago.

An oven called te katura, which I have seen only in the Northern Gilberts, is also used for steam-cooking. Its form is identical with that pictured, the highly technical difference being that a katura (smooth cockle) shell is set in the centre of the hearth before the first lining of husk is laid. But the method of producing steam distinguishes this oven very clearly from other types. The water used for the purpose is not introduced in four places, nor is it poured direct upon the hot stones: it is carefully directed through a single hole in the centre of the covering mat, with the object of saturating the food under treatment before it drips upon the hearth-stones and is turned into steam. A fundamentally different mechanical conception of cooking is thus involved.

The katura oven, together with the shell-fish of the same name, is said on Tarawa to have been introduced by an ancestress called Nei Katura, who came from ^{a very distant} a Western land named Onouna. Local tradition is rich in allusions to Onouna, and evidence from all sources seems to indicate that a stream of immigrants came thence into the Gilbert Group about 25 generations ago. [Footnote. Texts of the oral traditions of origin and migration among the Gilbertese should appear in print within the next two years].

An oven called Te ai-n-Nabanaba — the oven of Nabanaba — is precisely the same in construction and principle as the Katura oven; but whereas a smooth cockle shell is set in the centre of the Katura hearth, a nimataarin (nerita plicata) shell is laid in that bearing the name of Nabanaba. This is the only difference between the two. The land of Nabanaba is famous in Gilbertese tradition as the western home of an ancestress named Nei Tekannea who married into a ~~high~~ chiefly family of Tarawa Island some 27 generations ago, and became the grandmother of ^{an illustrious local high chief} ~~a very famous line of high chiefs~~ named Kriatap. The stories connected with Nabanaba will be examined at some length in a later section.

Te ruanuna is the name of an oven used for dry — i.e., steamless — cooking. Its mechanism is similar to that of the ordinary steam hearth pictured, but the covering mat is entirely buried in sand

as soon as it is put into position. The natives state that the object of burying the mat is to prevent the free ingress of air, and thus to control the heat of the oven, which might otherwise scorch the food in the absence of steam.

The tradition connected with the ruanuna oven is that it was imported from a Western land named Ruanuna. It is interesting to add that a certain kind of fish-trap made of coconut leaves is also called by the same name. No particular ancestor appears, however, to be associated with this oven, from which it might be inferred that the ruanuna form was not imported by a single strange group or stream of immigrants, but was generally known to a large section of Gilbertese ancestors before their arrival in their present home.

On Butaritari and Little Makin, the two most northerly Gilbert Islands, the name Ruanuna takes the form Ruanūwa.

The geographical associations of the different types of cooking oven are arresting, inasmuch as they point so decidedly towards the West. Regarding the Kiroro oven, it is interesting to observe that in old dancing chants dealing with the wars and voyages of Gilbertese ancestors, the ancestors are sometimes called Bu-Kiroro — the breed of Kiroro. Bu-Kiroro, often modified to Bongiroro, is also the collective name applied to what ^{otherwise} is called te rina-n aba i maeao, the line of lands in the West. If the Kiroro oven, which was brought into the Gilbert Groups by immigrants from Samoa, be connected with the Indonesian island of Gilolo, it follows that the immigrants represented a stream which, in earlier times, had migrated from Indonesia to Samoa.

There appears to exist ^{definite} no clue in local story as to the identity of Onouna, the homeland of the Katura oven, but it might possibly be connected with Unauana, an island in the northern light of Celebes, some 250 miles to westward of Gilolo: that it is a land very far to westward of the Gilbert Group local tradition leaves no doubt. In Baenaban (Ocean Island) story, it is connected with a sister-land called Tabeuna, and both places are said to be situated on the western confines of Bu-Kiroro.

Ruanana, under its variant form of Ruanīwa, strongly suggests Lieueniana (Ontong Java), one of the Polynesian outliers of (Melanesia). It is pertinent to add that Lieueniana is one of the somewhat strangely scattered areas wherein appears the Y-shaped stick attachment between a canoe-outrigger and its float, also seen in the Gilbert Islands.

[Haddon: The Outriggers of Indonesian Canoes, J.R.A.I., vol. I., Jan-June, 1920, page 127;
Griffiths: Canoes in the Gilbert Islands, J.R.A.I., vol. LIV., Jan-June, 1924, p. 122]

(b) Broiling upon embers (te tintin)

For the cooking of certain kinds of fish, especially the flying-fish, the broiling method is preferred. An open fire is built upon the ground, and when it has burned itself clear the gutted fish, complete with head and tail, are laid upon it. To keep the food clear of burning embers,

it is sometimes accommodated upon supporting "Keels" of green coconut-leaf midrib set parallel to each other across the fire.

The ^{fuel} material preferred for the tintin method is dry coconut-husk, coconut shell, and pandanus seed-cone rubble, because all these materials burn clear very quickly.

When the fire is made by a dwelling house, it is generally built in the ~~the~~ hearth place of the customary cooking-oven; if this depression ~~is~~ not used, ~~is~~ scooped-out in any case, it is nearly always prepared ^{elsewhere} for the ~~purpose~~ fish. But if the fire be built on the beach — as often happens when a midnight catch is brought home by the fishers — or if the cooking be undertaken far from home — as during a fishing excursion up or down the lagoon — no preliminary depression in the ground is considered necessary.

Fish may also be broiled on the hot stones of an ordinary cooking-oven, in which case no covering mat is used, and the food is wrapped in no jacket.

§ 3. Hooking magic and protective rituals.

A Tarawa woman, Nei Batiauea - Roman Catholic convert, aged 25 - learned from her maternal grandmother, and later gave to me, a magic formula held to be efficacious in spoiling the oven of an enemy. According to Batiauea's account, she doubted the power of the formula (owing to her religious education) but felt that it deserved a fair trial before being consigned to limbo. She chose her unfortunate mother-in-law as the victim of her experiment, although she was on the best of terms with that lady.

At about midday, when a cooking hearth was being prepared by the old woman for the reception of some Buatoro puddings, Batiauea covered herself with a sleeping mat, turned on her side to face the fire (which was near the side of the house), and muttered the following formula three times in succession:-

Antena ai are e bubu aarei .. e-e?

Kai, ana ai Nei Tuta!

Ba ai-tina-na Kanounou, ba
ai-tama-na Kanounou;

Whose is that fire which smokes .. e-e?

Why, her fire Nei Tuta!

For her aunt is Kanounou, for
her uncle is Kanounou;

[Footnote. Ka- is the causative prefix; nou is the poisonous monacanthus fish, which has a dirty, rough skin. Kanounou therefore means, in this context, to be (as rough and dirty as) the nou.]

Ba a ira te taanga n Tikinono.

For they (i.e., the male and female Kanounou) accompany the host of Tikinono.

[Footnote. Tikinono means hauled taut, and is used to denote heaviness or sadness in a cooked pudding.]

Tiiki - tiiki - tiki-tiki-tiki!

Heavy - heavy - heavy-heavy-heavy!

At the words "Tiiki - tiiki - tiki-tiki-tiki", the performer of the ritual clasped her hands, closed her eyes tight, and stiffened every muscle of her body as in a rigor, with the object of transmitting the quality of stiffness or heaviness to all food cooked in the oven. According to her own statement, her mother-in-law was from that moment

unable to make a success of anything she cooked, until she changed her hearth. The change was ultimately made upon the solicitous and filial advice of Batiauea herself!

Food and cooking fires were formerly much used in connection with the sinister form of magic called te wawi - the death magic - which, though sternly prohibited by British law, is without any doubt still occasionally practiced. A man is held to be particularly vulnerable through the embers or ashes of a fire upon which his fish is being broiled, and will keep a sharp look-out upon any individual not of his own household who approaches while cooking is under way. The method of the magician is to possess himself covertly of a handful of ashes, or a few morsels of charred wood, before the food is taken from the fire, and retire with them to a dark corner. Setting them upon the ground before him as he sits, he stirs the fragments slowly, in a counter-clockwise direction, with a piece of the riblet of a shrivelled coconut pinnule, muttering to himself the following formula:-

Ewara-n ai-ni kana-na:	The stabbing of the fire of his food:
Boa-rio, boa-rake,	Strike westwards, strike eastwards,
Boa-mate, boa-tabwe!	Strike death, strike rending apart!
A bung kanoa-n-nano-na:	His bowels ^{give birth (i.e. begin to labour)} begin to be in pain:
A bung, ao a rai, ao a mate, ao a tabwenaua.	They ^{give birth} begin to be in pain , and they are overturned, and they are dead, and they are rent apart.
Maama-ia, bekebeke-ia!	Their shame, their unease!
Raira ato-na!	Overturn his liver!
E a tia, b'e a mate-o-o!	It is done, for he is dead-o-o!
Kokon-na ... konie-e-e!	Strangle him ...!
Kokon-na ... konae-e-e!	Strangle him ...!

[Footnote. The words konie-e-e and konae-e-e are merely euphonic variants of kokon-na.]

The section of the formula beginning with the words "A bung kanoa-n-nanona-na" and ending with the last line is repeated a second and a third time; after which the magician stabs the ashes and leaves his riblet of coconut leaf standing upright in their

midst. It is claimed that, if the man against whom the ritual is directed eat of the food cooked in the cursed fire, he will soon begin to vomit, after which he will be seized with stomach cramps and die within three days. His companions will feel no ill effects, as "their pictures have not stood in the heart of the sorcerer" during his performance of the spell.

Such is still the fear of all forms of the wawi (and there are many) that one who believes himself to have eaten cursed food may, indeed, by force of auto-suggestion, induce upon himself all the symptoms described above and die, unless he possess a protective spell which he believes to be more powerful than his enemy's magic.

The protective spells are of particular interest, because they generally contain the names of the great ancestral deities of the Gilbertese totem-sibs, which never appear in any formulae purporting to attack life and property. A very distinct set of religious ideas thus sets protective rituals apart from offensive magic.

Offensive magic appears to be purely animistic in attitude: the spiritual powers (if any) named in the formulae are held to be resident within the material of the ritual performed, and to be forced by the power of word and ceremonial to do the bidding of the sorcerer. On the other hand, the ancestral deities of the protective spells are not considered to be immanent in any material object, or to be constrained to obedience: their response to any spell is believed to depend, not upon the power of that specific ritual at all, but upon the past faithfulness of the performer in (a) observing the cult of his ancestors, and (b) abstaining from

incest. It is thus by favour that they are

[Footnote. ^(to Kanikvia) Incest, according to authentic Gilbertese custom (now not so strict as it used to be) consists of the establishment of sexual relations between —

(1) Persons descended into the same (patrilineal) exogamous totem-group;

(2) Lineal ascendants and descendants not of the same totem-group, e.g., mother-son; maternal grandfather-granddaughter; and so on;

(3) Collaterals descended from a common ancestor (not being of the same totem group) down to the fourth generation of descent. The "fourth generation goes free."

(4) Collaterals of unequal degrees of descent from a common ancestor, thus standing to each other in the relationship, however distant, of classificatory parents and children.

[Footnote.
Grimble: From Birth to Death in the Gilbert Islands, J.R.A.I., Jan-June, 1921]

The eating of the totem, or its desecration, was once considered a form of incest]

believed to afford protection, and it is the feeling of being justified before them that gives the performer of a protective ritual his confidence in their favour.

It would seem on the evidence that offensive and protective magic are the products of two sharply distinguished ^{modes} ~~stages~~ of religious thought, representing two different culture streams. The absence of

the names of ancestral deities from offensive formulae seem to indicate that the patrilineal folk, to whom such deities belonged, originally possessed no magic of an aggressive kind. This leads to the interesting hypothesis that the protective formulae were invented by the folk possessing the ancestor-cult, when they came into contact with an animistic people, as a measure of safety against an alien system. The constant recurrence of ancestral names in protective spells lends much support to the conjecture.

The first example chosen in illustration comes from the island of Marakei. If a man fears that the food which he is about to eat has been cursed, he first takes a pinch of the suspected dish in his right hand, and quickly whispers to himself the following words:-

Taua-ni kana-ia aio-ee!

This, the holding of their food!

Taua-ni kana-ia Taburimai,
Auriaria, Nei Teveneï, Riiki,
Nei Tituaabine!

The holding of their food
Taburimai, Auriaria, Nei
Teveneï, Riiki, Nei Titu-
aabine!

[Footnote. These are ancestral deities of Gilbertese totem-sibs, into which descent is patrilineal. They are believed to be related to each other in varying degrees of brother-sisterhood, and so have a general importance to the race outside their respective totem-groups.]

I aki bua, I aki taro!

I am not lost, I am not accursed!

Te mauri, te raoi.

Safety, peace.

Te tabomoa Ngai-o-o!

Excellent am I - o-o!

[Footnote. Taro = accursed. The ^{term} ~~word~~ tataro is reserved for the essentially religious formulae pronounced in connection with the cult of the ancestor, and may be translated prayer or supplicatory: as such, it is sharply distinguished (both in fact and in the native mind) from the ^{term} ~~word~~ tabunea, which denotes magic formulae of the purely animistic type already exemplified. The use of the word taro to mean accursed is thus in the manner of a misnomer, for curses are only effected by means of tabunea, never tataro. The inference is that taro was adapted to its present use by a race to whom the tabunea was a strange thing and its technical name foreign.]

After the third repetition of this formula, if his conscience be clear of the ^{two} offences ^{already} ~~which have been~~ indicated above, he eats the food with confidence.

I have a note of a rather more elaborate ritual from Tarawa. The suspected food is laid on a leaf upon the ground, and covered with any sort of mat. The performer of the ceremony sits, with no particular regard to orientation, holding in his right hand the fanlike tip of a dry coconut leaf: this he waves to and fro over the covered food, occasionally tapping the mat with light blows.

While thus occupied, he mutters -

Unauna-ni mata-n anti!

The gouging out of spirits' eyes!

Kang anti, Nei Tabaa, anti!

Eat up the spirits, Nei Tabaa, the spirits!

Kang anti, Nei Tabaa, anti!

Eat up the spirits, Nei Tabaa, the spirits!

Footnote. Tabaa means young pandanus bloom, and Nei Tabaa is the name sometimes given in song and ritual to the pandanus tree. It will be seen in a later place that the pandanus is the ancestress-tree of the Gilbertese.

Anti ni Mauere, Mauere -o-o!
O, naako-o-o-o!

Spirits of Mauere, Mauere -o-o!
O, depart -o-o-o!

Footnote. Mauere is the name of a host of evil beings, believed to be the familiars of sorcerers who practice the death-magic.

Naako, te anti-o-o-o!

Depart spirit-o-o-o!

Ko ninibaao ni bong, ko
ninibaao ni ngaina,

Thou art bent double at night, thou art bent double by day (i.e., unable to rise and walk),

Anti ni meangi-ra, maiaki-ra,
mainiku-ra, maeao-ra,
maieta, mainano.

Spirits of North of us, South of us, East of us, West of us, above, below.

Ko na kanna Neveneve;

Thou (Nei Tabaa) shalt eat up Neveneve;

Footnote. Neveneve is the collective name for another host of familiars similar to those called called Mauere.

Ko na kanna te boka, ko na
kanna te buni.

Thou shalt eat the boka, thou shalt eat the buni.

Footnote. Boka: an old coconut much used in certain kinds of death magic. Buni: the trigger-fish (tetradon), of which certain parts are very poisonous (see post - Poisons). By implication, the performer of the ritual is asking his ancestress to consume everything harmful in the suspected food.

Anti ni Mauere, Mauere-o-o!
O, naako-o-o-o!

Spirits of Mauere, Mauere-o-o!
O, depart-o-o-o!

Naako, ma kam a tai rikaaki
maikoa.

Depart, and return not to this side (of the Unseen).

Kaanga-o-o, te anti-o-o,
naako-o-o-o!

As it were, spirit, depart!

As soon as the third repetition of this spell is accomplished, the performer rises and goes quickly to the lagoon beach; there he throws his coconut leaf, handle first and dartwise, into the sea. He may then return and eat the cursed food with impunity.

§4. Poisons.

(a) Used in fishing.

For stupefying fish in pools on the reef, the seed of a tree called baireati is used in the northern islands. One or two baireati trees grow in Butaritari and Little Makin, but the supply of seed is obtained, mainly, from the western beach of any island, where it is sometimes washed ashore in considerable numbers during the season of westerly gales. Its thick envelope of husk renders it capable of travelling great distances oversea. The baireati is conjecturally identified as Barringtonia butonica. The seed is taken out of the husk, and grated on a rasp of cured sting-ray skin; the gratings are then scattered in the pool as desired. A very small quantity suffices to poison a large sheet of water: on a calm day, fragments allowed to sink into five-fathom water off the edge of a reef will stupefy fish in the near neighbourhood.

Another stupefying agent used in both the North and the South is te ntabanin, a small, thin variety of sea-slug. The creature is taken alive and shredded on a grater, and the fragments are thrown into the water of a pool, where their effect is almost immediate. Some of the fish float in a comatose condition to the surface, others continue to swim lethargically below water: it is noticeable that the latter become quite blind, ^{making} ~~inasmuch as they make~~ no attempt to avoid any rocks that may stand in their way, or to escape the hand of the fisher.

Fish stupefied with te baireati or te ntabanin are eaten with no further precaution than gutting before being cooked.

(b) Used for homicidal purposes.

Neither of these poisons appears ever to have been used against human beings, their respective smells being considered

to convey too clear a warning of their presence: the native of the Gilbert Islands uses that sensitive organ, his nose, to an extent undreamed of by Europeans.

The buni, or trigger fish (tetradon), formerly provided the most effective human poison known to the Gilbertese. The flesh of the buni may be eaten with perfect safety (in these waters) if the gall sac (ari), liver (ato), alimentary canals (ninika), and roe (bia) be first removed without rupture; but these parts - and above all, the gall sac - contain a virulent poison, which is swiftly absorbed by the flesh if rupture take place before the fish be gutted. The usual trick of the native poisoner apparently was to spill the contents of the gall sac into the abdominal cavity during the removal of the viscera. This was sufficient to secure the death of any who ate the flesh.

The symptoms of buni poisoning are well known to the modern race, as accidental cases still occur from time to time. The sense of balance is first affected, the knees give way, the legs become paralysed, and death quickly supervenes. The poison appears to be of a neurotoxic order. The native treatment is to administer copious draughts of sea water as soon as possible, in order to induce vomiting.

Te bwatua, a little teleost fish of the order Plectognathi, probably the small fry of one of the globe-fish, was also used by the poisoner of old days, the viscera being ruptured and inserted into the abdominal cavity of any other fish being cooked for food purposes. As described by an old man of Marakei, the symptoms produced in the victim seem to have been similar to those of buni poisoning.

Te kaveana, a crab with a light carapace and very long legs of which I have not been able to obtain a specimen, was known and used at Ocean Island (Banaba) and in the Northern Gilberts. All parts of this creature are said to be poisonous. The meat was shredded and cooked inside the food intended for the victim. The symptoms are described as "sleepiness, heaviness of the

senses (te aawa) increasing quickly to extreme lethargy, and final unconsciousness followed by death". No pain appears to have been caused by the poison.

A horrible method of killing was used in Butaritari, Little Makin, Marakei, and perhaps other islands. A great number of cantharides beetles were first collected by the poisoner, and "wrung out" in a piece of ing (the fibrous material at the base of the coconut leaf); the juice thus obtained was mixed with kamaimai, and the drink offered to the victim. The fluid secreted by the cantharides beetle being a powerful vesicatory, causes inflammation throughout the uro-genital tract, accompanied by strangury, haematuria, priapism, and glairy urethral discharge: in some cases acute membranous cystitis may occur, as many Europeans know to their cost after having drunk coconut toddy in which a few cantharides beetles have accidentally fallen. The victim of a draught containing the juice of some hundreds of these creatures must have died a terrible, lingering death.

A poison rarely used, because seldom obtainable at the right moment, was the liver of a shark. Under normal conditions, this is a perfectly safe food, but individuals of the blue-shark species are said by natives to have a liver of aberrant shape, one lobe of which is ^{recurved} ~~bent back~~ like a hook: in this condition it is stated to be very poisonous. The symptoms are those of neurotoxaemia.

§ 5. Prohibitions ^{upon} of foodstuffs

Totem-creatures. Gilbertese society is divided into exogamous ^{groups} sibs, wherein descent is patrilineal, and of which each purports to be either descended from or closely connected with at least one totem. Most sibs possess a minimum of two totems, some have three or four, one has ~~five~~ ^{seven} ~~eight~~. Several sibs occasionally share the same totem or totems: in such cases, the social groups concerned, although having different names, are seen to trace descent from the same ancestor or ancestress, and to observe the cult of the same atua.

No member of a sib may eat the totem-creature of his group: the creature is held to be flesh of his flesh, and its use as food is considered to be the first step towards incest. The ceremonial eating of the totem on special occasions seems never to have been practiced in these islands.

In accordance with the patrilineal system of descent, a native owes greater deference to his father's sacred creature than to his mother's, but he will generally refuse to eat the latter, and also his wife's. It must, however, be added that this applies nowadays to a very small class of persons - the majority of the modern race having definitely discarded the strict practice of earlier times. It is estimated that not more than ^{ten} ~~five~~ per cent of Gilbertese now living remember even the names of their totems.

A remarkable exception to the general forgetfulness is afforded by the clans of which one or another of the varieties of the Ray is the sacred creature. The members of these groups will still refuse, in the Northern islands, even to share a pipe or a drinking vessel with a person who has ^{recently} eaten the flesh of a Ray. The belief is that any such offence against the totem will be resented by Nei Tituaabine, the ancestral ^{spirit} atua of the sibs in question, and punished by visitations of the skin-disease known as te rabarabataki.

The ~~following is~~ ^{appended table contains} a list of the food creatures avoided, for

totemistic reasons, by those who continue to respect them ~~the~~ (5)

<u>Totems</u>	<u>Names of totem-sibs</u>	<u>Names of sib-deities associated with totems</u>
1. Bêche-de-mer (<u>Kereboki</u>)	Keaki	Nei Tituaabine
2. Clam, giant (<u>Kimā, aubunga</u>)	Karongoa	Auriaria
	Te O	Auriaria
	Uma-ni-Kamawri	Auriaria
3. Cockerel (<u>moa</u>)	Karongoa	Tabuariki
	Taunnamo	Tabuariki
	Aa-n-te-Kanawa	Tabuariki
	Nukumanea	Rüki
4. Eel (<u>rabono</u>)	Nei Ati	Nei Ati
5. Garfish (<u>ana</u>)	Keaki	Nei Tituaabine
6. Giant Ray (<u>baimanu</u>)	Tebakabaka	Nei Tituaabine
	Kaburara	Kaburara
	Teboranea	Tabakea
	Nei Ati	Nei Ati
7. Noddy (<u>Kunēi, io</u>)	Ababou	Bue ma Riirongo
8. Octopus (<u>Kiika</u>)	Maerna	Bue ma Riirongo
	TeKokona	Bue ma Riirongo
	Karongoa	Auriaria
9. Rat (<u>Kimoa</u>)	Te O	Auriaria
	Uma-ni-Kamawri	Auriaria
10. Rock-cod (<u>Kuau</u>)	Ababou, Maerna	Akuauwai
	Te ba	Taburimai
	Te Kirikiri	Taburimai
	Tabiang	Taburimai
	Namakaina	Taburimai
	Karongoa	Tabuariki
	Taunnamo	Tabuariki
	Aa-n-te-Kanawa	Tabuariki
11. Sand snipe (<u>Kun</u>)	Katanrake,	Tabuariki
	Karumaetoa	Tabuariki
	Tebakabaka	Tabuariki
		Tabuariki

Other totems of sibs named (associated deities in brackets).

Giant Ray, Tropic Birds (both Nri Tituaabine)

Sun (not specifically allocated), Rat (Auriana), Wind, thunder, cockerel, shark (Tabuariki), Kanawa tree (~~Tepeia~~ ^{Tepeia} ~~not known~~).

Rat, tern (Auriana).

Rat, tern (Auriana).

See 2 above

Shark (Tabuariki);

~~Manawa tree (Tepeia)~~
~~ditto~~

Ditto.

~~Bonito (Nri Ati)~~

Bonito (Nri Ati)

Same as 1 above

Shark (Tabuariki); tropic birds (Nri Tituaabine).

Sting Ray (Nri Tituaabine); a creeping plant, te utaraai (Nri Tituaabine)

A small tree, te ibi; a mythical beast, te Kekenu, apparently a crocodile or alligator; the turtle (all Tabakea).

Sun and Moon (Bue ma Rirongo); the rock cod (Nakuaumai).

Ditto.

Same as 2 above

Same as 2 above

Same as 2 above

See 9 above.

Orvally and other carangoid fish (Taburimai)

Ditto

Ditto

Ditto

Same as 2 above

Same as 3 above.

Same as 3 above

Same as 6 above.

<u>Totems</u>	<u>Names of totem-sibs</u>	<u>Names of sib-deities associated with totems</u>	<u>Other totems of the sibs named.</u>
13. Sting Ray (<u>baiku</u> , <u>buatara</u> , <u>pakauaneku</u>)	Kaotriama Bangauma Buatara Kaburara	Nri Tituaabine Nri Tituaabine Nri Tituaabine Nri Tituaabine	- - See 6 above See 2 above
14. Tern (<u>Kiakia</u>)	Te O Uma-ni-Kamawri	Auriaria Auriaria	See 2 above See 2 above
15. Trivally and allied carangoid fish (<u>rereba</u> , <u>wina</u> , <u>Kuana</u>)	Teba Tekirikiri Tabiang Namakaina	Taburimai Taburimai Taburimai Taburimai	See 11 above Ditto Ditto Ditto
16. Tropic Birds (<u>taake</u> , <u>ngutu</u> , <u>Karara</u>)	Keaki Tebakabaka All Giant Ray sibs All Sting Ray sibs	Nri Tituaabine Nri Tituaabine Nri Tituaabine Nri Tituaabine	See 1 above See 6 above See 6 above See 13 above
17. Turtle	Teboranea	Tabakea	See 7 above

The Frigate Bird.

In a class by itself is the Frigate Bird (itei), which, although not regarded as a totem by any social group that I can trace, is not eaten because, according to a tradition common in the Northern Gilberts, "it is the bird of the Sun, ~~and~~ of High Chiefs, and of the dance."

Creatures connected with Divination.

Four fish frequenting clear water at the edge of the reef, and belonging to the Labridae, are tabu for those who practice divination with the leaves of the pandanus and coconut; these are te nnari, te buki buki, te arinai, and te bare. They are believed to swallow the ashes of the leaves used for divination, which

are always burned after they have served their purpose, and thrown into the sea by the edge of the reef. If a diviner eats the forbidden creatures, it is believed that his eye will lose the power of seeing and interpreting the attitudes of the divining-leaves.

Creatures avoided by pregnant women and nursing mothers.

Pregnant women may not eat the following fish, for fear of affecting their unborn children in the various ways indicated:

Te baibai (sole or plaice): is believed to cause the child's eyes to squint, or even to be set on one side of the head, like those of a flatfish.

Te baa (sp. mulloidae): having a body very small in proportion with its head, this fish is supposed to induce a similar disproportion in the unborn child.

Te koinawa (sp. labridae): a small-mouthed creature, thought to convey its deformity to the unborn. A large (but not over-large) [^]mouth is a mark of beauty among the Gilbertese.

Te buni (tetradon): is believed to prevent the growth of eyebrows. Thick eyebrows are greatly admired, especially those which meet in the middle.

Te mneve (crayfish) with its allied forms, te ura and te mnao: is thought to make the eyelashes coarse and stiff, instead of silky, as most admired.

Te on, te tabakea (turtle): causes cowardice, on account of its crawling habit.

Te aubunga, kima, neitoro, batua (giant clam): causes baldness in the child.

Remnants of fish used as bait may not even be touched by expectant mothers, for fear of giving their children unshapely hands, having a hacked and raw appearance.

The close union of bait with "its brother, the hook" is also supposed to induce incestuous ^{prenatal} tendencies.

A woman with child must also avoid eating any of the

creatures tabu to her husband or brothers for any reason at all, totemistic or otherwise, in order to save her child from the various and particular consequences feared by them.

Creatures avoided by women in general.

All women avoid the following foods:-

Te kuu (unidentified fish), because of its name, which means "wrinkled". It is believed that a diet of this fish causes the mats plaited by the eater to have an uneven texture and a wrinkled surface;

Te inaai - a large fish with rough scales - because it is supposed to cause the ends of the hair to become mangarua, or forked;

Any ill-formed pandanus fruit: for the same reason;

Te kua (porpoise). Elder women ~~may~~ eat this mammal in any quantity, but young girls are not allowed to take it in small amounts at a time, as it is said to rot young teeth if eaten in morsels. If, however, a large catch of porpoise be made, a young girl is allowed to eat her fill. Probably an economic arrangement, devised in the first place to limit the distribution of the prized flesh to a smaller circle in the ^{event} ~~case~~ of a meagre catch.

Foods avoided by adults in time of war.

At a time of communal or private strife, fighting men used to avoid certain foods for the reasons indicated below:-

Te koinawa - a fish of the species Labridae - because it was believed, if eaten in anger, to cause the skin-disease called te nimanu, an itching complaint especially affecting the hands;

Te bukibuki (sp. Labridae), on account of its name, which means "throb", was thought to induce a hurried beating of the heart, and thus cowardice;

Te kekerikaaki - a long, thin stinging jellyfish of a bluish colour - also on account of its name, which means "retire";

Te batua - the giant clam at one of its stages of growth. The similarity of the name of this fish with the word batiku (to bow) was considered to predispose the eater to assume a bent or servile attitude towards his enemy.

Te on, te tabakea (turtle). As previously stated, the crawling habit of the turtle associated it, in the native mind, with cowardice.

The liver of any fish, being much used as shark-bait, was considered to put the eater into the position of a bait to be snapped up by a fierce enemy.

Medical avoidances.

Te arinai (see creatures connected with Divination) is not completely avoided, but, if consumed in large quantities is believed to cause falling of the hair, especially of the beard, in sympathy with the smoothness of its skin.

Te kima (giant clam) is eaten sparingly, because believed to cause baldness if taken to excess.

Turtle flesh in large quantities is supposed to encourage kinaka (tertiary yaws).

Te ane (unidentified fish) is forbidden to young boys and girls, because it is said to induce te waiwai - an inflammatory condition of the bladder or urethra.

Creatures connected with healing magic.

A very interesting example of marginal diffusion is presented in the case of certain avoidances connected with healing magic (te wairaakan). This form of magic is not of Gilbertese origin being ~~as now practiced, a medley~~ ~~having been learned from~~ made up of Fijian and Ellice Island components. The Fijian elements were introduced (a) by members of the local ^{Native} Constabulary recruited in Fiji and (b) by Gilbert Islanders returned to their homes after long residence on ^{Viti} ~~Vanna~~ Levu. The

[Footnote. A moderate number of Gilbertese are always to be found at the settlement of Nasese, near Suva].

Ellice Island components — including the name wairaakan — were ~~brought in~~ ^{imported} chiefly by Ellice labourers employed on Ocean Island (Baanaba), who diffused it among their Gilbertese fellow-workmen,

[Footnote. From 400 to 600 Gilbertese labourers, ~~with~~ ^{accompanied} by their wives and children, are constantly employed in the phosphate industry at Ocean Island].
who in their turn carried it back to their various home-islands.

The food creatures avoided by those who either practice or undergo this

form of treatment are —

Te kiika (octopus);

Te raboro (eel);

Te bakoa (any kind of shark).

All these happen to be totem-creatures of Gilbertese social groups, but their connection with the wairaakau is, like the ritual itself, of purely foreign origin.

[Footnote. It seems probable that the Ellice Island form of the ritual had itself been learned from the Fijians before its conveyance to the Gilbertese. See Kennedy: Field Notes on the Culture of Vaitupu, Ellice Islands, page 264, supplement to J.P.S. No 158, June, 1931. The avoidance of the creatures named appears to have originated in Fiji. But the subject needs further research].

Other avoidances.

The buare (belly) of any fish is forbidden to all, being called "slave's food."

The bukiri of a coconut — i.e., the distal end, where the shell comes to a point — is forbidden to men; women may eat it. No man may drink the water of a coconut from the bukiri end, the correct method being to pierce the "mouth" of the face at the proximal end, and suck.

Raw fish is forbidden to children, for two separate and distinct reasons:— (1) It is said to make their breaths "heavy", which is to say, unpleasant; (2) a more mysterious reason is that "the child's head will be smitten (bo)" if he eat uncooked fish. The phrase is a catchword, of which the present generation appears to have lost the meaning but not the fear.

general observations upon

§ 6. Diet: food-articles.

The leading principle of diet is that foods, to give strength, must be mixed: a satisfactory meal cannot be made of one dish only; there must be a tanna, a second dish of a savour so contrasted that it relieves, and is relieved by, the taste of the first.

Of all qualities most prized in food, fattiness (nenea) comes easily first. Nevertheless, this is not listed as a gastronomical preference, inasmuch as the native, though admittedly fond of the taste of fat, sets an even greater value upon its food-properties, and, despite its scarcity in the atolls which he inhabits, regards it not as a luxury but as a necessity. For this reason he spends much care in the artificial conservation of the fish called te baneawa (a kind of mullet), which is relatively rich in dorsal fat. The small fry of the baneawa (called te tawaa) is periodically netted on the shoals of the ocean reef, and confined in very carefully prepared ponds of brackish water, there to remain until it is about a foot long. When taken for the table, the fish may be eaten fresh-cooked, but is much more usually dry-salted and sun-cured, in which case it is eaten without cooking. [Footnote. A wealth of magico-religious ritual has attached itself to the care of the baneawa, which ~~is being intensively studied~~ ^{needs intensive study.} by Mr. H. E. Maude, of the ~~Cambridge School of Anthropology.~~ On certain islands, communal nei (conservation ponds) are maintained, in connection with which is practiced a series of fishing customs, prohibitions, and ceremonials that may be said to dominate the social life of the population.]

On account of the same quality of fattiness, the porpoise (kua) is very highly valued, and a single stranded porpoise can still give rise to bitter dispute concerning the foreshore-rights of different social groups. On some islands, the single totem-sib of Karongoa-nuea (Karongoa-of-kings) claims ownership of the creature, irrespective of where it may have come ashore; elsewhere it is regarded as the perquisite of High Chiefs; everywhere, in former days, the proprietary interest was carefully defined. To whichever family group the prize may be awarded, its division and sub-division is a matter of

extraordinary care to every member: even though a scrap no bigger than a man's first phalanx be the portion of one person, he will feel much aggrieved if he be forgotten in the distribution.

If a sudden large supply of porpoise flesh be acquired, it is cut into strips and cured, without salt, in the sun; the somewhat leathery product is eaten in an uncooked state.

The deep sea conger (rabono-ni-man) is esteemed for its fat, to a degree hardly less than the porpoise, and is eaten either fresh-cooked or dry-salted. Though highly prized, this creature is the object of no socio-religious reservations comparable to those connected with the porpoise.

The octopus (kiika) is held to be very nourishing: it is usually hung up in the sun to cure, without previous salting, the tough white interior flesh of the resultant product being eaten uncooked.

The following fish are often eaten raw, at the taste of the consumer:-

- Te aubunga - giant clam (allied forms - te kima, te neitoro, te batua);
- All other kinds of shellfish;
- Te onauti - flying-fish;
- Te baneawa - mullet (mugil cephalus ?);
- Te aua - grey mullet;
- Te rereba - trevally, cavally (allied forms - te kuaua, te urua);
- Te ati - bonito (allied forms - te atuaro, te nari, te nariari, te ingimea, te baibo);
- Te baara - cero (scomberomorus regalis);
- Te koinawa - sp. Labridae;
- Te insai - unidentified;
- Te ikamaawa - unidentified;
- Te imunai - unidentified;
- Te benu - unidentified;
- Te kobe - unidentified.

The habit of te oraora (the eating of uncooked food) seems to be founded upon taste alone: no tabu prohibits a man from eating any kind of fish in an uncooked state, but experience has found the varieties which are not wakaa (stringy or tough) when raw, and these only, as a rule, are the objects of te oraora.

Generally speaking, the native prefers the deep-sea varieties of fish to those obtainable in the lagoon shallows. His taste is distinctly coarse, according to European standards: the flesh of shark (bakoa), spear-fish (raku), and sail-fish (raku-ika) is far more savoury to him than that of the baibai, a very delicate sole, which is plentiful in some lagoons. The red flesh of the bonito (ati), the barracuda (ika-baouea), and the horse-mackerel (baiura) ranks higher in the gastronomic scale than the white meat of the cero (baara) or the carangoids (rereba, urua, kuaua). A tubular, colourless jellyfish called te baitari, which has a strong salty taste, is very popular.

Among the crustaceans, te waro, a delicious member of the order Stomapoda, is largely neglected in favour of the commoner sorts of crab - te manai, a russet-coloured land variety; te ntabaaba, found on the ocean reef; te ntabena, a pale greyish crab of the shoals; and te kauki, a white and grey speckled species with dark grey legs found on most beaches. The crustacean most admired as food is the formidable coconut-crab (aa), on account of the fat contained in its tail. The various kinds of crayfish - te nneve, te ura, te mnao - are eaten sparingly, because they are believed to cause diseases of the skin if consumed in large quantities.

Of molluscs, the oyster (baiao) is never eaten, though it is said to be non-poisonous, and no especial tabu appears to have caused the avoidance. The batua, neitoro, aubunga, and kima - each of which names signifies a giant clam at a particular stage of its growth - are much esteemed by some, but avoided by others because they are believed to cause baldness. The staple mollusc is the koikoi, with what are believed to be its allied forms, te koiriki, te koikoi-n-anti, te katura, and te nakoarikiriki, which include cockles, smooth cockles, and (possibly) trigonia. The sea-snail (natica), the warrener (nerita plicata), and a large kind of periwinkle, all called by the one name nimataanin, are also eaten.

Among mammalian fauna, the porpoise, as already indicated,

ranks easily first as a food-giver. The dog (kiri) - which was known to the native from ancient times, but appears to have become extinct some five or six generations ago - was eaten, according to the evidence of tradition, by the ancestors of the race. Nowadays, it is not a common article of diet, but is occasionally used as such by the people of Butaritari and Abemama.

The rat, locally represented by mus exulans, has never been eaten in the Northern islands; I have made no enquiries on this point in the South.

Reptiles appear in the Gilbertese dietary in the forms of the turtle (on, tabakea) and the lizard (sp. scincus: te beru). The latter is considered to be a very tasty morsel. After being killed, it is wrapped, without gutting, in a piece of pandanus leaf, and cooked in the steam oven. It is said to be very fatty. The gecko (tukunei) is never eaten.

The domestic fowl is not used for food except in Butaritari and Makin (the extreme northerly Gilbert Islands) and Ocean Island (Banaba). Its consumption in these three places may be the result of Western influences, but this is not quite certain; its avoidance elsewhere may possibly have originated from its connection with the spirit called Tabu-ariki who, besides being the ancestral deity of a local totem-sib, is also regarded as the god of thunder and tempest. The fear of offending Tabu-ariki in the first instance may have inhibited persons outside his actual totem-group from killing his creature, and so have caused an avoidance for which the modern race can give no definite reason. Fowl's eggs are also excluded from the bill of fare on most islands, but on Butaritari and Makin they are eaten raw with relish, being considered especially delicious when they contain a half-formed chick.

Sea-birds are rarely eaten in the North; I have seen the noddy (kunei, io) and the tern (kiakia) being cooked in the South, but conjecture that the habit may have been introduced by Ellice Islanders or Samoan Missionaries.

Two land-birds, the sand-snipe (kun) and sandpiper (kitiba), which are plentiful throughout the islands, seem to be eaten nowhere. The former is associated with one of the more important ancestral deities, named Taburimai; the latter is used for sporting purposes as a fighting bird, in the manner of a game-cock, and is the object of many magico-religious rites in this connection.

Emergency diet.

In times of drought, when not only vegetable foods but all kinds of fish are scarce, the islander would formerly eat the stalks and foliage of certain creeping plants - te mtea (turtle grass), te wao (unidentified), and te boi (unidentified). It is curious to note that he never seems to have discovered the edible qualities of the Dioclea bean (riku), which grows on ^{many} ~~nearly all~~ islands. Hedley has noted a similar omission in the Ellice Group.

[Footnote. Hedley: Notes on the Ethnology of Funafuti. Memoirs of the Australian Museum, Sydney.]

Another emergency diet was the overripe fruit of the non (morinda citrifolia: commonly called the Malay custard apple). This most unpleasantly smelling food is still used as a stimulant by fishermen, during cruises of three or four days about their islands: it is

said to be hot and comforting to a tired body. A variety of non particularly prized for the bigness of its fruit is called te non-nabanaba. The name of Nabanaba, a western land of tradition, has already been seen attached to a particular kind of cooking-oven.

The desiccated pandanus-fruit product called te Kabubu, whereof the manufacture is described in section 7(c), may be regarded as an emergency food, in the sense that it is carefully hoarded in times of plenty against periods of drought, and in olden times was kept in stock as "the food of fugitives" (i.e., the diet of people conquered in battle who had to flee their islands at a moment's notice), and "the food of voyagers."

European foodstuffs

The pig, which was unknown to the islanders "before its introduction by Europeans, is highly esteemed for its fat; for the same reason, fresh beef and mutton are eaten with avidity whenever obtainable, and tinned meats are very popular. The native has taken very readily to tinned fish of all kinds, salmon being that most frequently seen at his board, on account of its moderate price; but the oily sardine seems to be his favourite from a purely gastronomic point of view.

Sugar, especially brown sugar, now ranks in the native mind almost as a necessity; mixed with water, it replaces in many households the molasses called kamainai, which is made of boiled

coconut toddy. Since this relieves the islander of much toddy-cutting, and enables him to conserve numerous trees for the sole purpose of copra-production, the advent of sugar may be regarded as an economic benefit, as far as it affects adults; but there can be little doubt that fresh toddy, with its vitamin-B content, forms a superior food for expectant mothers and children. [Footnote. See in this connection Dr. G.W. Bray's remarkable monograph "Dietetic Deficiencies and their Relationship to Disease", which has particular reference to toddy and its derivative foods on the island of Nauru: The Australasian Medical Publishing Company, Limited, Sydney, 1927.]

Rice and Navy Biscuits are now so generally used by the people that they may almost be called staple foods.

Tinned milk is bought for children ^{as a rule,} on medical grounds only; it is regarded with complete aversion by ^{most} adults, who cannot understand the white man's liking for milk puddings, and consider that all food of this class is te bai ni kamumuta (a thing to make-vomit).

Cod liver oil and castor oil appeal immensely to the native palate, and are rolled around the mouth with much puffing of the cheeks before being swallowed.

The stages of the coconut

The Gilbertese recognise seventeen stages in the development of the coconut. The generic name of the nut is te uaa-n-ni (the fruit-of-coconut palm), but each stage of growth is ^{distinguished} defined by a particular term, which is sometimes a name proper and sometimes a descriptive epithet.

Te nimoimoi is the name of the nut from the time of its first appearance until the water begins to develop.

Te onokua contains water, but as yet no flesh, save a little gelatinous deposit (marai) at the distal end.

[Footnote. By distal end is meant the point (bukiri) of the nut, opposite the stalk or "face" end.]

Te matari has a gelatinous deposit covering the whole interior of the shell. This marai is held to be the best food

for infants, and is given with good results even to babies in arms.

Te moimoto is the drinking nut, wherein the marai has begun to form itself into a soft, milky-white flesh. The husk is still green and sappy. Moi means drink.

Te bukimaere (the end-striped). The flesh is now thoroughly firm, and fit to be the food of adolescents. The distal end of the husk begins to crinkle and turn a reddish brown.

E tangi ni kimoa (it cries secretly). If shaken close to the ear, the nut gurgles a little, as the water is beginning to absorb. The water is considered to be at its best at this stage; the flesh is still food for adolescents.

Te samakai is the nut of which the husk is nearly all turned a greenish and reddish brown.

Te ben. This is the ripe nut, of which the flesh has reached its maximum thickness. The flesh is adult's food; the husk is brown; but the fruit has not yet fallen from the tree.

Te moi. The freshly fallen nut. At this stage, the water begins to dry up quickly, and the sweet spongy substance called te bebe takes its place.

Te ranimauna (the water-disappeared). The nut is dry inside.

Te maeke. The flesh begins to become oily. During this and the next three stages it is considered at its best for food purposes when eaten raw, and is called "the food of men".

Te bobo. The flesh begins to turn a yellowish brown.

E tawaa (it is ripe); e uraura (it is red). The flesh is brown throughout.

E tenatena (it clings or sticks). The flesh is leathery, and no longer breaks off crisply when bitten; it is now held in particular esteem by the aged of both sexes, on account of its sweet oily flavour.

E nananga nako (it peels away). The flesh is easily separated from the shell, and begins to taste rancid.

Te boka. te bokakua. The flesh becomes pitted.

Te momoka. The flesh becomes spongy as the pitting increases, and eventually turns a dirty greyish black.

It is, of course, at the moi stage that the nut begins to sprout, if allowed to do so, and is selected or discarded for plantation purposes by the agriculturalist. If opened at this stage, it is seen to be pushing out a tender white shoot from the hole which constitutes the "mouth" of the "face" at the proximal end. For agricultural purposes it is now called te buro; its further development, when planted, is as follows:-

E wi-n-taake. Literally translated this phrase means "it (has) beak of tropic bird", and refers to the young shoot which now begins to protrude through the husk.

E baa-raerae - it (has) leaf-pulled apart. The fan-like first leaf opens.

Te uto - the young tree, with leaves fully developed but as yet no sign of a trunk. Also called te ene.

Te uto ae e maiu boto-na - the uto whose base is vigorous. The first signs of a trunk are appearing.

Te uto ae e toro boto-na - the uto whose base sits firm. The young trunk becomes woody.

Te ni. The full-grown tree. When the first bloom (ari) appears, the ni is said to be ribai (coming into first flower); when it begins to bear nuts, it is called kai-ririeta (timber-growing high).

~~recorded in a later section~~

Coconut toddy

Toddy is the sap extracted from the coconut blossom before the hard ~~melonine~~ spathe which contains it has burst. The tip of the spathe is cut off, exposing an inch or two of ^{Composed,} unopened blossom; the spathe is then bound around with string, in the manner of a cricket bat handle, upwards from the base to the cut-off end. A section of the exposed blossom is shaved off, and the toddy oozes from the cut surface; the spathe is pulled down, so that it protrudes horizontally from the tree, and lashed in that position; a coconut shell suspended below the tip catches the sweet liquid, which is guided into its mouth by a funnel of leaf. A leaf shield prevents the intrusion of insects.

Numerous "schools" of toddy-cutting exist, nearly every family group having its own peculiarity of technique. The methods of binding the spathe are particularly varied, as the flow of sap is held to depend very greatly upon the skill with which this operation is performed.

The collecting-shell is changed twice (sometimes three times) a day, and on each occasion a fine wafer of the exposed bloom is sliced away, to stimulate a fresh discharge of sap. As cutting progresses, the binding of the spathe is gradually unwound, so that further lengths of the contained blossom may be exposed as necessity arises.

The hours of collection and renewal are usually just after sunrise and just before sunset, but some toddy-experts favour an intermediate operation at midday. A skilled cutter can win more than two pints of sap in twenty-four hours from a single spathe: the present writer, after several years of endeavour, was unable to achieve a full pint - which was politely attributed by the natives to lack of the proper magic. In point of real fact, the cutting process demands an extremely deft and sure touch, without which the

sap refuses to run freely.

Toddy cutting is said by some to have been confined, seven generations ago, to the single island of Abemama, the secret having been brought thence by an individual named Nakuau, and introduced into the Northern Gilberts. But this hardly tallies with the evidence of other tradition, which connects the art with the ancestral being named Taburimai - one of the most important of the anti-ma-aomata (spirit-with-man) of the race - and seems to indicate that it was generally known from very early times.

[Footnote. A story of the trickster type describes how Na Areau, a son of the Creator of Heaven and Earth, "was ignorant of toddy cutting" and attempted to steal the toddy of Taburimai. Taburimai's bird, the sandpiper (Kun), was set to spy upon the thief, who, however, caught it and reversed its tongue, so that it has only been able to say Kun, Kun! ever since].

Toddy begins to ferment within fifteen hours of its collection, especially if allowed to stand in a previously used vessel: it is a popular intoxicant in its fermented state, though modern law prohibits its use. The effects of sour toddy upon the native are such that it was early recognised as a social evil, and those who became addicts were sometimes, by communal consent, expelled from their islands.

§ 7. Preserved foods

(a) The manufacture and use of kamaimai (see Plate 7)

Kamaimai is the treacly product obtained by boiling and reboiling coconut toddy (kareve). In consistency, it varies from a state of liquidity comparable to that of olive oil to the solidity of a caramel, according to the number of boilings. For its manufacture, toddy collected at midday is considered the best; as the toddy used must be quite fresh, it follows that the boiling is an afternoon occupation.

Only women perform the work, and these must be related by blood or adoption to the man who ^{has} cut the toddy. It is still believed that, if an outsider undertake the task, her kamaimai will not thicken. *The existence of such beliefs in connection with toddy is another indication of its use from very ancient times.*

The vessels in which the liquid is boiled are ordinary mangko, half-shells of the coconut: the fire is made of embers, not in a scooped hearth but above ground.

The mangko are filled almost to the brim with toddy, and set in rows of three or four on the fire, perhaps as many as thirty or forty together in a big boiling. I shall take as a standard the number 12, which represents an average boiling.

The liquid is allowed to boil at a gallop until the contents of the mangko are reduced by one half: at this stage, it has turned to a light, tawny-golden colour, and is already kamaimai of the variety called te mai-nakoiang (the boiling towards North), because it is drunk in this state more in the Northern than in the Southern islands; but, as a matter of fact, it is nowhere very much favoured.

For the second boiling, the contents of half the vessels on the fire are emptied into the other half, thus leaving six full mangko to proceed with. These are again allowed to gallop until half the liquid has evaporated. The kamaimai is now of a rich golden-brown colour and about as thick as boiled linseed oil. In this state, it is called te maran (smooth) because of its oily consistency, and also te ira-n-atu

(hair-of-head) because it drips, if sampled, in trailing threads, like golden syrup. This is the usual kind of kamaimai seen abroad in the houses. To a European palate, it is sickly sweet, even when liberally mixed with water: the dilution used by the native is in the proportion of half and half.

For further boiling, half of the mangko are again emptied into the others, leaving now only three full vessels. These are kept boiling until the bubbles which rise to the surface no longer scatter drops as they burst, but swell glutinously from the now sluggish liquid. When it has gone thus far, it is called te mata-warebwe (the broad-eyed), with allusion to the size and shape of the bubbles.

The contents of one vessel are now divided between the two that remain. These boil on until, when a test is taken on a slip of pandanus leaf, the cooled liquid sets about as hard as a soft caramel. The food is now called te karebwerebwe (the make-explode) because the bubbles make a crackling noise as they burst. Te karebwerebwe is a great favourite with children, whose mothers will generally dip a piece of wood into the boiling fluid and hand out a "bloom" of the sticky mass for their benefit.

The last stage arrives when a test shows the kamaimai to set as hard as a tough caramel. It is then scooped out into a single one of the two vessels remaining, and allowed to cool off. While still slightly warm, it is moulded into a ball and put by until cold. Its name is now te baka-mai-eta (the fall-from-above), for no reason that I can discover. This is a great luxury: when needed as food, slices are cut from it, and it is eaten as a relish with babai or coconut. A sparing portion is considered enough for one meal, and the rest is carefully hoarded.

A drink of kamaimai (second boiling) forms the normal breakfast of the Gilbertese man or woman before setting out *for the early morning labours.*

(c)

~~(b)~~. The manufacture of te kabubu, and its associations.

The product called
As previously indicated, te kabubu is a sweet powder of the consistency of sawdust made from the ripe fruit of the pandanus; it is ~~generally~~ mixed ~~with water~~, for purposes of consumption, *with water.* ~~and drunk in the manner described in section 4.~~

Extraordinary care is taken, in the manufacture of this food, to expel all moisture, as the durability of the finished article depends wholly upon the degree of dessication achieved. The following description of the method of manufacture was obtained at Tarawa, which island *abounds in traditions concerning the food, and enjoys* ~~is generally admitted to share with Abemama~~ the distinction of producing the best kabubu in the Gilbert Group. The somewhat complicated procedure is set forth, ~~for purposes of~~ ~~reference~~ in the separate stages technically recognised by the native.

Stage 1. The pandanus fruits are broken up into their constituent seed-cones, which are heaped on a mat at the left side of the (sitting) worker. Another mat, or screen of plaited coconut leaf, lies before her. The seed-cones are taken, one by one, and their juicy proximal ends (tabataba) are sliced off upon the empty mat, ~~and~~ their hard outer ends containing the seed being thrown aside to the worker's right.

Stage 2. The tabataba are gathered together in a net of coconut fibre string, and steam-cooked for about an hour. They are then taken out and heaped upon a mat of very close texture, about 3ft square, called the ngabingabi. The sides of the mat are raised on stones, so that it forms a shallow crater, and the worker, sitting close up against one edge, proceeds to pound the cooked fruit with a pestle (iku) of pemphis-wood into a smooth mash. Not a single lump (taribi) is permissible.

[Footnote. See Plate B.--]

Stage 3. The mash is then separated into clots, each about as big as the lower half of a cottage loaf, and these are placed side by side on a separate mat. This process is called

te buabua - the moulding - with reference to the shaping of the clots between the hands of the worker.

Stage 4. Each clot is now taken individually upon the nagbingabi, to be kneaded and pummelled until it assumes the shape of a rectangular slab about two inches thick, and eighteen by eight inches in ~~approximate~~ area. After kneading, the ~~mash~~^{slab} remains fairly close-packed and solid. This process is called te kaboraa (kneading). As each slab is completed, it is covered with a green mat of plaited coconut leaf called te raurau (plate) and tipped over upon it, as a pancake on a dish.

Stage 5. The slabs are then set out in rows to dry in the sun upon their respective raurau, being continually turned, to equalise the dessication. This goes on for a greater or less number of days, according to the weather: in a good, dry season, the process is considered complete after about thirty-six hours of exposure to the sun. During the whole of this stage the mash is called te karababa: it is said to be mae (a special technical term indicating dryness) when the sun-curing is complete.

Stage 6. The karababa is now ready for the stage called te evenako - the going away to another place. The slabs are taken to be dry-cooked in the Ruanuna oven, being set therein upon a foundation of green coconut-leaf midribs, which keeps them clear of the hot stones. They are left in the oven overnight. The next morning, they are again exposed (tawaaki) to the sun, and the process of curing continues for not less than seven or eight days in fine weather. At the end of this stage the slabs are hard, rather brittle, and of a pale golden-yellow colour. Now comes the browning process.

Stage 7. The cakes are heaped in piles of ten or more upon the hot stones of a cooking hearth. The undermost cake of a pile is not allowed to remain more than a few minutes in place: as

soon as contact with the stones has browned its lower surface, it is removed to the top and another takes its place. When the whole pile has been browned on one side, it is reversed and the process is repeated for the obverse sides. The name of this stage is te aa-karababa (the word aa meaning under-side).

Stage 8. All the slabs having been browned, they are laid out on a mat to cool, a mat covering them. Being quite cold, they are broken up into bits and thrown into the largest aubunga (tridacna gigas) shell procurable, and there pounded into dust with a pemphis-wood pestle. The dust is kabubu, the finished article.

The kabubu is packed for storage in carefully prepared tubular containers of pandanus leaf called iria wherein, if securely tamped down, it will keep for as long as two years.

[Footnote. See Plate 9---]

Various uses of Kabubu.

This desiccated product of the pandanus is esteemed by the natives to be the most sustaining of all foods known to them. Above all, it was valued in earlier days as the ideal "food of voyagers". As long as a canoe's company had a good supply of Kabubu and water, it would venture forth on a voyage of almost any length.

A man will cheerfully do a full day's work on nothing but a handful of Kabubu in water at sunrise and the same at sunset, if other rations fail him. The gently purgative qualities of the food are also recognised and valued by the islander, who uses it freely as an aperient for his children.

The powder is occasionally eaten dry in these days, but its consumption in such a manner was formerly ^{prohibited, except on} ~~the subject of a~~ ~~strict prohibition~~. ^{when it was consumed as the traveller wished} ~~the reasons for this~~ avoidance will appear later.

Mixed with te Kamaimai (see previous section) until it assumes the consistency of a caramel, the food makes an aromatic sweet, called te Korokoro. In this form also, it will keep good for an indefinite period. It was under the guise of te Korokoro that the first-fruits of the pandanus harvest were formerly offered to the Sun. The first-fruits ritual will be described in a later section.

sea voyages,

§ 8. Luxuries: the manufacture of puddings

A native considers himself provided with a suitable diversity of diet if he be possessed of the staple foods already described, but will nevertheless consider himself pretty poor if his wife or daughter cannot supply an occasional luxury in the shape of a pudding. The ingredients of the various puddings made in the Gilbert Islands are all vegetable. Though methods of manufacture vary slightly in different parts of the Group, the following descriptions and recipes may be taken as representative of the more prevalent ideas.

Te buatoro is a golden brown pudding, shaped like a large crumpet; it is sometimes seen as an elongated rectangle; its usual weight is four or five pounds.

Ingredients: uncooked babai; kamaimai; te ran-ni-ben, the cream wrung out of grated coconut flesh.

Method. The uncooked babai is pounded into a smooth mash. Half its volume of kamaimai is mixed with coconut cream, in the proportion of two to one, and the mixed fluid is poured into a depression scooped in the mash. Solid and liquid are kneaded into a smooth dough. The dough is shaped into circular or rectangular form and wrapped in fresh babai leaves. The pudding is cooked in the Ruamuna oven, i.e., by the dry method, a special variation of the usual process being that hot stones are laid not only under but also over the food. About $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours of baking are enough.

In spite of its apparent simplicity, a skilled hand is needed to make this dish: in inexpert hands it turns out heavy and sad. Ideally made, it is of the consistency of plum pudding. It is eaten cold, as a rule.

Te tangana. A round or rectangular pudding of the same shape and size as the buatoro. Also seen in globular form, about as large as a sixteen-pound shot. Tawny yellow in colour.

Ingredients: cooked babai; fresh coconut flesh; kamaimai.

Method. The coconut is grated on the kautuai (grater. Called koiriki in Southern Gilberts). An equal quantity of cooked babai is scraped into flakes with a cockle shell. *[Footnote. See Plate 10 ---]* The two solids are mixed, and kamaimai is poured into a depression scooped in the heap; the mixture is then kneaded until it binds. The amount of kamaimai used is entirely at the taste of the maker, the general preference being to mix in only enough to make the pudding moist and firm.

In this form, the tangauri is generally eaten uncooked. Another and commoner method of preparation is to omit the kamaimai, and to use sea-water instead; this is kneaded in quantities only just sufficient to knit the mixture. The pudding is then dry-cooked for not more than twenty minutes in a jacket of babai leaves. Its consistency, when done, should be about that of firm putty.

Te tangauri. A sundried cake of pandanus fruit and coconut flesh, generally seen in rectangular slabs.

Ingredients: fresh grated coconut; double the volume of the juicy ends (tabataba) of pandanus fruit sections; a quantity of whole fruit (i.e., having the juicy ends still attached to the seed cones).

Method. Dry-cook the tabataba and the whole fruit together in a bag of netting. Mash the cooked tabataba as if for making te kabubu. Scrape the juicy ends from the cooked whole fruit, and mix the flakes with the mashed tabataba. Mix in the grated coconut, and pummel the dough into cakes about half an inch thick. Lay the cakes in the

sun until they are brown and sticky. The result is te tangauri.

If the tangauri be treated from this point exactly as te kabubu, and the drying process already described be completed, a very highly esteemed variety of kabubu is obtained. The presence of dessicated coconut in the finished article is believed to render it especially suitable for the purpose of long canoe voyages.

Te tuace is made of steam-cooked pandanus fruit, of which the juicy ends are scraped off upon a bed of uri (*guettarda speciosa*) leaves. ^[Footnote. See Plate 11. ---] The resultant heap of moist scrapings is then patted and stroked with the palms until it becomes a coagulated sheet about half an inch thick, and perhaps two feet by ten inches in area. This sheet is placed in the sunlight to dry, when it assumes a dark brown colour and a consistency comparable to that of a soft caramel. The sweet is aromatic and pleasant to the taste, and keeps good for months.

Te beo can be made by covering the surface of a sheet of tuace with a rich layer of coconut cream, and then rolling the tuace in the manner of a Swiss roll. Te beo is eaten at once, as it will not keep. *The name of this pudding in the Northern Gilberts is te Kabaa.*

Te korokoro, a mixture of kabubu and kamaimai, has been described under the head "Various uses of kabubu".

Te Katie is a sweet made of Kabubu, Kamaimai, and finely shredded tuace; it has, like te Korokoro, about the consistency of a caramel.

Te manam is a mixture of cooked and grated babai with fresh grated coconut, bound together with coconut cream. A little salt water is sometimes added. The pudding is not cooked.

The above list by no means exhausts the vegetable puddings made by the native, but represents the varieties most usually seen. It is said in the Southern Gilberts that the manufacture of these luxuries was invented in the Northern islands, and has only been adopted of recent years by the poorer populations South of Abemama.

~~He may then return and eat the cursed food with impunity.~~

§ 9. Meals and manners.

Mealtimes depend much upon the supply of food, but a Gilbertese household normally likes to eat after returning from the early morning labours, at some time between 8 and 9 a.m., and again after the evening's supply of coconut toddy has been brought home, at the hour of sunset. An intermediate meal is not infrequently eaten, in well-to-do households, after the noontide cutting of toddy; but this is a very movable feast.

A universal habit is to awake at about midnight, and make an impromptu meal of anything remaining over from the evening's repast. This kind of meal, called te tairaa, is however not under any circumstances taken by those who wish to cultivate their babai pits next morning; it is also avoided by people engaged in certain magico-ritual observances, especially those connected with love, ~~and~~ puberty, and the composition of dancing-chants.

Subject to such exceptions, every Gilbertese household will habitually arise at any hour of the night for the purpose of supping on broiled fish, if one of its members comes home with a good catch, or if a present of fish be sent along by some other household.

Individual inclination plays a great part in determining mealtimes, and though the majority of people are seen eating at the times indicated, there is no etiquette which binds a native either to take his meals at a particular hour, or to do so in the company of his fellow-householders. In a very general sense, however, the meal may be regarded as common to the household.

The whole household eats together, without distinction of age or sex. Children are generally seen to sit in company with those who rank as tibu (grandparents - lineal, adoptive, or classificatory)

because it is held to be the duty of the young to "watch the mouth" of the aged - that is, to minister to their wants. The only persons excluded from the board are women and girls during menstruation. These eat not only apart from the rest, but also apart from each other, if there be two of them.

At this period, it is said of a woman that "she stands outside" (e tei iao), which signifies that, although she ^{may take} ~~takes~~ her meals at the same times as her fellow-householders, she ^{must eat} ~~eats~~ at a distance from the main communal dwelling. In fair weather, she occupies a mat on the ground a few yards from the house; at other times she may eat in some outhouse, provided that she takes care not to touch any agricultural or domestic implement in the neighbourhood. She uses special eating and drinking vessels, which may not be brought into the dwelling, and are carefully washed in seawater and stowed away in a secret place after each meal. On the fourth day after complete cessation of the flow, the woman wraps all utensils in the mat upon which she has sat, hides the bundle, and returns to the household board.

It is the office of women at meals to bring in the food, and set it before the males. As soon as the man or men have begun to eat, the women may also set to, if food be in plenty; but at a time of scarcity, the men are first allowed to appease their hunger, the remnants only being taken by the women. Neither remnants nor titbits are ever thrown at women by their householders, all food being left on the raurau (leaf platter) whereon it is served.

The elder men, having the rank of grandfathers, are supposed to be given the first choice of all foods. This, at least, is the theory, but the degree of piety varies much from household to household, and in actual practice ^{Today} the old people are not seldom half starved.

No ceremonies appear ever to have been used at the beginning or end of a normal meal. I have a note from Marakei of one old man who used to break off a portion of his first dish and offer it to

the skull of his grandfather; ~~which is a habit which is not observed~~
used when offering first fruits at an ancestral shrine, but was regarded
 as a personal idiosyncrasy, as far as the ordinary routine of the
 daily meal ~~is~~ ^{was} concerned, and I have not discovered the practice in
 any other island. [Footnote. At ritual meals connected with the
 cult of the ancestor, and celebrated communally by all the members
 of a given totem-sib, it is (or, rather, was) customary to reserve
 the first portion for the atua of the sib. After the offering had
 been laid before the stone which represented the body of the atua,
 and the proper formula of words accomplished, the rest of the meal
 was consumed by the human assistants. This aspect of eating will,
~~be dealt with in a~~ ^{later section} ~~separate paper~~].

The food is not cut up or handed round by attendants. Everyone
 breaks off what he wants from the platter, but a grandchild will
 often do this on behalf of the grandparent, and carry the portion
 in his hands to the elder.

A passing stranger (by which term I mean anyone not a member
 of the totem-sibs represented by a household) may be called in
 casually to partake of a meal, and can hardly refuse such an
 invitation without causing offence. To him the first choice of
 food is offered, unless the meal has actually begun. In any case,
 before eating, he will break off a piece of the article chosen by
 him as his first dish and offer it to the master of the house, who
 will accept and eat it. This done, the stranger proceeds with his

meal. The custom is called te taarika, ^{which name is also applied to the} ~~failure to observe it is~~
first portion given, at any ritual meal, to the ancestral deity of a clan. Failure to observe
the taarika is believed to cause a guest to vomit back all the food given to him, and
~~to become maraia, or accursed.~~
 No set formula of words is attached to the practice.

A stranger may never eat to repletion: if he be observed to
 do so, he will acquire a reputation of trading upon the hospitality
 of others. Nevertheless, good manners require him to simulate
 repletion, no matter how little he may have eaten. There is no
 particular method of doing this, and no formula of thanks is set
 for observance, but a rubbing of the stomach with the remark that
 "a full meal makes sleepy" is considered delicately to the point,

and an eructation followed by the explanation that the stomach is riba (packed tight), or tibutaua (inflated), is particularly appreciated by the host.

Food at all meals is served together, without discrimination of variety, and each individual follows his taste as to the order of eating. The only gastronomical preference of a general nature that I have been able to discover among the natives is the principle that something sweet ought to be eaten simultaneously with fish, as a tanna (relish). This seems to apply especially to fatty fishes, such as the baneawa (sp. mulloidae *) and the rabono (deep sea conger), and to porpoise flesh. Under modern conditions on Banaba, an especial delicacy is made by mixing store sardines with raspberry jam, the horrible result being eaten rapturously with a tablespoon.

A meal is usually rounded off with a drink of kamaimai, or water. kaububu,^x

Implements used in eating ~~were~~ - te eria, made of any flat, tapering bone, and te kauae, of exactly the same shape but made of turtle-bone, both used as spoons for conveying sticky puddings to the mouth; te bora, a curved scoop of turtle shell, about 2 inches wide and 6 inches long; te kai-ni-moi, a ladle made of half a small

coconut shell attached to a wooden handle, used for filling drinking bowls from larger vessels; te mangko, a drinking bowl made of the half shell of a coconut; te kumete, a large wooden bowl in which liquid foods are mixed ready for the ladle (this vessel is also used as a mortar for pounding foodstuffs); and te noko, the riblet of a coconut-leaf pinnule, used in lengths of about 10 inches, in the manner of a fork, not a chopstick. A brush called te kai-ni-kammamma

New paragraph
(the implement-to-make suck) is often used to convey liquid food to infants and elders; it consists of a piece of the dried spathe of the coconut-blossom, pounded and teased out at one end. Alternatively, a two-foot tube is employed for the same purpose; this implement is called te kai-n-tooree, and is made of a branch of the mao-bush (scaevola koenigi) from which the pith has been extracted.

To eat sticky food from the fingers is considered unmannerly, but fish is always taken by hand, except in the case of nursing mothers: these, for reasons of hygiene and not etiquette, abstain from touching with their fingers any strongly scented food, and either use the noko or else ask a friend to feed them. Nursing mothers must also avoid the ^{Kauae} ~~mao~~ and the bora, because these implements are made of the bone and shell of the turtle, a beast which is believed to inform a mother's milk with the spirit of cowardice.

Except in the drinking of kabubu, ^{and the consumption of other pandanus products} table manners are ill-defined. A clumsy eater is popularly said to be disgusting but, according to Western standards, the clumsiness must be highly exaggerated before it is noticed. Small eaters are pitied (unless they ^{be} ~~are~~ guests), and encouraged to eat more. What we should regard as gross eating commands respect, especially in Abemama and Butaritari, where high-chiefly dynasties are established and fatness is considered an attribute of royalty. A man must be a stupendous trencherman to earn the unsavoury title of bua-beka (bag-excrement) or mangai-n-rang (jaw-of-slave) reserved for gluttons.

A ^{very} strict etiquette must ^{however} be observed in the ~~conducting of the~~

drinking of te Kabubu
~~various product called kabubu~~. In a dry state, this food ~~of which~~
~~the manufacture is described in a later section~~ is of the consist-
 ency of sawdust, and the ^{correct} ~~usual~~ way to take it is to mix it with
 water. The drinking vessel is first half-filled with the powder,
 and water is poured in to within half an inch of the brim. After
 the mixture has stood for a few minutes, it is stirred with a piece
 of green pandanus leaf: the first draught may then be taken. Each
 fresh draught must be preceded by a renewed stirring. When the
 liquid is finished, there always remains a thick sediment of
 liquescent kabubu at the bottom of the vessel, to finish which
 manners demand that more water should be added, and the mixture
 stirred again before drinking. The process must be repeated until
^{but} ~~only~~ a little sediment is left. ^{Only when} a man judges that the remainder
 will make no more than a single mouthful, is he allowed to tip it
 into his open mouth, with head thrown well back: this action is
 called te tara-rake (the looking-upwards). But woe betide him, if
 he misjudge the quantity, or is so maladroit as to spill even a
 little of the sediment down his cheek or chin! The whole household
 will immediately interrupt its meal to deride him, and the elder
 folk will consider it their duty to express themselves in terms of

real disgust. The necessity of performing a clean
tararake is unqualified: though the sediment may
 be collected (with the ^{pandanus leaf} ~~scoops~~) in the
 bottom of the bowl for the purpose of convenient
 tipping, it may on no account be ladled out
 or touched with the fingers, and to leave it
 unconsumed is a serious breach of manners.

The remarkable attitude of the tararake is still observed by a very small number of old men in the Northern Gilberts when any product whatever of the pandanus, or any pudding containing such a product, is being eaten. Such purists take babai, fish or coconut in the ordinary position of eating, with the face turned downwards to the platter, but the juicy seed-cone of the pandanus fruit is gnawed and sucked with the head tilted back, and the tuace, Korokoro, or Katii puddings (see section 8) are dropped morsel by morsel into the open mouth with the face similarly uplifted.

[Footnote. It was the singularity of the tararake posture, and the somewhat elaborate nature of the behaviour observed towards pandanus foods by a race whose other table manners are of a rustic simplicity, which first led me to pursue the enquiries concerning the parent tree and its associations whereof the major part of the following pages is the result].

§ 10. Notes on the distribution of
te Kabubu, and the manner
in which it is drunk.

It is a striking fact that Kabubu, which is universally used over fourteen islands of the Gilbert Group, and also on Baanaba, is nowadays almost entirely neglected by the populations of the two most northerly islands, Butaritari and Little Makin. Very little pandanus is grown on these two units of the Group, and it seems to be a fact that the ^{local} cultivation of this tree, wherever it does now exist, is due to modern influences emanating from the ~~nearest~~ ^{neighbouring} islands of Marakei, Abaiang and Tarawa.

There is abundant evidence of the fundamental relationship of the Butaritari and Little Makin populations with the other Gilbertese communities;

[Footnote. Certain migration traditions which put the relationship beyond doubt will come under examination in a later section].

Aurivaria, the spirit of the pandanus-tree, is one of the most important local deities; and it can hardly be doubted that the manufacture of Kabubu once flourished on both islands to the same extent as elsewhere. It may be that the decline has been encouraged by environmental circumstances, for Butaritari and Little Makin lie outside the zone of periodic droughts (which seriously afflict Baanaba and the rest of the Gilbert Islands), thus liberating the inhabitants from the necessity, very keenly felt elsewhere, of

hoarding supplies of desiccated food against a time of famine.

Certain ethnic factors may also have played their part. Some notable dialectic, physical and social differences distinguish the people of these two islands from other Gilbertese communities, and seem to indicate that they have been subjected to cultural influences which did not penetrate to the rest of the Group. A survey of these peculiar traits — particularly (a) of certain methods of disposing of the dead and (b) of the system of social grouping — suggests that the culture stream which introduced the Kabubu - pandanus habit into this area of Micronesia found in occupation of Butaritari and Makin an aboriginal population different from that of the more southerly Gilbert Islands. It is possibly to the different conditions under which the immigrants fused with the autochthones that the decadence of the Kabubu habit on Butaritari and Makin may be ^{partly} traced.

Nevertheless, while the environmental and ethnic factors may have weakened the appeal of Kabubu to the two communities, and so facilitated its ultimate abandonment as a food, it seems probable that the main reason for the cessation of pandanus cultivation was religious in character. Old men of Little Makin state that the pandanus was formerly the anti of High Chiefs, and that certain trees

[Footnote. Anti = any spiritual power, not being the ghost of a recently dead person.]

[Footnote. High Chiefs. Butaritari and Little Makin have been for many generations under the suzerainty of a single High Chief. They are, with Abaiang and Abemama, the only Gilbert Islands where a high chiefly dynasty has succeeded in remaining established until modern times].

of the genus which once stood on Butaritari were, for this reason, sacred. Clearly, therefore,

[Footnote. The word applied to these pandanus trees, which I have translated sacred, was Kamaraia. Maraia is an epithet which denotes the state of being liable to punishment in consequence of having done a prohibited thing. Ka- is the causative prefix. Kamaraia therefore means causing to be maraia (if in any way offended), and hence ^{meet} to be carefully or ceremoniously treated, i.e., sacred]

the pandanus was well known to the people and, just as clearly, its religious history among them must have been an ancient one. The cessation of its cultivation as a food plant may have been due either to the gradual increase of its religious importance up to the point where it became, as a genus, Kamaraia, or else to the sudden imposition of a tabu upon its use by some member of the high chiefly dynasty whose anti it was. The latter seems the more likely hypothesis. Owing to the rapid decay of custom and tradition on Butaritari and Makin, it is doubtful ^{now} whether anything more conclusive than a hypothesis will ever ~~be~~ be reached.

The distinctly ceremonious manner of throwing back the head when a draught of Kabubu is being drained cannot fail to ~~arrest~~ ^{arrest} attention. It might be thought that the operation of te tararake (the looking up) was the product of two interacting local factors, namely (1) the system in which the food is held by a folk whom poverty has forced to be thrifty, and (2) the mechanical

difficulty of handling the mixture, enforcing its treatment in a pseudo-ritual manner. Against this, however, must be set the facts that the dangerous tipping operation is very far from being the most obvious way to economy, and, in addition, seems to demand a standard of behaviour far more precise than the Gilbertese — judging from their other table manners — would naturally have adopted, had thrift and cleanliness been their only incentives.

That the original motive of the Tararake was indeed not material but religious will appear beyond argument in Part III of this work, wherein certain rituals connected with the fructification of the pandanus and the offering of its first-fruits to the clan deity will be described. It will be seen that the upturning of the face, in one case to an elevated tuft of feathers called the Sun, and in the other to Heaven, is an essential part of those rituals; and it is here most pertinent to add that, in former days, the persons whose function it was to fructify the pandanus were habitually buried at death in a sitting position,

with the head thrown back in the tararake attitude. The looking-up when a draught of Kabubu is being drained clearly belongs to the same group of religious observances, and thus may be regarded, together with the careful treatment of the sediment, as a ritual act.

It cannot, however, be stated too clearly that, to the enormous majority of Gilbertese today, the tararake posture has no religious ^{connotation} ~~significance~~ whatever. The rituals which ^{explain its true significance} ~~demonstrate its real meaning~~ have been for many generations the secret of three social groups only, and the traditions which ^{demonstrate the real meaning of the} ~~give the clue to the vital importance~~ of the pandanus ^{to the race} ~~tree~~ have been no less jealously guarded. So close indeed has been the guard kept upon these monopolies, ^{and so} ~~that~~ swift the concomitant decay of custom within the last half-century, that there are perhaps not now living as many as a dozen old people possessed even of fragments of the ^{authentic} ~~ancient~~ lore of the pandanus and its ^{people's} ~~products~~.

Part II.



Part II. TRADITIONS CONCERNING FOOD.

§ II. Foods of the dead.

(a) The well, the fish and the tree.

It is generally believed by the Gilbertese that, when a departed ghost has safely passed the Bird-headed Woman and the Old Man of the Cat's Cradle on his way to the western bourne of the dead called Bōuru, he is caught in the

[Footnote. Bird-headed Woman: Nei Karamakuna, who pecks out the ghost's human eyes and gives him spirit's eyes in return, provided that he can give her the only food she desires — the tattoo-marks on his body. If the ghost lack these he must pass blind into the Land of Shades.]

[Footnote. Old Man of the Cat's Cradle: Noubwebwe, who displays before the ghost the series of string figures collectively called by his name. The ghost must at all costs correctly name that individual figure of the series which is also called Noubwebwe, whenever it appears. If he fail, he will be either strangled in the string or else impaled by the old man's staff, and die forever. The being Noubwebwe is represented as a stunted, black, curly haired person; he appears in a servile capacity in some versions of the Creation myth, and is believed by some to have invented the String Figure, and displayed it for the first time, while Heaven was being separated from Earth.]

[Footnote. Western home of the dead --- Bōuru: for a general description of the path of a Gilbertese ghost to the Land of Shades, see From Birth to death in the Gilbert Islands, J.R.A.I., Jan-June, 1921. Much additional information concerning the rituals of the dead, their burial and despatch to Paradise has been collected since 1921, and will be published in due course. In

connection with the preceding note, it may be stated that certain string figures used to be made over the dead during the course of the ritual for "straightening the path of the ghost" to its western home (N. Gilberts). The religious significance of the Cat's Cradle is thus very definitely admitted in the Gilbert Islands. See also the connection with a small sun-ritual: Gilbertese Astronomy and Astronomical Observances, J.P.S., December, 1931, pp. 213-215].

netting strand
meat of Nakaa, the guardian of the entrance of that land, and entertained for three days upon the "food of spirits", before being allowed to join the great company of his ancestors. During that period, the ghost is fed — or, rather, feeds himself — upon the fruit of an inexhaustible tree, the fish of an inexhaustible lake, and the water of an inexhaustible well, owned by Nakaa.

The well has no name, being simply called Ie Maniba, the ~~name~~ ^{term for} of the ordinary seepage well of the Gilbert Group. Upon arrival, the ghost is ^{sent} despatched by Nakaa to draw water from the maniba, wherewith to lave his feet and slake his thirst.

The lake (nei) is sometimes called by the name Neineaba; it is said to be of great expanse, ~~but nowhere deeper than a man's waist~~ and fringed with immense shoals not more than ankle deep. Neineaba is situated "in the middle of Bōuru", to the

North of the coastal place called Manra, where Nakaa lives; it contains a single fish, the

[Footnote. Manra, in some versions of the story, is said to be the ~~stretch~~^{place} of sea to South of Bōuru, over which the ghost must pass to reach that land. An Abemama story pictures it as the "outer edge, the remnant of the land of living men" from which the ghost steps immediately into the Land of Shades; ~~and~~ in this version again, it lies to the South of Bōuru.]

mon-n-tai (mon-of-the-sun), which is of a brilliant red-gold colour. The mon-n-tai,

[Footnote. Mon-n-tai: a fish of this name and colour, about eight inches long at its largest, is caught today in the Gilbert Islands, and is believed to be the fish of Bōuru. It is nevertheless freely eaten by living persons, being the subject of no avoidance that I can discover.]

once caught in the net of a ghost, is immediately replaced ^{in the lake} by another. The belief is that, if the ghost can abstain for three days from eating either the flesh of this fish or the fruit of Nakaa's tree, and from drinking the water of the well, he will be free to return to his body in the Land of the Living; but, being hungry ^{and thirsty} after his long journey to Bōuru,

he cannot resist the temptation of food and drink, and so forever binds himself to Nakaa.

The inexhaustible tree is called Tara-kai-main — an interesting name. Putting aside for a moment the first component Tärrä-, the meaning of the second and third is alternatively tree-vigorous or tree-life.

Either rendering would be compatible with the tree's character, the one referring to its unceasing fruitfulness, the other to its association with the land of eternal life.

A Baanaban myth of the origin of death not only settles the matter in favour of the second meaning, but also adds considerably to our special knowledge of Nakaa's tree.

In this myth it is related that Nakaa lived formerly upon Bōuru with the First Men and the First Women, who as yet knew nothing of the sex-relation. Nakaa said to his people one day, "I am about to leave you for a time. When I am gone, you shall live separately — the men under this tree in the North, and the women under that tree in the South; and the men shall not play with the women while I am absent."

When he was gone, a South wind ~~blow~~ carried the scent of tabaa (young pandanus bloom) from the women's tree to the men. So the men went over to pluck the bloom of the women's tree, and to play with the women: it was then that they first learned of the sexual act. On Nakaa's return, his first work was to examine the hair of every man's head, and he found that grey hairs had come to all of them; from which he knew that they had disobeyed his words, and played with the women. At that, he turned to them all in anger, saying, "Now you shall leave this land, for you could not abide my word"; and, before they left, he pointed to the two trees, saying, "Take your choice, for one tree shall remain and one shall be yours to carry away". So they chose the women's tree, and he said "That is Tara-Kai-mate: if you had chosen Tara-Kai-main you would never have known death; but Tara-Kai-main shall remain with me, and

you shall take death with you." They took Tara-Kai-mate and prepared to depart. While they were so occupied, Nakaa plucked leaves from Tara-Kai-main and rolled up in them a host of little insects. As the people were leaving, he pelted the backs of their heads with these leaf bundles, saying, "These insects are grey hairs, and toothache, and stomach-ache, and all the things that bring death; and the leaves are for shrouds." Thus it is that, to this day, the dead are buried in mats of pandanus leaf.

It is clear from this myth that Tara-Kai-main is not merely the tree-vigorous but, in a strong symbolic sense, the tree-of-life, and equally clear that, at some time in the history of the race, it was held to be a pandanus. This second fact ^{accords} ~~fits~~ very well with the

first component of the tree's name, for Tara- is ^{evidently} ~~clearly~~ built up of te and ara-, whereof the first is the definite article, and the second the generic term invariably prefixed to the name of any species of

pandanus. Furthermore, a belief that the

[Footnote. E.g: te ara-bouru (the pandanus of Bouru), te ara-matang (the pandanus of Matang), te ara-maungatabu (the pandanus of the sacred mountain) are some of the seventy odd pandanus names used by the race. Ara- changes euphonicly to an- and ani- before N and K: e.g., an-nabanaba, ani-Koura]

pandanus was the ~~tree~~ ^{Tree of Life} of life is entirely consistent with the whole family of religious ideas grouped around this food-plant, as will be seen later.

Nevertheless, according to the popular Gilbertese belief of today, Tara-Kai-main is not a pandanus at all, but a coconut palm. This is not so surprising as it seems. As I have already indicated, all the vital tradition and ritual surrounding the pandanus has been for many generations the sacred (Kamaraisa) monopoly of three social groups only — Karongoa, Ababou and Maerna — and, even within those groups, the secret knowledge was confined to a very narrow circle of clan-elders, who made it their deliberate business to edit myth and tradition for public circulation in such

a form as to blind all but themselves to its inner meaning. It is entirely natural, in the circumstances ~~this case~~, to find that popular belief as to the identity of Tara-kai-main is wide of the mark.

The secret lore of the pandanus being regarded as Kamaraia, its transmission to

[Footnote. See Footnote ---, page ----, for the meaning of Kamaraia]

any but a ~~few people~~ ^{select few} of the authorised social groups would have been held to endanger the health and safety both of the giver and receiver, and this is perhaps the basic reason for the deliberate camouflaging of tradition that I have indicated. The over-jealous hoarding of the authentic story, allied to the swift decay of custom — especially of religious custom — has almost secured its obliteration today; but there are still a few Karongoa and Maerna clansmen left in the Northern Gilberts who know enough to deny that Tara-kai-main was a coconut palm, and one or two ~~who~~ ^{brave} enough to volunteer ~~say~~ ^{denounce} that it was a pandanus.

(b) The red food called te ranga.

(1) According to the old man Taakenta of Marakei Island, the substance traditionally known as te ranga was the food of ancestors (bakati) in "the line of lands in the West" ~~covered~~ ^{called} by the inclusive name of Bongiroro or Bukiroro.

[Footnote. See latter part of Section 2(a) ante]

Quoting the same authority, who is backed by other old men of Marakei, Abaiang and Tarawa, "te ranga was a thing which made the mouth red when it was eaten." There is a tradition in Taakenta's social group, and

[Footnote. The red-totem group of Nukumaera]

also extant upon the island of Abaiang, that this substance was not taken alone, being chewed (Kantaki) with the leaf of a certain tree.

Taam of Marakei, who is descended through nine generations from a Bern ancestor named Kaabwibwi, remembers a story of his clan ^{relating} ~~that~~ how Kaabwibwi used to "visit the West" in dreams, there to chew te ranga in company with his ancestral deity, Tabu-ariki. Kaabwibwi is believed to have gone, after death, to live in Bōuru with all his ancestors and feast with them upon the red food.

Supporting this individualised account is found a general tradition in the Northern Gilberts that te ranga is the food of all departed ghosts, when they have accomplished their three days' sojourn with Nakaa, and joined the company of their ancestors in Bōuru.

A belief which finds acceptance on most islands of the Group is that the red food is the diet of the fair or red-skinned great ancestral deities of the race — Auriaria, Nei Tevnei (his wife, the Meteor), Nei Tituaabine (his sister-paramour), Riiki the Eel (whose belly is the Milky Way), Tabu-ariki (the thunder god), and Taburimai — in their western home called Matang. The red lightning that flashes in the storm-clouds of the westerly monsoon is sometimes called in ancient song "the renga of Matang." The redness of the sky at sunset is held to be a memorial of the food's colour, and of the western lands (sometimes Bōuru, sometimes Matang) where it originated.

Clearly, all the above accounts of te ranga have reference to a single family of ideas: in Taakenta's story, it is the food of ancestors; in Taam's, the food of a specified ^{human} ancestor; in ascendant ⁱⁿ company with his ancestral deity; in one generalised account it is the diet of ~~the~~ the

great deities from whom descent is traced; and in the other, it is eaten by all departed ghosts when joined with the shades of their forefathers. The Land of Shades and the ancestral fatherland of at least one branch of the Gilbertese race are thus compactly identified, the one with the other, so that the red food of ghosts and gods may be regarded as an article once used by the human antecedents of the race in their western homes of Bōruu and Matang.

Confirming ~~the Marakgi and Abaiang~~ ^{the Marakgi and Abaiang} evidence that the food was not a simple but a composite substance is its name, te ranga, which means the mixture. The invaluable details

[Footnote. The word has, for obvious reasons, acquired a second meaning: red dye. The verb rengana signifies to mix]

(a) that one of the elements of the mixture was the leaf of a tree; (b) that the whole was chewed; and (c) that it stained the mouth red, read together with the information that the food originated in the far West, enable the immediate identification of this substance with the betel-mixture (areca nut, betel leaf, lime), which is of course still commonly chewed in the far-western Pacific and Indonesia.

[Footnote. As to the distribution of betel

in Oceania see Rivers, History of Melanesian Society, vol. ii, pp. 249-251, and passim].

The question that naturally arises, if the Gilbertese forefathers had the betel-chewing habit, is why their descendants have not persisted in the practice until today. This is ~~completely~~ fairly answered by the physical conditions of the Gilbert Islands, whereof the almost purely coralline soil will support only two food-trees — the pandanus and the coconut palm. If the areca palm ever was introduced into these atolls, it could not have ^{out}lasted the first generation of settlement. ~~As the betel-chewing habit must~~ ~~beasmuch, therefore, as the betel-chewing~~

[Footnote. The soil of Ocean Island, consisting mostly of phosphate in an indissoluble form, supports only the wild almond in addition to the pandanus and coconut].

thus have been involuntarily abandoned at an early epoch of the race-history, the memory preserved of the ancestral practice is remarkably precise.

Indonesia being the focus of the betel-chewing habit, it is natural to look first in that area for the far western lands named in the Gilbertese runga-traditions; and, as the Moluccan portion of Indonesia stands at the gates of the Pacific, it seems prima-facie more likely that the culture stream which brought the ~~Bouru, Matang,~~ Bouru-Mauru-Matang-runga beliefs to the Gilbert Group

~~At the same time the belief that the culture of the~~

emanated from that area of the Asiatic archipelago. Such a supposition is ~~rather~~ encouraged by the conclusion of Rivers that the betel-culture was brought to the Western Pacific by immigrants from Indonesia, and

[Footnote. Rivers, History of Melanesian Society,
vol. ii

receives further support from Haddon's finding, on quite different evidence, that the Moluccas were the most probable starting-point of the various race-movements into the Pacific Ocean.

[Footnote. Haddon, The outriggers of Indonesian Canoes, J.R.A.I., Jan-June, 1920, p. 71]

Bōru is, of course, highly reminiscent of Borneo, a large island in the centre of the

Moluccan area, and a pair of topographical coincidences strengthen the suggestion that Buru may have been the ancestral land of Gilbertese tradition. First, there is the story of Nakaa's immense lake on Bōuru, wherein the ghosts of the dead ^[Footnote. See previous section] do their fishing. A glance at any good chart will show that the centre of ^{Buru} Bōuru is occupied by a lake of quite exceptional size, such ^a considerable expanse of

[Footnote. See for preference Admiralty Chart No 942a, Eastern Archipelago, eastern portion]

water occurring on no other island to westward of Celebes. And second, there is the tradition that a place or area called Manra lies either on the South coast or else to southward of Bōuru. A further ^[Footnote. See previous section] reference to the chart will disclose the Banda Islands and Banda Sea immediately to southward of Buru.

Some further coincidences of nomenclature ~~should be recorded~~ ^{demand record} in conjunction with these facts. Matang, the name of the other Paradise already mentioned, is a wide-spread place-name between Matang of Sarawak and Medang of New Guinea; and Mwaiku, yet another Gilbertese Paradise, recalls Waigiou by the Macassar Straits. Gilolo on the other

side of the Straits, and immediately North of
Buru, has already been mentioned in connection
with the Kiroro cooking oven, and Unanna
in the northern bight of Celebes in connection
with the Onouna of the Katura oven.

Between Unanna and Buru on the
chart are seen the ^{islands of Banggai and Taliabu;}
~~Banggai Islands Taliabu;~~
~~and Man~~ Banggai and Taribo are common place-names
in the Gilbert Group. To the West of Buru
lie Manipa and Serang; there are many
Maniba-s and several Serang-s in the
present home of the Gilbertese.

The cumulative value of these coincidences
is enhanced by the diverse nature of the
traditions which make them apparent. Two
similarities of nomenclature have appeared in
connection with cooking-stoves; four, from an
examination of Gilbertese place-names; one, in
a Paradise story; and three, in the Paradise-vuga
traditions. It is certainly remarkable that
whenever, in this diffuse material, the name of
an original land is mentioned, it finds its
counterpart in a single small area of Indonesia.
The effect is that of a series of sign posts set up
at different points in Gilbertese culture and
tradition, every one of them pointing to a common
centre. Adding to this the commonly admitted
likelihood that from this very centre — the
Moluccan area — both the betel-people and

other migratory swarms emerged into the Pacific, there seems to be very reasonable ground for the belief that Borneo, the Banda Islands, Ceram (Serang), Gilolo and the places grouped around them were the homes of those Gilbertese ancestors who chewed the red food called te ruga.

(2) Taakenta of Marakei told me that the tree whose leaves were taken to chew with te ruga was Taa-kai-main, thus suggesting that the Tree of Life discussed in the previous section was not a pandanus, but a betel-palm.

Though Taakenta's other ^{evidence} ~~information~~ about te ruga ^{is} ~~was~~ backed by a good deal of outside testimony, he is the only witness known to me who associates the Tree of Life with the red food, and he ^{is} ~~was~~ ^{unable} ~~not able~~ to state whence he had obtained ^{this exceptional} ~~his~~ information. On the other side, the identification of ^{Taa-kai-main} ~~the pandanus~~ with the ^{pandanus} ~~Taa-kai-main~~ is based upon the direct testimony of the Karongoa clan (the chief authority in all things pertaining to origins), ^{being also} ~~and is~~ supported by the Baanaban myth and by the ^{etymology of the tree's} ~~etymology of its~~ ^{own} name. The likelihood therefore is that Taakenta (who is not a Karongoa man) has not the authentic story. Nevertheless, I have found him, ^{despite} ~~a~~ ^{his great age,} a reliable witness in many directions ~~in many things, despite his great age,~~

and cannot avoid feeling that his connection of terunga with the Tree of Life is something more than a mere confusion. Further research may throw a light upon this matter which I have been unable to obtain, possibly necessitating a modification of my conclusion that a single tree only — the pandanus — is bound up in the tradition of Tara-Kai-mai.

§ 11. Cannibalism and Head-hunting.

There can be no doubt that sporadic cases of cannibalism have occurred throughout the Gilbert Islands until very recent times. A man was pointed out to me on Butaritari in 1922, whose father, just deceased at the age of about 80, was known to have strangled one of his wives a short while before the establishment of the British Protectorate (1892), and eaten raw her thumbs, great toes and breasts. It seems that he committed this atrocity whilst drunk with sour toddy, under the goad of sexual jealousy. His object was not to procure food, but to load the dead woman with the last imaginable indignity. He is reported to have said, while eating her flesh, "Ai beka-u mamma-m aei (my excrement withal, this thy breast)".

Individual cases of cannibalism from two to five generations old collected from eight islands (including both northern and southern units, and also Banaba) indicate that by far the most common motive of cannibalism, in latter times, was that which appeared in the above example - the ultimate abasement of the dead.

A common practice during war-time in the Northern Gilberts was to pluck out the eyes of enemies slain in battle, and crush them between the teeth. The mere biting in two appears to have sufficed, as a rule, but I have obtained from several old men of Tarawa, Abaiang, and Marakei the admission that they actually swallowed eyes thus enucleated. An idiom still in common use at moments of extreme anger is, "I bia orai mata-m (Would that I might eat-uncooked thine eyes)". The operation was usually performed in the heat of battle, standing over the newly-fallen enemy; but there is a tale of a certain High Chief of the Northern Gilberts, not very long dead, ^{to the effect} that he would occasionally cause his ^{suspected} ~~enemies~~ rivals to be murdered in cold blood and brought to him, in order that he might bite their eyeballs with due deliberation.

Banaba

An interesting story from ~~Banaba~~ relates that, four or five generations ago, a Tabiteuean canoe containing five starving occupants drifted ashore there. The castaways were kindly treated, one of them, named Tebuke, being adopted into a household of the village of Buakonikai. After several years, Tebuke was suddenly missed from the village and, after vain search, was given up for dead. From that time onwards, many other people of the same district began to disappear mysteriously, and it was believed that they had become victims of the same evil power that had spirited away Tebuke. After a good many years, Tebuke reappeared, sick and on the point of death. Just before dying, he confessed that he had lain hidden all the time in a hollow rock (now known as Tebuke's rock), which stood near one of the paths taken by fishermen to reach the eastern shore of the island. Whenever a man or woman passed the rock alone, Tebuke had followed and killed the victim; he then dragged the corpse back to his hiding place, to eat it at his leisure. There seems to be no reason for doubting this story, which shows that, in some Tabiteueans at least, there was a tendency to revert to cannibalism for purely gastronomic reasons.

The word "revert" is used advisedly, because tradition seems to leave no doubt that the eating of human flesh was commonly practiced, in conjunction with a form of ^{organised} head-hunting, by the race-ancestors who came ^{to} from the Gilbert Group from Samoa, some 22-25 generations

ago. This, however, is one of the most carefully hidden secrets of the Karongoa clan: it was not until my ninth year among the Gilbertese that an authentic account of the facts was given to me. In 1923, three old men of the high chiefly group of Little Makin (which is analogous to the Karongoa sibs of other islands) allowed me to take down at their dictation the text of which a translation appears in Appendix 1. Though some parts only of the narrative are pertinent to cannibalism and head-hunting, the text is given in full, as it contains much that will be of use in later sections.

Section 2 of the story opens with an account of the ^{place in Samoa} ~~place~~ ^(according to Section 4) where ^{heads} human sacrifices were ^{laid in sacrifice} ~~made~~ and of the spiritual powers to whom they were offered. The locality was Maungatabu, the Sacred Mountain, whereof the summit "smoked, and sometimes burned fiercely;" the deities were, first of all, Auriaria, who dwelt in the crest of ~~the~~ ^{an} Ancestral Tree ~~that stood~~ ^{upon} the mountain-slope; and second, Baturu, a skull ^{(that was also an} ~~believed to have~~ ^{believed to have}

^{ancestor)} ~~believed to have~~ ^{springing from} the ^{smoking summit.} ~~summit of the mountain.~~ Section 3 ~~relates~~ describes the building of the canoe wherein the children of Baturu the Skull "fared forth to seek the food of their father ~~from~~ the West." It is mentioned ^{in this context} here

how the canoe was launched over the bodies of dead men. The fourth Section gives a clear account of how organised head-hunting raids were conducted against one island to westward of Samoa, called Butuna, and two to the South, called Tonga and Nuku-maroro. Butuna is clearly Fotuna or Horne Island some 250 miles due West of Savaii; Tonga, correctly placed to southward, needs no explanation; and Nuku-maroro, given the ~~second~~ ^{alternative} name of Nieuve by the old men of Butaritari, ~~thus becoming~~ ^{being} is easily identified ^{as} ~~with~~ Savage Island, a little to eastward of Tonga.

The victims selected by the raiders were "men who were the first-born, and bearded, and bald"; their heads were cut off and hung in the rigging during the homeward voyage, while their trunks were heaped in the ^{raiders'} canoe. On arrival in Samoa, the heads were immediately taken as an offering to Batuku and Auriaria, being laid for this purpose on the lower slopes of the Sacred Mountain, "because the treading of that place was feared." After this ritual had been observed, the bodies of the slain were divided ^{as food} among the "people of Samoa".

The salient features of the Little Makin account are corroborated by a somewhat less detailed version collected from the Karongoa sib of Beru in the Southern Gilberts: discounting marvels I see no reason for doubting the general accuracy of the facts related. Further supporting evidence is supplied by the traditions connected with the canoe-crest of Karongoa. This crest consists of various arrangements of tufts and pennants of pandanus leaf, which I have described elsewhere.

[Footnote. See Canoe Crests of the Gilbert Islands Man, June, 1921].

Almost any Karongoa man in the Group knows that the tufts are representations of human heads, in memory of the "food of the Kings of Samoa in older times." The account given in the Little Makin text of how the heads of the slain were hoisted in the rigging of the raiders' canoe interlocks very well with this widespread tradition.

As I have already indicated, the head-hunting and cannibalism of the Gilbertese ancestors in Samoa and elsewhere is the dark secret of an inner circle of Karongoa. Members of the outer circle, and of other social groups, possess versions of the Little Makin story told, not in terms of fact, but in a curious cryptic

form, which they relate without in the least understanding their hidden significance, and which, set side by side with the authentic story, form a most interesting study. They are mythopoeic renderings of the truth which the chosen of Karongoa have put into currency, in order the more completely to conceal the real facts of history.

[Footnote. I was present when a Karongoa elder, to whom the real facts were perfectly well known, purveyed the cryptic form of the story to a large audience with great gravity and conviction. When I talked with him a few hours afterwards, he explained, "These things are shameful to us, and they are Kamaraia: for both these reasons, they may not be squandered (bakataeaki) to the mass of the people"]

It is related in the cryptic class of traditions that stranded porpoise formed the favourite food of the people of Samoa, and that the heads of the porpoise were the portions (tiba) of the Kings of Karongoa. To a bitter quarrel arising out of the unfair division of certain porpoise is attributed the scattering of the people from their land, and their migration to the Gilbert Group. This, it will be seen, agrees in general outline very well with the Little Makei account; only all details concerning the practice of human head-hunting, the rituals surrounding it, and the deities with

whom it was associated, are suppressed. In the expurgated versions, no mention is made of Auriaria or the skull named Batu Ku: these two beings are replaced by a King of Samoa called Namakaina (the Moon); and though the Ancestral Tree figures in the story, nothing is said of the "Sacred Mountain that smoked," whereon the authentic account places it.

Assembling the details with which the two classes of tradition, read side by side, furnish us we have the following information:-

1. Cannibalism among the Gilbertese ancestors in Samoa was secondary to the offering of human heads in sacrifice to certain deities.
2. A form of organised head-hunting was practiced to supply the deities with their "food." The heads of those who were the "first-born" and "bearded and bald" were preferred for ritual purposes.
3. The spiritual powers to whom sacrifice was made were Auriaria, a god believed to dwell in the crest of an Ancestral Tree, and Batu Ku, ^{who was} ~~a skull~~ associated with an enormous ancestral skull. There seems to be a connection between these two beings and the Moon.
4. The ritual of sacrifice was connected with a sacred volcano called Maungatabu, the home of the tree-god and the skull-god.

5. The victims of sacrifice were not, in latter times, inhabitants of Samoa, being fetched from the islands of Niue, Tonga and Futuna, all about 250 miles distant from Savaii.
6. The euphemism used to designate a corpse to be eaten by the people was te Kua — a porpoise.
7. The partition of dead bodies among the various social groups was a ceremonious occasion. It was some failure to observe the rights of a social group or groups in the course of such a ceremonial that caused the break-up of the race in Samoa.
8. As the carriage of corpses by canoe from the neighbouring islands named to Samoa could not have occupied under two or three days, the flesh must have been consumed in an advanced state of putrefaction. This suggests that the form of cannibalism practiced was rather theoretical or ritual than actual.

The connection of Batuketu the skull-god with the Moon is arresting, because the association of cannibalism with beings who dwell in the sky is of common occurrence in the Pacific. 1

[Footnote. Rotuma; Romilly, Letters from the Western Pacific and Mashonaland, London, 1891.

Mangaia; Gill, Myths and Songs from the South Pacific.

Admiralty Is: Meier, Mythen und Sagen der Admiraltätsinsulaner, Anthropos, ii. 646-67, 933-42.

New Zealand: White, Ancient History of the Maori, vol. 1

Paumotus: Leverd, The Paumotuan version of Tafa'i, J.P.S., 1911, pp. 172-78]

refer especially to the famous tales of the heroic personage called Tawhaki by the Maoris, wherein Tawhaki himself is seen to be descended from a cannibal grandmother, who was not only a sky-dweller, but whose name — Whaitari — means Thunder. The astronomical associations of cannibalism are even better defined in some versions of the story quoted by Dixon, ^{for these} ~~which~~ place

[Footnote. Dixon, Oceanic Mythology, p. 59]

Tawhaki ~~was~~ eventually, with his grandmother, in heaven as a deity of lightning.

In the next few sections it will appear how closely the tree-god Auriaria, who shared with Batuku the sacrifice of human heads upon the Sacred Mountain, was connected (in agricultural rituals) with the Sun and Moon; and in section --- he will be shown as the Sun-god in very person. This being once apparent, the connection of human sacrifices ^{with the Moon by} ~~among~~ the Gilbertese ancestors of Samoa ^{seems to be but} ~~with the Moon~~ one aspect of a Sun-Moon cult that embraced a wide range of religious activities. I thus anticipate my evidence only to ~~state~~ ^{suggest} in passing that the astronomical associations of cannibalism throughout Polynesia — and especially in the Tawhaki-traditions — ^{may owe} ~~owed~~ their origin to an ^{ancient} cult of the Sun and Moon, wherein the sacrifice of human heads and the subsequent eating of human flesh played a part. The likelihood of such a hypothesis

[Footnote. Some striking links between the Batuku tradition and the Tawhaki tales may here be noted. In the Tawhaki story there appears a man-eating monster named Matuku, whose home is in the far East. Percy Smith (Hawaiki, p. 199) believes this name to refer to the island of Matuku in the Fiji Group, but it seems

probable that the ogre of Polynesia is, under another guise, the Batuku of Gilbertese story, and is found connected with the East because of his primary association with the Moon. That there is a historic connection between the Tawhaki-Matuku complex on the one side and the Batuku story on the other is evident from a notable genealogical detail common to both accounts. According to Rarotongan story, the brother of Taaki (Tawhaki) was Karii, a fierce being who offered his own parents in sacrifice to the gods (Hawaiki, p. 191); while a genealogical tradition of Karungoa from Bern, Southern Gilberts, gives Batuku a brother named Karii, "whose food was the heads of the first-born."]

will become more apparent when the deeper strata of Gilbertese myth and religion are examined.

^{Within}
~~Outside~~ the class of the cannibal tradition a tale from Tabiteuea (S. Gilberts) throws extremely interesting light upon the origins of Batuku the Skull. ~~The text of this story.~~

~~It is presented at full length in Appendix 2, as it will be much used hereafter. Opening with a version of the Creation myth, the tale passes in its second, third and fourth sections through~~

a series of ~~narratives~~^{exploits} of the well-known Trickster type, wherein NaAraea the Creator is the malicious hero; but the fourth section

[Footnote. The name of the Creator, NaAraea, means Sir Spider. For variant versions of the Creator myth in the Gilbert Islands, see Folklore, 1922, pp. 91-112. As a rule, the Creator does not appear as the Trickster, this rôle being filled by his son NaAraea the Younger, who is portrayed ~~as a little~~^{sometimes, as a} spider, but more often as a little, malicious black man with close, curly hair and a flat nose. This ~~being~~^{personage} is ~~often~~^{often} called in the North NaAraea Tekikitea, and in the South NaAraea Tekitekite or Tekikinto. He is always found in conflict with the large bodied, tawny skinned ancestral deities Tabu-ariki, Auriaria, Taburimai, etc., from whose anger his cleverness invariably enables him to escape. The Trickster stories of which he is the hero seem to ~~form a link between~~^{represent an intermediate stage between} the purely animal Trickster tales of Indonesia and the ~~narratives~~^{tales of misbehavior} grouped around the name of Polynesian Maui-Tikitiki. Observe the similarity between Tikitiki and Tekitekite.]

ends with a good deal of genealogical information, up to which climax the whole preceding series of narratives, in the manner common to all such annals in the Gilbert Islands, is intended to lead.

It is related in section 1 of the ~~Appendix~~ text how, before the Creation era, two western lands named Aba-the-little (Abaiti) and Aba-the-great (Abatoa) were the home of the first ancestral tree, whereof Auriaria was the spirit. There can hardly be in the history of the Gilbertese two Ancestral Trees, both owned by the same deity, Auriaria; and the conclusion is that the first tree of Abaiti and Abatoa was the prototype of that which (according to the Little Makin cannibal traditions just examined) grew from the underworld and was subsequently planted on the Sacred Mountain of Samoa by Auriaria "when he trod the South." Between the Tabiteuea

[Footnote. See Appendix 1, section 1 and opening para. of section 2]

and the Little Makin tales we are given, in fact, the first and the last milestones in the migration-track of a tree-descended, head-hunting people, with their god Auriaria, out of a

far western land or lands into the South Pacific. Any doubts as to whether the two texts do indeed refer to the same people and tree will disappear as the comparison proceeds.

After the separation of heaven and earth, according to the Tabiteuea account (section 1, last paragraph), "grew the first land, even Kai-n-tikua-aba in the West." Kaintikuaaba, it will be noted, is the name attached in the Little Makin story to the Ancestral Tree in Samoa: whether it be by origin the name of a land or a tree (and its meaning — Iru-of-tikuaaba — seems to include both connotations), its earliest associations were plainly with a land in the West, whence it was transferred to Samoa, its latest home. That Samoa was the last of the series of lands settled by the tree-people is evident from the context under reference, for it is there carefully stated that, after Kai-n-tikua-aba in the West, grew "Tarawa ^{in the East}"; after Tarawa, Bern and Tabiteuea; and finally, "Samoa" ^{in the South}. This gives the order in which the people of the tree occupied their successive homes. It is thus seen that the migration-track of the race

represented by the name of the tree-god
Aurivaria lay out of the West into the Northern
Gilberts; thence into the Southern Gilberts;
and thence ^{again} into Nuclear Polynesia.

The closing paragraphs (see section 4) of
the Tabiteuea text confirm this conclusion
by describing, in mythopoeic form, the
final stage of the migration, i.e., the
movement from the Southern Gilberts into
Samoa. The same context puts it beyond
doubt that the people ~~described~~ ^{alluded to} in this
series of tales are none other than the
head-hunting race ~~of the same name~~ ^{portrayed, with their}
~~skull-god~~ Batuku, in the Little Makin tradition.

The section opens by describing how the
Creator Na Aream, while at Tabiteuea, stole
Kobine, the wife of a being named Taranga,
and made her the progenitress of ancestors.
We have ^{already} seen this myth, under a rather
different guise, in the Little Makin story,
for it is there related (section 1) how
Aurivaria, in the underworld, stole from
Taranga not a wife but a tree, from
which all ancestors sprang. The essential
myth-fabric — the victim, ^{his name Taranga} the stratagem,
^{consequently} the birth of ancestors — is the same in
both cases; only ~~the~~ externals vary, and

[Footnote. It will be seen later that the
divergence of externals is in one important
matter more apparent than real; for the

evidence will show that Taranga's tree, stolen by Auriaria, was a pandanus and, as such, essentially a woman. It thus equates perfectly with the woman Kobine stolen from Taranga by Na Areau]

the story has been localised in the Tabiteneu account: that which remains common to both versions represents what was evidently one of the fundamental beliefs entertained by the people of Auriaria concerning the first growth of their race.

The names of Na Areau's progeny by Taranga's wife on Tabiteneu are given as Au-the-continually-overturned, Au-continually-lying-down, and Au-the-skull. These, according to the text, were "the first ancestors of Karongoa on Tabiteneu," which is ~~to say~~ to say, ~~that~~ their names stand as symbols representing a whole group (or perhaps three separate sub-groups) of Karongoa folk who had immigrated into that island. The same context links them together in a single religious category by stating that their anti was Auriaria. Their names obviously belong to the same family as Auriaria's, which means Au-continually-rising-over-the-horizon,

[Footnote. Ria is used of ships, or luminaries, or lands appearing over the sky-line. The duplicated form riaria is frequentative in force, denoting habitual or recurrent action].

and it seems pretty clear that in the god and ^{his tree} ~~his~~ ^{who are certainly not human ancestors} eponyms, we have but four different personifications or attitudes of a single central identity named Au, who was the object of the Karongoa cult.

Having ^{thus} defined ^{by reference to their socio-religious indices,} his groups, the historian proceeds to describe the migration from Tabiteneva to Samoa, making Au-the-skull now the ^{inclusive} index of the movement. Three of the canoes that carried the migrants are named, and their names are found to have significant reference, in every case, to the heads of human beings offered in sacrifice.

[Footnote. See footnote appended to the context under reference]

Thus obliquely does the narrator refer to the habit which the Karongoa people carried with them to Samoa.

In the next paragraph, dealing with the settlement of the immigrants in Samoa, the history links itself directly with the Little Makin tradition through the name of Baturku. The only differences are that, in this version, Baturku is presented not

as a god or a skull, but as the King of the Tree of Samoa and the progeny of a skull; while Koururu (the Brow) appears as his brother, not his offspring, as in the Little Makin story (section 2). As far as the practice of human sacrifice is concerned, this text tersely confirms the more detailed version from the Northern Gilberts, by recording that the food of the Kings of the Tree was human heads.

Such, upon the evidence of the Tabiteuea tradition, is the tale of migrations implied in those few opening words of section 2 in the Little Makin text: Then was planted on Samoa the tree named Kai-n-tikua-aba, for there Auriaria planted it when he trod the South. Other material, to be examined in later chapters, ^{because} ~~and~~ not specifically concerned with head-hunting, will be seen to confirm the itinerary which I have plotted.

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The last movement of all was the reflux of the head-hunting people from Samoa, ^{back} along their ancestral migration track, into the Gilbert Islands. The Tabiteuea version deals with that event in semi-mythical language, stating that the progeny of Au-the-skull were flung by their anti Auriaia northwards from Samoa, and ^{thus} returned to Tabiteuea Island. A straight (though very imperfect) pedigree in the male line ~~then~~ ^{leading} from the son of one of the immigrants down to the person of Tekawakawa, my informant, then closes the history. The Little Makin ~~account~~ ^{version} interlocks perfectly with this account, in that it also brings a "child" of the skull Batuku (named Rairiueana) from Samoa to Tabiteuea; after ~~that~~ ^{which}, in its final paragraph, it shows how the line of Rairiueana migrated, ^{northwards} again, up to Butaritari at the extreme ~~end~~ ^{end} of the Group, ~~and there produced~~ ^{there to produce} the ancestors of three high-chiefly dynasties in the Gilbert Islands and ^{of} another in Mille of the Marshalls.

[Footnote. It is at the return from Samoa that the enormous majority of Gilbertese clan-traditions begin. The usual story heard outside the clan of Karougoa is based upon the fundamental belief that Samoa was the first of all lands, and the original home of all ancestral deities. It is only in the secret traditions that any clue to the earlier fatherlands of the race is given. The belief in a western Paradise of the dead, which is popular not secret, has no relation in the public mind with the question of

race origins.

Every island has its separate accounts of how the various totem-deities arrived from Samoa and established their local groups. There can be no doubt that the reflux from Samoa was a comprehensive re-invasion of the whole Gilbert Group. To acquire a foothold in the islands the returning clans were obliged to fight and conquer that branch of their race which had colonised the Gilbert atolls at the time of the southward movement into Samoa. This explains why the Samoan dogma of origins is now paramount in popular story. The victors could not afford to admit that their vanquished kinsmen had an origin similar to their own. They therefore exalted Samoa into the position of prime importance and suppressed all talk of the ancient, common fatherlands of the West. Hence, the clues to the early migrations of the race now appear only in the secret traditions of Karongoa]

Traced backwards into history, therefore, upon the evidence of the texts examined, the lineage of, say, the high-chiefly dynasty of Butaritari takes us first southward to Tabiteuea, and thence southward again to Samoa. Looping back northward, the line passes once more through Tabiteuea; thence up to Tarawa; thence westward to the land called Kai-n-tikua-aba; and finally, to the earliest fatherlands

~~of the ancestral Tass called Abaiti and Abatoa.~~
According to the Tabiteuea account,
it was in those very ancient homes of the

race that Auriana, the god of the head-hunting rituals, first dwelt with his Tree.

Another, and singularly valuable, link with the West is the description of the Kings of the Tree of Samoa in the Tabiteuea text as "the Breed of Matang, the breed of fair (red)-skinned men." The text is supported at this point by a second account of Batuku and his Kiri obtained (in a very different setting) from the island of Bern. The Bern tale states that NaArae the Trickster, son of the Creator, travelled to Samoa from Tarawa and there begot "the eldest ancestor" whose name was Te-i-matang, the Man-of-Matang. This being was the progenitor of Batuku and his "brother Kiri." The text proceeds: Kiri and

[Footnote. Kiri: for a comparison of this personage with Kiri of Rarotongan story, see Footnote.... ante]

the skulls Batuku are said to have been Kings
beneath the Tree of Samoa, and their food
was the heads of the first-born, the eldest:
the heads of the first-born children of the
people of Niku-maroro were taken to be the
food of those Kings. And in the man
Kiri appeared the Breed of Samoa, the
breed of red men, who were called the
people of Matang.

Matang, as will be remembered from the preceding section, is in popular tradition the far western land where the fair-skinned ancestral deities — Auriaria, ^{Nei Titigabine} Taburimai, Tabu-ariki, and others — forever feast upon the red food called te vruga. It is obvious, of course, that Auriaria the anti of Batuku the Skull ^{must be identified} ~~is identical~~ with Auriaria the ancestral deity of Matang — and thus Matang may be regarded as yet another of the ancient fatherlands from which the head-hunting tree-people emanated. Nevertheless, the parallel evidence that the race still called itself in Samoa the Breed of Matang is ^{very valuable indeed} ~~obvious~~ ^{inasmuch as} it is of a concrete, social nature and ^{definitely sets} ~~sets the~~ ^{material} existence of ^{the} western country (or group of countries) called Matang ^{within the category} ~~beyond reasonable~~ of material realities.

[Footnote. Matang is now a very common place-name up and down the Gilbert Group]

As a piece of cultural information, the ^{direct} connection of the ^{tree-people} ~~head-hunters~~ with Matang is of first-rate importance, for it brings their

practice of head-hunting, allied to the cult of an ancestral skull, into immediate concatenation with the chewing of the red food called te renga. The close ^{original} association of the betel-chewing habit with the practice of head-hunting and "a highly developed cult connected with the skulls of relatives" has been demonstrated by Rivers. The

[Footnote. History of Melanesian Society,
vol. ii, pp. 260-61 and passim]

identification of te renga with the betel-mixture thus not only rests upon ^{the} very strong internal evidence already examined, but

also upon its perfect consistency with other characteristic features of the betel-culture now ^{made} apparent in the practices of the tree-people.

Rivers has stated that there is no evidence of head-hunting in Polynesia ^{as an organised} upon ~~the~~ and habitual practice, having the social or religious importance which attaches to the habit among the head-hunting peoples of Melanesia. Chiefly upon this ground, the

[Footnote. Op. cit., p. 261]

same authority doubts whether the betel culture ever penetrated into Polynesia. The evidence of Gilbertese tradition just examined is therefore of a somewhat sensational ^{kind} and

if, as it seems to show, a numerous head-hunting folk with memories of the betel-chewing habit did indeed ^{by way of the Gilbert Islands} penetrate, as far as Samoa, it will be necessary to explain why the vestigia of the betel-culture now traceable in Polynesia are, if any at all, so slight as to be almost unrecognisable. A sufficient explanation will, I think, appear, but must await the examination, in later sections, of other aspects of the culture of the tree-people.

The remainder of this section will be devoted to a review of two further traditions of cannibalism in the Gilbert Group, obtained from social groups other than the Karongoa clan. The first of these, whereof the vernacular text and an interlinear translation appear in Appendix III, emanates from the clan of Keaki, ^{which claims} ~~whereof~~ the Tropic Bird, ^{as its} ~~is the~~

[Footnote. Better known as the Bo'sun Bird, of which three varieties are known in the Gilbert Islands: Phaëton rubricaudus (Bodd. Red-tailed), Phaëton aethereus (Linn. Common), Phaëton lepturus (Lacep. and Daud. Yellow-billed)]

totem and Nii Tituaabine, ^{as its} ~~the~~ ancestral deity.

The free translation of the story here follows:—

The Keaki tradition.

(1) After the breaking of the Tree (of Samoa) Kai-n-tikuaaba by Te Uribaba, all the beings who lived in its

[Footnote. Te Uribaba: c.f. the Little Makin text in Appendix I, which names Te Uribaba as the traitor who betrayed the people of the Tree of Samoa to the inhabitants of Tonga, Futuna and Niue. Even in the Little Makin text, it is probable that this name stands rather for a group of people than for an individual. The phrase "breaking of the Tree" used above obviously refers to the catastrophe which caused the break-up of the race in Samoa, and is a good example of the cryptic idiom originally imposed by the Karongoa clan upon other social groups, such as Keaki].

crust were scattered. The birds of Nei Tituaabue, the Red-tailed and Yellow-billed Tropic Birds, flew away. The Yellow-billed Tropic Bird flew westward and settled upon the land of Beberiki; and the Red-tailed Tropic Bird flew eastward to eat the redness of the sunrise, and after that it came down-wind to the tip of Little Makin, where it settled upon the branch of the pandanus-tree called Te-ani-Koura, or Te-ara-maunga-tabu, or Tara-Kai-mate, above

[Footnote. Te-ani-Koura = The-pandanus of Koura. It will be seen a little later that Koura was an ancestral being of the Keaki clan.

Te-ara-maungatabu = The pandanus of the sacred mountain.

Tara-Kai-mate = Te-ara-Kai-mate: c.f. the Banaban myth quoted in the preceding section. This context seems to put it beyond doubt that the

Trees of life and Death were regarded as
pandanus-trees]

the bathing pool called The-laughter-of-waves.

(2) And behold! if any man (of Little Makin)
went to bathe in that pool, the Red-tailed
Tropic Bird leapt upon him and ate him.
Many were the victims thus slain by the bird.

(3) And behold! Nci Tituaabine arose (from
Samoa) to follow and seek her bird: she
came from the South, passing up the islands to

[Footnote. i.e., the Gilbert Islands]


windward, and carrying with her one withered
coconut and her divination-set called te Kirikiri.

[Footnote. For a short description of the use of
te Kirikiri (pebbles) for divination, see
Canoes in the Gilbert Islands, J.R.A.I.,
Jan-June, 1924, pp 102-3]

She arrived at Makin and went to the maneaba
(meeting-house). When she met the people in the
maneaba she said, "Have you seen my Tropic
Bird here?" (They answered) "We have seen
it, and now there are hardly any people of our
land alive, for the bird has ^{well-nigh} eaten
them up. Canst thou, then, not save us from
that bird of thine ^{for thou art indeed our mother} ~~that woman said~~
^{also. That woman said} "I can. Plait two fans, and with them ~~you~~
^{also.} shall (be able to) kill it."

(4) So when those fans were ready, she

told the women Bairuti and Batikoran to go and fan the bird. They did as they were told: the bird died, and they returned to tell Nei Tituaabine. Then she went to bury her bird: over its head she planted her withered coconut, and around that plant she set an enclosure of three hard stones. When she had finished burying her bird, she left it and returned to the maneaba. Then all the people of the land were happy, and gathered together to play and dance: every day indeed they made merry.

(5) And when it was again evening on a certain day, they were ~~gathered~~ ^{dancing} together,  and behold! there appeared a red glow ~~within~~ the maneaba, on its eastern side. The people of the maneaba looked towards the place where the red glow appeared, and behold! they saw a shining, red-skinned man as big as a giant. But when the dancing-chant was nearly ended, that man ran away.

(6) And when they were next dancing, that man once more appeared; and when the chant ended, he was chased; and behold! he was found in the crest of the pandanus tree upon which the Tropic Bird had formerly settled. A great company also dwelt with him in the crest of the pandanus

tree. And Nei Tituaabine asked him, "Whence grew ye?" And that man, who was the eldest of them, answered, "I grew out of the head of the Tropic Bird when it was buried." And thus said Nei Tituaabine: "Thy name is Ko-ura". Then she pointed at the rest of his

[Footnote. Ura = burning or red]

company in turn, saying, "Thou art Iki-ni-Koura; thou art Rube-ni-Koura; thou art Koura-mwe; thou art Koura-toa; thou art Koura-iti; thou art Koura-ma-te-taake; thou art Koura-n-Taamoa; and thou, Koura-n-Tarawa."

(7) The whole of this company was red-skinned. After a little while, they were all taken to the maneaba, and later still, they were made ^{High Chiefs} ~~leaders~~ therein.

(8) After a time, they ordered that a canoe should be built for them. When it was ready, it was called "Te-buki-ni-benebene" (The-tip-of-a-coconut-leaf); and then the time came for them to travel, so that they might see the neighbouring islands. And Nei Tituaabine told them, saying, "You shall go first to look at the coconut-tree which I planted over the Tropic Bird." They went to look at it, and there were people in

its crest. Those people were led back to Nei Tituaabine; and when they came to her she said to the eldest of them, "Thy name is Nei Riki; and thou art Nei Temarewe; and thou art Nei Tebaarae; and thou, Nei Tarabainang; and thou, Nei Newi." And then she gave her divination-set of pebbles to Nei Newi, with a mat of invisibility as its covering; and then (again) she tore off the crest of the coconut tree from which they had all grown, and gave the leaves to Nei Tarabainang as a divination-set.

After this point, the narrative describes the voyages of the Tropic Bird people, under the leadership of Koura, down the Gilbert Group, and their colonisation of the ^{four} ~~three~~ islands of Butaritari, Abaiang, Tarawa and Bern. This carries the tradition beyond the scope of the present subject, but it is worth while to point ~~pointing~~ out in passing the evident criss-cross of immigrant currents that was set up in the Gilbert Islands by the ~~invasion~~ ^{return of} the Samoan branch of the race to Micronesia. While the Karongoa clans of the two texts first examined are seen to have entered

the Group at Tabiteuea in the South, and to have proceeded thereafter up to the extreme northerly islands of Little Makin and Butaritari, the Tropic Bird groups of the tradition now presented took the diametrically opposite course of invading the Group at Little Makin and working their way thence down to Bernu, an island as far to the southward as Tabiteuea. This single example must suffice at present to illustrate the restlessness and complex ~~series~~ ^{swirl} of clan-movements that vexed the Group during the period immediately succeeding the incursion from Samoa.

Regarding now the technique of the Keaki tradition, we have in this narrative a good example of the method common to many clan-histories in the Gilbert Islands. The tale is fundamentally a record of facts, the central event being the ~~arrival~~ ^{immigration} of a certain ^{man-eating} social group from Samoa into Little Makin; but instead of naming the ~~human~~ ^{actual} ancestors who took part in the invasion, the historian ~~takes~~ ^{uses} the ~~group~~ ^{clan}-deity and

totem-creature — Nui Tituaabine with her Tropic
Bird — as social indices, and attributes
to them the historic acts of the whole
Keaki group ^{of immigrants} for which they stand. It overlays

[Footnote. It is still a common Gilbertese practice
to designate a whole group of people by the
name of their totem or clan-deity. E.g.,
E roko Taburimai i aba-ra (Taburimai arrives
at our land) means "Some people of the
clan whose deity is Taburimai have arrived
at this island." E noraki te Taake i
Tarawa meang (The Tropic Bird is seen
at North Tarawa) means similarly, "There
are people of the Tropic Bird group living
on North Tarawa".]

the whole with myth-material ^{relating} ~~connected~~
~~to~~ the totem and the deity, which obviously
dates from an era of clan-history much earlier
than that of the coming from Samoa.

Setting aside the myth-fabric, and rati-
onising the account of facts, the tradition may
be read as follows:— When ^{the} ancestors of the
Keaki clan were obliged to leave Samoa, they
fled northwards until they came to Little
Makin. There they landed, having secured
their first foothold in the neighbourhood of
the bathing-pool called Te-ngare-n-nas. From
that centre, they proceeded to ~~make war~~ ^{attack}
~~upon~~ the local population, ^{their victims being} ~~and to practice~~

Killed and eaten. The practice of cannibalism, however, ceased for a very definite reason, which is explained in the prayer to Nei Tituaabine put into the mouths of the victimised

people (paragraph 3): Canst thou, then, not save us from that
bird of thine, for thou art indeed our mother
also?

This is an excellent example of the characteristically oblique manner in which the Gilbertese historian conveys his most vital information. The fact of which we are here apprised is that Nei Tituaabine was the ancestral deity not only of the invaders, but also of the invaded: in other words, the immigrants from Samoa were (as I have already shown) of the same stock as the people established in the Gilbert Islands; and the intention of the historian in the context which I have quoted is to explain that the incoming Tropic Bird folk ceased to prey upon the inhabitants of Little Makin because they shared with them the cult of the same ancestral deity, Nei Tituaabine.

But though cannibalism ceased, it is nevertheless clear that the immigrants established themselves as conquerors of the land, for the evidence of paragraphs 6 and 7 of the text is that the Koura people, who "grew out of the head of the Tropic Bird" from Samoa, were made High Chiefs in the manuaba of Little Makin. This naturally raises the

the question why the people of the Keaki group are not, to this day, High Chiefs of the most northerly Gilbert Island. The answer is partly contained in the Little Makin text already examined ^(Appendix I). While the Tropic Bird people were invading the extreme Northern Gilberts, ~~that~~ ^{the} branch of the Karougoa group led by Rairaueana, the "son" of Baturku the Skull, ~~was~~ ^{was} immigrating into Tabiteuea. The genealogical details given ~~at the end~~ ^{in the final} paragraph of ~~Appendix I~~ ^{the Little Makin text} show that, ~~the~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~next~~ ~~generation~~, ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ^{tree} Karougoa ^(clan) in the person of Rairaueana's son Te-ietoa, moved northwards to Butaritari. By that time the Tropic Bird folk must have been well established as ^{overlords.} ~~High Chiefs~~ of Little Makin, and probably also of Butaritari, but such was the sacred prestige of Karougoa among the Samoan immigrants that it is very doubtful whether the Tropic Bird folk withstood, or even desired to withstand, for a moment the ^{prerogative} ~~right~~ of Rairaueana's newly arrived stock to supersede them. However this may be, it is certain from all the traditions of the High Chieftly dynasty now ^{established} ~~in power~~ upon Butaritari and Little Makin, that in the fourth generation after Rairaueana first invaded Tabiteuea, his

three famous descendents Raruaeana the Warrior, Na Atanga, and Mangkia — whose names appear in the final paragraph of the Little Makin text — represented the only ruling caste upon the two northern islands. The reign of the

[Footnote. Raruaeana the Warrior migrated to Mille in the Marshall Islands, and there established a chiefly group which (according to a Butaritari claim which I have not verified from the Mille end) is still extant. The third brother, Mangkia, migrated to Abemama, where his descendants are still High Chiefs. The second, Na Atanga, stayed at Butaritari and became the ancestor both of the local high chiefly dynasty now in power and of that established upon the island of Abaiang, about sixty miles south of Butaritari]

Tropic Bird immigrants was thus of short duration, but a great many of their descendants still form part of the local population.

A ~~ethnological~~ ^{somatological} point of great interest, stressed by the Keaki historian in paragraph 7 of his text, is that the "whole of the company of Koura" — that is to say, all the ^{Tropic Bird} invaders — were red-skinned. This is evidently the Keaki rendering of that Karongoa tradition already

examined concerning "the Breed of Samoa, the breed of red men, who were called the people of Matang." That the Tropic Bird folk were also "people of Matang" is clear from the fact that their ancestral deity was Nri Tituaabine, for this goddess was (and still is) numbered, together with Auriaria the Karongoa god, among those fair-skinned beings believed to feast upon the red-food called te vruqa in Matang-of-the-West.

So much for the plainly historical content of the Keaki tradition: turning now to the mythical content, we find a striking ^{illustration} ~~example~~ of how the Gilbertese chronicler can dismember a myth, ^{adapting} ~~and adapt~~ its disjointed fragments to the dramatic or material uses of his narrative, ^{and} scattering them in any order that suits his purpose across the historic stuff that he purveys. I refer to the following four ^{passages} ~~contexts~~ of the text:-

Paragraph 1, wherein it is recorded that the Red-tailed Tropic Bird settled, when it arrived at Little Makung upon the branch of the pandanus tree called Te-ani-Koura, or Te-ara-maungatabu, or Taka-Kai-mate;

Paragraph 5, wherein the being called Koura is described as a glowing presence in the maneaba;

Paragraph 6, where Koura is chased and found in the crest of the pandanus tree upon which the Tropic Bird had formerly settled, and informs the people that he grew out of the head of that bird after Nei Tituaabine had buried it.

We shall find, by reference to external evidence, that these scattered and highly dramatised allusions both conceal from the uninitiated and satisfactorily convey to the initiated all that is fundamental in the beliefs of the Tropic Bird folk concerning (a) the pandanus tree and (b) their origin.

Turning first to paragraph 4 of the Little Makin cannibal tradition ^{exhibited in} Appendix I, we find that Koura was one of those ^{original} ~~ancestral~~ beings believed to have sprung from the Ancestral Tree of Auriarua called Kai-n-tikuaaba.