

Apparently a preliminary draft of Part III of
The Migrations of a Pandanus People.

Note: This part was never published.

Part III. MYTHS AND RITUALS CONNECTED WITH
FOOD-PLANTS.

13. Myth of the origin of the coconut, pandanus, and almond.

THE following myth of the origin of the coconut, pandanus, and almond trees was collected on Baanaba (Ocean Island), the ^{sole} ~~only~~ "elevated" unit, ^{geologically speaking} of the Gilbertese-speaking communities. The general outlines of the story, as recorded, are commonly known throughout ^{the atolls of} the Gilbert Group; but outside Baanaba, which alone is capable of supporting the almond tree, mention is made only of the coconut and pandanus.

(1) Nei Tituaabine boni kaai-ni
Matang, ^{are i maao} ao iai naba kaai-ni
Matang temanna, are maane-na, are
ara-na Auriaria, ao bu-na Nei
Tevenei. A bon apri-ia n
tekateka iao-ni Matang te Koraki
aarei; ao aro-ia, bon taian uea.

(2) E ewaa n tamaaroa Auriaria, b'e
ribaura, m'e aintoa, ao e taanaki
iroui aine-n te aba aarei.

(3) E nakonako n tetaina Auriaria, ao
e bo ma Nei Tituaabine. Te aine
are akea n te tamaaroa neirei, b'e
ribaura naba, m'e itiiti kanoa-ni
mata-na, ba ai aro-n te iti are i
karawa.

(4) E nakoi-na teuaarei, ao ngke e
roko e kaangai: "Neiko, ai bati-ra
tangira-m irou". Ao ngaia, e
kaeka ni kaangai: "Hao, Ngai naba,
I bon tangiri-ko".

(5) Ao akea! ba e kanikiraa Auriaria

(1) Nei Tituaabine was indeed an
inhabitant of Matang, ^{in the west} and there was
also a certain inhabitant of Matang,
her brother, whose name was Auriaria,
and his wife was Nei Tevene. That
company went on living in Matang; and
the manner of them was that they were
High Chiefs.

(2) Auriaria was of exceeding beauty,
he was red-skinned and of a giant's
stature, and he was courted by the
women of that land.

(3) Auriaria went abroad on a day,
and he met Nei Tituaabine. She was
a woman of unequalled beauty, for
she also was red-skinned, and the
pupils of her eyes flashed, even as
it were the lightning in heaven.

(4) That man went towards her, and
when he came to her he said thus:
"Woman, how great in me is the love
of thee". As for her, she answered
saying thus: "Sir, I also indeed
love thee".

(5) And behold! Auriaria committed

*Presumably this the story obtained from Mr Okobeta of Banaba (see Series E, no 51) but
significantly changed*

ma maane-na ane Nei Tituaabine
anne.

(6) Ao e un Nei Tevenei, are bu-n
Auriaria, ngke e ongo, ba kanga
e koko; mangaia are e kanaengi
ma bu-na. E toka n waa-na, e
waerake, e roko i Tarawa. E maan
teutana i Tarawa, ao e a manga
mananga nako Maiana: e tekateka
n te aba anne, ao e aranna te
tabo are e tekateka iai ba
Arinnanona.

¹⁰⁶
Footnote 1. Note the sudden transition, in this paragraph,
from myth to history. The native chronicler
uses the dramatic opportunity offered by the
quarrel of Nei Tevenei with her husband to
introduce the sketch of a migration out of
Matang into the Gilbert Group.

(7) Ao e aki toki Auriaria ni kinano
ma Nei Tituaabine, ma e aki
kariki mangaia. Ao akea! b'e
aoraki Nei Tituaabine: e
namakinna mate-na, ao e taetae
nakon teuanne, ni kaangai: "Nao,
ai kaawa-ra nkai N nangi mate, ao
akea nati-u ae e na tiku iroum ba
motika-n nanoanga-m! Ma an,
taona nano-m, ba iai te bai are
e na riki ba kanuringa-u iroum.
Nkana I mate, ao ko na taon-ai,
ma ko na taninga te kai are e na
riki iao-u; ao nkana iai are e
riki, ao ko na kawakin-na.

(8) E mate, ao e taon-na Auriaria.
E maan teutana, ao e riki te kai
maieta-n atu-na, ba ai te nii.

incest with that sister of his, Nei
Tituaabine.

(6) And Nei Tevenei, the wife of
Auriaria, was angry when she heard, for
she was jealous; and so she ran away
from her husband. She mounted on her
canoe, she travelled eastwards, she
came to Tarawa. She stayed a while
at Tarawa, and again she set forth
to Maiana: she settled on that land,
and she named the place where she
settled Arinnanona.¹⁰⁶

(7) And Auriaria did not cease to
make love with Nei Tituaabine, but
he begot no children upon her. And
behold! Nei Tituaabine fell ill: she
felt her death (approaching), and she
spoke to that man, saying thus: "Sir,
how sad it is now that I am about to
die, and there is no child of mine to
remain with thee as the comforter of
thy sorrow! But come, still thy heart,
for there is a thing which shall grow
as a memorial of me with thee. When
I die, thou shalt bury me, and thou
shalt await the tree which shall grow
over me; and if any (tree) grow, thou
shalt care for it.

(8) She died, and Auriaria buried her.
A while passed, and a tree grew from
the top of her head, even the coconut.

Ao te kaua-kai e riki mai buto-na,
 ba te ntarine; ao e riki te
 kateni-kai mai buki-n waena, ba te
 kaina. Ai ngaia akanne baikana a
 riki mai nanon rabata-n Nei
 Tituaabine, ma a tiku imwi-na ba
 motika-n nanoanga-n Auriaria; ba
 nke e nima te moimoto, ao e aro-
 bairi mangaia; ao nke e niraki ni

And a second tree grew from her
 navel, the almond; and the third
 grew from her heels, the pandanus.
 These were the things that grew
 from within the body of Nei
 Tituaabine, and they remained after
 her as the comforters of Auriaria's
 sorrow; for when he drank a coconut,
 he rubbed noses with her;¹⁰⁷ and when

Footnote 2. The allusion is to the "face" of the coconut,
 which is believed to be the face of Nei
 Tituaabine, and from which a man (though not
 a woman) is obliged to drink. The rubbing
 of noses - or, rather, nostrils - is the
 love-greeting in the Gilbert Islands.

(107)

kie-na, ao e bo ma rabata-na; ao
 kana-na, are moa-n uaa-n te kaina
 ma te ntarine, bon rabata-n neirei
 naba.

he was wrapped in his sleeping-mat,
 he met her body;¹⁰⁸ and his food, the
 first-fruits of the pandanus and
 the almond,¹⁰⁹ was also the body of
 that woman.

Footnote 3. All Gilbertese sleeping-mats are manufactured
 of pandanus leaf.

Footnote 4. The offering of pandanus first-fruits to
 Auriaria (in company with the Sun and Moon)
 will be described in Section 15 post. The
 first-fruits of the almond on Baanaba were
 offered not to Auriaria, but to Nei Tituaabine;
 nevertheless, they were indeed the "food" of
 Auriaria, in the sense that one of his totem-
 creatures, the Rat, invariably consumed the
 offering left at the boua (stone pillar) of
 Nei Tituaabine.

(9) Ao kaai akanne, bon uota-n
 Auriaria n taabo nako nke e borau,
 ba kanuringa-n Nei Tituaabine
 irou-na, n aki toki.

(9) And those trees, indeed, were
 carried by Auriaria wherever he
 voyaged, as a memorial of Nei
 Tituaabine forever.

WE ^{can} immediately recognise the western land of Matang ^{described} pictured
 in this myth ^{tradition is the island} as ^{inhabited} that Matang populated by the betel-chewing, fair-skinned
 ancestral deities of the renga-Paradise traditions, ^{which were reviewed}
 in Section 11(b), and as the ancient fatherland of the head-hunting
 Tree-folk - the tawny-skinned Breed of Matang - identified, with their

deities Auriaria and Nei Tituaabine, ¹ in Section 12. It is convenient now to ^{assemble} ~~record~~ such other fragments of information or belief concerning this storied country as popular memory still preserves.

According to one ^{some legends} set of tales, concerned chiefly with the voyages and adventures of Auriaria, Matang is a foursquare island, peopled by "old gods (anti n ikawai)", unattainable by human beings because, when approached, it either "flies to heaven" or "sinks beneath the sea".⁵ ¹¹⁰ This Matang is believed by some chroniclers to lie near Samoa, but is placed by others next to the Land of Bouru in the west - an association which we have already seen confirmed in the renga-Paradise traditions. The "old gods" who rule the land are Tangaroa with his brothers Timirau,

Footnote 5. ⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Compare ~~with~~ this account of Matang ^{with} the Polynesian account of Motu Tapu, the magic floating and sinking island, where dwelt the fish-god Timirau. S. Percy Smith, Hawaiki, 1910 edition, page

Taubareroa, Rabaraba, Teborata, and Bwebwe-n-renga. All these are the "fathers" of the heroine, Nei Tituaabine, whose picture (^{precisely as in} ~~paragraph 3 of the above text~~), is that of a beautiful red-skinned girl with eyes as bright as lightning.

This association of Nei Tituaabine with lightning is not merely figurative. We have already seen how the red lightning of the westerly storm-clouds is sometimes called "the renga of Nei Tituaabine";⁸ ¹¹¹ both in the Matang-stories and in general tradition her appearance upon the scene is commonly pictured as being heralded by a lightning flash; and the lightning is said by some to take vengeance upon those who disturb her ~~totem-creature~~ ⁽¹¹¹⁾ at sea, the Giant Ray,⁷ ¹¹² while - on the other hand - any

Footnote 6. See Section 11(b) ante.

Footnote 7. ⁽¹¹²⁾ All kinds of Ray are associated with Nei Tituaabine, but the Giant Ray is the variety used as a totem by the clan of Keaki, whose other totem is the Tropic Bird (vide Section 12(d) ante)

person (whatever his totem-~~group~~ ^{does not have} may be) who ~~consistently abstains from~~ ^{boasting} this creature is believed to be safe from the lightning flash if any kind of Ray appear in his vicinity during a storm. These facts, read together, leave us with little doubt that, although Nei Tituaabine is no longer recognised as a "departmental" deity of lightning, she once

occupied that position ^{among the gods} in the Pantheon of the Gilbertese forefathers; and this serves to stress her family likeness to all those other gods sprung from the Ancestral Tree - the red-skinned eaters of renga in the land of Matang - whose astronomical and meteorological associations are so plainly marked:- Nei Teveneï, the Meteor; Riiki, the Milky Way; Tabu-ariki, the Thunderer; and, above all, her brother ~~paramour~~, the presiding spirit of the Tree, Auriaria, ~~whom the evidence shortly to be recorded will identify as a Sun-god.~~

The tradition of redness, or fairness of skin, which has been seen to cling so closely to the people and gods of Matang, is well supported in ~~paragraphs 2 and 3 of our myth, and is further emphasized~~ by two useful pieces of social evidence ~~hitherto unrecorded.~~ The first is, that the ~~taxious~~ bleaching process called te ko,^{8 113} to which Gilbertese girls of high rank were once subjected, was undertaken with the ~~avowed~~

Footnote 8.¹¹³ I have described the bleaching process in a paper entitled From Birth to Death in the Gilbert Islands, J.R.A.I., Jan-June, 1921.

intention of reproducing the ancient fairness of the Matang people; and the second is, that when Europeans first appeared in the Gilbert Group, they were immediately called, because of their fair complexion, I-Matang (Inhabitants-of-Matang), a name which they bear today.

In the ~~domain of material culture,~~ the name of Matang is ^{also} found attached to the weapon known as te koro-matang, a heavy cigar-shaped throwing stick, pointed at both ends, formerly much used in war. As a land-name, it is ^{found everywhere} ubiquitous, there being no Gilbert Island without its Matang. As a plant-name, it belongs to a variety of pandanus tree, te Ara-matang, still cultivated in the Gilbert Group.^{9 114} It is such small

Footnote 9.¹¹⁴ Bouru, that other renga-Paradise associated with Matang, has also given its name to a pandanus tree, te Ara-bouru. A third variety of the plant to be called after a western fatherland is te An-nabanaba. The name of Nabanaba has ~~already been seen~~^{as} attached to a form of cooking oven (~~section 2~~), and also to a variety of Malay custard-apple (~~section 6, Emergency Diet~~).

concrete facts which, linking themselves with the evidence of tradition, help ^{us to write} to set the original Matang, as I have observed earlier, within the category of material realities.

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A comparison of our myth with the text of the Keaki tradition examined in Section 12(d) throws further light upon the manner in which myth-material can suffer mutilation at the hands of the native historian. Setting aside the almond tree (which is peculiar to Baanaba, and has thus naturally disappeared from the annals of other Gilbertese-speaking communities), the myth with which we are dealing is ~~the~~^a plain tale of the growth of coconut and pandanus from the head and heels of Nei Tituaabine, as the result of her incestuous union with Auriaria. Certain essentials of this story are obviously alluded to in the Keaki tradition, but in what garbled form! As far as the pandanus is concerned, the chief reasons for such mutilation have been explained: the pandanus has special genealogical and religious associations, which inhibit its free discussion. No such limitations, however, apply to the coconut; nevertheless, we find the Keaki historian juggling with his material in an amazing manner. He causes the coconut to grow, not from the head of the goddess, but from the grave of her totem-creature. He throws a sop to accuracy by recording, indeed, that it was at the head of the Tropic Bird that the tree grew; and he keeps the goddess personally in the picture by making her the planter of the seed-nut; but this he does merely because it fits in conveniently with his tale. The rest of the myth, the brother-sister love of Auriaria and Nei Tituaabine, he completely ignores, because it does not fit in. We shall observe examples of such licence in other traditions that will come up for analysis. The native historian likes to use the earlier stages of his clan's pedigree as a vehicle for conveying, not only a series of genealogical and geographical facts, but also a tincture of the natural philosophy peculiar to his social group. In other words, he takes a base of historical material as the warp across which he may weave a weft of mythical strands. But in adopting this course, he never loses sight of his main object - the telling of history - and to this end he makes his myth-matter subservient, taking often the colour rather than the form of it to embellish or illustrate his account of facts, permitting himself the utmost freedom of selection, rejection or, if need be, distortion, and preferring at all times to be allusive rather than outspoken. It will be well to bear this in mind when other texts have to be analysed.

14. Magic rituals connected with growing food-plants.(a) Te kaoanikai and te rabu.

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Te kaoanikai is the name of the magic ritual designed for the protection of growing foodstuffs against thieves, while te rabu (the Covering) is the technical term indicating any object attached to a plant ^{for} ~~with~~ the ^{purpose} ~~object~~ of denoting that the kaoanikai ritual has been performed upon it.

A rabu often consists of a piece of a woman's worn-out riri (leaf kilt), but it is more generally made of coconut leaf fresh-cut from the tree. For this purpose, on the island of Marakei (Northern Gilberts), a green leaf is split down its midrib into two halves, which are then cut up into sections, each one bearing four pinnules. Every section forms a rabu for one tree, being tied round the trunk by its pinnules (two on either side like a belt. Round the midrib of each rabu is knotted a single slip of white leaf plucked from the topmost shoot of a young coconut palm. The method of tying this knot and of affixing the rabu to the tree is indicated in Diagram B. ^{10 115}

((Insert here Diagram B))

¹¹⁵
Footnote 10. Plate 13 illustrates another form of rabu seen at Tarawa, and probably elsewhere in the Northern Gilberts. The number of forms still in use is indeed legion, and the subject deserves a great deal more research than I have been able to give it

Immediately before being tied to their respective trees, all the rabu are collected in a heap before the owner, who holds in his right hand an opened drinking nut (moinoto: see Section 6 ante). Facing east, he sprinkles the water of the nut, with a clockwise sweep of the arm, over the ¹¹⁶ heap,

¹¹⁶
Footnote 11. The clock is imagined as lying on the rabu, facing upwards.

heap, intoning the following formula in a low singsong:-

Matakaakang, Matakaakang!

Mataoraora, Mataoraora!

Matakaakang, Matakaakang!

Mataoraora, Mataoraora! ¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷
Footnote 12. These are the names of the spiritual powers who carry into effect the curse of the formula. It will be noted that they are in no sense supplicated or invoked, their obedience being enforced by the declamation of the correct spell and due completion of the ritual. Kaakang means to eat human flesh; oraora means to eat uncooked food; mata means face or eye.

Ko kanna tera, au rabu?
Ko kanna te aomata ane e anaana uaa-n
au ni.

Thou eatest what, my rabu?

Thou eatest the man who continually
takes the fruit of
trees.

Ko kanna ra-na? Ko kanna bai-na.

Ko kanna ra-na? Ko kanna wae-na.

Ko kanna ra-na? Ko kanna rabata-na.

Ko kanna ra-na? Ko kangi mata-na.

Ko kanna ra-na? Ko kanna atu-na.

Ko kanna ra-na? Ko a tiring-nga,
ko a boi-a, ko a kamate-a.

M'e a mate o-o-o!

Thou eatest what part of him? Thou eatest his hands.

Thou eatest what part of him? Thou eatest his ~~hands~~ feet.

Thou eatest what part of him? Thou eatest his body.

Thou eatest what part of him? Thou eatest his eyes.

Thou eatest what part of him? Thou eatest his head.

Thou eatest what part of him? Thou shalt smite him, thou shalt beat him, thou shalt kill him.

So shall he die o-o-o!

This formula having been intoned three times, the rabu are tied in place, and the empty drinking nut used for the aspersion is planted, mouth upward, in the ground by any one of the trees: therein, as in a flower-pot, is then stood the topmost leaf of the young coconut tree from which were plucked the pinnules for adding knots to the rabu. The leaf rests against the trunk of the adjacent tree, and remains as a kind of scarecrow to thieves.

When the owner himself desires to gather the fruit of a protected tree, he is obliged to undo the magic, lest a curse fall upon his own head. He stands before the tree and unties the knot of white leaf attached to the rabu, intoning at the same time:-

E maatanaa, e matana au rabu aio!

It is undone, it is undone, this my rabu!

Footnote 13. Matana is the regular form. Maatanaa is a euphonic variant of a kind much used in dancing chants and magic formulae.

E matana bai-na, ao e matana wae-na,
ao e matana un-na, ma tiritiri-na,
ma kaakangi-na, ma oraora-na!

Its hand is undone, and its foot is undone, and its anger is undone, with its eating of human flesh, with its eating of raw flesh!

E maatanaa, e matana.

It is undone, it is undone.

Having slipped the knot and thrown the leaf upon the ground, the performer then takes the rest of the rabu from the tree, and proceeds with his food-gathering. There is no ritual burning or destruction of the

cast-off rabu.

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(b) Te bitanikai, the magic staff.

On Marakei, a man desirous of stealing his neighbour's fruit in despite of the rabu put upon it protects himself from evil by the aid of a magic staff (or tree) called te bita-ni-kai. Bita means change or reverse: the word bitanikai thus signifies reversal of the kaoanikai (see opening paragraph of the preceding sub-section), and applies not only to the magic staff, but also to the whole ritual concerned with the desecration of a rabu.

The performer cuts a straight wand, about six feet long and an inch thick, from any convenient tree, and peels it. Holding this staff by the middle in his right hand, he stands by the east side of his house, facing East, at any time between sunrise and noon, but preferably on a day when

Footnote 14. From his rising until noon, the sun is said to be marau (agile or active), which is to say, helpful, for the purposes of magic rituals. After his nooning, he becomes makanakana - soft or unhelpful.

both the sun and moon are seen together in the sky. Waving the staff over his head in a circular sweep and looking up towards the sun, he chants in a low monotone:-

Bitanikaai, Bitanikai ma Nanonikai!

Bitanikaai, Bitanikai with Nanonika

Footnote 15. The name Bitanikai is here given to the spiritual power believed to reside in the staff. Nanonikai means Heart-of-staff, i.e., He-who-lives-within-the-staff. The attitude is purely animistic, and, as such, sharply contrasted with that adopted a little later, when the protection of Auriaria and Tabu-ariki is invoked. A clear example of syncretism.

I biti-a, ba N na rairi-a.

I reverse it (i.e., the enemy's magic) for I shall overturn it.

E teke karawa, e teke mone;

Heaven is pierced, the underworld is pierced (the performer stabs with his staff towards heaven and the underworld);

E toki te ba, e toki te nari, e toki te aubunga.

The rock is struck, the hard coral is struck, the clam-shell is struck.

Footnote 16. The rock that forms highest heaven; the hard coral that is the foundation of the underworld; the clam-shell of Auriaria, King of heaven.

Bubunge, ma bonota-i i tabo-n te bike tan-ric, tan-rake.

Begin, and protect me (oh, Auriaria of the clam-shell) at the point of the beach turning west, turning east.

E na tei nako marawa; e na uboi bai-na; e na tuatua nga-a-a!

It (i.e., my protection) shall stand firm over the sea; it shall clap its hands; it shall speak warnings nga-a-a!

Bu-u-u ba-a-a ke-e-e!

Bu-u-u ba-a-a ke-e-e!

Ngaia! Ko kaakang i taari!

So! Thou eatest men at sea (o, my staff)!

Ngaia! Ko kaakang i anna!

So! Thou eatest men ashore!

Bonobonota maai-n te anti temanna,
Auriaria ma Tabu-ariki-o-o-o!

Close the way of any spirit, Auriaria
and Tabu-ariki-o-o-o!

Ba a ti bon airinako toua-na

For they (the enemy spirits) shall
collectively go whither they
are ~~sent~~ ^{pushed} 122

Footnote 17. Literally translated, this passage reads as follows:-

Ba a ti bon airinako
For they only indeed accompany away

toua-na
treading-its (i.e., the treading, or kicking, of
the performer's magic staff).

Ma aia anti n wawi, ma aia anti n
aoraki, ma aia anti ni karaka,¹⁸
ma aia anti ni kaawa e-e!

With their spirits of death magic, with
their spirits of sickness, with¹²
their new-fangled spirits,¹⁸ with¹²
their spirits of misfortune ..e-e

Footnote 18. Anti ni karaka, translated new-fangled spirits,
means literally spirits to increase-number. The
word raka denotes always a surplus, an addition
either to number or knowledge: e.g., te bai-n
raka aei (the thing-of surplus this) signifies
"this is a new and unknown thing". A person who
invents an unheard-of story is said to indulge in
te taetae n raka - the talk which exceeds the limit
of things known and accepted.

Bonobonota maai-n te anti temanna,
Auriaria ma Tabu-ariki-o-o-o!

Close the way of any spirit, Auriaria
and Tabu-ariki-o-o-o!

Inano-ni kaawa nakoaiaki, nakoiang.

In villages towards the south, towards
the north.

Kaanga-o-o, e mate te anti, e mate
te aomata!

How now! The spirit is dead, the man
is dead!

Bonobono-o-o-o!

(I am) protected-o-o-o!

E mate te kua, e mate te aomata, e
tei iaontari, e uouota riba-ni-
mate-na, te ikanangananga,

The porpoise is dead, the man is
dead, he stands in the sea, he
carries the colour of his death
(upon him), the peeling of skin
(i.e., putrefaction),

Ba N na taebaai-a, ba a tae bai-na
n au itera,

For I shall rend off his arms, for
his arms are rent off on my
behalf,

Ba kam aki tarai-a, Auriaria ma
Tabu-ariki.

For ye look not upon him, Auriaria
and Tabu-ariki.

Tiringa-ni manawa-na - oroi-a ni
boboto-na!

Smiting of his breast - strike it
at its vitals!

Tintimu-e-e! Bitanikaai, Bitanikai!

Drip-(blood)-e-e! Bitanikaai,
Bitanikai.

This formula having been repeated three times, the performer sharpens the staff at both ends, and carries it with him to the land whereof he desires to steal the fruit; there, he plants it in the ground, while he desecrates the legitimate owner's rabu. Having done his will, he takes the

staff home with the stolen fruit, and again plants it in the ground, up against the eastern side of his house, where he performed the bitanikai ritual. There it must remain until used again: it may on no account be either used as an implement or brought into the house, the belief being that sudden death will visit the man who fails to observe these avoidances.

If a thief go to the owner of a tree, and confess to having desecrated a rabu, the owner may, if he will, save him from the curse by waving over him a magic staff prepared according to the above ritual. In such a case, only the staff of the legitimate owner is held to be effective, but even this is held to be of no avail when once the curse has begun to work upon its victim.

(c) A ritual of fructification.

An invocation that is much more like a blessing than a magic formula is used in the Northern Gilberts for the purpose of making land fruitful. The example chosen is from the island of Marakei. The landowner visits his land alone, in the dark before dawn, at any season of the year. Proceeding to the eastern boundary, he watches for sunrise. Just as the luminary's upper limb appears above the horizon he begins his ritual. Turning

¹²⁴Footnote 19. The ordinary land-holding in the Gilbert Islands consists of a section of the island running from the ocean beach (east) to the lagoon beach (west). A good horizon is therefore, as a rule, obtainable from the eastern boundary.

his back to the sunrise, he extends his right hand, palm down, before him, and traverses his land from east to west, intoning at the same time -

Tara-ai, aba-u, ba I roko, Ngai.

Behold me, my land, for I come, I myself.

Kimarimari, ma kitabaa - kimarimari-e-e!

Be abundant, be rich in pandanus bloom - be abundant-e-e!

A na baka mari-n aba-u aio: te ari, te maritabaa.

They shall fall, the riches of this my land: the coconut blossom, the abundant young pandanus bloom.

O, kimarimari-e-e, kimaamau-e-e!
Kimarimari! ²⁰125

O, be abundant-e-e, be full of life-e-e! Be abundant!

¹²⁵Footnote 20. Ki- is an intensive prefix; mari means plenty or richness of crops; maamau is a euphonic variant of the word maiu (alive, vigorous) in its intensive form maamau, which may signify either continually vigorous or extremely vigorous.

The invocation is recited three times, the performer starting anew

The justification of the pandanus.

A highly interesting ritual, in which the Sun and Moon played a large part, was formerly used for the purpose of ensuring a rich pandanus harvest. The ceremony ~~was~~ ^{could} only be performed by members of the three totem-sibs named Karongoa, Ababou, and Maerua. The first-named, Karongoa, was called the King of the Maneaba (council hall), and its members were said to be protected, while under the roof of the maneaba, by the Sun. The chief elder of the clan in the Northern Gilberts was called "The Sun in the maneaba". The sitting-place allotted to the Karongoa folk in council was in the middle of the eastern side of the maneaba, and the coral monolith (stud) supporting the roof, by which they sat, ~~was said to be the~~ ^{was said to be the} "body of the Sun".

from the eastern boundary of his land at each repetition. If the performer belong to the Karongoa clan, he wears upon his head a fillet made of the single pinnule of a young coconut leaf, knotted upon his forehead exactly as that pictured in Diagram B, and called buna-n Taai, the fillet of the Sun; but if he be of any other social group, he wears no fillet.

The ritual is held to be so effective that, unless the performer keeps his eyes strictly confined within his holding, his blessing may become operative on the neighbouring lands, as well as his own.

all depicted in new book under description

15. The fructification of the pandanus.

A ^{deeply} ~~highly~~ interesting ritual, in which the Sun and Moon play a leading part, is used for the purpose of ensuring a rich pandanus harvest.

²¹⁻¹²⁶
Footnote 21. The present tense is used in describing the ritual, because solitary examples of its practice do occur still, in spite of the rapid decay of native custom ~~during the past 40 years.~~

Only the members of three social groups - Karongoa, Ababou and Maerua - have the secret of the ritual or the right to practice it. The Sun-Moon associations of these groups are ^{in the highest degree} remarkable, and demand ^{close} attention in connection with the ceremony to be described. They will be found outlined in Appendix 1.

The season at which the fructification-ritual takes place lies between July and September, when the S.E. Trades are expected to give way to the westerly rains. The seasonable arrival of these rains is anxiously awaited, because upon it depends the quantity and quality of the pandanus harvest, which is gathered towards the beginning of October.

The days on which the ceremony is undertaken are two, the first stage being completed on the 7th night of the lunar month, the second stage ^{about} on the 13th night.

The time of commencement is the hour of sunset. For the first stage, the moon must be approaching the meridian just as the sun is over the western horizon. For the second stage, the moon must be just risen as the sun is on the point of setting. The essential point is that both luminaries at once should be visible in the sky when the ritual is begun.

The place is a cleared space on the east side of the performer's dwelling-house, in a straight line with the middle rafter of the roof. ^{22/27}

²²
Footnote 22. All Gilbertese dwellings are built with gables N. and S., and sides facing E. and W.

The material prepared for the ritual consists of the parts of a magic tree - a trunk and two branches. The branches are two round wands of pandanus wood, each a span long, and as thick as a man's thumb. The

(Footnote ¹²² 23. A span (te nga) is the full stretch of a man's outspread arms, from tip to tip of the middle fingers.)

trunk is a rounded and tapered shaft of coconut timber, two spans long and about two inches thick at the base. The shaft is decorated at its point with a tuft of five upstanding frigate-bird feathers, the string with which this tuft is lashed on being made of alternate strands of coconut fibre and human hair. Both the feathers and the string have the same important underlying sun-idea: the frigate-bird is believed to be the bird of the sun

(Footnote ¹²³ 24. See Section 5 ante, The Frigate-bird, p. 20.)

while the spiral pattern of black hair running through the string is believed to be pleasing to the luminary. The tuft, when lashed in place, is said to be "the Body of the Sun at the crest of the tree". At equal intervals around the base of the ^{Sun -} tuft are attached four strings of hair and fibre, each a span and a half long, in the manner of maypole strings. Each string is then garnished with frigate-bird feathers in the following arrangement:-

Near the top - a tuft of three;

In the middle - a tuft of two;

Near the free end - a single feather;

At the free end - a tuft of five.

(Footnote. See Diagram C)

These feather decorations are technically named buka; the strings which carry them are destined to be draped over the branches of the tree, when the moment comes to lash these latter into position; the technical name of the branches is therefore maanga-ni-buka (branches-of-buka).

The decorated pole and the separate branches having been prepared, they are taken to the space made ready for them on the east side of the maker's dwelling. A small hole for planting the magic tree is dug, and, just as the sun's lower limb is about to touch the western horizon, the first part of the ritual begins.

Stage 1. (Moon's seventh day).

The performer plants the trunk of the tree in the hole. Holding the shaft upright with both hands before him, as pictured in Plate 14, he throws his head as far backwards as he can, and fixes his eyes upon the sun-tuft above him. Having stood silent in this posture for about half a

minute, he intones in a low voice the following formula:-

Unika-n au bitanikai aio. ^{25 130}

. | Planting of this my magic tree. ^{25 130}

Footnote 25. ¹³⁰ Bitanikai, magic tree. Bitanikai in this context means to the performer changing-of-trees, with reference to the fructification of his pandanus-trees, which would otherwise not be productive.

E bung ²⁶ meang, e bung maiaki, e bung maeao, ma mainiku-o-o-o!

The north gives birth, ^{26 131} the south gives birth, the west gives birth, and the east-o-o-o!

Footnote 26. ¹³¹ Bung, gives birth. This is the usual meaning of bung, but the word is also used to denote the setting of sun or moon. Those who use the ritual state that the birth-meaning is here intended, the idea being that north, south, east, and west are made fruitful by the ceremony. The fact that the sun is setting at the same moment gives a punning effect to the word. Puns are not infrequent in Gilbertese magic, their force to the native mind being always strongly esoteric.

E bung Taai ma Namakaina!

The Sun gives birth, and the Moon!

Ba I ti namanameti-a iaon Taai.

For I prepare it (the tree) on the overside of the Sun. ^{27 132}

Footnote 27. ¹³² On the overside of the Sun. The performer believes that, as the Sun sinks below the horizon the roots of his magic tree become planted upon his overside.

Tera uota-n Taai? E uota te maiu.

What is the burden of the Sun? He bears life.

E uoti-a tera? Te tabaa mai buakon ro-n te iti-ma-te-ro. ^{28 133}

What bears he? The young pandanus bloom from the blackness of the rain-cloud. ²⁸

Footnote 28. ¹³³ Te iti-ma-te-ro, the rain-cloud. The word means literally the lightning-with-the-darkness, and refers to the alternate flickering of lightning and blackness which is seen in the rain-clouds of the westerly winds.

Kimarinari, au buakonikai o-o-o!

Be abundant, my plantations-o-o-o!

The formula is recited three times, after which the performer turns his face to the ground and remains ^{immobile} ~~immovable~~, holding the shaft upright before him, for perhaps another half minute. He then proceeds to push loose soil with his feet into the hole at the tree's root, and to stamp it firm.

Only when the tree can stand alone does he release his hold upon the stem, and seat himself at its base, still facing east. His attitude when seated is as pictured in Plate 15, the position of his legs being of great ritual importance. His right leg lies doubled before him, knee to ground, tailorwise; but his left thigh is thrust forward, and the lower leg doubled back beside his hip, so that the sole of his foot is presented to the sunset. He believes that, unless the left foot be thus "given to the sun", he will incur the luminary's displeasure by having the appearance of wholly turning his back upon him.

The performer's first business when seated is to finish with his hands the practical work of making the tree firm in its hole. When that is done, he holds the base of the stem in the manner pictured, and throwing back his head to regard the sun-tuft on high, intones:-

Kanenea-n au bitanikai aei

Iaan Taai ma Namakaina.

E tio-otoia, maanga-n au bita-bongi-
bong aei! ²⁹ 134

Setting firm of this my magic tree

Under Sun and Moon.

It flutters and bends, the branch of
this my magic-tree-in-the-twilight

¹³⁴
Footnote 29. Bitabongibong, magic-tree-in-the-twilight. Bitabongibong is the first component of bitanikai, and stands for the whole word; bongibong signifies growing dark.

E iti, m'e ruo te baa ma te karau,

Ba katabaaea-n au mataburo. ³⁰ 135

The lightning flashes, and the thunder
and rain descend,

Even the fructifiers of my opening ³⁰
pandanus bloom.

¹³⁵
Footnote 30. Mataburo, opening pandanus bloom. A technical term of the same family as tabaa, young (i.e., unopened) pandanus bloom. Both these words are inapplicable to any other kind of flower.

O, temanna te ataei-n-aine, ba
kaina-n Abatang, ma Abatoa, ma
Abaiti-e-e-e!

O, thou certain maiden, even the
pandanus tree of Abatang, and
Abatoa, and Abaiti-e-e-e! ³¹ 136

¹³⁶
Footnote 31. The allusion here is obviously to the First Pandanus of Abatoa and Abaiti, called the Ancestress Sun in the Tabiteuea text exhibited in Part II, appendix 2.

O, anti-n tabera-n au bita-bongibong:
Auriaria, ma Nei Tevenei, ma
anti ni Bouru, Riiki, Riiki-e-e!

O, spirits of the crest of this my
magic tree in the twilight: Auriaria
and Nei Tevenei, and spirits of
Bouru, Riiki, Riiki-e-e!

I ti obori-a, I ti wetei Nei
Tituaabine ma Riiki, ma
anti ni Bouru,

I only prepare the way, I only call
Nei Tituaabine, and Riiki, and
the spirits of Bouru,

Ba a na kamaura-i iaan au kai aei

That they may prosper me beneath this
my tree.

Te mauri ³² ao te raoi. Te mauri naba
Ngai iaan au kai aiei!

Prosperity ³² and peace. The prosperous
am I beneath this my tree!

Footnote ³⁷ 32. Mauri, rendered prosperity and prosperous, is difficult to interpret in a single word. It indicates a condition of being free from the influence of all evil magic and so in a state of peace, health or general prosperity.

After reciting this formula three times, the performer turns his face towards the ground, remains still for a few seconds, and then arises. The branches of the tree are now fixed in position. They are first lashed middle to middle with hair and fibre string, in the form of a symmetrical cross. The cross is made fast by its middle to the trunk of the tree, shoulder high, so that its branches are parallel to earth, and point North, South, East, and West, the orientation being controlled by the position of the sun at its setting. Over the ends of the branches are draped the four strings of buka (feathers) attached to the sun-crest, with their terminal tufts dangling earthwards. Diagram C indicates the main details of the completed tree, which is left standing until the moon's thirteenth night ushers in the second stage of the ritual.

((Insert here Diagram C))

Stage 2 (Moon's thirteenth day).

Just before sunset, the performer sits on the ground at a distance of about two paces from the tree, back to sun and face upturned, as before, to gaze at the Sun-tuft. The sitting attitude already described is once more adopted, but, instead of holding the base of the trunk, the performer stretches his arms forward, and lays his loosely opened hands, palms upward, upon the ground beside his thighs (see Plate 16). He intones -

Au bita-bongibong aiei, au bita-mataro.

Ro-n Taai rio.

E bung i maeao-u, e bung i mainiku-u,
e bung i tabera-n au bitanikai aio,

M'e a oboria te tabaa ma te mataburo,

Ba uota-n Taai ma Namakaina.

Anti-ro, anti-rang, a batetenako i
tabera-n au bitanikai aiei.

I ti marimari-e-e, I ti marimari-o-o!

Tabera-n au kai ni katabaa aiei!

This my magic tree in the twilight,
my magic tree in the dusk.

Darkness of Sun going west.

He gives birth to west of me, he
gives birth to east of me, he
gives birth at the crest of th
my magic tree,

And he prepares the way for the
young pandanus bloom and the
opening pandanus bloom,

For (these are) the burden of Sun
and Moon.

Spirits of darkness, spirits of
madness, they tumble down
from the crest of this my
magic tree.

I am fruitful-e-e, I am fruitful-o-o-
Crest of this my tree of fructific-
ation.

¹³⁸
Footnote 33. Ka-tabaa, fructification. The literal meaning is causing-young-pandanus-bloom.

After three recitations of this formula, the performer remains for a short space in his attitude of supplication, then drops his head forward to look upon the ground, and finally rises to his feet. The ceremony is complete.

The magic tree may be left where it stands for an indefinite time, and may thereafter be used for other magico-religious purposes. Barren women are brought to the place, to be rendered fertile; and persons desiring to be blest with good-luck (especially in love), good health, and long life may there receive ritual treatment at the hands of the owner. For such ceremonials, the persons receiving attention sit facing eastwards towards the tree, while the performer sits before them in the position already described.

The tree may ^{also} be used to remove the curse of a desecrated rabu, and there cannot be much doubt that the magic staff described in Section 14(b), which was used for the same purpose, is but a simplified form of the tree. The ceremony of the staff being open for anyone to perform (if he can learn the ritual and formula), while that of the tree is strictly reserved to three privileged ^{social} groups, it is probable that the staff represents a popular attempt to achieve the benefits of the tree without too dangerously trenching upon the form and substance of the Sun-Moon ritual. (X But equally well it is initiated by Karongoa to)

All restricted in new book under Agriculture

16. The kabubu first-fruits ritual.

AFTER the pandanus harvest, which, in a normal season, occurs during September-October, it was formerly forbidden to partake of any product of the new crop until first-fruits had been offered up, and a ritual meal eaten, at the boua, or stone pillar representing the "body" of the ancestral deity, of the totem-group. ^{34 139} The clans of Karongoa, Ababou and Maerua made the

¹³⁹
Footnote 34. See Footnote 43, Section 12(e) ante.

offering to the Sun and Moon, but included the names of Auriaria and other ancestral deities in the dedicatory formula. Other social groups offered the first-fruits direct to their ancestral deities.

The boua of the Karongoa group on Marakei - now, like most of its kind, unhappily destroyed by Christian iconoclasts - was an upstanding monolith of coral rock hewn from the reef, and planted in the ground to

eastward of the village of Rawanaui. As described by elders who, in pre-Christian days, actually performed the clan-rituals, it "stood as high as a man's shoulder", and was about as "broad and thick as a man"; it was, moreover, waisted like a man in the middle, though it seems to have had no definitely marked head. This monolith stood in the centre of a circle of flat stones set edgewise in the ground, so as to form a kerb about a hand's breadth high. The diameter of the circle was, according to the account, "three or four paces": its exact size was not, as it would seem, a matter of importance. The space within the circle was dressed with white shingle, and therein were buried the skulls of successive generations of clan elders, all males. The crania of the skulls remained uncovered by shingle, so that they might be anointed with oil on occasions when the cult of the ancestral deity was being observed. Care was taken to avoid burying any skulls due west of the boua, as this portion of the circle was reserved for food offerings.

For all everyday and overt purposes, including the normal cult of the ancestor, the boua represented the body of an ancestral being named Teveia¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰
Footnote 35. Teveia is reputed to have been the mother's father of Taane-n-toa II, that Karongoa High Chief of Beru named in the tale of Tewatu-of-Matang (Part II, Appendix 4 and Section 12(e)). He is reputed to have been the builder of Taane-n-toa's maneaba and, as such, adopted by the Chief as a deity after his death

But for the particular and secret purpose of the first-fruits ritual, it represented no longer Teveia, but the spirit Auriaria. Upon its crest were then perched three red coral blocks, each about the size of two fists, one on top of the other. This addition was known as the bara (hat) of Auriaria.

The date of the first-fruits offering was the second day of the next new moon after the pandanus harvest had been gathered. The hour of the ritual was that of sunset, when both luminaries were seen together in the sky, the moon setting almost together with the sun. The material of the offering was a ball of the sweet food called te korokoro¹⁴¹ made of boiled

¹⁴¹
Footnote 36. See Section 7(c), Part I, for description of te korokoro.

coconut toddy and that desiccated pandanus product called kabubu. The kabubu used for the purpose was, of course, manufactured from the newly harvested crop.

The ball of korokoro was carried to the boua by the senior male of the Karongoa clan, all the other men and women of his group following him.

The leader wore upon his head a fillet of coconut leaf such as that described in Section 14(c), and called the "fillet of the sun". Arrived at the place of offering, the whole company assumed the sitting posture adopted by the performer of the fructification ritual (Plates 15 and 16), with backs to the sunset and faces to the stone. The leader took his place a little in advance of the others, right up against the kerb of the circular enclosure. Being seated in the ritual posture, he leaned forward and set the ball of korokoro at arm's length before him on the shingle near the base of the stone. Throwing back his head to gaze into the sky immediately above the boua, and laying his open hands, palms upward, on the ground by his knees, he intoned -

Kana-mi aei, Taai ma Namakaina,
Ba ana moan nati Nei Kaina-bongibong.

Auriaria, ma Nei Tevenei, ma Riiki,
ma anti-n rabaraba-ni karawa, ³⁷ 142

This^s your food, Sun and Moon,

Even the first child of the Woman
Pandanus-in-the-twilight.

Auriaria, and Nei Tevenei, and Riiki,
and spirits of the hidden places
of heaven, ³⁷ 142

¹⁴²
Footnote 37. Rabaraba-ni karawa, hidden places of heaven. This phrase is commonly used to indicate, not the zenith, but the sides of heaven hidden below the horizon. In this context, it obviously refers to the far lands of the ancestral deities.

Kana-mi aei,
Ba moan tabaa-n te bita-bongibong.
Te mauri ao te raoui. Te mauri naba
Ngaira-o-o-o!

This is your food,

Even the first young bloom of the
magic tree in the twilight.

Prosperity and peace. The prosperous
indeed are we-o-o-o!

The formula was recited three times. Through the entire ritual that followed, the leader never for a moment ceased to look up into the sky above the stone. Leaning forward, he first groped for the ball of korokoro and, having taken it upon the palm of his left hand, returned to an upright posture. Still sitting, he plucked out with his right finger-tips a piece of the sticky ball and moulded it into a pellet, which he then laid on the shingle before the stone as "the portion of the Sun, and Moon, and Auriaria". This was called the taarika. ³⁸ 143 The first portion having thus been given, he

¹⁴³
Footnote 38. See the ceremony of te taarika performed by a guest, when invited to eat with a Gilbertese household: Part I, Section 9.

proceeded to mould a series of similar pellets, passing each one as it was made back over his right shoulder, where it was taken by the man behind him, and sent along the ranks of sitting people, until every member of the company had a portion. Absolute silence was observed until the distribution was

complete, when the man behind the leader whispered, "A toa bai-ia (Their hands are all full). Thereupon the leader made for himself a pellet of the food, and raised it in his right hand above his still upturned face. At once, the whole company threw their heads back to gaze at the sky above the boua, and lifted their right arms in a similar attitude. Having allowed time enough for everyone to adopt this posture, the performer dropped the pellet into his mouth and swallowed it whole. The company followed suit. It was essential to the ritual that the bolus should not be bitten.

After a short pause with arm still uplifted, the leader, imitated by the whole assembly, dropped hand to side and turned his face to the ground. The "looking downward" lasted for a few seconds only. Finally, the leader arose and, without special ceremony, placed whatever remained of the ball of korokoro up against the boua, beside the small taarika, for ^{the remnant (nikira)} ~~that~~ also was the "portion of the Sun, the Moon, and Auriaria". In a lesser degree also, this nikira (remnant) belonged to the other ancestral spirits, Riiki, Nei Tevenei, Nei Tituaabine, together with the ghosts of those clan elders whose skulls were buried by the boua.

Before leaving the spot, the leader anointed with oil the crania of the buried skulls, and, after he had performed this rite, any other member of the group might do likewise, choosing at his pleasure any or all of the skulls for anointment.

On all islands of the Northern Gilberts, and probably of the Southern Gilberts also, the various social groups sent a portion of their newly collected pandanus harvest to the senior male of the local Karongoa sib before offering first-fruits to their own ancestral deities. On Tarawa, this practice is associated with an interesting local tradition concerning a very famous High Chief named Kirataa the Eldest, a member of the Karongoa group, who flourished between 25 and 30 generations ago. It is said that Kirataa's favourite food was te kabubu, and that the pandanus tree was his anti. This is held to be the reason why, even nowadays, the first portion of every local clan's pandanus harvest is set aside each year as a gift to the senior living descendant of Kirataa in the male line. The fundamental reason, of course, is that the line of Kirataa represents the essence of Karongoa on Tarawa.

No formalities were observed in submitting the first portion of

the first-fruits for Karongoa's acceptance: it was enough to send the gift (consisting of any product whatever of the new pandanus harvest) in a basket, by the hand of a small boy, to the house of the proper recipient; but the penalty for neglecting to make such an offering, before the private clan-ritual was undertaken, was believed to be death by the lightning-flash, or thunderbolt, or other visitation from heaven.

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17. A ritual meal in time of famine.

AS may be already apparent, each separate Gilbertese totem-group, as a rule, practised the cult of its own ancestral deities independently of all others; but in time of famine, a form of ^{ritual meal} ~~religious observance~~ in which all groups united, with the senior male of Karongoa-n-uea as the officiating priest, was practised at a stone pillar representing the body of a being named Tabakea, within a maneaba of particular style called Maunga-tabu. It will be remembered that the Maunga-tabu name, meaning Sacred Mountain, is also attached (a) to a variety of pandanus tree, ^{39 144} and (b) to a volcano, whereon

Footnote ¹⁴⁴ 39. See Part II, Footnote ¹³⁷ 32.

stood the Ancestral Pandanus of the head-hunting Gilbertese forefathers. The other special associations of the Maunga-tabu maneaba are outlined in Appendix 1.

The being Tabakea, upon whom the ritual to be described was centred, is associated with four totems; (1) A mythical beast called te kekenu, described as "a lizard as big as two men" - no doubt a crocodile or alligator; (2) the common noddy; (3) a small tree called te ibi, which bears a scarlet, almond-like fruit; (4) the turtle. Of these, the last is considerably the most important, the name Tabakea itself meaning parrot-bill turtle. In a widespread series of traditions Tabakea is represented as the Eldest of All Beings, the First of Things; and in all the tales which deal with the adventures and voyages of Auriaria, he appears as Auriaria's father. This doubtless explains why Auriaria's name is linked with Tabakea's in the formula which will presently be exhibited.

When famine threatened the community, the elder of Karongoa-n-uea would fix a day when food offerings and tataro (supplication) should be made to Tabakea, and a stone monolith about six feet high, representing the body of the god, would be erected for that purpose up against the Karongoa Sun-stone

Footnote ¹⁴⁵ 40. Sun-stone: see Appendix 1.

in the maneaba. The monolith was wreathed with coconut leaves by the acolyte group, Karongoa-raereke. Just before dawn on the appointed day, the community would enter the building, bringing with them offerings of food, and sit in their respective clan-places. Exactly at sunrise, a watcher posted to observe the eastern horizon would call, "E oti Taai (The Sun appears and a portion of food was laid by the elder of Karongoa-n-uea before the stone of the god, to the accompaniment of the following tataro:-

Ao-ra te amarake, nkoe, Tabakea.

Our offering the food, thou, Tabakea.

Ao-ra te amarake, nkoe, Auriaria,
Nei Tevenei, Riiki.

Our offering the food, thou, Auriaria,
Nei Tevenei, Riiki.

Tautaua mauri-ra, toutoua-nako te
rongo, te baki, te mate.

Uphold our prosperity, tread away the
drought, the hunger, the death.

Kakamauri-ia ataei aikai,

Continue to prosper these children,

Karerekea kara-ra.

Continue to get our food.

Taai-o, Namakaina-o!

Sun-o, Moon-o!

Karerekea kara-ra!

Continue to get our food!

Te mauri ma te raai.

Prosperity and peace.

During this ceremony, all present, whether of the clan of Karongoa or not, wore the fillet of coconut leaf known as "the fillet of the sun" (buna-n taai). The formula having been recited three times, the fillets were put off, and the remaining food was eaten by the assemblage, which then dispersed.

Notes on the Maungatapu style Maneaba

Appendix 1. Notes on the Gilbertese maneaba, or meeting house, with special reference to the style of building called Maunga-tabu, and to the privileges and functions of the clans Karongoa, Ababou and Maerua therein.

(a) General description.

(1) A Gilbertese maneaba consists of an enormous thatched roof, whereof the eaves descend to within six feet or less of the ground, supported upon studs of dressed coral. The largest of these buildings at present in existence has an interior length of 120 feet, a breadth of 75 feet, and a height from floor to ridge-pole of 45 feet. There are three main types of maneaba: that called Tabiang, whereof the breadth is equal to about half the length; that called Tabontebike, which is foursquare; and that called Maunga-tabu, whose breadth is to its length in the proportion of about 2:3. The building of which the dimensions are given above is of the Maunga-tabu type. All styles have hipped or gabled, not conical, roofs.

(2) The Gilbertese maneaba in general is the centre of communal life, the council chamber, the dance hall, the feasting place of the gathered totem groups comprising any local population. As such, it is sacrosanct; no brawling or dispute may take place under its roof, or upon the marae (open space) of which it is the centre; its supporting pillars may not be struck; and only games (including, above all, the dance) of a definitely religious or social significance may be played within its precincts. The building is susceptible of offence, and may not be spoken of in jest; he who offends it becomes marais, and liable

¹⁴⁶Footnote 1. See Footnote 42, Part I, for the meaning of marais.

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to sudden death or sickness.

(3) Each totem-group has its hereditary sitting-room in the maneaba, and its peculiar functions or privileges in connection with the building of the edifice, or its maintenance, or the ceremonials which take place beneath its roof. An account of the allocation of a sitting-room, with its privileges, to the ancestor Tewatu-of-Watang has already been studied.

¹⁴⁷Footnote 2. See Part II, appendix 1, paragraphs 11-12.

To usurp the sitting-room (boti), privilege or function of another group is to become marais. The hereditary rights and obligations of the various social groups differ considerably in the three types of building.

(b) Karongoa and the Maunga-tabu maneaba.

- (4) The Maunga-tabu maneaba is called by the Karongoa group "the enclosure of the Sun and Moon", and the Sun is believed to take vengeance upon any who violate or offend its precincts. Supporting the roof-plate in the middle of the eastern side of this building is a stud named "Sun", against which the people of Karongoa-n-uea (Karongoa-of-kings) have their hereditary sitting place. Opposite the "Sun", in the middle of the western side, is the stud named "Moon", against which the clans of Ababou and Maerua are seated. It will be remembered that Karongoa, Ababou and Maerua have the Sun-totem in common, and share the monopoly of the Sun-Moon pandanus fructification ritual.
- (5) All ceremonial and all speech in the Maunga-tabu maneaba are subservient to the will of Karongoa-n-uea, as enunciated by the senior male of that group. This individual is called at Marakei, when taking part in any ceremonial, "the Sun in the maneaba", an epithet more usually found applied to the whole Karongoa group, collectively considered. It is, however, a matter of general belief that the Sun "is over" the individual head of the Karongoa spokesman, and will pierce the navel of any who contradicts him, questions his judgment, expresses the least doubt about his rendering of any tradition, or attempts to usurp any of his privileges within the sacred building.
- (6) The spokesman wears on his head, while officiating in the maneaba, a fillet of coconut leaf called buna-n Taai, the fillet of the Sun. He sits alone, slightly in advance of his fellow-clansmen, upon occasions of a ceremonious nature, and opens proceedings by muttering the magico-religious formula called te taematao, whereof the object is "to clean the path of his words" and to protect him from interruption or contradiction. The formula is recited with the head bowed, while the hands are slowly rubbed together, palm on palm; after three repetitions, the performer throws his hands forward, palms up, elbows against body, and raising his head exclaims, "E oti Taai (the Sun ^{appears} ~~is~~)" after which the debate or ceremonial proceeds.
- (7) The sib of Karongoa-raereke is the companion and acolyte of Karongoa-n-uea in the Maunga tabu building: its members carry messages from the sacred clan to other groups and, in the Northern Gilberts, its elder ¹⁴⁸ ~~is~~ ¹⁴⁸ acolyte. The native term is (tabonibai, ^{or} finger, which is to say, servant)

"lifts the word from the mouth of Karongoa-n-uea", i.e., publishes to the assembly the whispered oration or judgment of the Karongoa-n-uea spokesman. The privilege of Karongoa-raereke is to take a share of the first portion of any feast, which is the perquisite of Karongoa-n-uea. Its duty is to supervise the laying and maintenance of the coconut-leaf mats (inaai) with which the floor of the maneaba is covered, and to perform magico-religious rituals for preventing dissension in the sacred edifice. The time for such rituals is the hour when the Sun is approaching his zenith; and among the material used is a kuo-n-aine - a cup made of half a coconut shell wherein oil has been boiled - which vessel is considered highly important because it formed the magic boat of the Sun-child named Bue, the ancestor of the Ababou clan, when he visited his burning sire in the East.

(c) Ababou and Maerua.

(8) The Ababou and Maerua groups claim both the Sun and the Moon as their totems, and are seated about the stud called "Moon" in the middle of the western side of the maneaba. The ceremonial function of Ababou is to separate the first portion of Karongoa-n-uea from any food brought to the maneaba for the purpose of a feast, and to hand it over to Karongoa-raereke, for conveyance to the sacred clan.

(9) Outside the maneaba, Ababou and Maerua claim the power of making and unmaking eclipses of the Sun or Moon (as I have described elsewhere),¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹Footnote 4. Gilbertese Astronomy and Astronomical Observances, J.P.S., Sept-Dec., 1931, page 213.

of rain-making, and of raising or stilling the wind. These powers are said to be inherited from the traditional clan-ancestor, a hero named Bue, who, by a virgin mother, was a child of the Sun together with his sister Nei Te-raa-iti. Bue's chief exploit, according to the tradition, was to visit his father in the East, and catch him in a noose, for the purpose of obtaining knowledge from him: it was then that the Sun gave him the magic rituals now used by the Ababou and Maerua groups. A whole series of solar, lunar, and stellar myths are now grouped about the name of Bue, and will come under examination in a later Section.

(10) But the Sun's greatest gift to Bue was the craft of building maneabas: - "The maneaba of Kings, which is called Te Namakaina (Moon); and that

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called Te Tabanin (The Foursquare); and the long maneaba called Maunga-tabu; and the maneaba whereof the breadth is greater than the length, called Te Ketao".¹⁵⁰ It is by virtue of this gift that the clans

Footnote 5.¹⁵⁰ The free translation of the tradition from which this extract is quoted is exhibited in Appendix 2: see paragraph 7. The styles of construction called Te Namakaina and Te Ketao are now unknown; that called Te Tabanin (The Foursquare) may correspond with the style now called Tabontebike (see the opening paragraph of this Appendix); that called Maunga-tabu is the only one of the four in respect of which I have been able to collect particulars.

see Bre myth

of Ababou and Maerua lay claim to ^{what is} their pre-eminent function, namely, that of being, on behalf of Karongoa-n-uea, the master-architects of the Maunga-tabu building. Their duties in this direction are, to find a suitable site for the edifice, to lay out its ground-plan, to order the position of all its timbers, and with their own hands to cap its ridge with a covering of plaited leaf or matting. Their acolytes in these works are the Eel-totem group of Nukumauea and the Crab-totem group of Tabukaokao. In all their building rituals, the names of Sun and Moon are prominent; they believe that the Sun dwells in the Maunga-tabu maneaba because he was the originator of that style of building, and ^{that he} will take vengeance upon any person who either offends the edifice or attempts to usurp the functions or imitate the rituals of the builder-clans.¹⁵¹

~~Footnote 6.¹⁵¹ The present tense is used in describing these beliefs, because there are still living one or two old men who cling to them. It should, however, be remembered that the knowledge of myth and ritual upon which the beliefs, as they stand recorded, were based belonged, even before the decay of custom, to a very narrow circle of initiates on each island.~~

(d) Maunga-tabu building rituals.

- (11) The first timbers of the maneaba to be cut and dressed are the tatanga (roof-plates). The heavy work is done by the acolyte Eel and Crab totem-groups, but, before the dressing of the rough logs begins, they are heaped in a pile for ritual treatment by the master-architect of Ababou. Before noon, on a day when the sun and moon are seen together in the sky, this person mounts the pile and, facing east, taps one of the logs lightly with an adze, intoning -

Ba N nangi tiba koroi-a, tatanga-ni maneaba-ia Taai, Namakaina;

For the time has come for me to cut the roof-plate of the maneaba of the Sun and Moon;

Ba maneaba-ia Auriaria, Nei Teveneï, Riiki, Nei Tituaabine.

Even the maneaba of Auriaria, Nei Teveneï, Riiki, Nei Tituaabine.

E toki tera? E toki te bakarere.

What ceases? Violence ceases.

E toki tera? E toki te kai-n-anti.

What ceases? Evil magic ceases.

E toki tera? E toki te maraia.

What ceases? Being under a curse

E toki tera? E toki te tiringaki.

What ceases? Being smitten ^{ceases} ceases.

E toki-i-i, e toki, e toki-e-e-e, e toki.

It ceases, it ceases, it ceases, it ceases.

Te mauri ao te raoi.

Prosperity and peace.

(12) The cutting of the rafters and other scantlings is precluded by exactly the same ritual and formula, the word tatanga (roof-plate) being replaced by the appropriate term.

*(13) & (14) is a cedar
remains of the note on the
Decade
quoted in Bull in
Nanda 1980:27-30
Reprinted in Part IV,
p. 22.*

(13) When the thatch is complete, the ridge capping is laid in position, and, again before noon, both sun and moon being seen in the sky, the master-architect mounts the roof, armed with a thatching awl. Sitting on the ridge, facing east, midway between the gable ends, he stabs the capping with his awl on either side of him, and intones -

Ba N nangi tiba ewari-a,
Taubuki-n uma-ia Auriaria, Nei Teveneï,
Riiki, ma Nei Tituaabine.

The time has come for me to pierce it,
The ridge of their dwelling, Auriaria,
Nei Teveneï, Riiki, and Nei
Tituaabine.

Ririka-n uma-u tera? Te karau.

The covering of my dwelling from what?
From rain.

Ririka-n uma-u te buaka;

The covering of my dwelling from storm
(or strife).

Ririka-n uma-u karawa;

The covering of my dwelling from
heaven;

Ba rokiroki-n uma-ia Taai ma Namakaina.

Even the screening in of the dwelling
of the Sun and the Moon.

Te ririka-e-e, te ririka-o-o!

The covering-e-e, the covering-o-o!

(14) This formula having been recited three times, the master architect descends, and the ridge-capping is sewn in place by workers of Ababou and Maerua. This takes only a few minutes. When the work is complete, the officiator again mounts to the ridge, carrying with him four coconuts in their husks. For the purposes of the ceremony, these nuts are called (secretly) ata, human heads. Straddling the North end of the ridge,

Footnote ¹⁵² X. See Footnote ⁹⁸ X, Appendix 2, Part II, as to the meaning of ata.

This Tradition, with its associated commentary, seem to have been intended for inclusion in Part III of 'The Migration of a Pandanus People', but whether they were actually included in the text forwarded to the Polynesian Society I do not know.

The Tradition has been included in the anthology (see Chapter III: 5; 'The story of Moutonga') but not the comments, which have special relation to a point raised in Grindley's book on being an example of the blending of historical material with myth in traditional texts.

The tale of the children of Kirataa-of-Heaven
and Nei Ikuiku.

Na Atia and Nei Ikuiku dwelt in
Tebukivoro: their children were three girls,

[Footnote. Tebukivoro, more commonly
called Tebungivoro, is described in
general tradition as "the line of
lands in the West." A Creation Myth of
Banaba states that the lands of Tebungivoro
were fashioned by the spirit Auraria
"on the overside of heaven" before heaven
was lifted from earth. At the lifting
of heaven these lands fell, ready made
with their people, into the sea, where
they have ever since remained. Banaba
was the Navel (buto) of Tebungivoro; some of
the western lands named in the myth
are Matairango, Tanabai, Baantongo,
Waituru, Kabintongo, and Nabanaba.
The last will be seen to figure importantly
in a later section.]

whose names were Nei Ikuiku the Eldest,
Nei Ikuiku the Middle, and Nei Ikuiku the
Youngest.

Behold! Nei Ikuiku the Youngest began
to menstruate; she said to her father and
mother, "Alas! I am bleeding!" They
answered, "Beere!" When she heard that

[Footnote. Beere, betee are exclamations
of disgust or disapproval]

word, she was ashamed: she arose and
left them in anger; she sought the seed

of her tree called Ti Kimaatore, and when she

[Footnote. Ti Kimaatore is modern Gilbertese for a kind of toadstool, but is also remembered as the name of a large tree which does not grow in these islands, but is said to have resembled one of the figus family seen on the neighbouring island of Nauru].

found it, she took and planted it in a far place. She dug a hole for the seed; she threw the seed on high so that it fell into the hole, and thus sang she —

I throw it on high,
I throw on high my plant Ti Kimaatore.
I have no strength,
For I faint in the sun-glare
And giddiness (takes me).
E-e-e-e!

A short time passed, and behold! the tree grew great: it reached Heaven. Then climbed that woman into the crest of her tree. When she arrived in Heaven, there stood before her a woman named Ni Ni-Karawa (Woman of Heaven), who called her into a house, and cared for her as a nati (adopted child).

[Footnote. See a paper on Gilbertese adoption by H.E. Maude in J.P.S. Sept. - Dec., 1931].

When Ni Ikuiku the Youngest had been some time in Heaven, she married Kiataa-of-Heaven, and they had one child who was named Ni Ni-Karawa,

The tale of the children of Kirataa-of-Heaven and
Nei Ikuiku.

Na Atiia and Nei Ikuiku dwelt in ~~Tebukiroro~~ ^{Tebukiroro:}

[Footnote. Tebukiroro, more frequently called
Tebongiroro, is described as "the line of
lands in the West"

after her (adoptive) grandmother.

§ 2. Once, when that child was going about idly, she saw a pandanus tree of which the fruit was ripe, and thus she said to her father: "I shall climb this tree and pluck its fruit." He answered, "The tree is my plant. A woman climbs no tree," but she said, "I shall indeed climb it."

She climbed up, and behold! that branch of the tree which turned West broke when she mounted upon it, and she fell to Earth out of Heaven. She fell upon the land named Abatiku. When she fell, she changed her name to Ko-make. The reason for this name was that she fell to Earth on the East side of a pond of make (garfish).

There was but one inhabitant of Abatiku before her, and his name was Na Itonga. Na Itonga saw her and took her for his wife. They had two children, even Nei Matamona and Nei Matanoko.

§ 3. This is the tale of Nei Matanoko. When she was five seasons old, her mother said to Na Itonga, "Sir, I am about to go out. If this child cries, do not take her out into the sunlight. Let her not see the sun." She left him

and when she was gone, the child cried. Na Utonga picked her up; he tried to still her cries, but she ceased not; so he took her out into the sunlight: she saw the sun and her cries ceased. After that day, Nei Mata-noko refused to go back into the house; she remained outside, and at first she was quiet, but it was not long before she began to cry again. Her habit was to cry from morning to night.

After a time Nei Komake said to her husband, "Na Utonga, there is but one end to this child's crying. Alas! we must part with Nei Mata-noko, for thou shalt carry her to the sun and the moon. That will be the end of her crying".

That night Nei Tituaabine, the spirit (anti) of Na Utonga, came to him in a dream, saying, "Na Utonga, thou canst not (of thyself) carry thy child to Heaven; but go thou and tell the man named Nabanaba, who dwells in the midst of the sea, and beg him to carry thy child". So he set forth with Nei Mata-noko to find that man, and when he had found him, Nabanaba said, "It is good. I will go speak with Te-anti-ma-aomata (The-half-spirit-half-man), for he is a navigator". He went and spoke with Te-anti-ma-aomata, and thus ^{said} spake that man, "It is good. Tell Na Utonga to build his canoe. Let him make seventeen sails, and one

ro (plaited anchor rope), and one tanai (adze with shell blade), and one kibena (dip net), and one kai-ni-kareke (pole with lashed-on crook for pulling down branches or fruit), and one ao (fish line of coconut fibre or ficus bark), and one maneka (climbing step cut in a tree trunk), and one nokomaka (broken coconut riblet used in death-magic), and one kai-ni-matamea (noosed pole or stick for catching eels). When all these things are ready, he shall come to me with his canoe".

So Na Utonga returned to Aba-tiku and built a canoe with seventeen sails, and made the things which Te-anti-ma-aomata had said. When all things were ready he put up one sail and voyaged back to the place where Te-anti-ma-aomata awaited him. Then they set forth together, with the child Nei Mata-noko, to visit the sun and moon in the East. They sped Eastwards. When they were far from land they met with a deep-sea octopus, which held their canoe so that it could not go forward: Na Utonga went down into the sea with his adze and cut its tentacles to pieces so that it died. The canoe sped forward towards the East.

Again, they came to the land of large eared folk which was called Tabo-n-noto, and Waituru, and Katatake-i-eta.

[Footnote. The land called Waituru, as shown in Note ----, is named in the Banaban Creation Myth as one of the lands of Tebungiro or Tebukiro].

There they stayed for a long while, but afterwards they set out again to Eastward, and they voyaged until the seventeen sails of their canoe were all worn out. They came to the land that is at the side of heaven to Eastward, beyond all lands, which was called Maiawa. There was no end of that land to North and no end to South: it spread over the North and the South and the Middle, as it were the containing wall (bonobono) of the sea.

There was a rock in the sea which was the place where the sun rested when he came above the Eastern horizon. They anchored their canoe to that rock and awaited the sun. When he came, they said, "Thy grand-daughter Nei Mata-noko loves thee (or desires thee)". As for the sun, he answered, "Give her to the moon, for she will be burned to death with me".

They sailed away until they came to another rock in the sea - the place where the moon rested - and there they anchored their canoe. When the moon came, they said, "Moon, thy grand-daughter loves thee". As for the moon, she took Nei Mata-noko and carried her away. And from that time until now the work of Nei Mata-noko is to sit in the moon and plait mats all night.

This (part of the tale) is finished.

§4

Behold! Te-anti-ma-aomata spoke to Na Utonga, saying, "Sir, shall we return or wilt thou go sight-seeing in Heaven?" Na Utonga answered, "We shall indeed go sight-seeing". So they mounted to Heaven, and came to a great maneaba where people were gathered together. Those were cruel folk: they said to each other, "Let us kill these strangers".

There stood beside the maneaba a single coconut tree, in the trunk of which lived an enormous centipede. The people told Na Utonga to climb that tree, but Nei Tituaabine his anti whispered in his ear, "Sir, there is a centipede in the trunk of the tree which will eat thee. Take thy adze with thee". He took his adze and climbed the tree, and behold! when the centipede came out to eat him, he cut it to pieces, so that it died. The people were afraid when they saw the work of his adze, and they tried no more to kill him. So he was safe, and returned to his house-place on Aba-tiku.

§5.

Leave this; speak of the other child of Na Utonga, Nei Mata-mona, who stayed on Aba-tiku when her sister was carried to the moon. Nei Mata-mona remained by the

trunk of the pandanus tree in which her mother had fallen from Heaven. She lay with the tree and was pregnant: her children were Bue, and Riirongo, and Nei Bungin-taai (Sunset), whose other name was Nei Te-raa-iti (little Sun).

The work of Bue and Riirongo was to seek out all tabunea (magic rituals). Behold! they voyaged to their ~~father~~ father the Sun in their canoe, whereof one end was called Bue-ma-rirongo and the other end Te Kai-ni-kamata; they came to the Sun and they learned tabunea from him. When the Sun's tabunea were all (learned), he said to them, "Ye shall go to the Moon, and I will travel above you. But do not meddle with (kumea) your sister Nei Bungin-taai on the way." They left the Sun and sailed Westwards, but on their third day at sea they committed incest with their sister. The Sun saw them: he cut their canoe in halves and they were sundered. The woman Nei Bungin-taai drifted West and the men Bue and Riirongo were stranded upon Tarawa, at the place called Buariki, under the lee of Te-tongo-buangii. *That is their house-place to this*

day, for it was given them for a dwelling by Kiriataa of Tarawa, the son of Kiriataa the Eldest, the High Chief of Tarawa. And the descendants of Bue and Riirongo are the people of Ababou and Maerua, whose houseplace is Te-tongo-buangii at Tarawa.

86. Leave the men at Tarawa. The woman Nei Bungl-n-taai was stranded in the West. She married the man named Te-ubaitoi (name of sp. Frigate Bird), and her child was Te-bike, a man.

[Footnote. The Frigate Bird, as noted in section ----, is, for the Gilbertese race, the bird of the Sun. The bird is here used as a symbol of solar ancestry exactly as the pandanus tree was used in the preceding section of the story]

Te-bike set forth to see the lands of ^{Tebukiroro} ~~Tebungl-n-taai~~, and he came to the land of Nei Babatu and Nei Rarango. They were eaters of human flesh, and when they saw him arrive they said to each other, "Here comes a canoe". They called him and made him enter their lodge. He entered. Alas! they caused the roof of their lodge to fall upon him, so that he died!

Then Nei Bungl-n-taai bore another child, whose name was Kobure. When he was grown up, his mother told him of his brother. He made ready his canoe to go and seek Te-bike. He set out, and he carried with him from his mother a bure

shell (natica) and a staff called te Kai-ni-Kamata.

[Footnote. The reference to the shell and the staff constitutes the kind of cryptic clue in which Gilbertese traditions abound. The bure shell is the shell of the Moon, and appears in a popular version of the Creation Myth as the object from which that luminary was actually fashioned. The Kai-ni-Kamata is the magic staff of the Sun, and as such is used by the Gilbertese clans of Ababou and Maerna for a canoe crest. See a paper entitled "Gilbertese canoe crests" in Man According to popular tradition ~~the~~ ^{the} staff was given to Bue and Rirongo ^{by the Sun} when they visited ~~the sun~~ ^{him} as related in section 5 of this story. The hero of the present section, Kobure, is thus, by the shell, and the staff, ^{and his} ~~father~~ ^{father} ~~the Frigate Bird,~~ ^{linked up} ~~very closely,~~ ^{with} the Sun and Moon personages of the earlier parts].

After a while, he came to the land of

Nei Babatu and Nei Rarango: they saw him and said to each other, "Here comes a canoe. Our food is near". They called him and made him enter their lodge, but when they thought that he slept they caused the roof of their lodge to fall. But Kobure had set up the staff that his mother had given him so that it prevented the ridge pole from falling upon him, so he was safe. Then he arose and hurled the bure shell at the Eastern side of the roof. The roof was pierced; he took the body of his brother and ran out from under the roof where it was pierced by the shell.

Those women thought that Kobure was dead, and while they were busied in lifting the roof to catch him he put the body of his brother upon his canoe and sailed away. They turned and saw him; they called after him, "Sir, come back", but he fled. Then they raised a great wave before him, so that his canoe should be swamped, but when he saw the wave he held his dead brother before him. The wave broke and tore away his brother's arms, but he was safe. The wave carried his brothers arms to the side of heaven: there they stayed, for they became the stars that are called Baai (arms). The breast-bone of Te-bike also became a star, even Babaa-ni-man (breast bone-of-animal), and his bora-ni-ki (sacrum and coccyx) became Kaama-te-kinaka (Kaama-the-spotted - the False Cross). As for Kobure, he returned to his mother in Te-bongiroro.

This tale, or series of tales, is ^a ~~the~~ perfect example of ~~the~~ ^a type ~~in which~~ ^{constantly meets with in} ~~Gilbertese tradition~~ ^{Gilbertese tradition} — wherein a ^{basis} ~~framework~~ of ^{historic material} ~~historic facts~~ forms the ^{warps} ~~framework~~ upon which a weft of mythical strands is woven. The approved method of the native ~~the method~~ ^{of the native} adopted by ~~the native~~ ^{historians} is to use the early stages of a ~~genealogy~~ ^{genealogy} or clan-pedigree as the vehicle for conveying not only a series of genealogical and geographical facts but also the philosophy of ^{origins} ~~the~~ peculiar to the social group which he represents. Lest other clans should too readily understand the ^{essentials} ~~facts~~ which underlie his narrative, and so bring a curse upon him for betraying the secrets of his line, he covers

[Footnote. One who "squanders" (bakataca) the history of his clan among members of other social groups is in danger of becoming maraiia or subject to visitation by ~~the~~ his ancestral deities. ~~of his own line~~ Hence the extreme difficulty of collecting genealogical traditions in the first place, and of interpreting their oral meaning when collected].

all with a cloak of ~~cryptic~~ ^{symbolism more or less} ~~symbolism~~ ^{cryptic symbolism}, understood only by those who have the key to his ~~story's meaning~~ ^{story's meaning}.

Pedigree of the "Children of Nei Ikuiku and Kirataa of Heaven"

Na Atiia and Nei Ikuiku of Tebukiroro

Three daughters named Ikuiku, of whom the youngest climbed to Heaven in her Tree, the Kimaatore, and married Kirataa of Heaven

Nei Nikarawa, who climbed Kirataa's Tree, the Pandanus, and fell to Earth with a westward-turning branch, and married on the land of Abatiku Na Utonga

Nei Matamona, who married the trunk of the heavenly Pandanus tree on Abatiku; (or, according to other versions, became pregnant by a sunbeam in Tebungiroro)

Nei Matamoko, who continually cried for the Sun. Carried by her father to the Sun and Moon. Eventually became the "Woman in the Moon."

Bue and Riirongo, who were born on Abatiku: voyaged to the Sun to obtain magic rituals; finally settled on Tarawa, and became ancestors of Sun and Moon clans (Ababou and Maerua)

Nei Bungintai^(Sunset) also called Nei Terasiti^(Litt Sun) who visited Sun with her brothers and then returned to ~~Tebungiroro~~ Western land, to marry a Frigate Bird, i.e. the Sun

Nei Terasiti, who, according to other traditions, became the wife of Kirataa the Second, High Chief of Tarawa.

Tebike, killed by cannibal hags in Tebungiroro. Was eventually turned into several constellations.

Kobure reclaimed his brother's body with help of the Moon-shell and the Sun-Staff given to him by his mother.

24 generations to adult living descendants.

24 generations to adult living descendants

For the purpose of elucidating both the method and the meaning of the foregoing tale, its essentials have been set out in the schematic form of a pedigree, to which reference is now invited in conjunction with the following explanatory notes:—

[Pedigree to face page on which
commentary appears]

(1) In the earliest generation ^{of the pedigree} Na Atia and his wife Nii Ikuiku are no doubt mythical personages; but the place or group of places called Irbukirōro in this context and Irbongirōro elsewhere (see note ---, page ----) was without any doubt a real early fatherland, a "line of lands in the West", whence a stream of ancestors migrated into the Gilbert Group.

(2) In the second generation some very concrete facts are recorded under a cloak of symbolism. The Kimaatōre-tree of Nii Ikuiku is the totem of her father's social group. The name Nii Ikuiku, ~~being that of a woman,~~ ^{although mythical nevertheless} ~~means~~ ^{signifies} that descent from the Kimaatōre-clan is traced through a female, not a male. The name of the husband, Kiriataa-of-Heaven, gives the key to the social group — claiming a heavenly descent — into which the Kimaatōre-ancestress married.

(3) In the third generation, the symbol of ^{the} Kiriataa's group, the Pandanus-tree, is worked into the narrative. A ^{Kiriataa's} ~~female of the~~ ^{daughter} Pandanus ~~group~~ falls from Heaven upon the

is said to be a mysterious, bright red substance called te ringa (the mixture), which will be discussed in a later section. Matang is believed by many to lie next to, but beyond, another western land called Bōuru, also a bourne of departed shades. It is therefore interesting, in view of the myth just exhibited, ^{to find} that ara-matang and ara-bōuru are the names of two species of pandanus tree ^{still} ~~now~~ cultivated in the Gilbert Islands.

A pandanus tree tradition.

land of Abatiku, together with a westward-
turning branch of her father's tree; ~~and~~ she
marries a personage called Na Utonga, who
~~was~~ is the only inhabitant of the land.
This signifies, in plain speech: "To the
land of Abatiku, in a westerly direction,
migrated a woman of the heaven-born
pandanus-clan, together with a whole
branch of her social group. She married
into a clan of Abatiku, ~~of which one~~ ^{whereof a certain}
Na Utonga was the ancestor, ~~and which~~ ^{The Na Utonga}
~~people were.~~ ^{people were.} in sole occupation of the place."

- (4) The tales of Nei Matanoko and Nei
Matamona in the fourth generation are
mostly mythical in ~~the~~ content but
their fabric is shot with veiled facts.
The mention of Na Utonga's anti
(ancestral deity), Nei Tituaabine, in the
third section of the story identifies for
us the ^{Abatiku} social group ^{for} which his name
~~is the symbol~~ ^{stands} (see Note ---, page ----). The
warning put into the mouth of ^{his} Mata
~~mona's~~ ^{wife} mother against taking their
child into the ^{sunlight} sun is the historian's
oblique method of saying that the
Sun-Moon connection ~~was~~ lay through the
mother's side (i.e., the Pandanus line)
~~mother's side~~, and not through that

of the ignorant father.

In the fifth section of the story, the union of Nei Matamona with a pandanus tree ~~and the birth of~~ ^{representing the Sun} is, of course, a myth belonging to the Pandanus-folk, and so also is the tale of how her children Bue, Riirongo and ~~Buegiutai~~ visited the Sun. But the myth is used in this place as a symbol of history. Matamona stands for a woman descended from the Na Utonga-folk on her father's side and from the immigrant Pandanus-folk on her mother's, who married a member of the Pandanus-group on Abatiku, and so became the ancestress of certain people who carried the Sun-myth to Tarawa.

- (5) The test of the interpretation is found in the fifth generation of the pedigree. Obviously, a folk claiming descent from the Sun did arrive at Tarawa, inasmuch as their descendants are there today — the clans of Ababou and Maerua. Just as obviously, the persons of Bue and Riirongo are mythical. It follows that the names of these two beings, are used in the story ^{as a symbol, signifying} ~~to signify~~ a group of actual ancestors, immigrants from the West, whose real names are not given. In order to round off the mythical

content of his story, the historian carries the narrative in ~~the~~ ^{its} sixth and final section back to ~~an unnamed western land~~ ~~Tebongiroro~~, and relates how the sister of Bue and Riirongo there married the Frigate Bird — the bird of the Sun — and ~~there~~ bore children who were responsible for the origin of several constellations. It ~~is possible~~ ^{may be} that history ~~also~~ lies concealed under this part of the story ^(also), but its key is now lost.

Thus analysed, the story of the "Children of Nei Ikuiku and Kiataa of Heaven" is therefore an account of how a stream of folk originating in a western land called Abatiku migrated thence into Tarawa. Genealogically, the facts conveyed may be summarised in the following table:-

significant:-

The first of all trees was te Kaina (the Pandanus) which was called Te Bakatibu Taii (The Ancestor Sun); ~~it~~ its spirit was Auriaria; it grew upon (the lands of) Abatoa and Abaiti in the West.

[Footnote. The myth proceeds: "And the inhabitants of those lands were Tebaa (the rock), Teatibu (the stone), Teatinari (a species of coral), Nanokai (an eel), Nanomaaka (an eel). Nanokai and Nanomaaka lay together: their child was Naarean the Elder. Then came the Darkness and the Cleaving Together. There was nothing in the Darkness and Cleaving Together save only the giant Na Aream." After this ^{highly} point, ~~the myth gives the usual~~ ^{exceptional} ~~the myth gives the usual~~ ^{prelude to the myth passage on to an} account of the separation of heaven and earth by Na Aream the Younger, and of the creation of things and men, common to all islands. A full length version of the usual Creation Story was published in ~~the~~ the Journal of the Folk Lore Society, London, Jan-June, 1922].

A fuller account of the land of Matakang, the home of the first coconut and pandanus trees, is given in ^{other} versions of this myth collected from the Gilbert Group. According to some ~~accounts~~ ^{readings}, it was ^{a magic} island that sometimes floated, sometimes sank, and sometimes flew in the air, in the vicinity of Samoa; but the great body of tradition places it "beyond all other lands in the West," so far away that it can be reached only by the ghosts of the dead. It is called "the land of spirits and ancestors," the home of a fair or red-skinned race of giants, among whom were Auriaria, Nii Iwenei and Nii Tituaabine, the personages named in the foregoing myth. Other names most commonly appearing in Gilbertese versions are Taburimai, Tabuariki, Tangaroa, Taubareroa, Rabaraba, Bwebwe-n-renga, and Teborata. Of these, the first two, with Auriaria, Nii Iwenei, and Nii Tituaabine, are the deities of the most important ^{Gilbertese} totem-sibs today. The food of ~~these~~ ^{the} great beings ~~of~~ Matakang.

is said to be a mysterious, bright red substance called te vunga (the mixture), which will be discussed in a later section.

So strongly have the Gilbertese preserved the tradition of ~~the~~ ^{the} fairness or redness of their ancestral deities that the name given ^{by them} to the white man today ~~in these islands~~ is te I-Matang — the inhabitant of Matang. The bleaching process called

te ko to which Gilbertese girls of high rank were once subjected ^{was} said to

[Footnote. A description of this process appears in a paper entitled "From Birth to Death in the Gilbert Islands," J.R.A.I., Jan-June, 1921]

have as its object the reproduction of the colour and skin-texture of the red-skinned ancestors of Matang.

Matang is believed to lie next to, but beyond, another bourn of departed shades in the West, called Bōuru. It is therefore interesting, in view of the coconut-pandanus myth just exhibited, to find that ara-matang and ara-bōuru are the names of two species of pandanus tree still cultivated in the Gilbert Islands. A third species which bears the

name of a western land is te ara-nabanaba (or an-nabanaba). The name of Nabanaba has already been seen applied to one of the Gilbertese cooking ovens, and also to a species of (Malay custard apple).

Part III



Nei Tituaabine boni kaai-ni Matang,
ao iai naba kaai-ni Matang temanna
^{are maane-na}
are ara-na Auriaria, ao bu-na Nei
Tevenei. A bon aori-ia n tekateka
iao-ni Matang te koraki aarei; ao
aro-ia, bon taian uea.

E ewaa n tamaroa Auriaria, b'e
ribaura m'e aintoa, ao e taanaki
iroui aine-n te aba aarei.

E ^{nako}
~~nako~~ nako n te tai-na Auriaria,
ao e nora Nei Tituaabine. Te aine
are akea n te tamaroa neirei, b'e
ribaura naba m'e itiiti kanoa-ni
mata-na, ba ai aro-n te iti are i
karawa.

E nakoi-na teuarei, ao ngke e roko
e kaangai: "Heiko, ai bati-ra
tangira-m irou". Ao ngaia, e kaeka
ni kaangai: "Nao, I bon tangiri-ko
naba".

Ao akea! ba e ^{Kanikira}
~~kinano~~ Auriaria ma
Nei Tituaabine.

E un Nei Tevene, are bu-n Auriaria,
ngke e ongo, ba kanga e koko; ao e
kanaengi ma bu-na. E toka n waa-na,
e waerake, e roko i Tarawa. E maan
teutana, ao e a manga mananga nako
Maiana: e tekateka n te aba aarei,

Nei Tituaabine was indeed an
inhabitant of Matang, and there was
also a certain inhabitant of Matang,
^{her brother,}
whose name was Auriaria, and his
wife was Nei Tevene. That
company did nothing but live on
Matang; and the manner of them
was that they were High Chiefs.
Auriaria was of exceeding beauty,
for he was fair(red)-skinned and
of great stature, and he was
courted by the women of that land.
Auriaria went abroad on a day,
and he saw Nei Tituaabine. She
was a woman of unequalled beauty,
for she also was fair-skinned, and
the pupils of her eyes flashed,
even as it were the lightning in
heaven.

That man went towards her, and
when he arrived he said thus:
"Woman, how great in me is the love
of thee". As for her, she
answered, saying thus: "Sir, I
also love thee".

And behold! Auriaria ^{committed}
~~took~~ Nei
^{incest with Nei Tituaabine.}
~~Tituaabine for his paramour.~~

Nei Tevene, the wife of Auriaria,
was angry when she heard, for, as
it were, she was (sexually) jealous;
~~and~~ she parted in anger with her
husband. She embarked in her
canoe, she travelled eastwards,
she came to Tarawa. She stayed

ao e aranna te tabo are e tekateka
iai ba Arinnanona.

Ao akea! b'e aoraki Nei Tituaabine;
e namakinna mate-na, ao e taetae
nakon teuarei Auriaria, ni kaangai:
"Nao, ai kaawa-ra nkai N nangi mate,
ao akea nati-u ae e na tiku iroum
ba motika-n nanoanga-m! Ma an,
taonna nano-m, ba iai te bai ae e
na riki ba kanuringa-u iroum.
Ngkana I mate, ao ko na taon-ai,
ma ko na taninga te kai ae e na
riki iao-u; ao ngkana iai ae e
riki, ao ko na kawakinna.

E mate, ao e taon-na Auriaria. E
maan teutana, ao e riki te kai mai
eta-n atu-na, ba ai te nii. Ao
te kua-kai e riki mai buto-na, ba
te ntarine; ao e riki te kateni-kai
mai buki-n wae-na, ba te kaina.

Ai ngaia bai-ka tiku imwi-n Nei
Tituaabine ba motika-n nanoanga-n
Auriaria: ba ngke e nima te moimoto
ao e arobairi mangaia, ao ngke e
niraki ni kie-na ao e bo rabata-na
mangaia, ao kana-na moa-n uaa-n te
Kaina ma te
ntarine bon rabata-na naba.

a little while, and again set forth
to Maiana: she settled on that
land, and she named the place where
she settled Arinnanona.

And behold! Nei Tituaabine fell ill:
she felt her death (coming), and
she spoke to Auriaria, saying thus:
"Sir, how sad it is now that I am
about to die, and there is no child
of mine who shall stay with thee
as the comforter of thy sorrow!
But do thou still thy heart, for
there is a thing which shall grow
as a memorial of me with thee. When
I die, thou shalt bury me, and thou
shalt await the tree which shall
grow over me; and if any (tree)
grows, thou shalt care for it.

She died, and Auriaria buried her.
A while passed, and a tree grew
from the top of her head, even the
coconut. And the second tree grew
from her navel, the almond; and
the third tree grew from her heels,
the pandanus.

Those were the things which stayed
in Nei Tituaabine's place as the
comforter's of Auriaria's sorrow:
for when he drank a coconut he
rubbed noses with her; and when he
was wrapped in his sleeping mat his
body met hers; and his food, the
first fruits of the *pandanus and the*
almond, was also
her body.

[Footnote. Sleeping mats are plaited with the leaves of the
pandanus tree]

§ 13. Magic rituals connected with growing foodstuffs

Te rabu (the covering) is any object attached to the trunk of a coconut tree, to indicate that the magic ritual known as te kaoanikai has been performed to prevent the intrusion of robbers. A rabu often consists of a piece of a woman's old riri (leaf kilt), but is more generally made of coconut leaf. For this purpose, on the island of Marakei, a leaf is split down its midrib into two halves; the halves ^{are} then cut up into sections, of which each one bears four pinnules. Every section forms a rabu for one tree, being tied round the trunk by its pinnules (two on either side) in the manner of a belt. Round the midrib of each rabu, in the manner pictured in ^{Plate 13} ~~the sketch~~, is knotted a single slip of white leaf plucked from the topmost spray of a young coconut palm.

Before being tied to their respective trees, all the rabu are completed and collected in a heap before the owner, who stands before them facing East and, with a circular motion of the arm from right (away from body) to left, and back (next to body) to

right again, sprinkles over them the water of a drinking nut
(moimoto) whilst intoning the following formula, in a low singsong:-

Matakaakang, Matakaakang!

Mataoraora, Mataoraora!

Matakaakang, Matakaakang!

Mataoraora, Mataoraora!

Footnote. These are the names of the spiritual powers who carry into effect the curse contained in the formula. It will be noted that they are in no sense invoked or supplicated in the course of the formula. The declamation of the correct words, accompanied by the exact ritual, is held to enforce their obedience. Kaakang means to eat human flesh: oraora means to eat uncooked food.

Ko kanna tera, au rabu?

Ko kanna te aomata ane e anaana
uaa-n au ni.

Ko kanna ra-na? Ko kanna bai-na.

Ko kanna ra-na? Ko kanna wae-na.

Ko kanna ra-na? Ko kanna rabata-na.

Ko kanna ra-na? Ko kangi mata-na.

Ko kanna ra-na? Ko kanna atu-na.

Ko kanna ra-na? Ko a tiring-nga,
ko a bo-ia, ko a kamate-a.

M'e a mate o-o-o!

What eatest thou, my rabu?

Thou eatest the man who takes
the fruit of my coconut
trees.

Thou eatest what part of him?
Thou eatest his hand.

Thou eatest what part of him?
Thou eatest his foot.

Thou eatest what part of him?
Thou eatest his body.

Thou eatest what part of him?
Thou eatest his eyes.

Thou eatest what part of him?
Thou eatest his head.

Thou eatest what part of him?
Thou shalt smite him, thou
shalt beat him, thou shalt
kill him.

So shall he die o-o-o!

This formula having been intoned three times, the rabu are tied in place, and the empty drinking nut used for the aspersion is planted mouth upwards in the ground, by any one of the trees: in this, as in a flower pot, is stood the topmost leaf of the young coconut palm from which were plucked the pinnules for adding knots to the rabu. The leaf rests against the trunk of the adjacent tree, and remains as a kind of scarecrow to thieves.

When the owner himself desires to gather the fruit of a

protected tree, he is obliged to undo the magic, lest the curse fall upon his own head. He stands before the tree and unties the knot of white leaf which he has tied to the rabu, intoning at the same time -

E maatanaa, e matana au rabu aio! It is loosed, it is loosed, this my rabu!

Footnote. Maatanaa: the regular form of this word is matana, every a being short. The form with lengthened a is a euphonic variant, of a kind much used in magic formulae and dancing chants.

E matana bai-na, ao e matana wae-na, Its hand is loosed, and its foot is loosed,
 Ao e matana un-na, ma tiritiri-na, Its anger is loosed, with its violence, with its eating of human flesh, with its eating of raw flesh.
 ma kaakangi-na, ma oraora-na.
 E maatanaa, e matana! It is loosed, it is loosed!

Having slipped off the untied leaf and thrown it upon the ground, the performer then takes the rest of the rabu from the tree and proceeds with his climbing. There is no ritual burning or destruction of the cast-off rabu.

In this, as in all other departments of Gilbertese magic, protective rituals have been invented or evolved, whereof the object is to render the performer immune from the effects of the other man's curse. Such rituals are called in general either bonobono or bonota, the root bono- meaning closure, enclosure, or protection. On the island of Marakei, a man desirous of stealing his neighbour's fruit in despite of the rabu put upon it protects himself from evil by the aid of a magic staff, prepared in the following manner.

The performer cuts a straight wand, about six feet long and an inch thick, from any convenient tree, and peels it. Holding this staff by the middle in his right hand, he stands by the East side of his house, in line with the central rafter, facing East, at any time between sunrise and noon, but preferably on a day when both the sun and the moon are seen together in the sky. Waving the staff over his head in a circular sweep, and looking up towards the sun,

he chants in a low monotone:-

Bitanikaai, Bitanikai ma Nanonikai! Bitanikai, Bitanikai with
Nanonikai!

Footnote. Note again the euphonic variation of the name Bitanikai. Bitani-kai means Reversal-of-weapons; Nano-ni-kai means Heart-of-weapons, i.e. He-who-lives-within-the-magic-staff. These are the beings obliged to obey the words of power uttered by the performer. The attitude is purely animistic and, as such, is strangely contrasted with that assumed a little later in the formula, when the protection of certain ancestral deities is invoked. The stratification of religious ideas in this formula makes it an extremely interesting example of syncretism.

I bit-ia, ba N na buok-ia!

I reverse it (i.e., the enemy's magic), for I shall help it (i.e., the magic staff)!

E teke Karawa, e teke Mone;

Heaven is pierced, the Underworld is pierced

E toki te baa, e toki te nari,
e toki te aubunga.

The rock is split, the hard coral is split, the clam shell is split.

Footnote. The implication is that the staff is made so strong that even the hardest substances cannot withstand its stabbing.

Bubunge, ma bonot-ai i tabo-n te
bike tanrio, tanrake.

Begin, and protect me at the point of the beach turning West, turning East.

E tei nako marawa; e na uboi bai-na;
e na tuatua nga-a-a!

It (i.e., my protection) stands firm over the sea; it shall clap its hands; it shall speak warnings..... nga-a-a!

Bu-u-u, baa-a-a, ke-e-e!

Bu-u-u, baa-a-a, ke-e-e!

Ngaiia! Ko kaakang i taari. Mangaia!
ko kaakang i anna!

So! thou eatest men at sea (my staff). And so! thou eatest men ashore!

Bonobonota maai-n te anti temanna,
Auriaria ma Tabu-ariki-o-o-o!

Close the way of any spirit, oh, Auriaria and Tabuariki!

Ba a ti bon airi-nako toua-na:

For they (the enemy spirits) shall collectively go whither they are kicked:

Footnote. Literally translated, this passage reads as follows:

(Footnote continued)

Ba a ti bon airi-nako
For they only indeed accompany-
away
toua-na
kicking-its (i.e., the kicking of
the performer's ritual or, perhaps
of his magic staff).

Ma aia anti-n-wawi, ma aia anti-n-
acoraki, ma aia anti-ni-karaka,
ma aia anti-ni-kaawa e-e!

With their spirits of death magic,
with their spirits of sickness,
with their new-fangled spirits,
with their spirits of misfortune
..... e-e!

Bonobonota maai-n te anti temanna,
Auriaria ma Tabu-ariki-o-o-o!

Close the way of any spirit, oh,
Auriaria and Tabu-ariki!

Inano-ni kaawa nakoaiaki, nakoiang.

In villages to Southward, to
Northward.

Kaangao, e mate te anti, e mate te
aomata.

As it were, the spirit is dead,
the man is dead.

Bonobono-o-o-o!

(I am) protected-o-o-o!

E mate te kua, e mate te aomata,
e tei iaontari, e uouota
riba-ni-matena te ikanangananga,

The porpoise is dead, the man is
dead, he stands in the sea, he
carries the colour of his death
(upon him) the peeling of skin
(i.e., putrefaction),

Ba N na taebae-ia, ba a tae bai-na
n au itera,

For I shall rend off his arms, for
his arms are rent off on my behalf,

Ma kam aki tara-ia, Auriaria ma
Tabu-ariki.

And ye look not upon him, Auriaria
and Tabu-ariki.

Footnote. Auriaria and Tabu-ariki
are ancestral deities of certain
patrilineal totem-sibs but,
though not the objects of any
well defined general cult, have
acquired a national prestige far
greater than that enjoyed by the
majority of sib-ancestors. As
pointed out in a previous note,
Tabu-ariki has certain character-
istics of a "departmental" deity,
being associated with thunder and
tempest. Of equal prestige with
this being and Auriaria are two
others, Taburimai and Nei
Tituaabine, both of whose names
have already appeared in these
notes.

Tiringa-ni manawa-na! Oro-ia ni
boboto-na!

The smiting of his breast! Strike
it at its roots!

Timtimu - e-e!

Drip-drip (blood) - e-e!

Bitanikaai, Bitanikai!

Bitanikaai, Bitanikai!

This formula having been repeated three times, the performer sharpens the staff at both ends, and carries it with him to the land whereof he desires to steal the fruit; there he plants it in the ground while desecrating the legitimate owner's rabu. Having done his will, he carries it home with the stolen fruit, and again plants it in the ground, up against his house on the East side, in the place where he performed the ritual. There it must remain until used again: it may on no account be either used as an implement or brought into the house, the belief being that sudden death will visit a man who fails to observe these avoidances.

If a thief go to the owner of a tree and confess to having desecrated a rabu, the owner may, if he will, save him from the curse by waving over him a magic staff prepared according to the above ritual. In such a case, only the staff of the owner himself is held to be effective, but even this is held to be of no avail when once the curse has begun to work upon its victim.

An invocation that is much more like a blessing than a magic formula is often used in the Northern Gilberts, for the purpose of making land fruitful. The example chosen is from the island of Marakei. The landowner visits his holding alone, in the dark before dawn, at any season of the year, and walks over it from East to West; as he goes, he extends his right hand, palm downwards, before him and intones -

Tara-ai, aba-u, ba I a roko, Ngai!	Behold me, my land, for I have come, I myself!
Kimari-mari, ma kitabaa - kimari-mari-e-e-e!	Be abundant, be rich in ^{pandanus} bloom, be abundant-e-e-e!
A na baka mari-n aba-u aio:	They shall fall, the riches of this my land:
Te ari, te maritabaa.	The coconut blossom, the abundance of pandanus bloom.
O, kimari-mari-e-e-e!	O, be abundant-e-e-e!
Kimaamau-e-e-e!	Be full of life-e-e-e!
Kimari-mari!	Be abundant!

Footnote. Kimari-mari, kimaamau:

Footnote continued

ki- is an intensifying prefix; mari means fruitful; maamau is a euphonic variant of the word maiu (alive or vigorous) in its intensified form maamau.

The invocation is recited three times, the performer starting anew from the Eastern boundary of his land at each repetition. There is no other accompanying ritual, and no amulet is worn or used. The formula is held to be so effective that, unless the performer keeps his eyes strictly confined within his holding, his blessing may become operative on the neighbouring lands, as well as his own.

§ 14. The fructification of the pandanus.

A highly interesting ritual, in which the Sun and Moon play a large part, is

[Footnote. The present tense is used in describing the ritual because solitary examples of its practice do still occur, in spite of the rapid decay of Gilbertese custom during the past 40 years]

used for the purpose of ensuring a rich pandanus harvest. Only the members of three particular totem-sibs ^{have the} ~~are~~ allowed to ~~perform~~ ^{secret} the ritual; The ^{Sun, Moon} ~~religious~~ associations of these social groups will be outlined when the ceremony has been described.

The season at which the ceremony of fructification is undertaken lies between July and September, when the S.E. Trades are expected to give way to the Westerly rains. The seasonable arrival of these rains is anxiously awaited, because upon it depends the quantity and quality of the pandanus harvest, which is gathered towards the beginning of October.

The days on which the ceremony takes place are two, the first stage being completed on the seventh ~~day~~ ^{night} of the lunar month, the second stage on the thirteenth night.

The time of commencement is the hour of sunset. For the first stage, the moon must be ~~over~~ ^{approaching} the meridian just as the sun is over the western horizon; for the second stage the former must be just risen as the latter is on the point of setting. The essential point at ~~both~~ ^{each} stages is that both luminaries ^{at once} should be visible in the sky when the ritual is commenced.

The place is a cleared space on the East side of the performer's dwelling house, in a straight line with the middle rafter of the roof.

[Footnote. All Gilbertese dwellings are built with gables N. and S., and sides facing E. and W. The name of the middle rafter is Kiaromatua.

Kiaro = a pole or boom; especially the outrigger boom of a canoe;
matua is a common Polynesian (but not ~~modern~~ Gilbertese) term for father or grandfather.]

The material prepared for the ritual consists of the parts of a magic tree — a trunk and two branches. The branches are two round wands of pandanus wood, each a span long, and as thick

[Footnote. A span: in Gilbertese, tenga, which is to say the full stretch of a man's outspread arms, from (middle) finger-tip to finger-tip]

as a man's thumb. The trunk is a

a rounded and tapered shaft of coconut timber, two spans long and about two inches thick at the base. The shaft is decorated at its point with a tuft of five upstanding frigate-bird feathers. The string with which the tuft is ~~made fast~~ is made of ~~alternate strands~~ of coconut fibre and human hair. Both the feathers and the string have the same important underlying sun-idea. The frigate-bird is believed to be the bird of the sun, and the spiral

[Footnote. See section ---, page ---]

pattern of black hair running through the string is said to be pleasing to the luminary. The tuft, when lashed in position, is said to be "the body of the Sun at the crest of the tree." At equal intervals round the base of the tuft are attached four strings of hair and fibre, each a span and a half long, in the manner of maypole strings. Each string is then ~~decorated~~ ^{garnished} with frigate-bird

feathers in the following arrangement:-

<u>Near the top</u>	-	a tuft of three;
<u>In the middle</u>	-	a tuft of two;
<u>Near the free end</u>	-	a single feather;
<u>At the free end</u>	-	a tuft of five.

These feathers ^{decorations} are technically ~~named~~ ^{named} ~~buKa~~ ^{buKa}; the strings which carry them are destined to be draped over the branches of the tree, when ^{the moment} ~~these~~ comes to lash ^{these} ~~latter~~ ^{latter} into position; the technical name of the branches is therefore maanga-ni-buKa (branches-of-buKa).

The decorated pole and the separate branches having been prepared, they are taken to the space ^{made ready} ~~prepared~~ for them on the East side of the maker's dwelling. A small hole for planting the magic tree is dug and, just as the setting sun's lower limb is about to touch the western horizon, the first part of the ritual begins.

Stage 1. ~~preparation~~ (Moon's seventh day)

Stage 1. The performer plants the trunk of the tree in the hole; holding the shaft upright with both hands

[Footnote. See Plate 14]

before him, he throws his head as far backwards as he can, and fixes his eyes upon the Sun-tuft above him. Having stood silent in this posture for about half a minute, he intones in a low voice the following formula:-

Unika-n au bitanikai aio! | Planting of this my magic staff!

[Footnote. Bitanikai, magic staff. The literal meaning of bitanikai is reversal of weapons, as explained in Note ---, page ----. In the context to which that Note applies, the word is used as the name of a spirit immanent in the magic staff. In this context, the staff itself is clearly referred to — the object which reverses or wards off the weapons of enemies.]

E bung meang, e bung
maiaki, e bung maiao,
ma mainiku —o-o-o!

The North gives birth, the South
gives birth, the West gives
birth, and the East —o-o-o!

[Footnote. Bung, gives birth: This is the usual meaning of ~~the word~~ bung, but the word is also used to denote the setting of Sun or Moon. Those who use the ritual state that the birth-meaning is here intended, the idea being that the North, South, West, and East are made fruitful by the ceremony. The fact that the sun is setting at the same moment gives a punning effect to the word. Puns are much used in Gilbertese magic, their force to the native mind being ^{always} strongly esoteric.]

Ebung Taai ma Namakaina! | The Sun and Moon give birth!

Ba I ti namanamat-ia
i:ao-n Jaai!

For I make it (i.e., the staff)
ready on the overside of
the Sun!

[Footnote. On the overside of the Sun. The performer believes that as the Sun sinks below the horizon, the roots of his magic tree become planted upon its overside]

E notia tera? E notia te
main.

What carries he (the Sun)?
He carries life.

E notia tera? Te tabaa
mai buakon ro-n
te-iti-ma-te-ro.

What carries he? The
young pandanus bloom
from the blackness of
the ^{rain} storm-cloud.

[Footnote. Te-iti-ma-te-ro, ^{rain-}storm cloud. The word means literally the-lightning-with-the-darkness and refers to the alternate flickering of lightning and blackness which is seen in the rainclouds of the Westerly winds].

Kimarimari au
buakonikai -o-o-o!

Be abundant my
plantations -o-o-o!

[Footnote. Buakonikai, plantations. Buako = midst; ni = of; Kai = trees. The compound word is the usual epithet applied to bush land or planted land, as distinct from waste or open land.]

The formula is recited three times, after which the performer turns his face to the ground and remains immovable, holding the shaft upright before him, for perhaps another half-minute. He then proceeds to push loose soil with his feet into the hole at the tree's "root," and to stamp it firm. Only when the tree stands securely planted does he release his hold of the stem.

The branches are now fixed in position. They are first lashed together, middle to middle, with hair and fibre string, in the form of a symmetrical cross. The cross is made fast by its middle to the trunk of the tree, shoulder high, so that its branches are parallel to earth and point North, South, East, and West. ~~Over~~ ^{The} orientation is controlled by the position of the sun at its setting. Over the ends of the branches are draped the four strings of buka (frigate bird feathers) attached to the crest of the tree, their terminal tufts being allowed to dangle towards the ground.

When the tree stands thus complete, the performer seats himself at its base,

still facing East. His attitude when seated is of ritual importance. His right leg lies doubled before him, knee to ground, tailorwise; but his left thigh is thrust forward, and the lower leg doubled back beside his hip, so that the sole of his foot is presented to the sunset. He believes that unless the left foot be thus "given to the Sun", he will have the appearance of wholly turning his back upon the luminary, and thus offending ~~the luminary~~ ^{being} Seated up against the tree's base ^[Footnote. See Plate 15] he again throws back his head to regard the Sun-tuft, and intones as follows:—

<p>Kanenea-n au bitanikai aei, I aa-n I aai ma Namakaina. E tio-otoia, maanga-n au bita-bongibong aei!</p>	<p>Setting firm—of ^{this} my my magic staff, Under Sun and Moon. It flutters and bends, the branch of this my magic-staff-in-the-twilight!</p>
--	--

[Footnote. Bita-bongibong, magic-staff-in-the-twilight.
Bita— is the first component of bitanikai and
stands for the whole word; bongibong = twilight]

<p>E iti, m'e a ruo te ba ma te Karau, Ba Katabaala-n au mataburo.</p>	<p>It lightens, and the thunder and the rain ^{descend.} come down, Even the fructifiers of my opening pandanus bloom.</p>
--	---

O, Temanna te ataei-n-aine,
ba Kaina-n Abatang,
ma Abatao, ma Abaiti,
e-e-e!

Oh, thou maiden, ^{even the} pandanus
tree of Abatang, and
Abatao, and Abaiti,
e-e-e!

[Footnote. The allusion is mythical. A creation-
story from Tabiteuea, which will be quoted
later, begins with the statement that the
first of all trees was the pandanus tree
which grew upon the lands of Abatao
(not Abatao as in this context) and Abaiti.]

Anti-n tabera-n au
bita-bongibong, Auriaria,
ma Nei Tevenei, ^{Riki} ma
anti-ni Bōuru!

Spirits of the crest of this my
magic staff in the twilight
Auriaria, and Nei Tevenei,
and spirits of Bōuru!

[Footnote. Auriaria and Nei Tevenei are the
deities of certain Gilbertese totem-sibs. They
are closely associated in the myth of the
origin of the pandanus tree, q.v., in a later
section. Bōuru is a western fatherland of
the Gilbertese, and one of the paradises of the
race, which will be mentioned later].

Riki, Riki - e-e-e-e!
I ti obor-ia, I ti wetei
Nei Tituaabine ma Riki,

Riki, Riki -
~~obor-ia~~ e-e-e-e!

I only make it successful,
I only call Nei Tituaabine
and Riki,

[Footnote. Nei Tituaabine and Riki are also
deities of totem-sibs. The former is the heroine
in the myth of the origin of the pandanus
tree].

Ba a na Kamaur-ai
i aa-n au Kai aiei.

That they may ^{proper} bless me
under this my tree.

Te mawri, ao tera?

Te mawri naba Ngai
i aan au Kai aiei!

The ^{prosperous} ~~best~~, and what (she)?

The ^{prosperous} ~~best~~ indeed am I
under this my tree!

[Footnote. Mawri ^(prosperous) is difficult to translate in a single word. It indicates a state of being freed from the influence of all evil spells, and so a condition of peace, health and ^{general} prosperity].

After reciting the formula three times, the performer turns his face towards the ground, remains so for a short while, and then arises. There is no more to be done until the moon's thirteenth night.

Stage 2 (Moon's thirteenth night). Just before sunset, the performer sits on the ground at a distance of about two paces from the tree, back to sun and face upturned as before, to gaze at the Sun-tuft. The sitting attitude already described is adopted. ^[Footnote. See Plate 16.] Stretching his arms forward, he lays his loosely opened hands palms upward upon the ground beside his thighs, and intones:—

Au bita-bongibong aiei, au
bita-mataro!

Ro-n Jai rio!

Ebung i maeao-u, e bung
i mainiku-u,

This my magic staff in the twilight
my magic staff in the dusk!

Darkness of Sun going west!
He gives birth to west of me,
he gives birth to east of me,

E bung i tabera-n au
bitanikai aio,

M'e a oboria te tabaa
ma te matabu,

Ba nota-n Jaai ma
Namakaina.

Anti-ro, anti-rang, a
batete-nako i
tabera-n au bitanikai
aiei.

I ti marimari - e-e-e!
I ti marimari - o-o-o!

Tabera-n au Kai ni
Katabaa aiei!

He ^{gives birth} ~~begins to move~~ at the
crest of this my magic
staff,

And he makes successful
the ^{young} pandanus bloom ^{and} ^{with}
the opening pandanus
bloom,

^{Even} ~~For (these are)~~ the things
carried by Sun and
Moon.

Spirits of darkness, spirits
of madness, they tumble
down from the crest of
this my magic staff.

I am fruitful - e-e-e!
I am fruitful - o-o-o!

Crest of ^{this} my tree of
fructification!

[Footnote. Katabaa, fructification. Ka- is the
causative prefix; tabaa = ^{young} pandanus bloom;
Katabaa therefore signifies "causing young
pandanus bloom (to grow)."]

After three recitations of this formula, the
performer remains for a short space in
his attitude of supplication, then drops
his head forward to look upon the ground,
and finally rises to his feet. The
ceremony is complete.

The magic tree may be left where it

stands, and may thereafter be used for various other magico-religious purposes. Barren women are brought to the place, to be rendered fruitful, and persons desiring to be blest with good-luck (especially in love), good health, and long life may there receive ritual treatment at the hands of the owner. For such ceremonials, the persons receiving attention sit facing eastwards towards the tree, while the performer ~~stands behind~~ ^{sits before} them in the position already described.

The tree may be used to remove the curse of a rabu, in a manner analogous to that described in connection with the magic staff in the preceding section, and there seems little doubt that the ~~staff and the~~ ^{staff is but a}

~~staff and the~~

simplified form of the tree. The ceremony of the staff being common to all clans, and that of the tree being reserved to three particular social groups, it is possible that that the ~~former~~ ^{staff} represents a popular attempt to achieve the benefits of the ~~latter~~ ^{tree}

without too ~~closely~~ ^{dangerously} imitating the form and substance of the Sun-Moon ritual.

The three totem-sibs which reserve the right to perform the pandanus fructification ritual are those of Karongoa-n-Uea (Karongoa-of-Kings), Ababou, and Maerua, whose associations with the Sun and Moon are in themselves remarkable.

The Karongoa clan claims the Sun as one of its totems and enjoys peculiar privileges ^{in most of the} ~~throughout the~~ Gilbert Islands.

In the ~~council hall~~ ^{communal meeting house} (maneaba), the spokesman of Karongoa ^{takes} ~~enjoys~~ the first portion of all feasts and is accorded the first and last word in all debates; he wears a fillet of leaf upon his head, called "the fillet of the Sun", and is considered to be protected by the Sun against all contradiction or insult. On the island of Marakei, the clan as a collective unit is called "the Sun in the maneaba". The hereditary sitting place occupied by Karongoa in the ^{meeting house} ~~council hall~~ is up against the coral monolith supporting the roof in the middle of its eastern side; this stone

is erected, when the maneaba is being built, to the accompaniment of a Sun-formula, and is named "Sun".

The Ababon and Maerna clans. sit immediately opposite the Karongoa folk in ^{feast and} council, which is to say, up against the central coral stud of the western side. This stone is called "Moon". Ababon and Maerna ~~side. These two groups claim both the~~

claim both the Sun and the Moon as their totems.

Their ^{traditional} ancestor, a personage named Bue, is described sometimes as the ^{child} son, at others as the grand^{child}son, of the Sun. To Bue is attributed the feat of having visited the luminary at his rising, for the purpose of obtaining (inter alia) the magic rituals for rain-making, and a whole series of solar, lunar and stellar myths ~~stellar, solar and sideral~~ is grouped about his name. The people of Ababon

[Footnote. These will appear in a later section] and Maerna claim the power of making and unmaking eclipses of the Sun and Moon.

[Footnote. See a paper on Gilbertese Astronomy, J.P.S., Sept-Dec., 1931, page 219].

A group of three clans thus dominated by the tradition of solar and lunar

origins is seen to reserve to itself the performance of a pandanus fructification ritual which is itself ^{permeated} ~~dominated~~ by the Sun-Moon idea. Assuming the clans in question to represent a particular culture stream that formerly flowed into the Gilbert Islands, it may clearly be taken for granted that the fructification ritual was their peculiar property. This makes the pandanus tree — the object of the ritual — ^{a plant} ~~an object~~ of exceptional interest. No fructification ritual of the type under discussion is ~~the~~ attached to the coconut palm or to any other food-plant of the Gilbert Islands; ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{impression accordingly left} ~~inference consequently~~

~~so that the pandanus has some individual association with the Sun-Moon idea and ^(with) the history of the Sun-Moon people.~~

is that the association of the pandanus tree ^{association} with the Sun-Moon idea arises out of something beyond the mere desire to secure good crops, and ^{must be,} ~~is,~~ in fact, intimately connected with the religious tradition of ^{an immigrant} ~~a~~ people.

§15. The Kabubu first fruits ritual.

After the pandanus-harvest, which in a normal season occurs during September-October, it was formerly forbidden to partake of any product of the new crop until first-fruits had been offered up, and a ritual meal eaten, at the atua-stone of the totem group. The clans of Karongoa, Ababou and Maerna made the offering ~~to the Sun and Moon~~ to the Sun and Moon, ^{but included} ~~including~~ the names of ^{and other} ~~then~~ ancestral deities in the dedicatory formula. Other social groups offered the first fruits ^{direct} to their ancestral deities.

~~The atua-stone of the Karongoa group on Marakei - now, like most of its kind, unhappily destroyed -~~
~~Marakei~~ was an upstanding monolith of coral rock hewn from the reef ^{and} planted in the ground to eastward of the village of Rawanaani. As described by elders who ^{performed the clan rituals,} ~~remember it well~~ it "stood as high as a man's shoulder and was about as broad and thick as a man." It was roughly dressed to ^{the shape of a} ~~a~~ rectangular slab. ~~It stood in the centre of a~~ ~~shape. It was surrounded by a~~ circle of flat stones set edgewise in the ground so as to form a Kerb about a hand's-breadth high. The diameter of this circle was, according to the report,

with pre-Christian days, typically have themselves

"three or four paces": its exact size was apparently not a matter of importance. The space within the circle was dressed with white shingle, and therein were buried the skulls of successive generations of clan elders, all males. The crania of the skulls remained uncovered by shingle, so that they might be anointed with oil on occasions when the cult of the ancestral deity was being observed. Care was taken to avoid burying any skulls due west of the atua stone, as this portion of the circle was reserved for food-offerings.

The atua-stone represented, for all everyday and public purposes, including the normal cult of the ancestor, the body of an ancestral being named Teveia. But for the particular and secret purpose of the first-fruits ritual, it represented Auiriaria. Upon its crest were perched ~~three~~ red coral blocks, each about the size of two fists, one on top of the other. This addition was called the hat of the atua.

The Kerbed circle wherein the stone stood was holy ground, and might not be trodden underfoot. Its name was te nikaveve, the sacred enclosure, or te baangota, the shrine.

The time of the first-fruits offering was the second day of the next new moon after the pandanus harvest had been gathered. The hour of the ritual was that of sunset, when both luminaries were seen together in the sky, the moon going down within a few minutes of the sun.

The material of the ritual was a ball of the sweet food called te Korokoro (see section 7(c)), made of boiled coconut toddy and a portion of the Kabubu manufactured from the newly harvested pandanus fruit.

The ball of Korokoro was carried to the atua-stone by the senior male of the Karongoa clan, all the other men and women of his group following him. The leader wore upon his head a fillet of coconut leaf. Arrived at the ^{place} ~~stone~~ of offering, the whole company assumed the sitting posture described in connection with the sanctification ritual, with backs to the sunset and faces to the stone. The leader took his ^{place} ~~seat~~ a little in advance of the others, right up against the Kerb of the sacred enclosure; being seated, he ^{leaped} ~~set~~ forward and set the ball of Korokoro at arm's length before him ^{on the shingle} ~~near the~~ near the base of the atua-stone. Throwing back his head to gaze into the sky immediately above the stone, ~~head~~ and laying his open hands, palms upward, on the ground beside his knees,

he intoned, no longer in the low singsong
of the fructification ritual, but in a
loud, clear voice —

Kana-mi aei, Taai ma
Namakaina,

Ba ana moan nati Nei
Kaina-bongibong.

~~Auraria, ma Nei Teveni, ma Riiki,
Riiki, ma Auraria, ma
Nei Teveni, ma~~
ma anti-n rabaraba ni
Karawa,

Kana-mi aei,

Ba moan tabaa-n te
bita-bongibong.

Je mawri ao tera?

Je mawri naba ngai,
O-o-o!

This your food, Sun and
Moon,

Even ^{the} her first child ^{of} the
Woman Pandanus-in-the-
twilight.

~~Auraria, and Riiki, and Nei Teveni
Riiki and Auraria, and
Nei Teveni,~~ and spirits
of the hidden places of
heaven,

This is your food,

Even the first young bloom
of the magic-staff-in-the-
twilight.

Prosperity and what (else)?

Prosperous indeed am I,
O-o-o!

This formula was recited three times. Through
the entire ritual that followed, the leader
never for a moment ceased to look up
into the sky above the stone. Leaning
forward, he first groped for the ball of
Korokoro and, having taken it upon the
palm of his left hand, returned to an
upright posture. Still sitting, he plucked
out with his right finger-tips a piece
of the sticky ball and moulded it into
a pellet, which he then laid on the
shingle before the stone as "the portion
of the Sun, the Moon, and the ancestral spirits
of the Sun and Moon." The taarika
(first portion) having been thus given, he
proceeded to mould a series of similar
pellets, passing each one as it was
completed back over his right shoulder,
where it was taken by the man behind
him, and sent along the ranks of
sitting people until every member of the
company had a portion. Absolute silence
was observed until the distribution was
complete, when the man behind the
leader whispered, "A toa bai-ia (their
hands are full)."

The leader then made for himself a pellet of the Korokoro, and raised it in his right hand above his still upturned face. At once, the whole company threw their heads back to gaze at the sky and lifted their right arms in a similar attitude. Having allowed time enough for everyone to adopt this posture, the performer dropped the pellet into his mouth and swallowed it whole. The company followed suit. It was essential to the ritual that the pellets should not be bitten.

After a short pause with arm still uplifted, the leader, imitated by the whole assembly, dropped hand to side and turned his face to the ground. The "looking downward" lasted for a few seconds only. The ritual was then complete. The leader arose and, without ceremony, placed whatever remained of the ball of Korokoro up against the atua-stone beside the small "first portion", for that also was the share of the Sun, and the Moon, ^{in a lesser degree, of the other} ~~and~~ ancestral spirits.

Before leaving the spot, the leader would anoint with oil the ~~skulls~~ ^{crania of the} ancestral skulls buried in the nikaveve, and after he had performed this rite any other member of the group might do likewise, choosing at his pleasure any or all of the skulls for ~~anointment~~ anointment.

On most islands of the Gilbert Group ^{each individual} ~~every~~ totem-sib appears to have undertaken its ^{private} ~~own~~ first-fruits offering, without reference to the Karongoa clan or its rituals; but on Tarawa (Northern Gilberts) an exceptional practice ^{prevailed} ~~ruled~~ ~~from~~ that island ^{there is a} ~~comes the~~ tradition that te Kabubu was the favourite food of a personage called Kiataa the Eldest, a very early local High Chief, and that the pandanus tree was his anti. For this historic reason, the first portion of the first-fruits of every ^{local} clan's pandanus harvest was, until recently, set aside each year as a gift to the senior living descendant of Kiataa in the male line. The gift was generally made in the form of te tuace, te Korokoro, or other ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

sweetstuff manufactured from the newly made Kabubu, but it might also include te ton, ^{or even consist entirely of} the fresh fruit of the pandanus.

The Kiataa line is of the clan of Karongoa-n-nea, and ^{its senior male representative} ~~as such~~ ~~clan~~ ~~of this group on Tarawa~~. Auriana is ^{the} ~~the~~ ~~chief~~ ~~spokesman~~ ~~of~~ ~~this~~ ~~group~~ ~~on~~ ~~Tarawa~~. ~~as one of its ancestral anti~~. No formalities were observed in ^{submitting} ~~submitting~~ the first portion of the first-fruits ~~to the~~ for acceptance: it was enough to send

the gift, ^{in a basket} by the hand of a small boy,
to the house of the recipient; but the
penalty for neglecting to send it
before ^a any move was made to
undertake the ~~ritual~~ private first-fruits
ritual ^{of any class} was believed to be sudden
death at the hands of Anuraria.

Traditions of Tarawa concerning Kabubu and
the pandanus.

Supporting the Butaritari ^{tale} tradition just recorded comes a story from Tarawa that Kabubu was the favourite food of a personage called Kiriataa the Eldest, a very early High Chief of that island, and that the pandanus tree was his anti. For this ^{traditional} reason, the first portion of the first-fruits of the pandanus harvest on Tarawa was until recently set aside ^{each year} as an offering to the senior ^{living} descendant of Kiriataa in the male line. No totem-sib would undertake the ceremonial offering of first-fruits at its own atea stone until ^{the Kiriataa} ~~the first~~ portion had been given. The penalty for neglecting the gift was believed to be sudden death at the hands of Awiraria, a spiritual being who was not only the ancestral deity of the Kiriataa line, but also, ^{as already shown in section} ~~the traditional originator~~ ----, the traditional co-originator of the pandanus tree.

According to local genealogists, three human High Chiefs called Kiriataa successively reigned on Tarawa, but the name is also bestowed by tradition upon a fourth, and superhuman being, to whom the title "King of Heaven" is attributed.

One group of stories connected with Kirataa of Heaven identifies him intimately with the pandanus tree: it is therefore arresting to learn that Auriaria, the pandanus spirit, is also called the King of Heaven in a host of ~~stories~~ ^{folk-tales} (unconnected with his tree) current throughout the Gilbert Group.

The evidence seems to bind together in a compact body the ideas of heavenly descent, of Kirataa the Eldest, of the pandanus tree, and of the ancestral deity Auriaria.

A ^(belief in) heavenly descent is in other parts of the world closely associated with the practice ^(or memory) of a sun-cult; the sun and moon figure importantly in the formulas used in the pandanus fructification ritual; the last two syllables of the name Auriaria signify "appearing over the horizon", and (read with the other facts) suggest that "Auriaria" was not

originally a name proper, but an epithet descriptive of the rising sun.

[Footnote. The single syllable ria means appearing over the horizon: the full force of the duplicated form riaria is continually appearing, etc. The name Auriaaria might thus be read to mean "Au-the-Ever-Rising." The whole ~~title~~ title conferred upon this being in the folk-tales to which I have referred is therefore "Au-the-Ever-Rising, King of Heaven." These descriptive epithets were possibly adopted in order to avoid a tabu upon the sun-name proper. An analogous use of such ~~epithets~~ ^{pseudonyms} is evident in the cases of at least two other Gilbertese clan deities — Nei Tituaabine and Tabuariki. The first is obviously Te atradine, the god woman; and the second Tabu ariki, holy chief].

The connection of the pandanus with Kirataa and Auriaaria being ~~established~~ ^{clearly}, and the association of all with ~~a~~ ^{the} ~~sun~~ ^{sun} being at least indicated, the following introductory statement in a Creation Myth collected from Tabiteuea (South Gilberts) becomes extraordinarily

The association of this first of all trees with the Sun and the spirit Auriaria ~~link~~ it up beyond ^{any} reasonable doubt with the group of ideas under examination, - including the pandanus myth in which Auriaria of Matang plays a leading part - and, in so doing, ~~not only identifies it as a pandanus tree, but confirms the~~

give reasonable ground for an inference that the plant, the deity, and the line of Kirataa on Tarawa stand for a set of practices that once included a sun-cult. The argument as to the

existence of a cult lies outside the scope of this paper. The connection of the tree with the sun is at least obvious, and can be ~~established~~ verified further corroborated ^{forward} by reference to the

Kirataa-of-heaven story exhibited ~~in the paper~~ ^{in the paper} ~~later~~ on page -----

At the beginning of the third section of this story it is related how ~~the~~ ^a woman named Matamona lay with the trunk of a pandanus tree and bore three children - Bue, Riirongo and the girl Bungi-n-tai (Sunset), whose other name was

K-raa-iti (Little Sun). In the next paragraph, the

[Footnote. Raa is not modern Gilbertese, but is the common Polynesian word for Sun. iti is assumed to be the Polynesian diminutive suffix -iki].

sun is called the father of these three personages. I pointed out this apparent discrepancy to the old woman who gave me the tale, and

[Footnote. Nii Okobeta of Banaba and Maiana, aged about 70 in 1920, when the tale was recorded. Nii Okobeta traced her descent from the personage named Bue into the clan of Ababou on Maiana]

her reply was "Aongkoa tite to iroun tibu-ra"
— They (i.e., the sun and the pandanus tree) were said to be the same thing by our grandparents. Other versions of the story of Bue, Riirongo and Kraaiti give these ancestors the same names and the same mother (Matamona), but relate that the latter became pregnant by

[Footnote. The story of Bue's voyage to the sun is one of the most popular traditions of the Gilbert islands: it includes exploits that in Polynesian narratives are attributed to the hero Maani. Fuller reference to the tale will be made in a subsequent section. The beings Bue and Riirongo are named as ancestors by the Gilbertese sibs called Ababou and Maerua, whose totems are the sun and moon, and who claim the power of making and unmaking eclipses. See "Gilbertese Astronomy and Astronomical Observances", J.P.S., Sept-Dec., 1931.].

visitation of a sunbeam. For genealogical purposes, therefore, the terms sun, sunbeam, and pandanus tree are seen to be synonymous.

Such being the tradition of the parent plant, the motives for honouring it product, te Kabubu, seem to appear more clearly.

Reasons have already been advanced for supposing that the esteem in which te Kabubu is held and the ceremonious manner in which it is drunk are attributable not so much to its acknowledged excellence as a food, or to the innate thrift of a hard-living race, as to its magico-religious associations. Considered alone, the ^{Pandanus} fructification formula and ritual described in section ---- might justify little more than a deduction that the sun was recognised by the race as a powerful fertilising agent; but considered together with the traditions just discussed, they acquire a more ~~definitely~~ specialised solar ^{meaning} significance. The sun-idea dominates the formula and ritual, as it would seem, because the pandanus tree is of the sun's own body — an entity so closely bound up with him that it is called in one tradition The Ancestor Sun, and shown in another ^{as} a ^{genealogical symbol representing} ~~clan or forefather linking~~ the luminary ^{active} on earth. The pandanus is ~~human descendants~~

~~It is hardly possible to avoid the reference to the sun in the highly pregnant sense of being the sun in the form of a tree; and as such it is the object of ceremonials which find no parallel in the customs or rites connected~~

in fact, the Tree of the Sun, ~~which is to say~~ in the highly pregnant sense of being the sun in the form of a tree; and as such it is the object of ceremonials which find no parallel in the customs or rites connected

with other food plants.

Thus the ceremonious "looking upwards" when a draught of Kabubu is being drained — an action ~~strangely irrelevant to~~ ~~out of keeping with~~ the normal simplicity of Gilbertese table manners — acquires a ~~definite~~ ^{logical} meaning from the associations of its parent tree: it is a looking upwards to the sun; and it is logically linked, through this central sun-idea, with the looking upwards of the magician who performs the pandanus fructification ritual, and the ~~looking~~ ^{turning} upwards of his face when he is buried.

So much for the meaning of the custom

It is proposed now to exhibit the story of Kirataa-of-Heaven quoted in the preceding argument, and then to consider the lineage of that Kirataa-of-Tarawa, the lover of Kabubu, to whose ~~descendants~~ ^{descendants} the first portion of the pandanus first-fruits on his island are traditionally reserved.

Although the Kirataa-of-Heaven story contains much that is irrelevant to the present issue, the full text (in translation) is exhibited, in order ~~to afford a complete~~ ^{to afford a complete} ~~illustration of the kind~~ illustration of the kind of setting from which many of the data used in this paper are drawn.

covered him vigorously with the embers as Na Aroua had told her; she knew not that he was dead in the midst of the fire.

When a long time had passed, the woman saw Na Aroua coming down towards her from the West; she said to him, "Sir, where is thy companion?" He answered, "He comes after me. Go thou and open the fire, for we will eat before his coming". She went and opened the fire; she saw her husband dead in the midst of the ashes. She wept bitterly: as for Na Aroua, he laughed and ran away.

4. The tale of Na Aroua and Taranga.

When Na Aroua fled, he came to Takorouge of Tabitouca. And behold! a man came to that islet from the mainland, whose name was Taranga; he visited Na Aroua. Na Aroua took that man's head from his shoulders and put it upon his own shoulders: his own head he put upon the shoulders of Taranga. Taranga knew not what Na Aroua had done: he went back to (the mainland of) Tabitouca, and behold! he was seen by Taburi-nai and his companions; they thought that he was Na Aroua, and chased him. Then Na Aroua went ashore.

The wife of Taranga went to draw water from her well. When she came to the well she saw a child lying beside it. Now that woman was childless, so she was glad when she found that child: she said, "Behold! I have found a child". She knew not that it was Na Aroua. She picked him up: he cried, so she carried him to her house, and lay down, and sat him upon her belly: his crying ceased. When night came, he made free with that woman, and so it came to pass many nights thereafter. At last, the woman was pregnant by him. As for her husband Taranga, Taburi-nai and his companions had killed him, for they thought he was Na Aroua.

- I. Little Makin series: -
- i. The Tree of Samoa
 - ii. Children of Batuku
 - iii. Building of "Kaburo"
 - iv. Voyages of Kaburo
 - v. Machinery of Te Kaitiaki
 - vi. The canoe of Tarawa
 - vii. The migration of Raiavacana

- II. Bem series: -
- i. The Creation
 - ii. Nareau's first voyage to Samoa
 - iii. Bred of North
 - iv. Bred of South
 - v. Bred of Samoa
 - vi. Te Mamang
 - vii. Nareau's second voyage to Samoa
 - viii. Nareau's third voyage to Samoa.

- III. Nui series: -
- i. Nui Nuianoa
 - ii. BaretoKa • the Tree of Tarawa
 - iii. Taburimai

- IV. Tarawa series: -
- i. The Tree of Samoa and its breaking: distribution of people.
 - ii. Nei Tekanua of Nabanaba + Nareau
 - iii. Nakaa plants tree of Tarawa: Nei Kirere
 - iv. Arikintarawa chimo tree: Kiriata
 - v. Obaia te Buracerae
 - vi. Nimanua - Nombuebue.

V. Bue + Riongo series. Ancestry of Nei Kraiti.

VI. Nei Manga-ni-Buka of Tebungiro

- VII. Tabiteuea series:
i. Creation
ii. Trickster tales
iii. of Nasau and Autitabau
showing ancestry of
Batuku.
- VIII. Banaban series: - i. Creation
ii. Voyage of Anriaria to Samoa.
- IX. Butaritari series: - Tebungiro and the
voyage of Anriaria to
Samoa.

The voyager Tura, in Maori tradition, is said to have married a woman of the Aitanga-a-nuku-mai-tore people who "knew not the art of fire-making" and lived in trees on the wharawhara. Percy Smith has identified the wharawhara as the pandanus.

Hawaiki, Whitcomb & Zoumb, 1910, p. 138
Ancient history of the Maori, J. White,
Vol. II, p. 9.