

Grimble Papers - Part IV

This is the only copy of Part IV of Grimble's book *The Migration of a Pandanus People* that I have ever seen. Parts III and IV were never published by the Polynesian Society, despite my pleas.

The MS includes a Table of Contents for the whole book, Footnotes for Parts III and IV, and a Bibliography. It was probably written soon after Grimble became Governor of the Seychelles in the 1930s, but it was evidently edited immediately after his death in 1956 for his book *Return to the Islands*, published in 1957, is included. The Editor was presumably someone in the Polynesian Society not conversant with the Gilberts for Little Makin is spelt Makiu throughout due to a mistaken reading of his handwriting.

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18. 16. Auriaria, the pandanus spirit.

So intimately is the name of the spirit Auriaria bound up with the pandanus tree, and so often with it occur in the sections to follow, that it is convenient now to assemble the facts already recorded in connection with his personality and to review them in the light of such other information as general tradition has to offer.

Social aspects.

From the viewpoint of social organisation, Auriaria is seen in the table annexed to section 5 to be an ancestral deity of the three totem-groups of Karongoa, Te O and Uma-ni-Kamauri, the totem-creatures identified with his name being the Rat, the Tern and the Giant Clam. As an anti of these social divisions, he is inextricably identified with their pre-Christian cult of the ancestor and the ancestral skull, and with the system of totem-exogamy associated with patrilineal descent which they still to some extent observe.

The genealogical connection of the deity with his social groups is absolute in the sibs of Te O and Uma-ni-Kamauri. That is to say, descent into these groups is traced directly back through male lines to the person of Auriaria himself; and the atua stores at which they practiced the cult of the ancestor were believed to be his body.

The case is different with the Karongoa clan. As observed in section 15, the atua store of this group on Marakei ordinarily represented the body of a being named Teveia, with whom the kawawa-tree totem was identified. ¹⁶³

¹⁶⁴ (Footnote. See table annexed to section 5).

For social purposes, including the ordinary open cult of the ancestor, Auriaria is not the index of the Karongoa clan; nor, it may be added, does he command in his capacity of a clan-anti anything like the same overt prestige as that other tutelary deity of Karongoa, Tabuariki, with whom are associated the totems of Thunder, Wind, Shark and Cockerel.

Secret aspects: the cannibal tradition.

It is only when the secret love of Karongoa comes under examination that the importance of Auriaria becomes manifest: then indeed his name overshadows the others. The Little Makiu cannibal tradition exhibited in

X Appendix I, and analysed in section 11, is an example of the clan's hidden doctrine. Therein Auriaria appears as the spirit of the crest of an ancestral tree upon Samoa and, as such, the presiding deity of a ruling caste called "the Kings of Samoa." The tale describes him as the anti of an enormous skull called Batuku, which was itself a deity from whom the Kings of Samoa claimed descent. Reduced to plain terms, this means that Auriaria was the deity of a chiefly group which practiced in Samoa the cult of the ancestral skull, and traced its descent from a particularly revered ancestor named Batuku.

A host of non-secret traditions throughout the Gilbert Islands corroborate the description of Auriaria as the spirit of the crest of Kai-n-tikua-aba, the Tree of Samoa, but they attribute no particular function to the deity. On the other hand, I have collected one or two fragmentary genealogies of the Samoan period which mention Batuku, inter alia, as one of the Kings of the Tree. But only in the jealously guarded type of traditions which none save an inner circle of the Karongoa clan appears to know, and whereof the Little Makiu text is my best example, does the intimate connection between Auriaria, and royalty, and the cult of the ancestral skull appear.

(b) Food of the Kings of Samoa.

The revelation of deepest significance to Karongoa in the Little Makiu text is that Auriaria, with the skull called Batuku, stands for head-hunting and cannibalism. The story leaves no room for doubt that the group of Gilbertese ancestors called here "the people of Samoa", and elsewhere "the people of the Tree", conducted organised raids among the islands adjacent to their home, with the object of obtaining for sacrifice to the deity of their rule^{wt} caste, Auriaria, "the heads of the first-born, who were also bearded and bald." Here again, a number of less carefully concealed traditions - chiefly those connected with the canoe crest of Karongoa - relate that (Footnote: See section 11, and a paper "Canoe of the Gilbert Islands": Man, June, 1921, 49), human heads were the "food of the Kings of Samoa," or of Teuribaba, one of the two beings connected with Karongoa's Kanawa-tree totem. The name of Teuribaba is a link connecting these tales with the Little Makiu² version, which allocates a very important part to the same personage. But the popular renderings

of the story give no hint of the real scale upon which head-hunting was practiced for sacrificial purposes, nor do they ever mention Auriaria's name. The true facts being once known, these omissions or concealments clearly emphasise by implication the sacred and secret character of the god and his rituals.

166 *duck*
 The pedigree which concludes the Little Makiu text is of high importance, in that it traces the genealogical connection of every existing dynasty of high Chiefs in the Gilbert Islands (and one in the Marshall Islands), through a certain Samoan immigrant named Rairaeana-the-man-of-Matang¹⁶⁶, back to (Footnote: The name Rairaeana-te-I-Matang¹⁶⁶ may perhaps be more correctly interpreted Rairaeana-the-fair-skinned: see section 10 concerning the application of the name I-Matang to the white man), the ancestral skull named Batuku, and so to the closest possible degree of proximity with Auriaria himself. As the chief ancestral deity of the Royal caste of Karongoa, it is natural that some special aura of distinction should cling to his name, however carefully the real facts of history may have been hidden by his clan, and this helps to explain the apparent paradox that, although the functional valuation of Auriaria as an anti is a good deal ^{poorer} power in the general public esteem, than that of Tabuariki or Nūi Tituaabine, he remains nevertheless pre-eminently the heroic personality, the mighty adventurer, the splendid lover of Gilbertese popular tradition.

167
 A group of stories which will be analysed later indicates that the connection of Auriaria¹⁶⁷ (Footnote: See section post - the Auriaria - Nabanaba traditions), with cannibalism dates from an era far more ancient than that of the occupation of Samoa by the Gilbertese ancestors. The type of tales to which I refer deals with the voyages of a being named Auriaria of Tarawa^W, and describes him as the "grandson" of certain man-eating hags who lived in a Western land named Nabanaba. Nabanaba itself forms a link in a migration chain which stretches back from Tarawa (Northern Gilberts) in the East to an original land called Matang in the very far West. The traditional evidence associating Matang with cannibalism through the person of a certain Towatu-of-Matang, has already appeared in section 11. And lastly, the name of Auriaria is bound up with that of Matang not only in a great wealth of popular stories but also in the more carefully guarded myth of the coconut and pandanusⁿ trees, whereof an example has been

168 exhibited in section 10.¹⁶⁸ (Footnote: Though this myth does not rank as secret, in the sense of being reserved to the inner-most circle of a clan, it is nevertheless regarded by those who still cling to custom as Kamarala - which is to say "bringing a curse" if lightly given away in the form exemplified).

19. The pandanusⁿ association.

A practice still common in the Northern Gilberts is to take refuge from thunderstorms under the pandanusⁿ tree in preference to any other "because it is safe from the thunderbolt." The belief is that Auriaria protects this tree against the anger of his "brother" Tabuariki, the principal overt diety of the Karongoa clan, with whom the thunder-totem is connected.

But the most familiar evidence of Auriaria's association with the pandanus^v is the widespread myth of Matang just referred to, wherein the deity is seen to share with his sister-paramour, Nei Tituaabine, the chief role in the origination of pandanus^v, coconut and wild almond. The last sentence of this text, which was collected on Banaba, suggests that the first-fruits of the almond, as well as those of the pandanus, belonged to Auriaria; but enquiry among the Banabaus, who alone of all Gilbertese communities cultivate the almond, shows that this tree is considered par excellence the property of Nei Tituaabine, at whose atua-stone its first-fruits were, within living memory invariably offered. The apparent inconsistency of the text can, however, be explained by reference to one of the totem-creatures associated with Auriaria - the rat. It was recognised on Banaba that this animal would devour the offering made to Nei Tituaabine, and in this sense the first-fruits of the almond were considered to be the food of Auriaria.

The continual presence of the rat in the pandanusⁿ is popularly cited as a proof that Auriaria loves the tree and claims it as his own. The creature was until recently believed to be none other than Auriaria himself, and when the pandanus first-fruit were left at the atua-store of Karongoa, it was anxiously hoped that the god in his rat body would quickly and completely consume them in token of his continued good-will towards his people. It may be that the Auriaria-rat association was historically earlier than the connection between the god and the tree - which would, of course, mean that the tree acquired its present place in the complex because the sacred

creature was observed to haunt its branches and prefer its fruit. On the other hand it seems, prima facie, more probable that the rat achieved its divine character, and its status as a totem, by a process of protection from a tree already sacred, much as the woodpecker of Greek mythology became divine by identification with the oak-tree of Zeus.¹⁶⁹ (Footnote:¹⁶⁹

169 - Also the ivy (with the simlax and the vine), and possibly the owl. See D'Rendel Harris's Ascent of Olympus, 1921, concerning the origin of the cults of Appollo, Dionysus, Aphiodite, and Artemis).

c. Association with the sun and the moon.

The importance of the Auriaria-pandan^y connection is especially salient in the secret rituals described in sections 14 and 15. In the second identification formula, and in the dedication of the first-fruits offering, Auriaria's name was the first to be pronounced after those of the Sun and Moon; and a stone representing his body was the central object towards which the whole first-fruits ritual was directed. For the purposes of this ritual, the name "Feuria" overtly attached to the atua-stone was deliberately superseded by the name "Auriaria."

It is a notable fact that the god is seen most closely linked, in both the formulae under reference, with his wife Nei Tevenei, and not with his sister-paramour Nei Tituaabine, from whose body the pandan^y was popularly believed to have sprung. The native ritualist is (or, rather, was) a precisionist in such matters, and the precedence given to Nei Tevenei must once have had a very definite significance. The explanation seems to be implicit in the first-fruits dedication, wherein no mention at all is made of Nei Tituaabine, but the name of a being named Riiki is coupled with that of Nei Tevenei. Both Riiki and Nei Tevenei are associated with celestial objects. The first was the great eel who lifted heaven from earth at the Creation and later became (Footnote: See "Myths from the Central Pacific", Journal of the Folk Lore Society, Jan-June, 1922), the Milky Way; the second was the spirit of the shooting star and the comet.¹⁷⁰ (Footnote: Or of any other "fire that floated between heaven and earth," e.g. St. Elmo's fire and Will o' the Wisp).¹⁷¹ Nei Tituaabine, on the other hand, seems never to have been associated with a heavenly body. Having in mind the prime importance of the Sun and Moon in the two rituals, the prominent places given to Tevenei and Riiki at the expense of the much more famous deity from whom the the pandan^y,

according to popular belief, sprang seem to be attributable to their peculiar astronomical connections. ^{but} A fortion, Auriaria, the leading personage with whom they are so closely linked, would seem to be, for the purposes of the pandanus rituals, a primarily astronomical deity; and the force of such a supposition is considerably strengthened by the evidence that this god is believed to protect his chosen tree from the thunderbolt of his "brother" Tabuariki.

One of the most ^{pregnant} commentaries upon the Auriaria-pandanus association is furnished by the following myth-fragment, which forms the prelude to a version of the Creation myth collected from the island of Tabiteuea:- The first tree was the pandanus, and its name was Nei Bakatibu-Taai (The Woman Ancestor-Sun); Auriaria was its spirit, and it grew in the West, on Abatoa and Abaiti. The mythical female tree referred to in this truly remarkable fragment is obviously identical (Footnote: The full text of the myth and its sequels is exhibited in Appendix III), with that invoked in the second ^{ritual} unction formula, "Oh, thou maiden, even the pandanus tree of Abatang, and Abatao, and Abaiti," and there can be no doubt that the myth and the pandanus rituals described are but separate expressions of a single group of religious beliefs. For evidential purposes, the two sources of information may be regarded as complementary to each other. ¹⁷² It is useful to examine them in this relation. (Footnote: A period of 14 years intervened between the collection of the myth (1918) and the complete disclosure to me of the pandanus rituals (1932)).

¹⁷³ ^{Scrutinising} first of all the formulae of the rituals, we find the pandanus personified under two strikingly contrasted feminine guises. In the context just quoted, a particular tree, evidently a mythical prototype of the species, is addressed as a maiden; but later, in the first-fruits dedication, it is referred to as the Woman Pandanus-in-the-twilight, a mother, whose "first child" forms the oblation at the atua-stone. Clearly the belief which underlies and links the two figures is that of a Virgin tree made fertile by the ritual of ^{ritual} unction. The formulae of that ritual are seen to be dominated by the idea that the Sun himself is the agent who "carries life", and "gives birth", or, in other words, impregnates the tree which, without him, cannot be fruitful. Turning now to the myth, we are given the picture of an original female pandanus tree so completely impregnated by the Sun that it has assumed the name "Ancestress Sun."

Reading together the Tabitenean^w fragment and the formulae of the rituals, we can hardly be mistaken in concluding (1) that the original pandanusⁿ myth was one of a virgin tree being loved or possessed by a Sun-god, and so achieving motherhood in the lands of Abatang, Abatoa and Abaiti; and (2) that the ^hfructification and first-fruits ceremonies represent the annual re-enactment, by a caste whose totem is the Sun, of the ^{*}pristine miracle of impregnation and fertility.

The myth gives the key to Auriaria's personal significance in this complex, by presenting him as the anti of the first tree of Abatoa and Abaiti. It is perfectly evident that the ritual connection between that tree and the Sun stood for a group of ideas more sophisticated than the simple association of ^ffruitfulness with sunlight. By some process of elaboration; belief had passed even beyond the stage where the pandanusⁿ was regarded as the Sun's peculiar property: the tree was held to be, in some esoteric way, the Ancestress Sun in very person. The conclusion cannot be avoided that Auriaria, the tutelary spirit of the tree, was himself a sun-god. In this light, his central importance in the Sun-Moon pandanusⁿ rituals, his intimate and primary association therein with Astronomic^x deities, and the belief in his ability to protect his plant against the thunderbolt of another astronomical deity, are seen to be perfectly logical and obvious. He is the Sun-presence in the pandanusⁿ, so informing her with his own personality that she herself becomes the Sun. Why she is also called Ancestress will now appear.

(d) Association with Kai-n-tikua-aba.

Turning to the Little Makiuⁿ cannibal traditions in Appendix I, we find in their first and second sections the picture of a very remarkable tree, whereof Auriaria is the tutelary spirit. This is Kai-n-tikua-aba, famous in the overt as well as the secret animals of all Gilbertese communities, for the reason that nearly every local totem-sib claims descent from a being who sprang from its trunk, roots, or branches. It is related in the opening section of the Little Makiu account how "the seed of a certain plant" was first planted in the underworld by a being named Taranga^q, and how, ^qTaranga when a tree grew from it and sprang further into the world of men, Auriaria by a trick took possession of its ^vcrest. Then from every part of the tree below the ^{*}crest grew a company of beings whose names, as given, are those of all the greater ancestral deities of Gilbertese totem groups today.

So far, the account seems to be pure myth, being an unmixed philosophy of the birth of a race in an ancestral tree, but the second section of the narrative opens with a historical statement: There was planted in Tamoā the tree named Kai-n-tikua-aba, for there Auriaria planted it when he trod the South. The special significance of these words will appear in a later chapter; their general meaning is clearly that a race of people claiming descent from Kai-n-tikua-aba migrated to Samoa - probably from the North - carrying with them the cult of a tree spirit named Auriaria. That the practices of head-hunting and cannibalism formed an essential feature of this cult appears in the fourth section of the narrative, while the tree, with Auriaria in its ^{crest} is shown in section 2, standing as the symbol for a central shrine of the race on the slopes of the volcano called Maunga-tabu (Holy mountain), where the sacrifice of human heads was offered to the god.

The name of Maunga-tabu is of special interest in the present connection, because it is also found attached to one of the many varieties of pandanus tree known to the Gilbertese today. Other varieties of the ¹⁷⁴ (Footnote: See Bingham's Dictionary of the Gilbertese language - ara-maungatabu), same family have already been seen to bear the names of ancestral places, ¹⁷⁵ and it (Footnote: Ara-touru, Ara-matang, An-nabanaba, see section 10), it is not unnatural assumption in this case that the ara-maungatabu has been called after some particular mountain of sacred memory. - We are given a striking example of such a mountain in the Little Makiu text, and it is hardly possible to avoid the inference that the Maungatabu of Samoa, or possibly a more ancient locality of similar ritual associations, gave its name to this variety of the plant. A topographical link is thus established between the pandanus and the ancestral tree Kai-n-tikua-aba which stood upon the slopes of Maungatabu.

Going one step further, we know on the one hand that the pandanus was essentially the tree of Auriaria, and on the other that Auriaria took possession of Kai-n-tikua-aba and dwelt in its ^{crest}. These facts, ^{read} with the clue of the Maungatabu name, seem to point very clearly to the conclusion that the pandanus and Kai-n-tikua-aba were one and the same tree. Evidence confirms ^a story of such a conclusion is not lacking.

It will be seen in the first section of the Little Makiu text that one of the beings who sprang from Kai-n-tikua-aba was Koura. A variety of pandanus bears the name ani-Koura at the present day. Furthermore,

in the Tropic Bird totem group called Keaki, which claims descent from Kai-n-tikua-aba through Koura, it is believed that any pandanus drupe represents his "body", and it is stated that his name, signifying red or burning, has reference to the orange glow of the ripe fruit. The Butaritari text in Appendix II, which is a tradition of the Keaki clan, supplies additional clues: first, by connecting Koura's people, through the Tropic Bird totem, with Kai-n-tikua-aba and cannibal practices; and second by mentioning that one of the pandanus trees in which Koura and his brood dwelt was te ara-maungatabu, the eponymous tree of the Sacred Mountain.

A single word in the Little Makiu text accommodates itself perfectly with these extraneous traditions, and, I think, renders the single identity of the two trees certain. I refer to that passage in the first section where it is stated that Koura grew from the "first bloom" of kai-n-tikua-aba. The word used for bloom in this context is tabaa, which is a strictly technical term meaning young pandanus bloom, and cannot, except with ludicrous effect, be applied to any other kind of flower. The native is absolutely precise in his use of such terms, and does not jest when he is revealing his secret doctrine. If the tradition has persisted that Kai-n-tikua-aba bore a tabaa, the tree could certainly have been nothing but a pandanus; and this explains why the clan of Keaki, though ignorant of the concealed lore of Karongoa which the Little Makiu text represents, has nevertheless preserved the belief that Koura's body, the fruit of Kai-n-tikua-aba, is seen in the pandanus drupe.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ (Footnote: The technical term for coconut blossom is ari; the general word for flower, which cannot, however, be applied to pandanus bloom or coconut blossom, is ue).

Had other evidence for the Kai-n-tikua-aba - pandanus identification been lacking, the Tabiteuean myth of the original pandanus of Abatoa and Abaiti, read together with the Little Makiu story, would have sufficed alone to clinch the relationship; for in the one recension we have presented with a pandanus under the tutelage of Auriaria and called the Ancestress, while in the other we see a tree possessed by Auriaria which bore a pandanus bloom, gave birth to all the great race-ancestors, and is to this day called te

¹⁷⁷ Bakatibu. It is (Footnote: A Gilbertese chant descriptive of the flight of the forefathers from Samoa to the island of Mouauti) begins:-

E maotoua te Bakatibu, te Kai!	It is broken the Ancestor, the Tree!
E raraanakoa aba-ia I-Matangi	It overleans their land, the People of
mai Taamoa.	Matangi from Samoa.)

Nonauti

is clear that the Tabite^unean and Little Makiu myths merely present different aspects of the same tree, the first dealing with its chronological, the second with its genealogical, place in the order of things. The second leaves no doubt of the reason why, in the first, the tree of Abaiti and Abatoa was called Ancestress as well as Sun.

(e) Traditional origins of the pandanusⁿ.

The species of Kai-n-tikua-aba being thus manifest, the Little Makiu account of its growth may now be grouped together with all our other sources of information concerning the pandanusⁿ, and a synthetic scheme of the whole myth, its associations, and its contradictions laid out for discussion as follows:-

(1) There are two accounts of the pandanusⁿ tree's origin: the very widespread one, which pictures it springing from the body of Auriaria's sister-paramour, Nei Tituaabine, in the land of Matang; and the secret one of the Karongoa clan which derives it from a seed planted in the underworld by a being named Taranga. The high probability is that the Karongoa version is the real story, while the other is the form which Karongoa has seen fit to release for public circulation - the term public including, of course, its own uninitiated clansmen. This does not diminish the value of the Matang story as a historical document, nor does it in the least weaken the association between Auriaria, Nei Tituaabine and the other two food trees, ~~the~~ named - the coconut and the wild almond; but the comparative unimportance of Nei Tituaabine in the ^{fun}ctification rituals, and the absence of any mention of Matang, indicate that, as a pandanusⁿ myth, the Matang version has not the validity of the Kai-n-tikua-aba tale, which equates perfectly with the account of the Ancestress tree of Abatoa and Abaiti, and through that link interlocks with the rituals. The occasional appearance of Nei Tituaabine's name in the ^{fun}ctification formulae is explainable on the sole ground that she was believed to have been the sister-paramour of the sun-god and, as such, not unworthy of mention.

On the evidence, therefore, the authentic pandanusⁿ myth seems to begin with the planting of Kai-n-tikua-aba in the underworld by a being named Taranga, and its theft by Auriaria.

(2). Turning now to the Tabite^unean fragment, we find that the tree was thought to have existed, with its god, in the epoch preceding the Creation.

The importance of this is that it assumes the growth to have occurred in the primal Darkness, when no luminary had risen to light the universe, and thus appears to indicate that the trick recorded in the Little Makiu text, by which Auriaria stole into the tree's ^{crest} and so ~~surged~~ ^{emerged} out of the depths, was the trick of the sun-god seeking a way of escape from the blackness that imprisoned him. However this may be, the being of the underworld called Taranga, who planted the tree, is without doubt to be classed as a spirit of Darkness, and his defeat by Auriaria represents yet another portrayal of that familiar conflict between the sun-god and the power of Night typified in the Horus-Let, Ormuzd-Ahriman, and Apollo-Python class of dualistic myth.

- (3). Thus sprang from the underworld the Virgin Tree of Abatoa and Abaiti invoked in the second ^{rit} sanctification formula, with the sun-god in her ^{*} ~~crest~~. Here at once appears the reason why, at the ~~crest~~ of the magic tree used in the ^{rit} sanctification ritual, a tuft of feathers representing the Sun is bound; and from this nuclear point of the myth every subsequent thread depends.
- (4). Possessed by the god, the Virgin Tree herself assumed the Sun-name, as the Tabite^unean fragment shows; and, impregnated by the god, she became the fertile Woman Pandanus whose "first child" was annually offered to the Sun at the first-fruits ritual.
- (5). By virtue of the same divine impregnation, the tree became not only the Mother of Fruit but also the Mother of Men - the Ancestress of the Tabite^unean fragment - the Nei Tabaa invoked as an ancestral power in the ritual of protection against cursed food (section 3) - and the Kai-n-tikua-aba of the Little Makiu text, from whose branches sprang the godlike ancestors of a race that called itself the People of the Tree.
- (6). The ruling and sacred caste among the people was a group that called itself Karongoa-of-Kings, whereof the Sun was the chief totem, and the sun-god in the tree's ~~crest~~ the principal, though secret, deity. Linked with the sun-god in the cult practiced ^s by Karongoa were two other astronomical beings, also regarded as ancestors: Nei Tevenei, the Comet or Meteor, his wife; and Riiki the Eel, lifter of Heaven, whose body was seen in the Milky Way. Of ritual importance in connection with the Sun and the Tree was the Frigate Bird, whose feathers were essential to the ^{rit} sanctification ceremonies, and whose title is still "the bird of the Sun and of Kings." Connected also with the cult of the luminary was the spiral, the mystic form which it was necessary

to reproduce - because it was pleasing to the Sun - in the strings decorated with frigate bird feathers for the magic tree of the rituals.

We have now come to a point in the traditions where myth merges into "the historical event around which it clusters." ¹⁷⁸ The Tabiteuean context shows (Footnote: Sir G. Gomme, Folklore as an Historical Science, page 128). ¹⁷⁸ how the ancestral tree stood first upon the lands of Abatoa and Abaiti in the West; but from the Little Makiu account we learn that Auriaria thereafter "trod the South" and planted it upon Samoa. Reading from one tale to the other, we are presented with the prime essentials of a migration-story - the name of a far western land or lands where the tree of Auriaria with its people was believed to have originated, and the name of the Polynesian island whereon they eventually settled. Such is the geographical bracket within which the migration of a folk that may now be called the pandanusⁿ people will later be considered.

20. The lands of the Virgin Tree.

It is convenient at this point to examine the names of the lands where the virgin tree was thought to have grown.

(a). Abaiti obviously equates with Avaiki or Hawaiki, the far western fatherland so famous in Maori, Rarotongan, Marquesan, and Taumotuan tradition. The name of Aba-toa consists of the radical Aba- already seen in Abaiti, and the component -toa, which is a suffix fairly common in Gilbertese proper names meaning big or great and, as such, equivalent to Polynesian -nui. As it stands, the name clearly refers to a land intimately allied to Abaiti or Avaiki, ¹⁷⁹ but characterised by its great size, and is thus the Gilbertese traditional counterpart of Maori-Rarotongan Avaiki-nui. (Footnote: In contradistinction to -toa, the suffix -iti occasionally appears in Gilbertese names with the force of a diminutive: e.g. Koura-toa = Koura the Big; Koura-iti = Koura the Little. Whether the -iti of Abaiti or the -iki of Avaiki was originally a diminutive suffix has been questioned; but it is evident that the name Aba-toa has reached its present form under the influence of that analogy, true or false).

Both Abaiti and Abatoa are occasionally named with other ancestral lands in the more ancient Gilbertese dancing chants. The following is a pertinent extract from an old and obscure chant of Bern[?] Island, known as the Chant of Moia: The poet pictures a voyage by canoe to or through the ^{Bern}

the western Paradises of his race:-

.... I kaarakinna, Ngai-o-o!
Ba I kaarakina Maura,¹⁸⁰
Ngai-o-o!

.... I approach it, I-o-o!
For I approach Maura,
I-o-o!

¹⁸⁰ (Footnote: Maura; an abode of ancestral shades and departed ghosts, believed to be near the greater land of Bōuru in the West. See section 12).

E-e! ba I aki bia mate, ba
I aki bia taunaki iteraia
atibu ma bonobono i Aba
ni Mao, Kiita!¹⁸¹

E-e! For let me not die, let
me not be buried beside the
rocks and the stone walks in
the lands of Mao, Kiita!

¹⁸¹ (Footnote: Mao, Kiita. This is the only context known to me in which these two lands are mentioned. It is interesting to observe (in any good chart of the Molucca area of Indonesia) that two small islands named Moa and Kissa lie at the southern edge of the Banda Sea, not very far from Bōuru or Buru).

E na bua ni mate rorobuaka-u,
E rae tangi-na, ba I karae-a
i tabo-ni Maura, i tabo-ni
Bōuru ma Neineaba¹⁸²

My manhood shall be lost and die,
Its complaint is lonely,
for I isolate it upon the
end of Maura, upon the
end of Bōuru and Neineaba.

¹⁸² (Footnote: Neineaba, a fairly widely known ancestral land, believed to be a part of Bōuru).

Ti a toua te Kainimau: e
rengerenge, rengerenge-e-e!
Ti a marau-nako irouna
nkana e tabetabeki lai-na
Kua-ni-marawa, ato-ni-
marawa mai Abaiti, mai
Abatoa, mai ia? Baba-
ni-Mao n taurake.¹⁸³
¹⁸⁴

We tread the outrigger cross-battens: it
juts forth, juts forth -e-e!
We shall slip down from it
if the porpoise, the whale,
raises his arms from Abaiti,
from Abatoa, from where(else)?
Baba-of-Mao to eastward.

¹⁸³ (Footnote: The porpoise and whale are common figures of speech, in poetry and magic, to denote mighty rulers or powers. The sense of this passage is: "We shall be in great difficulty if the great ones of Abaiti and Abatoa raise their arms against us.")

184 (Footnote: Baba-of-Mao; another land of which I can discover no mention elsewhere. It appears, prima-facie, more than a coincidence that there is a Moluccan island named Babba not far to eastward of Mao and Kissa).

N na Karioa te-angi-na,

ua-ang, ba angi-n au

maney^{er}e ni Kuna,

Ba angi-n te itera-n auti.¹⁸⁵

I shall raise one-wind,

two-winds, even the winds of the

words of my chant,

Even the winds of the spirit's world.

185 (Footnote: After this point the poem becomes irrelevant to the present issue).

The composer of this chant (who lived seven generations ago) was evidently drawing upon sources of information concerning the geography of the western fatherlands of his race which are lost to the Gilbertese of today. But though the reference to Abaiti and Abatoa is obscure, their association with the porpoise and the whale - whose names are the symbols of royalty and power - indicates that those two lands stood, in the poet's mind, for a tradition of peculiar awe. The general sense of the text is that who so dares to approach the old homes of the race must in some way avoid offending the Great ONES¹¹ of Abaiti and Abatoa, whose power over-stretches the more accessible lands of Bōuru and Maura.

In naming these two places together with Bōuru and other western fatherlands, the chant comes usefully into line with the second functific-ation formula, wherein the spirits of Bōuru are invoked (in company with Auriaria and Tevenei) immediately after the virgin tree of Abatoa and Abaiti. Thus the status of Abatoa and Abaiti as ancient fatherlands - obviously implicit in the Tabitenean¹² fragment, which calls them the home of the first Ancestress-tree - is confirmed by the grouping of their names, in both song and ritual, with those of other known abodes of ancestral shades. A conclusive example of such concatenation appears in the magic formula used by the Sun-Moon totem-group called Ababou,¹⁸⁶

186 (Footnote: See section 14 ante), for "straightening the path" of a dead clansman's ghost to the Land of Shades. The ceremonial used for this purpose is described in the footnote below; the formula intoned over the body of the dead was as follows:-

N nangi tiba tabek-1a,

ef Kaatia Kawai-n Ten Naewa;

I am in the act of lifting it,
i.e. the head of deceased),

Of straightening the path of So-and-so;

n/
 Ba e rangi nakon aba-na,
 Ba Innang, ma Roro, ma
 Bōuru, ma Marira
Maura/
 wari
 Ao ko na toua ^{Maura} ~~Marira~~
 Ma Karoa-ni wa-ru, te
 187 ungina, ma te taitai. 188

For he is about to go to his home,
 Even Innang, and Roro, and
 Bōuru, and Marira.
 And thou shalt pass over ^{Maura} ~~Marira~~
 With the contents of thy canoe, one
 pandanus drupe, and the tattoo-marks.

187 (Footnote: Te-ungri-na, ua-ung, ten-ung - one, two, three pandanus drupes.
 The classificatory particle ung is used in counting whole fruit).

188 (Footnote: Te taitai: The tattoo^omarks. It was believed that the bird-
 headed being Ndi Karamakuna would peck out the eyes of a departing ghost
 unless it could provide her with food in the shape of tattoo^omarks).

line omitted
 ni/
 ni/
 ni/
 Belbeti i-aani Matang,
 na Abaiti, ma Atia,
 Rikia-nu aaroa! - ni
 Tei okiokiri matanga-nu
 Ma uota-nu te nako n
 aki oki.
 Ma tiakobo n te-tannangi-na
 ma ua-tannang,
 Te-oiaki-na ma ua-oiaki;
 Ma ko na aki bibitaki,
 Ten Naewa, ba e a
 tau -o-o-o!

Float in the lee of Matang,
 and Abaiti, and Atia,
 Those thy lands of origin! *thy/*
 Return not to thy vitals (i.e. body)
 With thy burden the going
 not to return.
 And so farewell for one
 season and two seasons,
 One moon-change and two moonchanges;
 And thou shalt not be changed (i.e., deflected
 from thy path), So-and-so, for it is
 perfected -o-o-o!

We have in this highly secret formula not only the definite statement
 that Abaiti is one of the rikia - which is to say lands of origin - of the
 Gilbertese ghost, but the further extremely valuable information that a
 place named Atia was also numbered among such lands, and that another
^{Bourne}
 Bourne named Roro was a home (aba) of the dead. This puts beyond doubt
 the identification of Gilbertese Abaiti with Polynesian Avaiki, for both
 Roro and Atia are coupled with Avaiki or Hawaiki, in Maori-Rarotongan
 tradition, as ancient western fatherlands. ¹⁸⁹ (Footnote: Hawaiki, 1910 ed.,
 pp. 69 and 76).

189 From the contexts in which their names appear, Abaiti and Abatoa seem
 to stand for the innermost secret essence of the Karongoa traditions of origin,
 and the very roots of the pandanus story. A fair indication of the primary
 importance of these two fatherlands to the race may be gathered from the per-
 sistency with which their names recur as place-names up and down the Gilbert

Islands. This frequent eponymous use of ancestral names is also observable in the cases of those other Gilbertese Paradises, Bōuru, ^{Maura}Marira, Matang, Marira, Neineaba, Roro, Mwaiku, and Atia, whose names are scattered throughout the Group, but the Aba- family is strikingly predominant. There are a dozen Abaiti-s in the sixteen Gilbert atolls, and almost as many Abatoa-s or Abatao-s. Abatang, the third land of the virgin pandanus named in the second ^{ru}purification formula is common to several islands. Abatiku, which is seen attached to a part of Butaritari and an islet of Abemama lagoon, also appears in tradition as a western fatherland importantly bound up with the pandanus people. ¹⁹⁰ Abemama itself (Footnote: The Abatiku tradition will come under close inspection in a later section), appears to consist of the radical Aba- and the suffix -maama, which means moonlight in modern Gilbertese, but may possibly stand for Polynesian ^gmarama. The traditional name for the Gilbert Group as a whole is Aba-riringa, whereof the second component signifies sunlight in the speech of today, but may represent a corrupted form of -runga in the Avaiki-runga (Avaiki-to-windward) of Polynesian tradition. In the same way, Aba-ro and Aba-roro (Aba-the-dark) may alternatively equate with Avaiki-raro (Avaiki-to-leeward) of Rarotongan nomenclature, and Aba-rao (Aba-the-peaceful) with Hawaiki-roa (Hawaiki-the-long) of Maori story. Abaiang (Aba-in-the-North) is the name of an island in the Northern Gilberts; Aba-okoro (Aba-the-separate) is one of the islets of the Tarawa chain; Abaoti (Aba-the-clearly-seen) appears at Butaritari and elsewhere. Finally, in the native name of Ocean Island, Baa-n-aba - which is to say, Rock-of-Aba - another memorial of the ancient fatherland appears to have been preserved. ¹⁹¹

¹⁹¹ (Footnote: Modern Gilbertese aba means land and home. Aba-makoro, of which the second component means a piece cut off, is used to signify island. Aba appears to have acquired its present meaning through an easy process of extension from the special to the general, by way of the following stages:- Aba (= Java, Jaba, Saba, Zaba, Ava, Hawa); the name of an original homeland, applied later to any new home occupied by its people; > any homeland; > any land; home).

(b) Identity with Avaiki

The identity of Abaiti and Abatoa with Avaiki and Avaiki-nui being patent, they stand as a vitally significant link connecting the Gilbertese with the Maori-Polynesian traditions of origin and migration. If the relationship be well founded, there should be still traceable among those

peoples who have preserved the Avaiki tradition some association between the pandanus tree and the early fatherland. A passage of quite extraordinary interest in this connection occurs in Percy Smith's "Hawaiki." In discussing the ancient land of Irihia, one of the early western homes of the East Coast Maoris, the author quotes as follows from a native text:-

"Behold! The spirits of the children of Tāne-nui-a-rangi were taken up to a great mountain of exceeding height, where their employment was to make the mountain very tapu. Now, hence the spirits of all men ascend to that mountain in order to be purified, and from thence they ascend to the Rangi-tuhaha ...

Now, that sacred mountain where the spirits from this world are made sacred is Te Hono-i-Wairua (the junction of spirits) and is situated in Tawhiti-pā-mamao, at Irihia, and it was from that land that men and tribes dispersed to the islands of the great ocean ... Hawaiki-nui is a part of that land ... It was a great house of the Maori people, and in it was situated the whare-kura (or temple of learning) of Rongo-marae-roa, who is the god of all cultivated food plants - kumara, taro, hue, korau, and others - besides the arai-toto-kore, which was reserved as an offering to the gods, because there was no blood in it. It would keep good for a long time, and hence, when the migrations came away from Irihia to the East, to the many islands they afterwards came across, they used this food, the arai-toto-kore. There were three migrations at that date ... The foods these migrations brought with them from Hawaiki-nui and Irihia ... were the taro, dried kumara, and the best of all, the arai-toto-kore, which could be eaten raw on the voyage." (Footnote: Hawaiki, 1910 edition, pages 73-74).

192

(c) *Bloodless or Sapless Food*

The author tentatively renders the name of the food which "could be eaten raw on the voyage" as bloodless - perhaps sapless - arai; in conclusion he observes, "I cannot suggest what kind of food arai-toto-kore is. Arai-namo in Mangareva Island is the pandanus, but probably has no connection here, though the drupes of the tree were eaten."

The characteristics attributed in the above account to the mysterious food of Hawaiki and Irihia may be tabulated as follows, side by side with

those of Gilbertese Kabubu:-

Arai-toto-kore

Kabubu

Material features

1. A vegetable product;
2. A bloodless or sapless substance;
3. Valued for its keeping qualities, especially for the purposes of sea-travel;

1. A vegetable product;
2. A dessicated food;
3. Valued for its keeping qualities, especially for the purposes of sea-travel.

Religious features

4. Reserved as an offering to the gods;
5. Particularly associated with Rongo-of-long-marae who:-
 - (a) had his temple in Hawaiki; and
 - (b) was the god of all cultivated food-plants.

4. Drunk ceremoniously; reserved as an oblation in the first-fruits ritual;
5. Particularly associated with clan named Ka-rongo-a whose deity Auriaria:-
 - (a) dwelt in the Virgin Pandanus in Abaiti and Abatoa; and
 - (b) was closely connected with the origin of this and other food plants - the coconut and wild almond.

Linguistic features

6. Called by a name, arai-toto-kore, which suggests its derivation from the pandanus.

6. Is derived from the pandanus, of which the native name is always prefixed by the word ara.

So clearly, do the first five points concerning arai-toto-kore clinch with the salient material and religious features of Kabubu and its parent tree, that the identification of the Irihian food with the Gilbertese might be regarded as certain if further evidence concerning the sixth point - its derivation from the pandanus tree - were forthcoming. Such evidence is available. The name of that particular variety of pandanus which, above all others, is prized in the Northern Gilberts for the manufacture of Kabubu is ara-toko-toko. The similarity of this name with Maori arai-toto-kore, considered as an isolated fact, might have appeared to be a mere accident,

but viewed as the culminating point of six coincidences embracing light material; religious and linguistic aspects of the case it acquires a conclusive evidential value. There can remain no reasonable doubt that the food of Hawaiki, remembered in tradition though lost in substance by the East Coast Maoris, was identical with the dessicated pandanus product regarded still by the Gilbertese of today as "the best of all foods," and still "reserved as an offering to the gods" in the first-fruits ritual of every totem-group.¹⁹³ (Footnote: Whether the name of the iria, or leaf packing in which Kabubu is stored (see Plate ...) has any connection with the Irihia of Maori story is open to question; but the application of the name of a land to an object of material culture has already been observed in the cases of the Kiroro oven, and the Ruanuna oven and fish trap).

(d) The Sacred Mountain of Awaiki

It will be observed that the tradition of Irihia quoted by Percy Smith opens with an account of a sacred mountain situated in a land called Tawhiti-pa-mamao, whereof Hawaiki-nui was a part. The same author shows elsewhere in his work that the name of the sacred mountain of Hawaiki was held to be of the utmost significance in the death rituals of the Maori and Moriori peoples.¹⁹⁴ Another apparent link thus (Footnote: Hawaiki, 1910 ed. p.64), binds the Hawaiki tradition with the story of the pandanus people, inasmuch as we have seen that the ancestral tree Kai-n-tikua-aba was closely associated with a sacred mountain, and that a variety of pandanus is known to the Gilbertese today by the name ara-maungatabu.

The deep significance of the sacred mountain tradition to the Gilbertese as a race is stressed by the fact that, in spite of the absolute flatness of the atolls which they inhabit, Maungatabu appears as a place-name on nearly every island of the Gilbert Group. The identification of Gilbertese Abaiti with Maori Hawaiki having already been secured by previous evidence, and having been further consolidated by the connection of Hawaiki, through the food called arai-toto-kore, with the pandanus, it is a natural assumption that the Maungatabu name and Maungatabu-pandanus tradition have reference to that very sacred mountain of Hawaiki which the Maoris and Morioris have remembered with such reverence. I propose, however, before accepting this conclusion, to examine independent evidence of the connection, and this

195 will involve brief discussion of the Gilbertese maneaba, or social meeting house, and in particular of that form of maneaba which together with a variety of pandanus is called by the Maungatabu name. ¹⁹⁵ (Footnote: A Gilbertese maneaba (see Plate ...) consists of an enormous thatched roof, of which the eaves descend to within six feet of the ground, supported upon studs or monoliths of dressed coral rock. The largest of these buildings at present in existence has an interior length of 120 ft, a breadth of 80 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 Tabonetbike, which is foursquare; and that called Maungatabu, whose breadth is to its length in the proportion of about 2:3. All have hipped or gabled, not conical, roofs.)

21. ~~4~~ Ritual associations of the maneaba

The Gilbertese maneaba in general is the centre of communal life, the conical chamber, the dancing hall, the feasting place of the gathered totem groups comprising any community. 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 maraiā (accursed) and liable to sudden death or sickness. Each totem-group has its hereditary sitting-room in the maneaba, and its peculiar functions or privileges in connection with the construction of the edifice, its maintenance, and the ceremonials which take place beneath its roof. To usurp the sitting room, privilege or function of another group is to become maraiā. The hereditary places, rights and obligations of the various social groups differ considerably in the three types of building.

(b) The Maungatabu maneaba

The Maungatabu maneaba is called by the clan of Karongoa-n-Uea "the house of the Sun and the 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 monolith named "Sun", against which the people of Karongoa-n-Uea have their hereditary sitting room.

Opposite the "Sun," in the middle of the western side, is the monolith named "Moon", against which the clans of Ababou and Maerua are seated. It will be remembered that these three social groups share the Sun-totem and the monopoly of the Sun-Moon ~~pandanus~~ ~~ritual~~ ^{ritual} ~~ritual~~ ^{ritual}. All ceremonial and all speech in the Maungatabu maneaba are subservient to the will of Karongoa-n-Uea, as enunciated by the senior male of that group. This individual is called "Sun in the maneaba", and it is believed that the Sun will pierce the navel of any who contradicts him, questions his judgment, or usurps any privilege of his social group in the sacred building. The Karongoa-n-Uea spokesman wears a fillet of leaf upon his head, called buna-n Taai (the fillet of the Sun) and, as we have already concluded from independent evidence, the principal though secret deity of his group, Auriaria, is a sun-god. He sits alone, slightly in advance of his fellow clansmen upon occasions of a ceremonious nature, and opens proceedings - after silence has been called - by muttering the magico-religious formula called te taemataao, whereof the object is to "clean the path of his words", that is, to protect all he says from interruption or contradiction. In this formula (or Marakei) the Sun and Moon are the protective powers invoked. The words of the formula are muttered three times in succession, with the head bowed so that the chin touches the chest, while the hands are slowly rubbed together, palm on palm. The performer then throws his hands forward, palms up, elbows against body, and raising his head, says aloud, "Ana-ia ba ti na ongo (Take it up, for we will hear)." The debate ceremonial or feast then proceeds.

The sib of Karongoa-raereke is the companion and acolyte (tabomibai, finger) of Karongoa-n-Uea in the Maungatabu maneaba; its members carry messages from the sacred clan to other groups, and in the northern Gilberts its elder often "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 the feast, which is the perquisite of Karongoa-n-Uea; its duty is to supervise the laying and maintenance of the mats of plaited green coconut leaf (inaai) with which the floor of the maneaba is covered, and to perform magico-religious rituals for preventing dissension among those gathered in the sacred edifice. The time for such rituals is the hour when the Sun is approaching his zenith; 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 said to have been used as a magic boat by the Sun-hero Bue in his voyage to the Sun.

The clan of Te Wiwi claims the function of blowing the ⁿcoach (bu) which announces a gathering in the maneaba. Members of the Keaki group have the right of prior entry into the building, in the sense that when one or more of them arrives in a crowd at the marae upon which the maneaba stands, their companions of other clans (excepting Karongoa-n-Uea) will stand aside to let them pass.

The elder of the Tabukaokao group supervises the collection of food for any feast, in the middle of the maneaba, and shares with the elder of Ababou the right of dividing it into two equal portions - one for the northern the other for the southern half of the building. Ababou then separates from the northern half the first portion of Karongoa-n-Uea, which is issued before any further distribution is made. Karongoa-raereke carries the first portion to Karongoa-n-Uea, and other specific groups have the right of dividing and distributing the remainder.

The architects of the Maungatabu edifice - which is to say the group of people whose function it is to find its site, lay out its ground plan, order the position of all its timbers, and cap its ridge with a covering of plaited leaf or matting - are the Sun-Moon sibs of Ababou and Maerua. Their acolytes in this work are the Eel-totem group of Nukumanea and the Crab group of Tabukaokao.

The posts of dressed coral which support the roof of the Maungatabu edifice are set up by Karongoa to the accompaniment of a Sun formula; and when the ridge of the completed structure is capped, the first formula to be intoned by the Maerua headman runs as follows:

Ba N.nangi tiba ewar-ia!

For I am in the act of piercing it

(i.e., with the thatching awl)!

Taubuki-n uma-ia:

The ridge of their house:

Auriaria, Nei Tevenei,

Auriaria, Nei Tevenei,

Riiki, ma Nei Tituaabine ¹⁹⁶

Riiki, with Nei Tituaabine.

(Footnote: Note again the grouping of the three astronomical dieties together, before Nei Tituaabine).

Ririka-n uma-u tera?

The covering of my house (from) what?

Te Karau

The rain

Ririka-n uma-u te buaka;

The covering of my house (from) storm
(or strife);

Ririka-n uma-u Karawa:

Ba rokiroki-n uma-ia Taai
ma Namakaina

Te ririka-ee, te ririka-o-o!

The covering of my house (from) heaven:
Even the screening of the house of the
Sun and the Moon.

The covering -ee, the covering -o-o!

The Maungatabu maneaba was, in former days, the scene of the only collective or tribal cult of which any record appears to have subsisted in the Gilbert Group. As I have previously indicated, each separate totem-group as a rule practiced the cult of its own ancestor or ancestors independently of all others; but in time of stress, a form of religious observance in which all groups united, with the senior male of Karongoa-n-Uea as the officiating priest, was practiced at a stone pillar representing the body of a being named Tabakea, within the Maungatabu maneaba. As seen in section 5, Tabakea is associated with form totems - the ibi-tree; a mythical beast called the kekenu, which seems to have been a saurian; the common noddy; and the turtle. Of these, the last is considerably the most important, the name Tabakea meaning indeed parrot bill turtle. In a widespread series of traditions, Tabakea is represented as the "eldest of beings, the first-of-things," and the father of Auriaria. The importance of this relationship is that it confirms a good deal of rather diffuse evidence existing in Polynesian tradition and custom as to the connection of the turtle with the Sun. Tabakea is also called the originator of the fire-sticks in one local variant of the fire myth.

When famine, war or other collective danger threatened the community, the elder of Karongoa-n-Uea would fix a day when food offerings and prayer (tataro) should be made to Tabakea, and a stone monolith about six feet high would be erected for that purpose up against the Karongoa "Sun" stone in the maneaba. The stone 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 hereditary positions. At sunrise the first portion of the collected food was laid as an oblation before the stone by the elder of Karongoa-n-Uea, and the following tataro pronounced by him:-

Ao-ra te amarake, nkoe,
Tabakea.

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

Our offering the food, thou,
Tabakea.

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

Tautana mauri-ra,
 Toutoua-nako te aoraki,
 te buaka ... 197

Uphold our prosperity,
 Tread-away the sickness,
 the war ...

(Footnote: At this point it might be mentioned any specific evil which it was desired to avert).

Kaka-mauri-ia ataei
 aikai

Continue to prosper them,
 these children.

Karefekea karara

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 raoi.

Prosperity and peace.

During this ceremony, all present wore fillets of coconut leaf upon their heads. The formula having been recited three times, the people put off their fillets and ate the remaining food, the division and distribution being affected in the ceremonial manner already indicated.

The salient facts concerning the Maungatabu maneaba may now be summarised as follows:-

1. It is a sacred edifice known for ritual purposes as the House of the Sun and Moon, and believed to be protected by the Sun from insult or violence;
2. It was until recently the scene of an open or communal cult connected with Tabakea the Turtle, the originator of fire and the sire of Auriaria, a sun-god;
3. Its ceremonial on all occasions was dominated and ordered by a group of people who were Kamaraia (sacred) because they were "sun in the maneaba"; who were the performers of a Sun-Moon sanctification ritual; one of whose totems was the Sun; who wore the fillet of the sun; who were grouped about a monolith called the Sun; and whose chief deity, Auriaria, was a sun-god;
4. Its construction was governed by rituals in which the Sun-name and Sun-association were predominant and was ordered by a group of people who with Karongoa monopolised the Sun-Moon pandanus ritual and claimed the Sun as a totem, and whose sitting room was against a monolith called the Moon.

Such being the facts, I take (it) to be hardly necessary to elaborate an argument in support of the inference that the Maungatabu maneaba was, at some time in its history, a temple of the Sun, wherein the people of Karongoa-n-Uea,

by virtue of their descent from the Sun-god, were the sacred caste, with the people of Karongoa-raereke as their acolytes; whereof the men of Ababou and Maerua, also being children of the Sun, were the master-architects; wherein each division of the people had its ordained sitting-room, its peculiar duties and privileges; and wherein altars to the Sun and Moon stood in the positions now respectively marked by the monoliths of Karongoa and Ababou. Though, with the progressive decay of the Sun-cult as a communal form of religion, the building may now have been turned to social uses for which it was not originally intended, its sacrosanct character and ritual associations are still so extraordinary dominated by the Sun-idea that to avoid the conclusions which I have indicated would be merely to shirk the facts. I therefore state the case in passing, though it is enough for my immediate purpose to have shown that the Maungatabu maneaba was a sacred edifice controlled by the groups of Karongoa, Ababou and Maerua, and as such, the temple or house of Auriaria, an agricultural deity.

22. Associations with Polynesia.

Turning now to tradition, we have in the text exhibited in Appendix IV a series of tales private to the builder-clans of Ababou and Maerua, purporting to be the history of their superhuman ancestor Bue, through whom they trace descent directly from the Sun. It is related in section 1 of the text that the Maungatabu maneaba (together with others, of which the construction is now, unhappily, forgotten) was given by the Sun to Bue after that personage had performed the feat of subjugating and catching him in a noose at his rising. Here at once is a strong link with Maori-Polynesian tradition, for the most cursory reading of the text makes it evident that the story of Bue's adventure is nothing but another account of the Sun's visitation and capture by Maui "that daring, impish, cheeky demon so much appreciated by Polynesians." ¹⁹⁸ Similarly, the (Footnote, Hawaiki, 1910 ed. p.51), tale of Bue's theft of the "tree for making firesticks" from the old woman called Temaing (see third section of the text) is yet another of the numerous Oceanic accounts of how Maui obtained fire from the old woman Mafu¹⁹⁹ke. A closer reading of the (Footnote: The following references indicate the wide distribution of this story:- New Zealand: Grey, Polynesian Mythology. White, Ancient History of the Maori; Chatham Is.: Shand, The Moriori People, J.P.S., 1894; Nieuve, Samoa, Union Islands: Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, pp 253-55, 270.; Cook Group, Manihiki: Gill, Myths and Songs from the South Pacific, pp 51, 66; Marquesas: Radiguet, Les Derniers Sauvages, Paris,

198

199

1860.; Tonga: Lalvry, The Friendly and Feejee Islands, London, 1850). Gilbertese recension discloses the very interesting fact that, although Bue is called the hero of these exploits, the name of Maui does indeed occur in the story. I refer to the second paragraph of section 1, wherein it is recorded that one of the brothers of Bue, also a child of the sun, was a personage named Maau-kitekite, which is obviously a corrupted form of Maui-tikitiki, familiar to every student of the Maui cycle.

200 Bue thus equates at the first glance with Maui. The parallel will bear testing. The Maungatabu maneaba or temple being attributed to Bue, one would expect to find the name of his counterpart in Maori-Polynesian story associated with some kind of sacred edifice; and this is indeed the case, for Maui is coupled by the Maoris, under the name Rongo-Maui, with that god of cultivated food-plants named Rongo who is recorded to have had a temple in ²⁰⁰ Hawaiki-nui. (Footnote: Hawaiki, 1910, pp50-51). Again, and conversely, if Bue impersonates the Rongo-Maui of Hawaiki-nui remembered by the Maoris, we should - under ideal conditions - expect to find him connected by the Gilbertese, first, with a god or a ritual of cultivated food-plants, and second, with one of the Aba-group of lands corresponding with Hawaiki. As regards the first point, there is no direct linking of Bue's name, in any tradition known to me, with that of a god; but, failing this, we have the equally strong evidence that Bue's clans of Ababou and Maerua are linked with Auriaria's clan of Karongoa, both in the pandanus sanctification rituals, and in the rituals of the sacred edifice wherein Karongoa's agricultural ²⁰¹ diety is paramount. As for ²⁰¹ (Footnote: ²⁰¹ I suggest at this point that the name Karongoa means the tribe or group of Rongo, the prefix ka- being equivalent to Maori Nga-, Ngahi- and Rarotongan Ngati-, Nga-), the second point, we find one of the Aba- names in that of Bue's own clan of Aba-bou (Aba-the-new); and in an alternative version of his birth story, which appears in a later section, we are told ~~that he was the child of a pandanus tree on the far-western land of Aba-tikei.~~ ²⁰¹ that he was the child of a pandanus tree on the far-western land of Aba-tikei.

201 Thus, the following parallels between the Maori-Polynesian and the Gilbertese renderings of this group of beliefs are established:-

Maui visited the Sun, caught	Bue performed an identical feat.
him in a noose, and obtained	
various cultural benefits	
from him.	

Maui is sometimes called
Tikitiki

Maui stole fire from the
old woman Mafuika. In some
accounts, he hid the fire
in certain trees, thus
originating fire-sticks.

Maui is coupled with
Rongo, a god of agriculture

Maui, through Rongo; is
associated with a sacred
building or temple of
ancient times.

Maui's temple stood in
Hawaiki-nui, which is
associated with sacred
mountains.

Bue is called the brother of another
sun-child named Maui-kitekite.

Bue stole the "tree for making
fire" from the old woman Temaing.

Bue's clans are coupled with Ka-
rongoa a sacred caste, in the rituals
of sanctification.

Bue is held to be the originator
of the sacred maneaba called
Maungatabu; his clans built this
edifice for Ka-rongoa.

Bue was born in one of the Aba-
group of lands, and his maneaba
is called by the name of a sacred
mountain.

It is clear that in so closely interlocking with the Maui tradition, our Gilbertese material not only demonstrates the vital relationship that exists between Gilbertese and Maori-Polynesian beliefs, but also immensely enlarges both its own evidential value and that of the stories with which it equates. Each account, in authenticating the other, acquires a higher individual authority for itself, and may be drawn upon with greater confidence to fill the lacunae in its counterpart. Having on the one side Rongo, an agricultural god and on the other a sacred caste called Karongoa, whose deity Auriaria was supreme in agricultural rituals, we can hardly avoid the inference that Auriaria and Rongo stand for one and the same personality, and that the Karongoa group represents the royal and priestly caste of Rongo in his temple; from which, having already identified Auriaria as a sun-god, we proceed to the conclusion that Maori-Polynesian Rongo too was originally a god of the Sun. How inevitable now appears the hyphenation of his name, in Maori tradition, with that of Maui, the sun-hero!

As far as the origin of the Maungatabu name is concerned, the evidence examined has shown that the maneaba called by that name is identified with

Bue and Auriaria, each of whom in his turn is linked with one or two of the Aba- group of fatherlands. On the other side, there is a temple associated with Rongo, Maui, and Hawaiki-nui. The following equation is thus established:-

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{Rongo} \\
 \text{Maui} \\
 \text{Hawaiki} \\
 \text{Temple}
 \end{array}
 \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} \text{Rongo} \\ \text{Maui} \\ \text{Hawaiki} \\ \text{Temple} \end{array}} \right\} = \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
 \text{Auriaria (Karongoa)} \\
 \text{Bue (Maui-kitekite)} \\
 \text{Aba- (Abaiti, Abatoa, Abatiku, Ababou)} \\
 \text{Meneaba (Maungatabu)}
 \end{array} \right.$$

If this equation be accepted, the derivation of the Maungatabu name from some sacred mountain of Hawaiki follows without argument; but, inasmuch as the only sacred mountain hitherto encountered in Gilbertese tradition belongs to Samoa (see Little Makiu text, Appendix I) and not to Abaiti or Abatoa, the connection between Maungatabu and the more ancient fatherlands of the race will certainly bear further elaboration before its final acceptance.

First, there is the evidence of the two Bue stories already discussed. Shorn of their mythical elements these texts are, basically, historical documents which using Bue as the index of his social groups of Ababou and Maerua, tell of the migration of a people out of the West into Tarawa. According to one account, Bue with his brother Maui-kitekite was born in Tebongiroro. Tebongiroro (or Tebukiroro) in Gilbertese story is not the name of a single place, being a collective term applied to what is called te rina-nāba i maeao - the line of lands (or Aba-s) in the west: it may thus stand for any or all of the half dozen Aba names hitherto encountered. But the other account fortunately identifies the particular place of Bue's birth - that is, of Ababou's and Maerua last place of residence - as Abatiku. The important point is, that the migration from a western fatherland to Tarawa is shown to have been direct, and not by way of Samoa. Both accounts agree upon this point and, in so doing, coincide with all authoritative Ababou and Maerua traditions of origin now obtainable. This is a very remarkable fact, because the latest swarm of immigrants into the Gilbert Group certainly came from Samoa, and just as certainly included members of the Ababou and Maerua clans among their number. The tendency of these conquerors was to superimpose upon every local tradition of origins an obliterating dogma wherein the name of Samoa became overwhelmingly pre-eminent. The fact

that they have not been able to deface the tale of Ababou's original migration direct from the West into Tarawa is a notable guaranty of its truth.

The foundation of the Bue tradition was, in fact, established in the Gilbert Islands before- or, if not before, then at least independently of - the immigration from Samoa. The conclusion from this aspect of the evidence therefore is that the Maungatabu name took its origin from the West - according to one of our texts, from Abatiku, an important member of the Aba group of lands - and that whatever the sacred mountain of Samoa meant to the race it was not the prototype from which the Maungatabu tradition was derived.

I think that the least remaining doubt as to the validity of this conclusion is removed by an examination of the final ritual used by Ababou and Maerua in capping the ridge of the Maungatabu maneaba, whereof a description now follows:-

The ritual. The master architect mounts to the ridge of the building, when the ridge-capping has been sewen in place, carrying with him four coconuts in their husks. For the purposes of the ceremony, these nuts are called (secretly) ata, ²⁰² human heads. Straddling the (Footnote: Atu is commonly used for head, but takes the form ata in song and ritual), North end of the ridge, face to South, he strikes off the proximal end of one nut and, sprinkling its liquor over the capping, mutters in a low voice:-

Bubu-n ai i Aba;	Smoke of fire at Aba;
Bubu-n ai i Abaiti;	Smoke of fire at Abaiti;
Bubu-n ai i Maunga-tabu;	Smoke of fire at the Sacred Mountain;
Bubu-n ai i Ababou;	Smoke of fire at Ababou;
Bubu-n ai i-rou.	Smoke of fire with me.
Timtim te rara:	Drip-drip the blood:
Taai, Namakaina-o-o,	Sun, Moon-o-o,
Ko Kaakangi kana-m te rara!	Thou eatest thy food the blood!
Matu, matu, anti ni Kamaamate!	Sleep, sleep, spirits of killing!
matu, matu, anti ni Kaaoraki! ²⁰³	Sleep, sleep, spirits of sickness!
Matu, matu, anti ni Kamibuaka!	Sleep, sleep, spirits of evil dreaming!

(Footnote: Ka-aoraki = causing-sickness; ka-mi-buaka = causing-dreaming-evilily).

Matu, matu!	Sleep, sleep!
Baraaki te unene,	Overtured is the ...
B'e a bung'i te aba	For the land gives birth

202

203

The Migrations of a Pandanus People

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

Part 1

- Introduction. 1. Daily work of a woman.
2. Cooking methods.
3. Cooking magic and protective rituals.
4. Poisons.
5. Prohibitions upon foodstuffs.
6. Diet.
7. Preserved foods.
8. Luxuries.
9. Meals and manners.
10. Notes on distribution of te kabubu (pandanus drink).

Part 2

Traditions concerning food.

11. Foods of the Dead.
12. Cannibalism

Traditions and Texts.

1. Little Makui traditions.
2. Tabiteuea traditions.
3. Keaki traditions.
4. Karunaettoa traditions on Towatu-of-Matang.

Appendices to Part 2.

~~Part 3~~ Appendix I

Series of traditions from Little Makui

1. Growth of ancestor, *Kai-n-tikuaaba*.
2. Growing Batuku
3. Building of the canoe.
4. First Voyage of *Te Kaburoro*.
5. War of Te Uribaba against Samoa.
6. Canoe from Tarawa.
7. Voyage of Rairaueana

Appendix 2

Series of Traditions from Tabiteuea.

1. Darkness (Bo) and *Cleaving Together (Maki)*

2. Tale of Na Areau and Taburimal
3. Tale of Na Areau and Na Utima
4. Tale of Na Areau and Taranga
5. Voyage of Au-the-Skull to Samoa.
6. Return of progeny of Au-the-Skull

Appendix 3

Text and interlinear translations

Tradition of Keaki Clan ^{concerning} the tropic bird ^{totem groups}
~~5 pages.~~ ^{from Samoa.}

Appendix 4

Tradition of Karumaetoa Clan, ~~concerning~~ ^{concerning}
 migration into Beru, Southern Gilberts of man-eating ancestor,
 Te Watu-of-Matang.

not published →

Part 3

Myths and Rituals connected with Foodplants.

13. Myth of origin of coconut
14. Magic rituals connected with growing food-plants.
15. Fruitification of the pandanus.
16. The kabubu first-fruits ritual
17. A ritual meal in time of famine.

Appendices to Part 3.

Appendix 1.

Notes of Gilbertese maneaba (meeting house) with special
 reference to the style of building called Maunga-tabu

~~Appendix 1~~ *Appendix 2*

Appendix 2

Ababou traditions of birth and exploits of Bue who obtained
 from this father, the Sun, the building and other secret
 rituals of the Ababou and Maerua clans.

Part 4.

	Page
18. Auriaria the Pandamus spirit	1
a. social aspects	1
b. food of the Kings of Samoa	4
19. The Association of Auriaria with the pandamus	7
a. Auriaria the protector	7
b. The Association with the rat	8
c. Association with the sun and the moon	9
d. Association with Kai-n-tikua-aba	15
e. Traditional origins of the pandamus	21
20. The mythical homelands to the west	27
a. Abaiti, and Aba-toa	27
b. Identity with Avaiki and Avaiki-nui	36
c. Arai-toto-kore mysterious food of Hawaiki	39
d. The sacred mountain of Hawaiki	41
21. The maneaba and the pandamus	43
a. Ritual associations	44
b. The Maungatabu maneaba	45
c. Duties of the Karongoa-raereke sib	46
d. Blowing the pūnch and collecting the food	47
e. Building the Maungatabu maneaba	49
f. Tabakea, "the first-of-things"	51
22. Associations with Polynesia	
a. Bue and Maauī traditions, similar exploits	55
b. Parallels between the two myths	59
c. Conclusions	59

Footnotes for sections 3 & 4

LIST OF DIAGRAMS

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Footnote 106

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.

Footnote 107

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.

Footnote 108

All Gilbertese sleeping-mats are manufactured of pandanus leaf.

Footnote 109

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.

Footnote 110

Compare with this account of Matang 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 166.

m/



Footnote 111

See Section 11(b) ante.

Footnote 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)

Footnote 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.

Footnote 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 attached to a form of cooking oven (section 2), and also to a variety of Malay custard-apple (section 6, Emergency Diet).

Footnote 115

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.

Footnote 116

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

Footnote 117

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.

Footnote 118

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

Footnote 119

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.

Footnote 120

The name Bitanikai is here given to the spiritual power believed to reside in the staff. Nanonikai menas 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.

Footnote 121

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

Footnote 122

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).

Footnote 130

Bitanikai, magic tree. Bitani-kai 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.

Footnote 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.

Footnote 123

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.

Footnote 124

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.

Footnote 125

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 maamaiu, which may signify either continually vigorous or extremely vigorous.

Footnote 126

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.

Footnote 127

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

Footnote 128

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

Footnote 129

See Section 5 ante, The Frigate-bird, p.20.

Footnote 132

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

Footnote 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.

Footnote 134

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

- Footnote 135 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.
- Footnote 136 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.
- Footnote 137 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.
- Footnote 138 Ka-tabaa, fructification. The literal meaning is causing-young-pandanus-bloom.
- Footnote 139 See Footnote 43, Section 12(e) ante.
- Footnote 140 Tevela 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.
- Footnote 141 See Section 7 (c), Part I, for description of te korokoro.
- Footnote 142 Fabaraba-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.
- Footnote 143 See the ceremony of te taarika performed by a guest when invited to eat with a Gilbertese household: Part I, Section 9.

Footnote 144 See Part II, Footnote 137.

Footnote 145 Sun-stone: see Appendix 1.

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

Footnote 147 See Part II, Appendix 4, paragraphs 11-12.

Footnote 148 Acolyte, The native term is tabonibai, finger, which is to say, servant.

Footnote 149 Gilbertese Astronomy and Astronomical Observances, J.P.S., Sep-Dec., 1931, page 219.

Footnote 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.

Footnote 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.

Footnote 152

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

Footnote 153

As each "head" is emptied of its "blood" it is allowed to roll down the thatch of the maneaba to the ground below, where its position is anxiously noted. If the majority of ata lie with the open end (corresponding to the neck of a human head) pointing towards the maneaba, it is a sign of good-fortune; but if the distal ends be presented to the building, war, sickness or famine are prognosticated.

Footnote 154

Maau-kitekite. In Polynesian story, the exploit of catching the Sun in a noose is attributed to the famous personage called Maau, who is sometimes called Tikitiki, and is represented in Samoan tradition by a being called the Sun-child. All these elements are seen concatenated in the Gilbertese story. The names Maau and Tikitiki are united in that of Maau-kitekite, who is shown as the fourth child of the Sun, while the famous ensnarement of the luminary is attributed to Maau-kitekite's younger brother, Bue

Footnote 155

Nei Te-raa-iti. Iti is a diminutive suffix: cp. Polynesian - iki. It is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion, having Nei Teraaiti's parentage in view, that raa is the Polynesian word Ra, meaning Sun. The name thus means Little Sun.

Footnote 156

Tebongiroro. The line of lands in the West. See the connection of Tebongiroro with the red food called te renga, Section 11(b) ante; and with the Kiroro cooking-oven, Section 2 (a).

Footnote 157

See the connection with this craft of the Maunga-tabu maneaba ritual, Appendix 1, paragraph 7.

Footnote 158

The six mounting-platforms of the Sun, the six weapons of Bue, and other associations of the luminary with this particular number, have been commented upon in a paper entitled "The Sun and Six", MAN, MAN 5 1921.

a/ Man

Footnote 159

The Grave of Bue. Identified in Marakei as the sitting burial reserved for those who practice the pandanus fructification ritual. See penultimate paragraph of Section 10, Part I, ante.

Footnote 160

See illustration of the Kai-ni-kamata in Man, June 1921, "Canoe Crests of the Gilbert Islanders".

Footnote 161

Uri-tree: guettarda speciosa, of which the timber is commonly used for making fire-sticks today.

Footnote 162

This tale of Bue's theft of firesticks is obviously but another version of the very famous Polynesian story, wherein Maui steals fire from the old woman Mafuike. See -
New Zealand: Grey, Polynesian Mythology; White, Ancient History of the Maori.
Chatham Is: Shand, "The Moriori People, J.P.S. 1894
Manihiki: Gill, Myths and Songs from the South Pacific, pp. 51-66.
Marquesas: Radiguet, Les Derniers Sauvages, Paris, 1860.
Nieue, Samoa: Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, pp. 253-55, 270.
Tonga: Lawry, The Friendly and Feejee Islands, London, 1850.

Footnote 163

See paragraph 11 ante.

Footnote 164

See table annexed to section 5.

Footnote 165

See section 11, and a paper "Canoe of the Gilbert Islands": Man, June, 1921, 49).

Footnote 166

The name Rairaeana-te-I-Matanga may perhaps be more correctly interpreted Rairaeana-the fair-skinned: see section 10 concerning the application of the name I-Matang to the white man).

Footnote 167

See section post - the Auriaria - Nabanaba traditions).

Footnote 168

Though this myth does not rank as secret in the sense of being reserved to the inner-most circle of a clan, it is nevertheless regarded by those who still cling to custom as Kamaraia - which is to say "bringing a curse" if lightly given away in the form exemplified).

Footnote 169

Also the ivy (with the similax and the vine), and possibly the owl. See D'Rendel Harris's Ascent of Olympus, 1921, concerning the origin of the cults of Appollo, Dionysus, Aphiodite, and Artemis..

Footnote 170

See "Myths from the Central Pacific", Journal of the Folk Lore Society, Jan-June, 1922).

Footnote 171

Or of any other "fire that floated between heaven and earth," e.g. St. Elmo's fire and Will o' the Wisp,.

Footnote 172

The full text of the myth and its sequels is exhibited in Appendix III.

Footnote 173

A period of 14 years intervened between the collection of the myth (1918) and the complete disclosure to me of the pandanus rituals (1932).

Footnote 174

See Bingham's Dictionary of the Gilbertese language - ara-maungatabu.

Footnote 175

Ara-touru, Ara-matang, An-nabanaba, see section 10.

Footnote 176

The technical term for coconut blossom is ari; the general word for flower, which cannot, however, be applied to pandanus bloom or coconut blossom is ue.

Footnote 177

A Gilbertese chant descriptive of the flight of the forefathers from Samoa to the island of Mouauti begins:-

E maotoua te Bakatibu, te Kai!
E raraanakoa aba-ia I-Matangi
mai Taamoa.

It is broken the Ancestor, the Tree!
It overleans their land, the People of
Matang from Samoa.

Footnote 178

Sir G. Gomme, Folklore as an Historical Science, page 128.

Footnote 179

In contradistinction to -toa, the suffix -iti occasionally appears in Gilbertese names with the force of a diminutive: e.g. Koura-toa = Koura the Big; Koura-iti = Koura the Little. Whether the -iti of Abaiti or the -iki of Avaiki was originally a diminutive suffix has been questioned; but it is evident that the name Aba-toa has reached its present form under the influence of that analogy, true or false.

Footnote 180

Maura; an abode of ancestral shades and departed ghosts, believed to be near the greater land of Bouru in the West. See section 12.

Footnote 181

Mao, Kiita. This is the only context known to me in which these two lands are mentioned. It is interesting to observe (in any good chart of the Molucca area of Indonesia) that two small islands named Moa and Kissa lie at the southern edge of the Banda Sea, not very far from Bouru or Ba Bouru.

Footnote 182

Neineaba, a fairly widely known ancestral land, believed to be a part of Bouru .

Footnote 183

The porpoise and whale are common figures of speech, in poetry and magic, to denote mighty rulers or powers. The sense of this passage is "We shall be in great difficulty if the great ones of Abaiti and Abatoa raise their arms against us."

Footnote 184

Baba-of-Mao; another land of which I can discover no mention elsewhere. It appears, prima-facie, more than a coincidence that there is a Moluccan island named Babba not far to eastward of Mao and Kissa.

Footnote 185

After this point the poem becomes irrelevant to the present issue.

Footnote 186

See section 14 ante.

Footnote 187

Te-ungi-na, ua-ung, teu-ung - one, two, three pandanus drupes. The classificatory particle ung is used in counting whole fruit.

Footnote 188

Te taitai: The tattoo marks. It was believed that the bird-headed being Ne Karamakuna would peck out the eyes of a departing ghost unless it could provide her with food in the shape of tattoo-marks.

Footnote 189

Hawaiki, 1910 ed., pp. 69 and 76.

Footnote 190

The Abatiku tradition will come under close inspection in a later section.

Footnote 191

Modern Gilbertese aba means land and home. Aba-makoro, of which the second component means a piece cut off, is used to signify island. Aba appears to have acquired its present meaning through an easy process of extension from the special to the general, by way of the following stages:-
Aba (=Java, Jaba, Saba, Zaba, Ava, Hawa); the name of an original homeland, applied later to any new home occupied by its people;
> any homeland; > any land; home.

Footnote 192

Hawaiki, 1910 edition, pages 73-74.

Footnote 193

Whether the name of the iria, or leaf packing in which Kabubu is stored (see Plate...) has any connection with the Irihia of the Maori story is open to question; but the application of the name of a land is an object of material culture has already been observed in the cases of the Kiroro oven, and the Ruanuna oven and fish trap.

Footnote 194

Hawaiki..., 1910, p.64.

Footnote 195

A Gilbertese maneaba (see Plate...) consists of an enormous thatched roof, of which the eaves descend to within six feet of the ground, supported upon studs or monoliths of dressed coral rock. The largest of these buildings at present in existence has an interior length of 120 ft, a breadth of 80 feet, and a height from floor to ridge-pole of 45 feet. There are three main types of maneaba: that called Tabiang, which is foursquare; and that called Maungatabu, whose breadth is to its length in the proportion of about 2:3. All have hipped or gabled, not conical, roofs.

Footnote 196

Note again the grouping of the three astronomical deities together before Nei Tituaabine

Footnote 197

At this point it might be mentioned any specific evil which it was desired to avert.

Footnote 198

Hawaiki., 1910 ed. p.51

Footnote 199

The following references indicate the wide distribution of this story:- New Zealand, Grey, White, Chatham Is: Shand, 1894; Nieuve, Samoa, Union Islands: Turner, Cook Group, Manihiki: Gill, Marquesas: Radiguet, Paris 1860; Tonga: Laivry, 1850.

Footnote 200

Hawaiki, 1910, pp. 50-51

Footnote 201

I suggest at this point that the name Karongoa means the tribe or group of Rongo, the prefix ka- being equivalent to Maori Nga-, Ngahi and Rarotongan Ngati-, Nga.

Footnote 202

Atu is commonly used for head, but takes the form ata in song and ritual.

Footnote 203

Ka-aoraki = causing sickness; Ka-mi-buaka
= causing-dreaming-evilly.

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