

Genealogy of the early High Chiefs of Tarawa

[Footnote to pedigree. This pedigree was not taken from the authorities of a single island. As it stands it represents a far more comprehensive knowledge than any individual school of Gilbertese genealogists now commands, having been built up out of a host of separate (and jealously segregated) narratives collected in the course of twelve years' research from island to island of the Group. Each separate detail of the pedigree, however, represents a point of view at which half a dozen authorities, whatever else may be their differences, agree, and the whole may, I think, be regarded as the greatest common factor of Gilbertese knowledge about ^{the} Kiribat^s today. It may be added that the pedigree is but an extract from a table of much wider scope, which must await publication with the Gilbertese Traditions of Origin and Migration already mentioned.]

It is obvious that the early names given in the pedigree are merely figurative, and represent individuals only by reference to the groups or countries to which they belonged. By the "Trees of Nabanaba" in column 1, we are to understand the distinguishing mark, perhaps

the totem, of a race or sib that inhabited Nabanaaba; by Na Aream Tukikiteia in column 2 is meant a person claiming descent from the separator of heaven and earth. In column 3, the name of Tabuki-n-Tarawa, the man "created by Na Aream on Tarawa", means "The Eminent Man - of-Tarawa", and signifies the ^{chiefly} representative of an autochthonous group considered to have grown with the land. In column 4, Taburimai is the name of a sib-deity ~~ancestor~~, and stands for all the persons of his sib who migrated from ~~Tarawa~~^{The North} to Samoa. ~~It~~ It is still a common Gilbertese practice to designate a whole group of people by the sib-deity's ~~ancestor's~~ name.

Taburimai te Koraki aei (lit. Taburimai the company this) in modern speech means, "These people belong to a Taburimai clan".

E roko Taburimai i abafra (lit. He arrives Taburimai at land-our) signifies, "Some people of the Taburimai clan have arrived at our island."

The implications of the early parts of Kirataa pedigree are worth examining at and with ~~the~~ and the four lines from which some lengths analysed in the following notes. Kirataa te Eldest ^{and his successors were} was descended will be analysed in the following notes.

Genealogy

Pedigree of the early High Chiefs of Tarawa

MALE SIDE

Col. 1

Na Areau the Elder

Col. 2
who started the work of Creation, making first Tarawa, then Samoa, then "all lands," in the darkness of Chaos

The Trees of Nabana, a land far to westward of Tarawa. The Trees were called the Man and the Woman

Na Areau the Son, called Tekikiteia, who separated Heaven from Earth, made the Sun, Moon and Stars, and finally created Man — the Breed of the North (Tarawa, Beru), and the Breed of the South (Samoa)

Tauaba, King of Nabana, & Nii Te Karara

Nei Tekanaea of Nabana, who migrated to Tarawa with a root of the Tree of Nabana

of Tarawa
A person called by the patronymic Na Areau Tekikiteia, who made three Voyages to Samoa

Te Ariki-n-Tarawa
made a voyage back to Nabana and returned to Tarawa.

FEMALE DISTAFF SIDE

Col. 3

Na Areau should be spelt Nareau throughout

single quotes

Tabuki-n-Tarawa created by Na Areau Tekikiteia on Tarawa, with his "sisters" Nii Temaiti, Nii Baia, Nii Rote-berua. Married Nei Baia

Taburimai of the North, created by Na Areau Tekikiteia. Also described as the son of Tabakea (~~Shutek~~) and Nei UniKai (Grey Nurse). Migrated from the North to Samoa

(Unknown number)
missing generations

Kourabbi of Samoa married Nii Acriki and Nii Te Kawai-ni-Mone, both of Samoa

Nei Batiauea of Tarawa, who "held the anchor of the land" — i.e., was a person of chiefly rank

Baretoka of Samoa who fled northwards to Tarawa, in order to avoid an unwelcome marriage

Te Ariki-n-Tarawa → married ← Nei Tereere of Tarawa

Kirataq the Eldest (the lover of Kabubie) of Tarawa: married Nei Kimoanea of Samoa, who was fetched to be his wife by Na Areau, his paternal "grandfather". Nei Kimoanea was a descendant of Nii Temaiti, the "sister" of Tabuki-n-Tarawa (see col. 3 above) and was thus of Tarawa stock settled in Samoa

Kirataq the Second

of Tarawa: married Nei Te-ragi-ti, the "sister" of a traditional clan ancestor named Bue, who claimed the Sun as his progenitor, and migrated into Tarawa from a western land called Te-fongi-frōrō or Rōrō.

Kirataq the Third

of Tarawa: married Nei Beia and Nei Kobwebwe of Samoa, who came to Tarawa at the time of a mass migration from the South into the Gilbert Group

There were

in 1920

(Fifteen two generations to adult living descendants)

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~~DISASTER~~ SIDE

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in 1920

(Fifty two generations to adult living descendants)

1 (Given by Na Biria of Butaritari)

Settlement of Butaritari by Rairaneana
(see genealogy)

- ① When Rairaneana's son Timauhi was grown up he married Ni Rakentai, the daughter of Beia-ma-tehai with ~~de Kekua~~ Ni Kirirere, on Tabiteuea.
- ② Timauhi and his wife went to live at Tarawa, the home of Beia-ma-tehai: they had 3 children there: Rairaneana II, and Mankia, and Na Atanga.
- ③ Rairaneana II grew up cruel and hot-headed; his amusement was to kill the people of Tarawa, and to threaten his own brothers with death. So his mother reproved him, saying that Tarawa was not great enough to hold his insolence, and telling him that he had better set out and conquer another land. He decided to make war on Butaritari. It was arranged that when he had subdued the island his mother and brothers should follow him.
- ④ He set forth with a fleet of Tarawa canoes, manned by his mother's people: his captains were named Karibantara, Ioannea, Tranoki-ni-long, and (name lost). Tradition calls them his brothers on his mother's side.
- ⑤ They landed at Ukiangang (S. End) and fought a battle at Tennewe and defeated the inhabitants: thence they swept up the island, by land and lagoon at same time to Kenea, where another battle was won by them. A third engagement was won at Kuina, and a fourth at Little Makia. On this last island Rairaneana

settled down to rule as High Chief.

- ⑥ When news of the victory came to Tarawa, Ni Raken tai with her husband and sons sailed for Butaritari. But when Ravianeana saw his brothers coming, he hated them and made ready to kill them. But his mother reproved him again, saying, "If you cannot ever be at peace with your brothers, then go again and find another land that will contain your insolence." So he left in anger and set sail northward, until he came to Mire (Mille, Marshalls). He conquered it and his descendants are there until now. Some of these came back to Butaritari about ten years ago, and established relationship with the local descendants of Ravianeana's brothers.

- ⑦ So Na Atanga and Mangkia stayed on Butaritari & Makin when their brother left. Na Atanga was the older, and became High Chief. He called the warriors who had conquered the islands and distributed the land among them. The captains were his "brothers" on his mother's side. To Karibanttarawa he gave the chiefship of Makin; ~~These were his instructions to him:~~
 "Your perquisite there shall be Ibanareke () and deep-sea fish, and the binobino ni Kamai; none but you shall use them. And you shall remember to supply me with food, for that is my right over you."
 To Ioannea he gave Kuma; these were his instructions: "Your perquisite there

Tatū-ma-te-ataata = *N. Rabataanabuariki*,

shall be the river parts of the popoiso, and the fish called okacka, and the banareke () and the biniobino ni Kamai, (); none but you shall use them.

And you shall remember to supply me with food, for that is my right over you."

To Teanokini long he gave Kenea; these were his instructions: "Your perquisite there shall be the bobo-n-tewa () and the fish called nirimai and the okacka, and the biniobino ni Kamai and the banareke. And you shall remember . . . etc., etc."

To the fourth chief (name lost) he gave Tanimaiaki; these were his instructions, "Your perquisite there shall be the ana (mullet, grey) and deep sea fish, and the bobo-n-tewa, the okacka, the banareke and the Kamai. And you shall remember . . . etc. etc."

So they all went to their districts and collected the conquered people to work on their lands, and they subdivided their lands among their own companions.

- ⑧ Na Atanga and his brother Mangkia took all of the island of Butaritari south of Tanimaiaki as their private share, & they lived in the village called Butaritari.
- ⑨ At that time the chieftains of Bern, Kaitu and Haakeia, had set out with a great host and conquered every island of the group as far north as Marakei. They were preparing to set out from Marakei to overcome Butari.

Tai and Makia. Na Atanga grew alarmed.

(10) Mankia, the brother of Na Atanga, had grown into a terrible man. He was a giant; his teeth were as long as a child's fingers; and his chief pleasure was to eat human flesh. Everyone hated and feared him. So Na Atanga said to him: "You shall go as a messenger to Kaitu and Haakeia, taking gifts with you; and you shall prevent them from making war upon our land."

So Mankia set out in a canoe, with a crew of giant stature. They did not sail, but paddled the whole 60 miles to Marakei; and when they came there, they were told that Kaitu + Haakeia were at Tarawa. So they paddled another 40 miles to Betio. And when they came to Betio, they learned that the chiefs were at Tardtai; so they paddled another 15 miles to Taratai. There they landed, and so amazed the Bernam by their stature and fierce manners that they were willing to promise not to invade Butaritari, for they said within them, "Are all the warriors of Butaritari like these?" So Mankia gave them the presents he had brought—Te Baraitoa (the hood) and te kie ni Karaba (the mat of invisibility), which wearing, a man became invisible to his fellows.

(11) Then Mankia and his men set forth to Sorthward. They never returned to Butaritari, but went to Abemama,

where they settled. Mangkia became the ancestor of the High Chiefs of Abemama.

- (12) Na Atanga lived and died High Chief of Butaritari and Makin. He had three children: the eldest Korrabi, a man; the second Kakiaba, a man; the third Nei Mauri-te-neo, a girl.

Korrabi lived at Pongaita; he was disliked by women and few people liked to live in his settlement. Kakiaba lived at Tebukintake, and had a large harem and settlement, for he was beloved.

So Korrabi was bitterly jealous, and made war on his brother: but he was defeated and fled to Abaiang, where his descendants still live.

- (13) So Kakiaba remained as High Chief on Butaritari and Makin.

- (14) Buratas was the eldest son of Kakiaba (see genealogy). The descendants of the various chiefs who had been appointed (see part 7) by his grandfather began to be too powerful and restless; so he decided to exterminate them. First he made war on Makin, and conquered the descendants of Karibantarawa. He killed every man, woman & child of the family, to the latest born.

Next he wiped out the Kuma chiefs, descendants of Ioanea. Only two were saved alive, Kbai and Mataianti, because they alone knew the magic connected with a man's initiation ceremonies.

Then followed the extermination of the Kenea and Tanimaiaki chieftains, in the same manner.

(15) When this was done Bunatas went to live at Makin, while his father Kakiāba remained on Butaritari, with his other six children.

(16) One of Kakiāba's favorite resting places was the islet of Bikāti; on the lagoon reef of Butaritari. He spent long months there, and neglected the affairs of Butaritari more and more as he grew older. This gave the opportunity needed by the slave class to make a conspiracy to overthrow the ruling chief. A slave named Itinua was leader of the plot. During one of Kakiāba's absences, the people rose and entering the King's settlement, speared all the occupants, including the wives & children of the King. Only two of his children escaped the slaughter, Tatabaka and Te-tibo-n-nea, who had been adopted by some of the slaves and were hidden by them.

So the insurgents took possession of the whole island, while Kakiāba remained in fear on Bikāti.

(17) When Bunatas, his eldest son, heard the news on Makin he collected all his people and made a swift descent by night on the settlement of Kenea. He found Itinua in the maneaba all unready for battle; he himself had few people with him; neither side dared to face the issue, and the meeting

resulted only in the exchange of a few words. Then Bunatao returned unopposed to his canoes and sailed to the village of Butaritari. Thence he sent messengers to Ukiangang, and in 12 hours had gathered together a formidable army to meet the forces of Tinua.

He began by searching out every relation and friend of Tinua who could be found in Ukiangang and Butaritari settlements, and putting them to death. Then he & his men marched up to the northern part of Tanimaiaki district. Tinua with his hastily gathered faction came south from Kenea to meet him, & a battle was fought between the two places. A crushing defeat was inflicted on Tinua; and every member of his utu, on male & female sides, was put to death.

After this, Kakiaba asked Bunatao to remain as High Chief of Butaritari; but he preferred Makin, and abandoned ~~his~~ his claim to the kingship of the larger island, which reverted then to his younger brother Titi-bo-n-nea.

(18) But after a while Bunatao began to be jealous of his brother; he chafed when he saw the food of Makin being sent as High Chief-right to Titi-bo-n-nea. So he decided to make war upon him.

When he came to Butaritari, his father met him, and using fair words persuaded him to go and make war upon another island instead of his own flesh

and blood. After a hot discussion, Bunatao consented to attempt the conquest of Marakei.

Arrived at Marakei, he does not seem to have made war upon the people. Tradition says that he landed and persuaded many warriors to join him in a war against his brothers. After a short time, he led his force northward and made for the land at the place called Nakirors or Butaritari. His canoes had been sighted long before, and a force descended upon the shoal to prevent his landing. A bloody battle was fought in the shallows called Te-bike-ni-mone. Both sides fought to exhaustion without a definite result. Then Bunatao consented to parley with his father and brothers.

As a result, he sent the remnant of his host back to Marakei, and ~~remained~~^{stayed} in peace with his people. Eventually he returned to Makin, and became their High Chief: his descendants in the male line remain so until this day.

(Note. This tale is absolutely tabu in conversation from para. 16 onwards, as it deals with a crisis in which the High Chiefs were nearly overthrown.)

⑯ Teanoki, son of Kitibonaea, seems to have ruled in peace, and so did his descendants, Teahu-ma-teatao and

I went here account of Teitiomaroa
9 was with his wife's people

Teitiomaroa. But family jealousy was again aroused in the fourth generation from Tei-bo-n-nea. Kaiia I, the son of Te-i-ti-ma-rooa was High Chief, when Ibeatu, his father's brother's son, began to make trouble. He went about the island boasting that he would soon be King. Kaiia went to Ibeatu's father and attempted to make peace, but the old man was powerless to restrain his son. So Kaiia decided on war. He led a small host to Buanki, the home-place of Ibeatu, and attacked him in daylight. Guns had lately arrived in Butantani. One of Kaiia's men, named Roroa, with his first shot put a bullet through Ibeatu's head. The High Chief's people then went forward to make an end of the whole faction. But when Ibeatu's father saw his son fall, he ran forward and setting his heel upon the dead man's head, said, "You have killed the offender, my son and your brother. I am your father's brother, I beg you to stay your anger." At this Kaiia was ashamed to go further: he slew no more, but he took possession of the lands of Ibeatu, with those of the rest of that branch and made the ^{except one, his first cousin Neppah who he married} owners slaves, ~~then~~ whom he descendants, who number 60 odd are slaves to this day, although quite closely related to the High Chief. The last scene in this drama was enacted before the Lands Commission in 1922, when the descendants of Ibeatu claimed to

reenter as chiefs upon their lost lands.
The answer was a lemon.

- (20) Kaisa I died without issue, and was succeeded by his younger brother Burimoa, who was ruling in the 'Eighties when Stevenson visited Butaritari, and his distant kinsman Biwaka was High Chief of Abemana. Burimoa saw the coming of the Flag in 1892 & was the first native Magistrate to be appointed by Mr Swain. His son Tabu succeeded him but did not live very long. Tabu's son is now High Chief - a man of 40 odd, who is childless. The chiefship will pass if he dies without issue to his brother Akoi, who is also childless; and after him to the third brother Koriri, and his male issue.

The traditions concerning the origin and ancestry of all Gilbertine clans are more or less secret. But there is a vast difference in the degree of secrecy with which they are guarded, as between the clan of Karongoa-n-nea and all the other social groups of the islands. The traditions of most Gilbertine clans are not, and were never, very jealously concealed. Although a man would not go so far, perhaps, as to coach a stranger in the lore of his clan, he would have no objection against discussing it openly before the old men of the mancala. It was not sacred to him, nor was it kept hidden from any member of his own social group.

But with Karongoa-n-nea it was different. Not only was it forbidden for a member of this clan to discuss the ancestry and early history of his group before an audience of outsiders; he must also keep it secret from his fellow clansmen. Only the senior branch was supposed to possess this information, and although the elder might pass it on to several people of his own generation,

He had the power of forbidding these to communicate it even to their children. He himself would pass it ^{as a rule} only to his eldest son, or if he had no sons to the senior representative of the collateral line who would succeed to the eldership of the clan. He might, however, communicate it to his daughter, generally the youngest, to "console her for a small inheritance of land". In this case, the daughter would be sure of honour in her generation, for she would have to be referred to as an authority when her father died. But on pain of becoming maraia (accused) she might not impart the tradition to her own children, since these by their father would be members of another clan.

Only the traditions of Karongoa-n-nea, therefore, among all the Gilbertese clans, may be regarded as truly secret. These are most difficult of access, even today, when the ancient reserves are fast dying and the old teachings discarded as valueless.

Bern conquerors on Marakei.

	<u>Tauakoni name</u>	<u>Land</u>
Brothers	Katameana	Awian
	{ Taukorini	Onabike
	{ Iktabea	Onabike
Brothers	{ Ikkatabana	Marna
	{ Ikkabeni	Marna
	Kairo	Tirokoni boran
	Ikewekewe	Teboru
	Iataona	Inim'ans
Brother + Sister	{ Ranaatas	Bino
	{ Nei Temaa	Ikitantano
Bern		Abentana
Kaotaria (a Marshall man settled in Abemana who followed the war)		Rawcaai
Kaotinica		Nanonteo
Sister of Kaoturia	Nei Taabiria	Hontetia
	Itonania	Teabike

In Rinourua with a small company of the original inhabitants remained at sufferance on Talenteaba. There were also a few left on the east side of the island, but most of them fled in their canoes and were never seen again.

Taneutoa-ni-meas

Te Kewekewe

~~Te Ubanaba~~~~Te Bonuinaue~~

Rānaatao

Generation from Barn conquest on Tarakes

Taneutoa ni meas

1. Taneatao

2. Rānaatao

3. Te Kewekewe

4. Tabua

5. Mankua

6. Hei Reei

7. Te Manukua

8. Te Bārea

9. Te Kirei

10. Te Tiebinoka

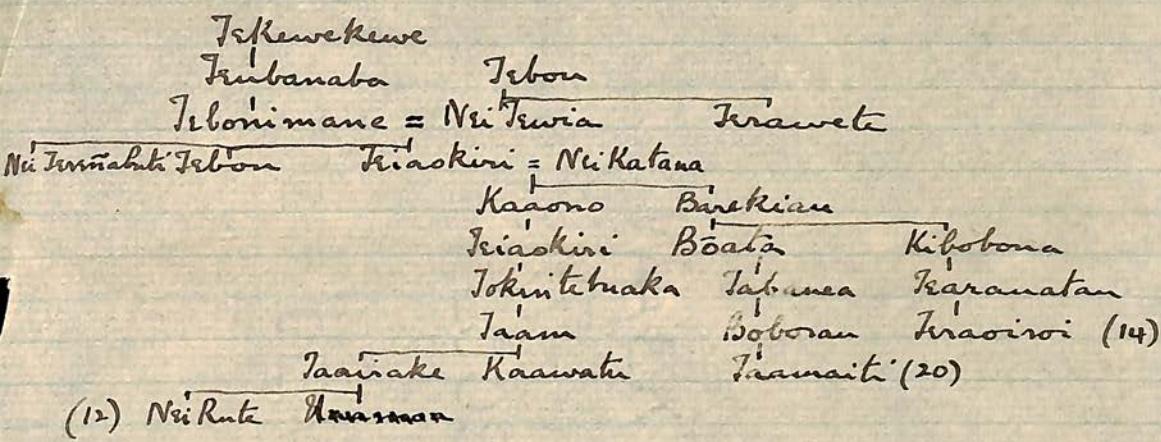
11. Te Rubea (11 years in 1922)

Te Kewekewe

Te Ubanaba = Nei Kuau of Kenea, But.

Te Bonuinaue Te Titinaan

Genealogy from the time of Tskewekewe, the first Conqueror on Marakei from Bern.



F'm The numbers in brackets indicate the approximate ages of living persons c. 1922.

(R.A.W.)

The advent of European.

About 80 to 100 years ago there were no Europeans on Butaritari or Rakiraki. During the reign of Teiti-mavoa the first European is said to have arrived at this time, although the people were cannibals, they lived fairly peacefully and did not practice cannibalism unless forced to by lack of food. A ship arrived and a member of the crew was purposely left ashore and left while the ship sailed away. This man was known by the natives as "Bob". He had no possession of any kind, not even stores and he was forced to live with the natives in TAKARAKINTONGA. Perhaps the natives held him in awe because of his long beard which is said to have reached nearly to his waist. He soon learned how to eat toddy and it ^{was} apparently not long before he discovered that toddy allowed to ferment made a potent alcoholic beverage. [Robert Gray (abreved)]

In return for the hospitality of the natives, he is said to have taught them three things. Probably, he taught them many more but the following three seemed to have stuck in the mind of any old story-teller. (1) How to make a mosquito net. (2) How to make a lamp & (3) How to drink sour toddy.

The native idea of a mosquito net before Bob's arrival was a small erection like a tent with a ridge pole made of a sleeping mat & which accommodated only one person. Bob apparently manufactured a large square affair which allowed room for two or more people. The only means of illumination which the natives had was by keeping fires going all the time. If the fire died there was no light. He made fire by rubbing two pieces of wood together.

Bob used a half clam shell filled with coconut oil in which was the pounded up dried sheath of

of the spalle of the coconut (TE RORO) which was weighted at one end by means of a stone serving as a weight. Bouts of drinking Rum Toddy seemed to pass away a lot of spare time.

After some considerable time another ship arrived looking for Bob. They gave him clothing and took him away off the island. Before he went, in return for the kindness he had received he gave a small iron ring to the man with whom he lived in order that he might make a knife to cut his toddy up to this time toddy was cut by means of a small shell sharpened on coral stone. This toddy cutter was known as TE KAKATTI and this word is used even still for a toddy cutting knife. For working coconut wood for building Canoes, making weapons etc., a piece of sharpened clam shell was used.

Later on a third ship arrived whose name the natives remember as Kabunase. He it was who brought tobacco to Butaitasi. This he traded for coconut oil.

The King - Teitimaroa was the first to have tobacco and it was made a law that if any native acquired tobacco that native was to bring it to the King to sample first. This custom was known as TOTOMATANIWI. This was all right when the people of the King's village came singly to his house. But a crowd of people from far away villages arrived with their tobacco one day and the King had so much smoke that he was violently sick & fainted whereupon he abolished the custom of Totomataniwi.

After this many ships arrived for the purpose of trading & acquiring oil. The pots which are now at Kiebu were first landed at Butaitasi so that the natives could use as coconut oil. Late copra was wanted and the pots, no longer required, were taken

to Kiebu for the purpose of holding rain water on account of the difficulty in getting good well water.

From one visiting vessel a man whom the natives called Koakoa, and who informed the natives that he came from Parramatta was left ashore at the small island of Tukunese in the Batantasi lagoon and he opened a trading store. For copia he traded such things as rifles & ammunition, food, canaus whisky, gin & rum. There was, thereafter, much drunkenness & fighting & many people were killed. The cannon, some of which were quite big affairs were used for breaking at noise & frightening people [Rubid Rundell]

On one occasion a ship came to Leklangang and many Batantasi people went on board. A sailor prepared to fire a cannon and when the people saw this they jumped overboard & stayed under water in order not to hear the explosion. One man - Tokaman - stayed on the ship. After the explosion the natives came to the surface except one man - NAEKANT, who was slow in coming up. Tokaman dived into the water & met Naekeanti under the surface, intimated to him that the cannon was to be fired again whereupon Naekeanti stayed under water & was drowned. Tokaman and all the other natives climbed back on board & while there stole as much as they were able before going ashore in their canoes. Tokaman and another native Tenuenwe went ashore in one canoe & proceeded to clear the things they had stolen to one another. Tenuenwe produced an earthenware cup whereupon Tokaman said it was a poisonous thing & ran away & hid himself in such a position as to be able to spy on Tenuenwe. Tenuenwe believed that the cup was poisonous & also ran away whereupon Tokaman returned & stole the cup for himself. The flag was brought to B'ao by Capt Davis who hoisted it at

16. Klang Kritikus Mr. Genghis was first A.O.
The play of the humorist

Yakshas were a nightmarish crowd who fought in
the darkness. They had lost their way to the world
(a ghost, indeed) who to do. He who believed in
the idea ready of adaptation came out as so few others
and qualified them to be a good quality.
NEI VIMANAGI. And who did NABEQUE use a shadow of
GIFI MATEKAI to do who had many followers at
GUD LALA. And he held at Puri. All his humorists have
been great - TABUTA, NADA MUDRI, RANA NIKHING +
NEI VIMANAGI. And who did NABEQUE use a shadow of
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wife was a native of Bern called TEWEIA. Their son was called TANINTOA (Note ATIRABABA was the name of the place at Bern where the Waueaba was buried down).

When Riamateka's wife died he married hei KIRIRERE at Taabit Caea.