

Maneaba Tabian.

1. Karōnoa-n-nea: ti moan taeka: ti motui taeka
When he went to maneaba to assembly,
he wore a bunna ni kamaraia of te
Kakoko. None might contradict him:
He also carried on his hand a taemataao.
Before the council he made a tabanea
called the taemataao to clear the way
(Kaitiaka maain) for his words. The
tabanea was done sitting, rubbing the
palms together. When done the palms
were thrown out towards the people
with words, "Speak for I will hear (anaia,
ba N na oio).

ti moan tiva: ~~the first fruits of the~~
~~fruits harvest: first fruits of coconuts~~
~~after drought.~~ The first thatch over this botie.
"Iai Iai n te maneaba." Bunn-ai Jaamo.

2. Karōnoa-raereke: ti inaai: the women ^{of the} maia
village in general made these screens of
leaf: but the men of Karōnoa-raereke
brought them to maneaba and put them
on the floor with tabanea. The first
inaais to be laid made a line down the
w. side of the central pillars: the second
down the e. side. The rest followed in
any order: the laying down began at south.
Karōnoa-raereke brought te kuonaine and
te banikunaimai for their tabanea, which
was done with the object of preventing all
dissension among those who sat on the
inaai. Thatchers of the maneaba, coverers
of the ridge pole: but they supervised this work.

~~Nukumanea and Tabakobao~~ united in the duty of distributing the food. They received the food in the middle of the manabala and divided it in order prescribed.

only; they deputed Nukumanea to climb on the rafters and do the work.

3. When Nukumanea climbed to ridge pole to sew on the covering all people sat in absolute silence in their places. The work began at northern end. If the thatching awl broke during the sewing it was a sign of war or an arrival from the sea, such as stranded porpoise or strangers. If awl broke at the north end, the event was a long way off (ē inira Tabiani). If awl broke in middle of roof, the porpoise would come or teikabuti. If the awl lasted whole until towards the south end, the event would happen very soon.

The ascent was made from the N.E. stone of the maneaba: the descent from S.W. stone.

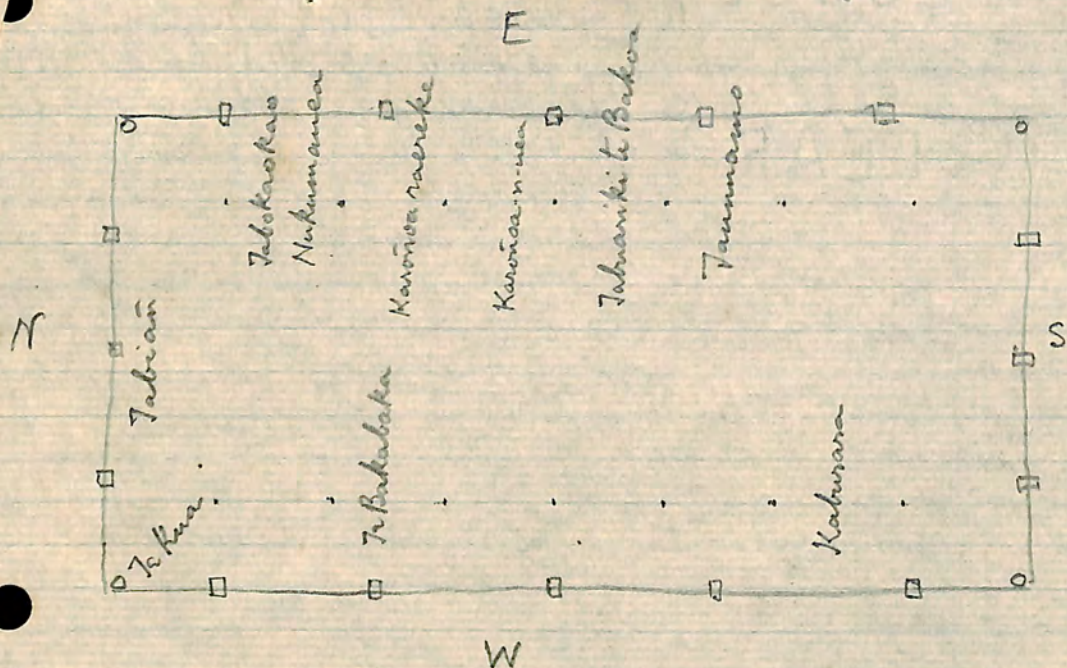
When covering of pole was done, the maai were laid.

The covering was done at noon exactly, in order that the sun might look straight down on your work. The sun was the helper (rao - friend or companion) of the builder of the maneaba, and filled him with skill at his work. It was necessary for him to be near. (ē makaki Tani be Ramaraia): the

maneaba would not be mauri (blessed or healthy) if sun was not your companion.

4. Abalon the first divider; the first remnants.
4. Tabukaakao the receivers of food and distributors for North end: Kammaetoa for the South end. Tabukaakao messengers.
5. Tabukaakao was the lifter of the food. These two clans divided between them the remnants of the food. Tekirikiri shared this.
6. Tabian: second share in feast. Head of porpoise.
7. Tikua. Tail of porpoise.
8. Tebakabaka. Third share in feast.
9. Abalon: the killers of the sun (masters of eclipse).
10. Maema: the restorers of the sun. In the maneaba the covers of the ridge-pole. (See 3).
11. Kaburara: te boti ni Kaiwa: if war was imminent these people divined the lucky day.
12. Tamawaka, same as Kammaetoa and Tewini.
13. Keaki: right of first entry into maneaba.
- 14.

Mameaba: Marathi (Fabian style)



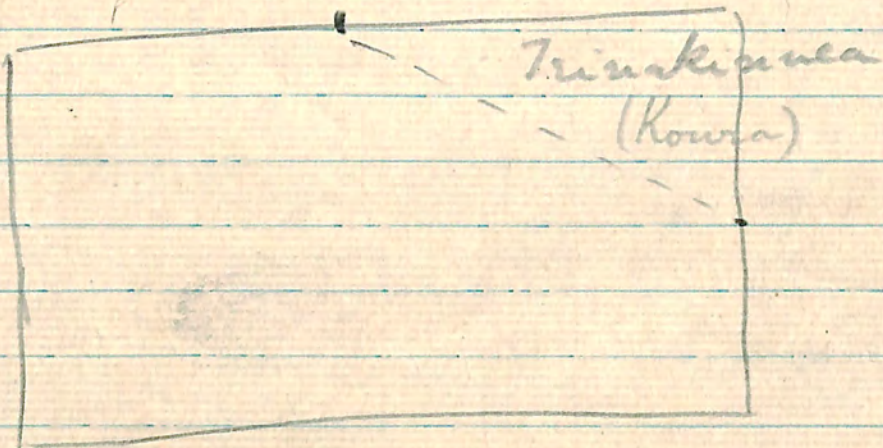
1. Every man sits in his boti with contribution before him.
2. T. Bababaka is divider of feast. He stands and makes remarks either complimentary or otherwise about the food brought by the various boti. He picks up the contribution of each household and choosing an old man belonging to a boti distant from him (so that voices may be audible to all) he says "This is the babai of So, so". The old man thus addressed passes appropriate comment, and the next man's contribution is then considered. Young men of the T. Bababaka boti carry the contributions individually to their spokesman in the middle of the mameaba, where the food is piled.
3. The order in which food is taken from the various

loti is as follows: 1. Karōōoa; 2. Tabian;
3. Te Bakabaka; 4. Taunamo; 5. Tabuaniki te
Bakon; 6. Te Kua; 7. Tabokookoo; 8. Nukumanua.

Mameaba.

There was a mameaba at
Butaritari before coming from Samoa
called Makuanterara. Stood at Pitorua.
Only 4 mabi.

Kouwa
Kouwamea
Kouwai



15.9 Ceremony at the erection of the boua Tai

The erection of the middle monolith, or stud (boua), in the eastern side of the maneaba, which is called Tai (Sun), was attended by a special ceremony, in which the senior male member of the clan of Karongoa n uea officiated.

The stone was stood upright in its hole, and ^{all the people} workers ^{ing} on the maneaba left their occupations, ^{and formed} to collect ⁱⁿ a complete circle around it. The officiator then with his hands scooped the loose earth into the hole around the base of the stone, and when this was done ^{he} seated himself up against the base, facing east, with the stone in front of him. Patting the earth with the open palms of his hands, he intoned: ~~as follows:~~

ital

I kaneenea, I kanenea Tai i aon ati ni kaneneana; I kaneenea, I kanenea Tai i aon ati ni kaiboana; I kaneenea, I kanenea Tai i aon ati ni kamakana. I kanenea, I kaibo; I kanenea, I karoko; I kanenea, I kamaka.

I make vigorous, I make vigorous the Sun upon the rock of his vigour; I make vigorous, I make vigorous the Sun upon the rock of his separation from the horizon; I make vigorous, I make vigorous the Sun upon the rock of his blazing. I make vigorous, I make separate from the horizon; I make vigorous, I make to arrive; I make vigorous, I cause to blaze.

This ^{was} ~~is~~ repeated three times, and ^{ed} the workers then ^{broke} break their circle and return to their various occupations.

The ritual performed is evidently closely connected with the ideas contained in the story of Bue's visit to the Sun, in which ~~In that story~~ six rocks are mentioned as the 'stopping places' of the sun in his course through the heavens: ^{Three are below the horizon, and three are above. The incantation above refers only to three, ^{reproduced here} ~~the~~ ^{rocks:} the first 'the rock of his vigour', which is ~~to~~ ^{say} the rock on which he acquires his first strength for the day's journey; the second, 'the rock of his separation from the horizon'; and the third 'the rock of his blazing'.}

M. W. ... in ... 1980. 20-1.

Makeia of Betio, aged about 60

When the interior of the maneaba was complete and the roof finished, the ridge-pole was covered, as on Marakei. The Master Thatcher mounted on the roof and sat on the ridge-pole facing east, in the middle first. The time must be high noon. Stabbing the ridge-pole with his awl [as described ^{in 15.8}], ~~for Marakei~~, he repeated the following:

ital

cross #

N nangi tiba - I ti ewaria taubukini maneabaia Tai, Namakaina. Angangaia tan-tituo ma tan-omaneaba ba te ukeukenanti. E tei / ona ba te nari, e baraki ba te ba i nukan te aba. Ia? Betio: ni karoko roro, ma uaroro, tenroro, aroro, namaroro, onororo, itiroro, wanroro, ruaroro; e toki, e aki bua maneabau. I aki bua, I aki maraia mai nanoni bain te anti-n-uea, Nei Tituabine; te kai mai karawa, ba aia kai Nawai ma Aorao, te I-Aoniman, te kai taukarawa; te rika ni kamauri. Karaoia, karaoia, nanon Tabuariki; karaoia, karaoia, nanon Auriaria; karaoia, karaoia, nanon Taburimai. A raoi; e aki bua maneabaia.

I am just about to - I only stab it the ridge-pole of their maneaba Sun, Moon. The givers of gifts and the enclosers of the maneaba the whirlwind. It stands its enclosure even the smooth stone, it is protected even the rock in the midst of the land. Where? Betio: until a generation, with two generations, three generations, four generations, five generations, six generations, seven generations, eight generations, nine generations; it is ended, it is not lost my maneaba. I am not lost, I am not accursed from within hand of the ruler of spirits, Nei Tituabine; the instrument from heaven, even their instrument Nawai and Aorao, the inhabitants of Aoniman, the instrument ruling heaven; the thatching awl of making safe. Do it, do it, in [the name of] Tabuariki; do it, do it, in [the name of] Auriaria; do it, do it, in [the name of] Taburimai. They are at peace; it is not lost their maneaba.

From Reproduced in Hande 1980: 30-1

15.11 Notes on the Tabiang-style Maneaba

- (1) The first corner-stone was Tabakea at the north-east corner.
- Second, Tituabine at the south-east.
- Third, Teangebo at the north-west.
- Fourth, Teangang at the south-west.
- Fifth, Tai in the middle of the east side.
- Sixth, Namakaina in the middle of the west side.

- (2) Types ^(or styles and heights) of maneaba:
- (a) Tabiang - narrow (maki).
 - (b) Maungatabu - broader.
 - (c) Tokamamao - broader still.
 - (d) Teriamatan - broader still.
 - (e) Tetabakea - broader still.
 - (f) Tabontebike - square, (tabarin).

- (3) (a) Keaki and Karongoa raereke are the Thatchers.
- (b) Bakoa are the Blowers of the Horn.
- (c) Karongoa raereke lay the Inai.

> 2 (4) The Tatanga ^(roof-plate) at the west is called Bakoa.
 That at the east is called Tabakea.
 That at the north is called Tabiang.
 That at the south is called Taboiaki.

> 3 (5) The Inai ^(coconut-leaf mats) were hung first at Tabiang.
 Second, at Karongoa.
 Third, at Bakabaka.
 After that, in any order.

> 4 (6) First in importance in the maneaba was Karongoa.
 Second in importance was Tabiang.

Fin / (2) do not appear to be Types but Styles and Heights

15.12 The Maungatabu-style maneaba

(4) The Maungatabu maneaba is called by the Karongoa group "the enclosure of the Sun and Moon", and the Sun is believed to take vengeance upon any who violate or offend its precincts. Supporting the roof-plate in the middle of the eastern side of this building is a stud named "Sun", against which the people of Karongoa+uea (Karongoa-of-kings) have their hereditary sitting place. Opposite the "Sun", in the middle of the western side, is the stud named "Moon", against which the clans of Ababou and Maerua are seated. ~~It will be remembered that~~ Karongoa Ababou and Maerua have the Sun-totem in common, and they share the monopoly of the Sun-Moon pandanus fructification ritual.

(5) All ceremonial and all speech in the Maungatabu maneaba are subservient to the will of Karongoa+uea, as enunciated by the senior male of the group. This individual is called, at Marakei, when taking part in a ceremonial, "the Sun in the maneaba", an epithet more usually found applied to the whole Karongoa group, collectively considered. It is however, a matter of general belief that the Sun "is over" the individual head of the Karongoa spokesman, and will pierce the navel of any who contradicts him, questions his judgment, expresses the least doubt about his rendering of any tradition, or attempts to usurp any of his privileges within the sacred building.

(5) The spokesman wears on his head, while officiating in the maneaba, a fillet of coconut leaf called buna+n Taai, the fillet of the Sun. He sits alone, slightly in advance of his fellow-clansmen, upon occasions of a ceremonious nature, and opens proceedings by muttering the magico-religious formula called te taematao, ^{whose} ~~whereof the~~ object is ^{to clean} the path of his words² and to protect him from interruption or contradiction. The formula is recited with the head bowed, while the hands are slowly rubbed together, palm on palm; after three repetitions, the performer throws his hands forward, palms up, elbows against body, and raising his head exclaims, 'E oti Taai' (the Sun ^{appears} ~~is seen~~); after which the debate or ceremonial proceeds.

(7) The ^{clan} ~~sib~~ of Karongoa+raereke is the companion and acolyte of Karongoa+n[#] ~~Footnote 145~~ ^{Footnote 145} ~~acolyte~~. The native term is (tabonibai = finger, or which is to say, servant) ^{equals sign}

uea in the Maunga+tabu building: its members carry messages from the sacred clan to other groups and, in the Northern Gilberts, its elder

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"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+raereka^e is to take a share of
 the first portion of any feast, which is the perquisite of Karongoa+n['] ^{# uea}
 Its duty is to supervise the laying and maintenance of the coconut-leaf
 mats (inaai) with which the floor of the maneaba is covered, and to
 perform magico-religious rituals for preventing dissension in the sac^{red}
 edifice. The time for such rituals is the hour when the (Sun) is
 approaching ^{its} ~~his~~ zenith; and among the material used is a kuo-n-aine -
 a cup made of half a coconut shell wherein oil has been boiled - which
 vessel is considered highly important because it formed the magic boat
 of the (Sun-child) named Bue, the ancestor of the Ababou clan, when he
 visited his burning sire in the ^e East.

(5)

Ababou and Maerua

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

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

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

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

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

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

see the right
Don't type
footnotes

¹⁵⁰
Footnote 8. ~~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.~~

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

~~Footnote 9. 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.~~

22
~~Footnote p. 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.~~

← ~~(12)~~ Maunga-tabu building rituals,

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

ital

Ba N nangi tiba koroia, tatangani maneabaia Tei, Namakaina; ba maneabaia Auriaria, Nei Tevenei, Riki, Nei Tituabine. E toki tera? E toki te bakarere. E toki tera? E toki te kainanti. E toki tera? E toki te maraia. E toki tera? E toki te tiringaki. E toki-i-i-i, e toki, ~~e~~ toki -e-e-e, e toki. Te mauri ao te raoi.

For the time has come for me to cut the roof-plate of the maneaba of the Sun and Moon; even the maneaba of Auriaria, Nei Tevenei, Riki, Nei Tituabine. What ceases? Violence ceases. What ceases? Evil magic ceases. What ceases? Being under a curse ceases. What ceases? Being smitten ceases. It ceases-i-i-i, it ceases, it ceases-e-e-e, it ceases. Prosperity and peace.

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

F'n. Grimble 1931:219.

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 Tapontebiki. That called Maungatabu is the only one of the four in respect of which I have been able to collect particulars.

Notes

- 1 Relevant excerpts from Notes in this Section concerned with maneaba building are reproduced or epitomized in Maude 1980, which is a general account of maneaba construction written for the Gilbertese.
- 2 The principles governing succession to the boti and its headship are discussed in Maude 1963:25-8 and those concerned with the special case of adopted persons in Maude and Maude 1931:232 and Maude 1963:28.
- 3 For the ceremony of distribution in a Tabontebike maneaba see Maude 1963:57-9.
- 4 For Tetake and ^{nei}Tituabine on Makin see Grimble 1933-34:109. The Makin narrative concerning the original maneaba on Beru appears garbled as from Beru tradition, which is quite explicit, we find that the first maneaba was built by Teweia at Tabontebike; the second later by Koura at Aoniman; and the third by Tewatu (or Towatu) of Matang later still at Tabiang - see Maude 1963:11, 17-18; 1980:6. In later years Grimble accepted Beru tradition as correct - p. . . .
- 5 The best account of maneaba sanctity is given by Grimble on pp. . . .
- 6 *By far the best*
~~A more accurate~~ description of boti divisions in the Butaritari and Makin maneaba is on pp. . . . The rest of this fieldnote has been ignored by Grimble, presumably because he considered that his informant was wrong: it is hardly likely that boti allocations based on rank would be exogamous and traditions affirm that canoe crests originated in various places, but that Makin was not one of them - Grimble 1921:81-5. The boti badges are, however, interesting and may perhaps be verified by further research. For the weapons used see Murdoch 1923:174-5. - Ed.
- 7 Grimble 1931:212; Rosemary Grimble (ed.) 1972:132-5.

8 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. That called Maungatabu is the only one of the four in respect of which I have been able to collect particulars.

9 Grimble 1931:219.

15.12 The Maungatapu-style maneaba
~~Notes on the Maungatapu-style maneaba~~

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

(a) General description.

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

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

~~Footnote 42 p. 1. for the meaning~~

STP.1

of marais.

to sudden death or sickness.

(3) Each totem[#] group has its hereditary sitting^{place} room in the maneaba, and its peculiar functions or privileges in connection with the building of the edifice, or its maintenance, or the ceremonials ^{that} which take place beneath its roof. ~~As account of the allocation of a sitting room, with~~

~~its privileges, to the ancestor Tawatu of Catang has already been studied~~

~~Notes in Part II, Appendix 1, paragraphs 11-12~~

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

Covering the Ridge-pole

15.7

Putting the Ridge-cap on the Maneaba

Marakei

This is done at midday with the sun directly overhead, and as the ^{ridge-cap} ~~worker~~ works with his thatching awl he chants:

ital

Ba N nangi tiba - I ti ewaria ririka ni maneabaia
Tai ma Namakaina. E toki tera? E toki te mate.
E toki tera? E toki te aoraki. E toki te anangan
taetae mai aon te aba aio. Ia? Marakei. I aki bua
ao I aki taro. Te mauri naba, maneabau - o - o - o!

The ^{cap} ~~thatcher~~ climbs up to his place on the ridge-pole at the north end, from the east side; and ^{he} climbs down at the south end on the west side.

← 15.8 Covering ~~by~~ the Ridge-pole by ^{the} people of M^raerua

The people of the Clan Division M^raerua ^{clan} in the Maneaba claimed equally with ^{those} ~~the people~~ of Karongoa ^{##} and Tabukaokao the privileged duty of supervising the covering of the ^{maneaba's} ridge-pole. This was the last work in the construction of the Maneaba save only the shaving of the ^e ~~beams~~ and the burning of the ends of thatch cut off in giving them a straight edge.

The people of M^raerua, unlike the Karongoa [#] ~~traereke~~ folk, did not consider it necessary to wait until the sun was precisely at noon before beginning the ceremonial [?] "covering". Any hour between sunrise and noon was permissible with them, their opinion being that the sun was ^m "Matoa", or strong, at this period of the day. But the ceremonial must be finished before the sun passed his zenith, because he became ^m "marau", or weak, as soon as he entered the western half of the heavens, and his preserving influence ^m upon the Maneaba and the workers began to wane in strength.

The M^raerua ^{workers}clan mounted to the roof of the Maneaba, ~~as~~ ⁹
the Karongoa clan, from the north-east corner of the edifice, ~~The~~
actual workers mounted first in single file, taking with them their
tools and the woven coconut leaves ^{to be} used for the ridge-capping.
The first man to mount proceeded along the ridge-pole to the south
ern end; the rest followed ^{in single file} him and took up their stations at
intervals along the ridge from south to north. When all were in
place, the senior male of the clan climbed up to the apex of the
northern gable and straddled the ridge with his face to southward;
he carried three new thatching awls in his right hand, made of
Pandanus wood, which had grown on the eastern side of the ⁱIsland.
He ^{instructed} caused the most northerly of his workers to lay a piece of
capping in position before him.

All the people gathered then in the Maneaba below,
sitting in their clan-places (boti). Absolute silence was
preserved. Aloft on the ridge-pole the master-capper raised one
of his thatching awls in his right hand, and stabbing the piece of
ridge-capping before him, first on the east side of the ridge and
then on the west side in slow alternation, recited the following
words: ~~A~~

ital []
Ba N nangi tiba - I ti ewaria taubukin umaia Taburimai
ma Auriaria, Nei Tewenei, Riki ma Nei Tituabine. Ririkan
umau tera? Te karau. Ririkan umau te buaka; ririkan
umau karawa. Ba rokirokin umaia Tai ma Namakaina te ririka
- ēē, te ririka - ōō.

insert dashes []
For I am about to - I only pierce the ridge-pole of their
house Taburimai and Auriaria, Nei Tewenei, Riki and Nei
Tituabine. The covering of my house [from] what? The
rain. The covering of my house [from] storm; the covering
of my house [from] heaven. Even the screen of their house
Sun and Moon the covering - ēē, the covering - ōō. *insert dashes* []

← He uttered these words three times in a loud voice at the northern end; then proceeding to the middle he repeated the ceremony there, this time facing east; and last of all he went through the ritual a third time at the south end, facing north.

If the whole ceremony could be completed without the breaking of one of the ceremonial thatching awls, it was a sign of prosperity and peace. The master-capper would call aloud to the assembled people below, 'Te mauri ma te raui ma^hne-o. Kam na Kara i a^hni maneaba^hmi aio^h' (Safety and peace, men. You shall grow old beneath this your Maneaba).

But often an awl would break off short as the ^{master-}capper stabbed against the ridge-pole, and the part of the ridge against which it snapped was important in the prognostication. If it broke at the north end, some important event in the distant future might be expected; this might be sickness, famine or war, or it might be something exceedingly fortunate such as the stranding of a shoal of porpoise^s. If the awl broke in the middle of the roof, a calamity might be expected in the near future, ~~while~~ in the south end the

snapping

13.

snapping of the awl predicted a trouble ^{that} which would be overcome.
 These rules of divination apply to a maneaba built at the north end
 of an ⁱ island; they were exactly reversed if the maneaba was at the
 south end, or southward of the maneaba of the hereditary enemies of
 the builders.

When the ceremonial was done, the ^{master-}capper descended from the
 roof by way of the south-west corner of the building, while the
 workers proceeded with the sewing of the ridge-capping. When this
 was done, the ^{master-}capper again mounted to the ridge carrying with him four
 unhusked coconuts. The [']face['] of one of these he struck off at the
 northern end of the ridge, and sprinkling the water over the ridge-
 capping there he muttered the following words: /

(ital)
 []
me

Bubunai aba, bubunai aba. Bubunai irou, bubunai irou,
 bubunai irou. Ko kangikang kanam rara. Matu, matu,
 anti ni kaaoraki; matu, matu, anti ni kamamate; matu,
 matu, anti ni kamibuaka; matu, matu. Baraki te unene,
 b'e a bungi te aba.

Smoke of fire, smoke of fire. Smoke of fire with me,
 smoke of fire with me, smoke of fire with me. Thou
 eatest thy food the blood. Sleep, sleep, spirits of
 sickness; sleep, sleep, spirits of killing; sleep,
 sleep, spirits of evil dreaming; sleep, sleep. Over
 turned is the foundations, for the land is ready.

(19)

← There seems little doubt from the wording of this spell that ⁽¹²⁾ the coconut represents the head of a man and the water his blood, which is sprinkled upon the capping as it's food, in the nature of a sacrificial offering to bring good fortune. The practice of human sacrifice and especially the sacrifice of heads at the building of houses and canoes, in the betel-region of Melanesia, is exceedingly common.

When the first sprinkling was done, the empty nut was rolled down the northern gable of the maneaba to the ground. A second nut was cut and emptied over the ridge a little north of the middle and rolled down the eastern side of the roof; a third was similarly treated a little south of the middle, but was rolled west; and the fourth was rolled south from the south end. If the mouths of all these nuts as they lay on the ground pointed away from the edifice

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edifice it was a sign of peace and good fortune, but if the majority were turned towards the maneaba trouble was to be expected.

Last of all, the edges of the ^eeaves of the maneaba were trimmed by the people of M^raerua. All uneven ends of thatch hanging down were cut off to the straight-edge of a stretched cord. The north end was first trimmed and the trimmings collected in the middle of the northern side, a little clear of the eaves. Similarly, the south, east and west sides were treated. When all four heaps of trimmings were gathered in the respective positions, the senior male of M^raerua set light to them in the order of their cutting, and their combustion was carefully watched. If all the fires died together, neither good nor evil might be expected: if the south or the west fire remained alight while the others died, it was a sign of either war or heavy weather; but if either the north or east fire remained alight after all others, peace and plenty were prognosticated.

Reproduced in Maode 1980: 27-30, 39

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Section Reading

15 The Maneaba →

15.1 The Boti, Succession to

Marakei

The succession to the boti was in the vast majority of cases traced in the male line (i.e. through the father), but the boti of the mother or father's mother was sometimes allotted to several children (generally the juniors) of a numerous family. The mother's boti was considered a tabo ni kamawa (a place to make room) if the father's boti in a particular family group seemed to be in danger of overcrowding.

An adopted child would nearly always transfer to the boti of his adoptor. Supposing the adoptor to be of the same utu as himself, but on the mother's side, a child would thus leave the paternal boti.

Or again, if the adoptor was of the paternal utu, but had himself by adoption or other circumstance changed his boti at an earlier date, the adopted ~~the adopted~~ child would leave the paternal boti.

(1) Karongoa n Uea. Te moan taeka; te motin taeka (the first word; the decision). When he went to the maneaba to an assembly, the head of this boti wore a bunna ni kamaraia made from te kakako. None might contradict him. Before the council he made a tabunea called the taematao to clear the way (kaitiaka i main) for his words. The tabunea was done sitting, while rubbing the palms together. When it was over the palms were thrown out towards the people with the words, ^{take in} "Speak for I will hear" (Anaia, ba N na ongo). He had the first share of the feast (te moan tiba) and the first thatch was placed over his boti. 'Iai Tai n te maneaba' (the Sun is in the maneaba). ~~Bunaia Tamoia.~~

(2) Karongoa Raereke. Te inai: the women of the village in general made these coconut mats, but the men of Karongoa Raereke brought them to the maneaba and put them on the floor with appropriate tabunea. The first inai were laid in a line down the west side of the central pillars, and the second down the east side. The rest followed in any order. The laying down began at the south. Karongoa Raereke brought te kuonaine and te banikiniaimai for their tabunea, which was done with the object of preventing all ^{weia} dissension among those who sat on the inai. They ^{are} thatchers of the maneaba and coverers of the ridge-pole, but they supervised this work only, deputing the men of Nukumauea to climb on the rafters and do the work.

(3) Nukumauea. When Nukumauea climbed the ridge pole to sew on the covering all people sat in absolute silence in their places. The work began at the northern end. If the thatching awl broke during the sewing, it was the sign of war or an arrival from the sea, such as stranded porpoise or strangers. If an awl broke at the north end, the event was a long way off (ingira Tabiang). If the awl broke in the middle of the roof, the porpoise would come, or an ikabuti. If the awl lasted whole until the south end, the event would happen very soon.

The covering was done at noon exactly, in order that the sun might look straight down on the work. The sun was the helper (rao: friend or companion) of the builder of the maneaba, and filled him with skill at his work. It was thus necessary for him to be near (e makiki Tai ba kamarai), for the maneaba would not be mauri (blessed or healthy) if the sun was not his companion.

(4) Ababou were the first dividers of the food and kept the first remnants. Also the 'killers of the sun' (masters of eclipses)

(5) Tabukaokao were the lifters of the food, the receivers and distributors for the north end; Karumaetoa performed the same functions for the south end. Tekirikiri shared this function. Tabukaokao were ^{also} the messengers.

(6) Tabiang had the second share in the feast: the head of the porpoise.

(7) Tekua had the tail of the porpoise.

(8) Tebakabaka had the third share in the feast.

(9) Maerua were the restorers of the sun, and in the maneaba the coverers of the ridge-pole.

(10) Kaburara were te boti ni kaiwa (the boti of diviners). If ²was imminent these people divined the lucky day.

(11) Taurawaka. These people had the same functions as Karu maetoa and Tewiwi.

(12) Keaki had the right of first entry into the maneaba.

(Maueaba)

Samoa, migration from. Butaritari, Makin.

When Ietaake came from Samoa and was killed, it was sought by Nii Tituaabine, whose bird it was. She it was who planted the coconut over the dead bird's body. Nii Baraerae grew from the coconut, and procreated with the maggot of Ietaake. The utu of Koura grew from the union.

Koura, Koura-wa, Koura-iti, Koura-n-nea, Koura-rang, Koura-mai.

The utu migrated to Bem and lived as Kings on the north end. When Tanentoa came to their maueaba they leapt into the rafters and tinitia from overhead. This means that they behaved in an overbearing manner to the other chiefs of Bem. So Tanentoa burned their maueaba and destroyed them with it.

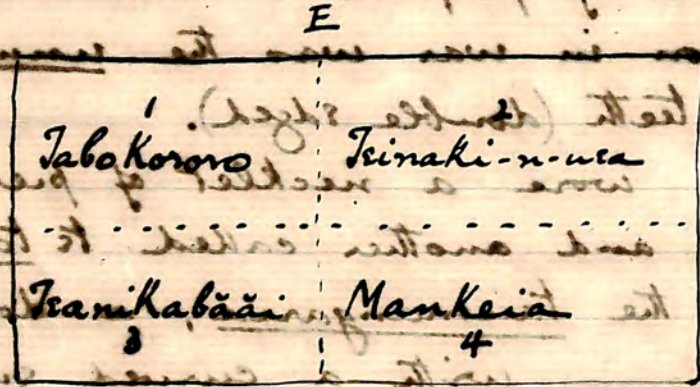
There was now no maueaba on Bem: a new one was built — the original maueaba-ni-Bem used to the present day — according to Makin traditions by the spirits Boniki and Bontabo from Matang of Samoa, under the direction of Towhata of Matang. But Bem tradition tells us that it was Teueia and Teueiantu, the sons of Temata warbwe who did the work.

Maneaba.

The maneaba was an object of the greatest reverence when finally completed. None was allowed to kick or chip or strike with a stick the curb of coral stones that stood around it: nor might a man strike either with his hand or stick one of the studs of the roof. If he did so, he would be thrashed and trampled on by any present. No offence could be taken by his family, even if he were killed, because it was said that in any case he was marai after his offence, and would probably die of some sickness in a short time.

'Iai Iai i nanon te maneaba'.

Maneaba. Butaritari and Makin were certain members of the different tribes of which the members of the divisions of the ancient maneaba of Butaritari and Makin were only four, as in the sketch plan below:-



W

This was the maneaba of Kouva and his people, who are reputed to have been a large bodied, red-skinned folk. They came first to Makin from Samoa, the account of their landing in Samoa is given in the account of the Samoa expedition which was their totem without a doubt. This folk, according to account, had only one deity, the goddess Tityaibiti, whose creature at sea was the stingray, on land the ladybird, and in the air the Red-tailed Tropic Bird.

The coming of the Kouva people from Samoa seems to be a totally different race movement from the coming of the Karongoa people to the more southerly islands of the Group; this will be readily evident from a study of their maneaba.

There are stated to have been only four divisions of the ancient maneaba because there were only four uteri amongst the Kouva people. It is said vaguely that a person of one division never married within his own group, but was obliged to marry into one of the other three divisions. It is not known whether a child succeeded to a place in his mother's or father's division.

There were certain personal ornaments or badges by which the members of the different divisions were recognised.

Tabokoro wore a star-shaped badge of opal shell and necklaces of porpoise or whale-tooth. Their special weapon in war was the unuu, a lance with shark's teeth (double edged).

Teinaki-n-nea wore a necklet of pierced shell called te uba and another called te tanuwa. Their weapon was the tanuwa, a double edged shark's tooth lance with a curved guard.

Mankeia wore the red shell called te nta at the throat and another ornament called Karawa.

Their weapon was a lance called te uai with a double point.

Te uai wore a necklet called te uai and a necklace called te uai. Their weapon was the uai lance.

The general weapon used by all divisions was the Koromatanga, a throwing club.

The tradition is that all the canoe-crews of the Group originated in this manner. The deity of the Koura people, Aki Tituaabua, invented them at Makin and gave them to the four divisions. The original crests given to each division are not known. These crests were made general, when the Koura people left

Butaritari and Makin to "return with their goddess

Tituaabua to Samoa. On their voyage they stopped

at Peru, where they colonised the northern end of the island. They built their maua there, but

were afterwards all killed by Tamaitia of Peru and their crests divided up among Tamaitia's

people, who until then had no divisions into their maneabas and no crests.

Quoted in fall in
Moore 1980: 27-30; 39.

Maneaba. Covering of the ridge pole by people of M'aerna.

The people of the clan division M'aerna in the maneaba claimed equally with the people of Karongoa-n-uea and TabuKaokao the privileged duty of supervising the covering of the ridge-pole. This was the last work in the construction of the maneaba save only the shaving of the eaves and the burning of the ends of thatch cut off in giving them a straight edge.

The people of M'aerna, unlike the Karongoa-n-raerike folk, did not consider it necessary to wait until the sun was precisely at noon before beginning the ceremonial "covering." Any hour between sunrise and noon was permissible with them, their opinion being that the sun was matea or strong at this period of the day. But the ceremonial must be finished before the sun passed his zenith, because he became maran or weak as soon as he entered the western half of the heavens, and his ^{presence} influence upon the maneaba and the workers beaema began to wane in strength.

The M'aerna clan mounted to the roof of the maneaba, as the Karongoa clan, from the north east corner of the edifice. The actual workers mounted first in single file taking with them their tools and the woven coconut leaves used for the ridge-capping. The first man to mount proceeded along the ridge pole to the southern end, the rest followed him and took up their stations at intervals along the ^{ridge} ~~pole~~ from south to north. When all were in place the senior male of the

clan climbed up to the ~~tip~~ apex of the northern gable and straddled the ridge with his face to southward: he carried three new thatching awls in his ^{left} ~~right~~ hand, made of pandanus wood, which had grown on the eastern side of the island. He caused the most northerly of his workers to lay a piece of capping in position before him. All the people gathered then in the maneaba below, sitting in their clan-places (loti).

Absolute silence was preserved. Aloft on the ridge pole the master-capper raised one of his ~~awls~~ thatching awls in his right hand, and stabbing the piece of ridge capping before him first on the east side of the ridge and then on the west side in slow alternation recited the following words:—

Ba N nangi tiba — I ti swar-ia tambuki-n
 For I am about to — I only pierce-it ridge-pole-of
 uma-ia Jaburimai ma Anianin, Mi Kwenei,
 Their house Jaburimai and Anianin, Mi Kwenei,

Riiki ma Mi Titirabine. Ririka-n uma-n
 Riiki and Mi Titirabine. The covering of my house-

tera? Takaran. Ririka-n uma-n te buaka;
 (from) what? The rain. The covering of my house (from) storm;

ririka-n uma-n Karawa. Ba ~~ririka-n~~ rokiroki-n
 the covering of my house (from) heaven. Even The screen of

uma-ia Taai ma Namakaina te ririka-ee, te
 their house Sun and Moon the covering-ee, the

ririka-oo!
 covering-oo!

He uttered these words three times in a loud voice at the northern end; then proceeding to the middle he repeated the ceremony there, ~~and lastly~~ this time facing east; and last of all he went through the ritual a third time at the south end facing north.

If the whole ceremony could be completed without the breaking of ~~the~~ ^{one of the} ceremonial thatching awls, it was a sign of prosperity.

and peace. The master-copper would call aloud to the assembled people below, "Te mauri ma te rahi maane-o! Kam na Kara i aa-ni maneaba-mi aio!" (Safety and peace, men! You shall grow old beneath this your maneaba!)

But often an awl would break off short as the copper stabbed against the ridge pole, and the part of the ridge against which it snapped was important in the prognostication. If it broke at the north end, some important event in the distant future might be expected; this might be sickness, famine or war, or it might be something exceedingly fortunate such as the stranding of a shoal of porpoise. If the awl broke in the middle of the roof, a calamity might be expected in the near future, while in the south end the snapping of the awl predicted a trouble which would be overcome. These rules of divination apply to a maneaba built at the north end of an island; they were exactly reversed if the maneaba was at the south end, or southward of the maneaba of the hereditary enemies of the builders.

When the ceremonial was done, the copper descended from the roof by way of the south west corner of the building, while the workers proceeded with the sewing of the ridge capping. When this was done, the copper again mounted to the ridge capping with him four unhusked coconuts. The "face" of one of these he struck off at the northern end of the ridge, and sprinkling the water over the ridge-capping then he muttered the following words: -

Bubunaiaba, bubunaiaba! Bubunai i-ro-u,
Smoke of fire ? smoke of fire ? Smoke of fire with me,

bubunai iron, bubunai iron. Ko Kangikang
Smoke of fire with me, smoke of fire with me. Thou satest

Kana-m raras. Matu, matu, anti ni
they food the blood. Sleep, sleep, spirits of

Kaoraki; matu, matu, anti ni Kamaamate;
sickness; sleep, sleep, spirits of killing;

matu, matu, anti ni Kamibuaka; matu, matu!
sleep, sleep, spirits of evil dreaming; sleep, sleep!

Baraaki te unene, be a bungi te aba.
Overturned the ? ; for the land is ready.

There seems little doubt from the wording of this spell that the coconut represents the head of a man and the water his blood, which is sprinkled upon the capping as its food, in the nature of a sacrificial offering to bring good fortune. The practice of human sacrifice and especially the sacrifice of heads at the building of houses and canoes, in the Melanesian region of Melanesia, is exceedingly common.

When the first sprinkling was done, the empty mat was rolled down the northern gable of the manaba to the ground. A second mat was cut and emptied over the ridge a little north of the middle and rolled down the eastern side of the roof; a third was similarly treated a little south of the middle, but was rolled west; and the fourth was rolled south from the south end. If the mouths of all these mats as they lay on the ground pointed away from the edifice it was a sign of peace and good fortune, but if the

majority were turned towards the maneaba trouble was to be expected.

Last of all the edges of the eaves of the maneaba were trimmed by the people of M'aerna. All uneven ends of thatch hanging down were cut off to the straightedge of a stretched cord. The north end was first trimmed and the trimmings collected in the middle of the northern side, a little clear of the eaves. Similarly, the South, East, and West sides were treated. When all four heaps of trimmings were gathered in their respective positions, the senior male of M'aerna set light to them in the order of their cutting, and their combustion was carefully watched. If all the fires died together, neither good nor evil might be expected: if the south ~~and~~ ^{or the} west fires remained alight while the others died it was a sign of either war or heavy weather; but if either the north or east fire remained alight after all others, peace and plenty were prognosticated.