

This material concerning the maneaba
+ its social divisions is now put
together in a literary form in order to
collate the various fragments of evidence
collected from all islands. It is to be
dissected and redistributed in the
final compilation, under such sections
as Sun-wult, social organisation, etc.

The Maneaba

(a) General. The importance of the maneaba in the life of a Gilbertese community ~~could not~~ ^{could not} ~~escape~~ ^{escape} ~~the~~ ^{the} most casual ~~superficial~~ ^{casual} observer. This great thatched edifice is ~~quite~~ ^{patently} the focus of social life in every village. It is the meeting house where two, or twenty, or two hundred villagers will naturally ~~foregather~~ ^{gather} to discuss any sort of project; it is the common ground where the conflicting interests of individual households, or factions are debated and arbitrated; it is the dancing-lodge, the amusement-hall, the news-market of the community; and it is the resort of the aged men and women of the race, who daily repair to that sanctuary of peaceful gloom, and there, each seated on his mat with fly-whisk busily flicking, exchange in interminable murmurs their reminiscences ~~of days that are no more~~ ^{of a bygone day}.

This is all on the surface. As evidence of the general social importance of the maneaba, it is not misleading; but as an indication of the special uses of the edifice in past days it is deceptive and inadequate. The gradual decay of native custom, and its generalisation, under the influence of foreign ideas for the last 30 years, is responsible for a change in the maneaba's "centre of gravity." While it has gained in breadth of meaning to the modern native, it has lost in depth of special significance. For example, its application to modern uses has enhanced its character of convenience, and reduced almost to nothing its sacred quality. Employed nowadays as an amusement-hall, where crowds of noisy youngsters sit down to cards or skittles, it is robbed of that ~~reputational~~ ^{awe} ~~reputation~~, which not long ago inhibited all loud-voiced ~~interminable~~ ^{interminable} talking under ~~the~~ ^{the} venerable roof. In these modern times, children of all ages run shouting in bands in and out of the building, at any hour of the day; in the old

! Use the term village here to mean any settlement of households concentrated by the Government since 1892. But a more exact definition will be formulated in a later chapter.

days, it was unthinkable that a child of any age under puberty should be allowed ^{to sit} ~~to sit~~ upon the marae, or shingled open space, which surrounded the maneaba. E rawa te maneaba ni mataurunga viona ataci — "the maneaba refuses to be offended by children", was the expression used by seniors: for all shouting, all unseemly behaviour, every attitude or word that was not marked by decency and decorum, was considered a cause of offence to the edifice, and a danger to the community at large, upon whom some misfortune would ~~certainly~~ fall if the dignity of the maneaba suffered through their negligence.

The maneaba was indeed an assembly room and, in some sense, an amusement-hall before the Government; but the assemblies and amusements held therein were of a most formal character; ordained, not carelessly for a few people, on a light occasion, but after debate by the senior men, for the whole community of adults, and for some motive that touched the social life of an important group of people. Hei-n te taeka ma te

Kuiaareirei ae Kakannato te maneaba — "the maneaba is the container of exalted words and amusements." ^(Games having a definite social significance) Such ~~games~~ as the Kah Kao, ~~performed~~ ^{performed} when an important man's daughter had reached the age of puberty, were

1. Note. The Kah Kao is described elsewhere.

fit to be shown in the maneaba; feasts at a birth, a marriage, or a death were held ^{there} ~~under that~~ ~~roof~~, as were also debates on war or peace; ^{discussions concerning} ~~any~~ ~~and~~ ~~these~~ ~~would~~ ~~take~~ ~~place~~, any discussions concerning the ^{interests} ~~interests~~ of individuals or groups, ^{which threatened to become} ~~troublesome~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~community~~, ^{in the struggle} ~~would~~ ~~be~~ ~~considered~~, matters of general public interest, such as ^{the} ~~preparations~~ ~~for~~ ~~a~~ ~~harvest~~ ~~of~~ ~~coco~~ ~~nuts~~ ~~or~~ ~~pandanus~~ ~~fruit~~ ^{or the steps to be taken} ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~standing~~ ~~of~~ ~~a~~ ~~shoal~~ ~~of~~ ~~porpoise~~ — a most prized delicacy — on the ^{footholds} ~~foreshores~~ of the district. And all these ^{amusements} ~~feasts~~ and ^{debates} ~~amusements~~ were conducted in accordance with a fixed and rigid ^{ceremonial} ~~programme~~. There was only one side, ^{the West}, from which the building ^{might} ~~be~~ ~~entered~~. There was a first speaker, and a second speaker; ^{there was} ~~usually~~ a hereditary blower of the conch that called the assembly; a divider of the feast; a carrier of portions, and so on.

— All these duties and privileges ^{were the} ~~were~~ ^{sacred inheritances} ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~various~~ ~~social~~ ~~groups~~ ~~which~~ ~~took~~ ~~their~~ ~~seats~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~maneaba~~, ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~various~~ ~~social~~ ~~groups~~ ~~will~~ ~~be~~ ~~dealt~~ ~~with~~ ~~in~~ ~~detail~~ ~~later~~. ~~They~~ ~~were~~ ~~regarded~~ ~~as~~ ~~the~~ ~~sacred~~ ~~inheritances~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~groups~~ ~~to~~ ~~whom~~ ~~they~~ ~~belonged~~. Any man who assumed a function within maneaba that ^{did not belong to his group} ~~was~~ ~~believed~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~liable~~ ~~to~~ ~~sudden~~ ~~and~~ ~~mortal~~ ~~sickness~~: the maneaba was mataininga (offended) with him; he was maraia (accursed); he would die before the moon changed.

Everything therefore that took place in the maneaba was subject to the strictest ceremonial rules, under the most definite religious sanctions; and everything that carried with it an informal atmosphere, such as the sports of wrestling, of hide-and-seek, or other games of this nature, was banned from those premises. It may be said that only such acts as lent themselves to a solemn ritual, and possessed a definite social significance

1. These duties & privileges will be dealt with in detail a little later.

were permissible in the maneaba. And in this narrow sense alone can the building be described as a social hall.

Immense days, ~~among the members of a modern generation~~ ^{A few} remnants of the respect once paid to the maneaba are still to be discovered. A child kicking the kerb of coral, that is set up under the eaves, is reproved by its parents, "Don't offend the maneaba. You will fall sick and die." And not many natives would get dare to strike with stick or hand any of the posts that support the roof, for fear of ~~such a fate~~ ^{the same fate}. In the days before the Government, if a man were seen to lift his hand against any part of the edifice, it was the duty of all bystanders to thrash him and trample him underfoot. If they failed to perform this duty, they would be considered accessory to the sacrilege, and subject to any misfortune that might result from it. Even were the offender beaten to death, his relations would not dare to ~~subvert~~ ^{object to} the approach of condoning his act by taking ~~reparation~~ ^{reparation}, or calling for ~~customary~~ ^{customary} bloodpayment of land; for it was believed that even had the dead man been suffered to live by his assailants, he would ^{in any case} most probably have died ^{in time} ~~later on~~ as a result of his crime.

On most islands of the Group there is at least one maneaba used as a ^{hangar, or} common sanctuary, ~~where~~ ^{where} any man beaten in battle ~~may~~ ^{may} be safe from his enemies. No aggressor would dare to

violate such sanctuary, the belief having been that should he so outrage the peace of the place his skin would be stricken with tumid swellings (to rabarabataki) and he would die in ^{pain} ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~vicinity~~. But it is to be observed that the buildings around such a maneaba generally shared this character of inviolability, and even for a man to stand on the ground in their ^{neighbourhood} ~~vicinity~~ was generally enough to save him from his pursuers. Further, there are many plots of land in the Gilberts, whereon neither house nor maneaba ever stood, which were common sanctuaries in past times. For these reasons it seems probable that ~~the~~ maneabas, which came to be recognised as refuges, acquired their inviolability, not as a result of their own ^{special} ~~particular~~ sanctity, but as a consequence of some ~~special~~ tradition ^{connected with} the ground on which they stood. On the islands of Butaritari, Abaiang and Abemama, where there were dynasties of High Chiefs, it is ~~undoubtedly~~ certain that extraneous circumstances ^{did actually} ~~governed~~ the ^{conversion} ~~development~~ of ^{particular} ~~main~~ ~~maneabas~~ ~~into~~ ~~an~~ ~~asylum~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~pursued~~ ~~and~~ ~~for~~ ~~on~~ ~~those~~ ~~islands~~ it was always the High Chief's maneaba that served as the asylum. ^{particular} ~~particular~~ ~~maneabas~~ ~~were~~ ~~the~~ ~~asylum~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~pursued~~; and it ^{acquired} ~~acquired~~ ~~this~~ ~~character~~ ~~not~~ because of its ^{inherent} ~~inherent~~ sacred character as a building, but because it belonged to the Chief, whose peace and clemency must, in theory, be as a covering to all men. Nevertheless, any and every maneaba was in a more limited sense a sanctuary. Among people of the same settlement, who shared the same maneaba, no violence must be done within the ^{port Note} ~~reverend~~ precincts — (with the exception, of course, of such violence as might be visited on an offender against the building itself) And so, if matter of bitter dispute arose within that community, a man or

woman in fear of ^{injury} ~~misdeeds~~ might take refuge there. Advantage was often taken of this protection by children who stubbornly set their face against a marriage planned by their parents, and feared the ^{evil} ~~misdeeds~~ (even to the point of ^{being beaten to} ~~death~~) that might result. Wives of jealous husbands would ^{also} often escape harm by remaining in the maneaba until their lord's anger was abated. For whatever the strength ^{might incite} ~~impetus~~ of the motive that ^{might incite} ~~incited~~ a man, to ^{use} ~~commit~~ violence, his awe of the maneaba would certainly ^{inhibit} ~~inhibit~~ ~~him~~ ~~from~~ ~~entering~~ ~~it~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~reason~~ ~~of~~ ~~his~~ ~~father~~ ~~and~~ ~~mother~~ ~~being~~ ~~there~~ ~~for~~ ~~punishment~~ that would follow upon a ^{desecration} ~~violation~~ ~~of~~ ~~his~~ ~~maneaba~~ ~~was~~ ~~entirely~~ ~~stronger~~ ~~than~~ ~~that~~ ~~of~~ ~~any~~ ~~other~~ ~~structure~~.

On the islands of Marakii, Abaiang, Maiana, Bem, and Tabiteuea, this duty of respect and reverential deportment towards the building is explained by old men ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ~~islands~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~islands~~ in a single phrase: "Jai Jai i nanon te maneaba" — "There is Sun in the maneaba". On Marakii a variant was given by the old man Jaakenta, who said, "Bon roki n Jai ma Namakaina te maneaba" — "The maneaba is indeed the screened enclosure of Sun and Moon." In other words, the maneaba is the House of the Sun, according to the majority; and of the Moon as well, according to the report of a single ^{authority} ~~authority~~. It was ^{believed} ~~believed~~ ~~that~~ ~~all~~ ~~consequences~~ ~~that~~ ~~might~~ ~~ensue~~ ~~upon~~ ~~an~~ ~~act~~ ~~of~~ ~~disrespect~~ ~~against~~ ~~the~~ ~~structure~~, were visited upon the offender direct from the Sun himself, who pierced the navel of his victim with ^{burning} ~~burning~~ ~~fire~~.

In view of the researches that are continually being made into the sun-cults of Oceania, and of the only partial success with which ~~they~~ ~~at~~ ~~present~~ ~~are~~ ~~crowned~~, this is a vitally interesting series of beliefs. It would be

sufficiently arresting if it stood alone, but it is far from being the only evidence connecting the maneaba with the Sun. In the ceremonial and magic used during the construction of this building, which I shall exhibit a little later, we have direct evidence of a most indubitable nature associating it with the Sun. ~~There seems to be little room for doubt that the maneaba, as an original part of the culture of the Gilbertese forebears, was a temple, and a temple of the Sun.~~ ^{Later,} It will be my duty ^{later} on the evidence brought, to justify such a hypothesis.

(b) Various types of maneaba.

The usual type of maneaba now seen in the Gilbertese villages is a building, whose breadth is ^{rather less than} half its length, having a height ^{not quite} equal to its breadth. It consists of an enormous thatch, with gable ends, supported on studs of coral rock from three to five feet high. The eaves come down to within ^{two or} three feet of the ground, so that a man has to bend in order to enter the building. The ridge pole is supported ~~interiorly~~ ^{interiorly} by a row of posts running down the middle of the interior. In a large maneaba, the rafters are also supported half-way up their length by a beam raised on a row of shorter posts.

In pre-Government days the gables of this building were invariably North and South, the long sides ~~with~~ being thus to East and West: no other orientation was ever used. Nowadays, the Government having concentrated the villages

along the lagoon shores, the orientation of the edifice varies according to locality. Frequently, indeed, the North-South position is possible, as the islands themselves lie as a rule roughly North and South, with lagoons to westward; but where the ends of the land curve westwards, maneabas must needs lie East and West in order to follow the line of their villages. Nevertheless, I shall hereafter speak as if the building were ^{always} in its ancient orientation.

Though the usual ratio of breadth to length in the maneaba now seen is roughly as 1 to 2, there was more diversity in the old days. There were three chief styles, each having its own name, and each distinguished by the proportion of its breadth to its length. They were as follows:—

- (1) Tabiang, the narrowest, about half as ~~long~~ ^{broad} as it was long;
- (2) Mannatabu, ~~and~~ with a breadth about three quarters of its length;
- (3) Tabontbike, foursquare, with a "hip" roof, not conical.

~~These~~ ~~structures~~ ~~are~~ ~~found~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~island~~ of ~~Berm~~. ~~They~~ ~~are~~ ~~found~~ ~~at~~ ~~places~~ ~~near~~ ~~Berm~~. It is said that in ~~the~~ ~~old~~ ~~times~~ ~~at~~ ~~Berm~~ were built the first three maneabas of historical times, by the newly arrived conquerors from Samoa, some 20 generations ago. Before that date, the inhabitants of the Gilbert islands had "other sorts of maneaba". Tradition leaves no doubt that the Samoan invasion also affected many other islands besides Berm, but history is silent concerning the maneabas built by the conquerors on them. It was the wholesale

conquest of the Group, from Aroae in the south to Marakei in the north, some eight or nine generations afterwards by Bern warriors, which led to the obliteration of ~~many~~^{most} other names and styles that may have existed elsewhere, and to the establishment of the three Bern styles now known.

There were, however, three islands of the Group which were left untouched by the Bern warriors, namely Butaritari, Makin, and Banaba, and on these we should expect to find variant types. It is quite certain that the Banaban maneaba had characteristics ~~totally~~ differing from the Bern style, although the differences were not so much of construction as of internal economy. But there is not now living a single Banaban native who can give an intelligible account of the maneaba used on this island in the old days.

On Butaritari and Makin, though the modern native is now much influenced by traffic with other islands, it is still remembered that the ancient maneaba was a ^{Mpungatabu} ~~square~~ building with a "hip" roof, not a conical thatch, and was called ^{"Makua-n-te-raro, the} ~~house~~ ^{High tide of Blood"} ~~maneaba~~ ^{maneaba} ~~originata~~. Further allusion will be made to this style later on.

The maneabas of Bern were ~~not~~ classified not only ^{according} ~~by~~ the ratio borne by breadth to length; there were also nine different styles of roof, differentiated solely by the height of their pitch. Of these the lowest was called and the rest, in ascending order of height Tokabona, Tokamamao, Ngaonoo,

Tok... Tok... and... and...

The correct allocation of a maneaba to its particular class is therefore effected by an association of the term connecting its pitch of roof with the name connecting the proportion of its breadth to its length. Thus, the narrowest style of maneaba with the highest type of roof would be called Tabiang-Kariaamatang, and so on.

(c) The maneaba as an index to social groupings.

A survey of Gilbertese social organisation outside the maneaba would lead us to the conclusion that the utu, consisting of blood relations on both the father's and mother's side, is the unique basis of the structure. Within this group, though inheritance and succession are clearly dominated by patrilineal ideas, an examination of the functional aspects of relationship seems to indicate a development upon which the preponderant influence has been matrilineal. ~~unimporant influence~~

In the utu therefore, we have a distinct compromise between the elements of mother-right and father-right. We shall find very little of such a compromise in the social groupings connected with the maneaba. These groupings, which evidence will show to be ^{underlain} ~~governed~~ by the idea of descent from the totem, are unmistakably controlled by the patrilineal idea.

If one frequents the maneaba, to talk to the old people who are always to be found there, a few visits acquaint one with the fact that ~~within~~ the same man always sits in the same part of the building. It was the physical inconvenience of this that first brought the circumstance to

my attention. It seemed strangely inconsistent that a few old men, repairing to the maneaba apparently for the sake of companionship, should separate at entrance and habitually assume seats in positions so widely sundered that conversation became difficult or impossible. What stimulated my earliest question was to observe, on the island of Onotoa, that a particular elder well-known to me would regularly take his place within a few feet of an especial enemy, while his ingoa (namesake), and therefore sworn friend, just as regularly sat at a distance of twenty yards from him.

It was explained that these old men were sitting in their boti, the hereditary sitting rooms of their fathers and fathers' fathers, under the prescribed inaki (thatch-rows) of the maneaba. And it appeared that to sit in any other place would be to court sickness and death.

It was unquestionably as nne-n te boti, "the container of the sitting-places," that the maneaba was most vitally significant to the Gilbertese people. Far more than a place of social festivities or a hall of debate, it was a tabernacle of the ancestors in the male line; a sort of social map, where a man's group or clan could be recognised. The moment he took his seat, his totem and his ascendants known, and his ceremonial duties or ~~all~~ privileges discovered.

There is still plenty of information available as to the distribution of the boti. This is one of the branches of knowledge still valued by modern generations, for it is found to be extremely useful in inter-island travel. A native having no

1. The inaki is a single file of thatch, laid in ascending order from the eaves to the ridge of the roof.

near relations on an island where he is on visit, will go to the nearest maneata and sit in his ancestral room. There he will continue to seat himself daily, until the local members of that boti ~~members of the local clan~~ belonging to that boti "lift up the word to him". Then, the following conversation will take place:—

"Sir, whence come you?"

"I come from such + such an island."

"Where are you sitting?"

"I am sitting in such and such a boti"

"Why do you do that?"

"It is our boti."

"Whose boti?"

"My father's and my grandfather's."

"Who is your father?"

"So and so."

"Aia!" (Equivalent to Ah yes, I see!)

After a silence, the questionaire proceeds:—

"Perhaps this is not your father's boti."

"Sir, it is indeed my father's boti."

"Aia!" Another silence, and then,

"For what was the origin (riki) of your father?"

"So-and-so was his ancestor."

"Ana-ia (take it up), for we listen."

Then the stranger must tell the tale of his father's generations back to the common ancestor of the boti while his audience gravely ^{attends} ~~listens~~. Having satisfied them that he has not committed the ~~grave~~ offence of trespass upon their sitting-room, he is ^{unofficially} accepted as tari-ia, their brother, for the duration of his stay on the island; very often, a married couple of riper years, one of whom is a member of the boti, will appoint itself his Karo (parents) and may make him a member of the household. In any case, having established his group membership,

Note. Translation of an actual conversation noted. I accompanied the interrogators when they "lifted the word" to a new arrival.

he will be fed by his clansmen until he leaves, and probably provided with a respectable present of money at departure.

So keenly were the obligations of boti-relationships felt in past days, that islanders would strip their plantations and empty their babai-pits for visiting clansmen from other atolls rather than risk the reproach of failing in the duty of Karokaro¹. This spirit is still very strong in the race. Such is the pauperising effect of the native's lavish bounty under its dictates, ~~that~~ that the Government has found it necessary to make special regulations for the curtailment of inter-island visits.

It is the ~~importance~~ utility of the institution, no doubt, which has caused it to resist better than others the inroads of civilisation. Its persistence makes it a fairly easy task on most islands to find the positions of the various boti in the maneaba. These may be far more clearly indicated in a sketch-plan than in words.

(Insert plan)

In this diagram, the shaded margin represents the overhang of the eaves outside the building. The

1. Karokaro. Karo in the N. Gilberts is ~~of~~ collective, meaning parents; in the S. Gilberts it is masculine and singular, meaning father. It is used in the latter sense indifferently with the term tama; but while tama takes the suffixed possessive, Karo is preceded by the pronoun. Karo also means, throughout the Gilberts, "a member of the same boti," evidently connoting the idea of common ancestry. The word Karokaro denotes recognition of clan-relationship and its duties.

short strokes crossing the margin are the ends of the rafters projecting over the roof-plates. The roofplates themselves are indicated by the straight inner lines of the margin, the small rectangles ^{over} which these pass being the studs of coral rock upon which they rest.

It will be noted that some of the studs have names. That in the middle of the East side is called Tasi - the Sun; directly opposite which, in the West side, is Namakaina - the Moon. At the South-East corner is Nii Tituaabine, who was one of the chief goddesses of the Gilbertese pantheon, and an ancestress. At the North-East corner is Tabakea, also a god and ancestor. Teikake, in the middle of the South end, is the representative of the person of that name who appears in the story of Towatu-ni-Matang in another place. Tabiang, in the middle of the North end, takes the name of the boti within which it stands. These named studs were the particular care and pride of the members of those boti ~~within~~ ^{possessing them.} ~~which they were placed.~~

The limits of the various boti, ^{each of which is named} are indicated ^{in the diagram} by the dotted lines running inwards from the roof plates. Notice that the distribution of the boti is based upon the rafters, in this particular case. Thus, Tabiang has three rafter-intervals allotted to it, Te Bakabaka five, and so on. But, if the maneaba were a small one and the rafters consequently fewer, the allocation of sitting rooms would be ^{so established} ~~arranged~~ upon the inaki, (the thatch-rows of the roof), or simply "fitted in", according to the space-requirements of the various clans. But the ^(actual) order of distribution would ~~never~~ ^{not} change, ^{in either the maneaba of Maungatapu or Tabiang} nor would considerations of spacing ever be strong enough to separate a clan from one of the named studs, if it possessed one. Thus, however numerous might happen

to be the representatives of the ^{three} boti between Keaki and Karongo-n-nea at a particular union, they would have to crush themselves ~~in~~ somehow into that parenthesis, for Keaki remained unshakably anchored to its cornerstone of Tituaabine and Karongo-n-nea to its Sun stone ^{by the middle} ~~in the middle~~ ^{rafters}.

The actual maneaba, from which this ^{diagram} ~~maneaba~~ was taken, is a building faithfully constructed in the Maungatabu style, on the island of Marakei. The master-architect was Taakenta, an old man of about 70 years, who built as he had ~~been taught~~ ^{been taught} ~~by~~ ^{by} his grandfather, and whose knowledge of ^{the building craft} ~~ancient~~ brings disciples from islands as far South as Nonouti to learn from him. The authorities responsible for the allocation of the boti in the order pictured were thirty-five elders of the island, elected by the inhabitants as ~~their~~ ^{native delegates} ~~representatives~~ on a Lands Commission. The chart therefore represents the collective ^{knowledge} ~~wisdom~~ of the island's chosen spokesmen, ^{every} ~~many~~ one of whom ~~was~~ ^{was} a man of fighting age in the wars preceding the hoisting of the Flag in 1892. The distribution of the boti in the Tabiang style of ^{maneaba} ~~maneaba~~ is identical with that in the Maungatabu.

It is obvious that all the boti shown may ^{necessarily} not ~~be~~ found on every island, and conversely those exhibited in the diagram do not ^{completely} exhaust the tale ^{of the divisions discoverable} ~~for~~ a given ancestor may not have descendants in the male line on every unit of the Group. If a gap is made by the extinction of a clan on an island the members of the boti on either side of it will naturally close up and efface the scar, and gradually the name of that clan-place will be forgotten. Some secondary migration, after centuries, ~~it~~ may again bring people of this group to the island: they will

look for their place in the maneaba. Suppose then that the groups which have drawn together over their sitting-room are unfamiliar to ^{the returned people} them. The result may be that instead of claiming the ancient position between them, ^{the new comers} they will take a place to one side or the other, which more or less coincides with the spot they have been used to on their own island. From causes of such a nature, no doubt, spring the slight variations in relative position of the less known boti, noticed from island to island.

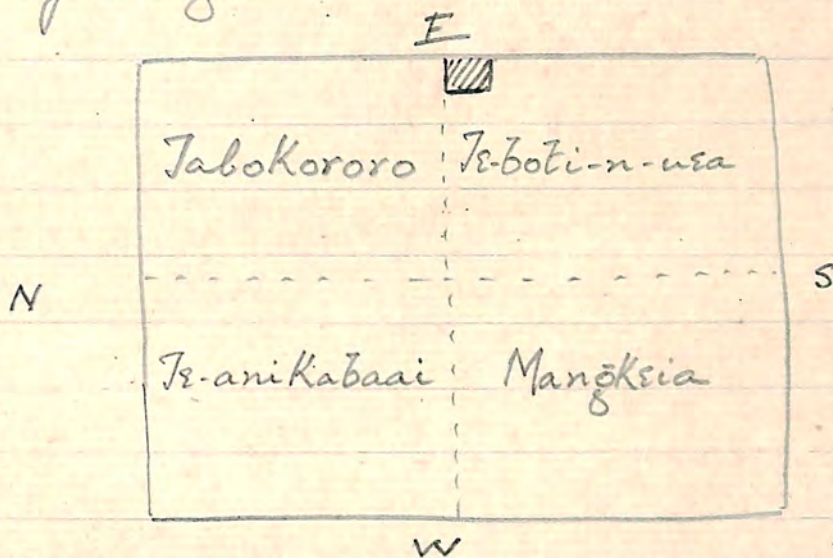
~~But~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~situation~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~maneaba~~ ~~the~~ ~~situations~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~better~~ ~~known~~ ~~sitting~~ ~~places~~ ~~are~~ ~~changeless~~. Karongoa-n-uea is unfailingly under the middle rafters of the Eastern side; Tebiang, Te Bakoa ^{flanks} ^{it} ~~is~~ always ~~situated~~ on the south & Karongoa-raereke on the north. Tebiang, Keaki, Ababou, Te Kua, Kamuaetoa and Kaburara will everywhere be found in the places allocated to them.

to them on the chart.

The Jabo-n-te-bike maneaba, however, has a different arrangement of its boti. The most striking point of variation, as will be seen by the chart is that the sitting rooms of Karongoa-n-nea with several of its nearer neighbours are not on the eastern side but under the northern gable of the edifice. Another notable difference is that the boti of Jabiang, Tikirikiri and Ta Ba, which occupy the middle of the northern gable in the other two types of maneaba, are non-existent in the Jabonte-bike building. This is not to be ~~explained~~ by a parallel non-existence of these clans on the island (Bem) when the plan was made: all three are strongly represented on that unit of the Group. There simply is no place for them in the maneaba of Jabo-n-te-bike. It would therefore appear probable that, whatever branch of the race-forefathers it may have been that introduced the Jabo-n-te-bike style of edifice ^{into the Gilberts}, it was a swarm which did not contain representatives of these three clans. This ~~fact~~ probability will be of use in the task of analysing the traditions connected with the various social groups of the Gilberts, and of attempting to trace a scheme of their origins.

(d) The boti in the maneaba of Butaritari and Makin

In the maneaba of Butaritari and Makin there are but four divisions, as shown in the following diagram:—



According to local tradition the maneaba was divided into these ~~four~~ quarters to provide sitting-rooms for the four different grades of society:—

- ① Te-boti-n-usa (the-boti-of-kings) was allocated to the Uea, or High Chief, with all the members of his utu descended through males. It was the S-E quarter. The shaded spot just South of the middle of the E. side indicates the sitting-room especially reserved for the Uea himself with his own brothers and sisters. ^{The position of} this spot corresponds with that ^{position} of Karongoa-n-Uea in the maneabas of ^{Jabriang and Maungakaba in} other islands, except that it is to south instead of north of the central stone stud. This central stud is contained in the Uea's sitting place, and is called Nei Titraabine. It will be remembered that the stone called Titraabine in other maneabas is in the S.E. corner, being contained in the boti of Keaki. This is important.
- ② Tabokororo, in the N.E. quarter was reserved for toka (chiefs) and their utu through male lines.

- ③ Ir-anikabadi was given over to "people who ~~were conquered~~", i.e., those of the slave class, through male lines.
- ④ Mankeia was called "the koti of aba-tera", the koti of "what-land?", which is to say, it was the sitting-place of any stranger who came and settled upon the islands.

It is obvious that, whatever may have been the origin of the grouping revealed, its organisation was fundamentally patrilineal.

(d) Descent in the boti.

As I have ^{already indicated in a general way} ~~indicated~~ descent, determining membership of the social group ^{possessing} ~~having~~ a given boti, is reckoned patrilineally ^{in all islands}. This was well illustrated by a dispute submitted to my arbitration when I was at Bern. An elderly man named Riviti claimed membership of the boti Karongoa-n-nea, which had consistently been denied his ascendants in the male line for ^{several} ~~many~~ successive generations. He provided me with a list of 20 lineal ^{males} ~~ascendants~~ ^{alleged to be males} ~~with the understanding~~ back to his ancestor Kiata the First, a ^{semi-mythical} ~~legendary~~ Chief of Tarawa, known to be of the Karongoa-n-nea group. ~~The~~ ^{Mr} ~~Mr~~ ~~Pitt~~ ~~of~~ ~~Hone~~ ~~disputed~~ the authenticity of the names he furnished; ~~Mr~~ ~~Pitt~~ ~~of~~ ~~Hone~~ ~~disputed~~ ^{the} ~~case~~ ~~issue~~ ~~was~~ ~~joined~~ ~~on~~ ~~a~~ ~~point~~ ~~against~~ ~~the~~ ~~man~~ ~~of~~ ~~sex~~. It was argued by the opposition that an ascendant in the sixth generation back from Riviti, named Tearoko, was not a man but a woman. ~~Under~~ ^{Under} these circumstances, it was ^{insisted} ~~alleged~~, Riviti must count his boti-descent, not from Tearoko, but from her husband, who belonged to ^{the} Ababou group. Riviti himself admitted that such reasoning would have been perfectly just had Tearoko been indeed a woman; his whole ~~argument~~ ^{limited} ~~was~~ ^{was} to showing that this person had been a man.

This brings out very clearly the predominance of

the patrilineal idea ^{matters relating to} in boti-descent.

Nevertheless, ~~there are~~ exceptions. There are certain exceptions in practice, but one of these at least serves ^{only} to emphasize the importance of descent in the male line. If a ~~man~~ ^{man} have only daughter ^(girl) children he may legitimately arrange that one or several of his male grandchildren through these daughters be made a member of his boti. Thus, in the attached pedigree, Bontu was a near relation of the High Chiefs of Abemania, whose boti is Kaburara.

Bontu (Kaburara)
 Ni Kaneakia = Tabomas (Maerua)
 Karotu (Kaburara)
 Samson (Kaburara)

Bontu's sole child was a girl, Kaneakia, who married Tabomas of the Maerua clan. Under ordinary circumstances, the ^(single) grandchild~~ren~~ of Bontu would have belonged to ~~the~~ father's boti, Maerua. But in order to ~~preserve~~ continue the line of Bontu's ^(male) representatives in this group, the grandson Karotu was ^{nominated} ~~appointed~~ a member of Kaburara. This, while being an exception to the rule that a man descends into the boti of his father, still lays ^{peculiar} ~~special~~ stress upon the patrilineal idea, in that it is a special expedient for ^{keeping} ~~preserving~~ a male line intact, even ~~in the~~ ⁱⁿ ~~event~~ ⁱⁿ default of ^{sons,} ~~children~~. Another exceptional practice is resorted to when a man has a large family of children. If the members of his boti are already numerous, and there is danger of overcrowding, it will be arranged that several of his children take the boti of their mother. Te tabo ni Kamaawan boti ni

tina-m (A place to make room, the boti of your mother), is a well known phrase throughout the Gilberts. But although occasions are not wanting where sons have been nominated, under such conditions, to their mother's boti, the general practice has always been to transfer the daughters by preference, and in no case would the eldest son be removed from his father's group for the mere purpose of making room. The attendant conditions of this practice again are therefore seen to accent the importance of the patrilineal idea.

A boy or girl adopted either as nati (child) or tibu (grandchild) ^{sometimes, though rarely,} ~~usually~~ takes the boti of the adopter. If, as was generally the case formerly, the adopted was of the utu of the adopter he would often be already a member of the same group; but he might be a relation descended through a female branch & so into a different boti. In this case, after adoption, he would become in the manacaba to all intents a stranger to his own father's clan & a full member of his adopter's. But if the bond of adoption was broken, as sometimes happened, by some serious quarrel, ~~the~~ could return to his father's group; and such a return constituted the best outward and visible sign of the rupture.

Another case in which the mother's boti becomes of importance must be noted. ~~When a native~~ ^{When a} ~~native~~ on his travels comes to an island ~~where~~ or village where his father's group is not represented, he will often use his mother's as a "second string", if he desires to establish relations with people of that place. Having ~~established~~ proved

But
totems??

his mother's right of membership in the given boti he will usually be received hospitably by her clansmen, but the obligation will not be felt nearly so keenly by the latter as it would have been felt in the case of a paternal link; the entertainment provided will not as a rule (though there are exceptions) be of a lavish sort, and indeed no great reproach seems to be incurred if the newcomer is entirely neglected. This holds good even ~~if~~ ^{though} the candidate for their hospitality has on his own island definitely gone over from his father's to his mother's boti. The transfer of children from the paternal to the maternal group is therefore seen to be of only local effect, and thus viewed, this modification of the patrilineal ~~system~~ ^{scheme} seems to have its origin in a motive of pure convenience, namely, the provision of decent sitting-space in the maneaba. No doubt such a modification only became possible as the result of an extraneous influence, which overcame the ^{original} conservatism of the patrilineal idea; and this influence was probably the conception of mother-right which seems to have affected the functional aspect of relationship in the Gilbertese utu. But only in this indirect way has the matrilineal system interfered with the organisation of the boti, of which the essentially patrilineal ~~character~~ ^{world} seems to contain ^{hardly any} concrete ~~whatsoever~~ ^{whatsoever} of the customs of a folk that practiced mother-right.

Nevertheless, a fact of ^{apparent} ~~some~~ significance will be noted from the table of Gods, Ancestors and Totems exhibited a little later. In this table no fewer than six groups are seen to claim a female ancestry. To Bakabaka, Kaburara and Keaki

have Nii Tituaabine; Tabukaokao has Nii Tenuatarai; Bakarawa has Nii Moaine; and Katannaki has Nii Temaiti. At first sight, this would seem to indicate that ~~descent through the woman~~ ^{matrilugal ideas made} themselves felt at some early period ~~in the early~~ ^{history of the} ~~particular~~ ^{history of the} ~~connected with the~~ ^{both} ~~early~~ ^{organisation, which I have} supposed to be almost purely patrilineal. But certain considerations suggest that this may not be the true meaning of the facts.

It must be observed that ~~the~~ these ancestresses are also regarded as deities, as indeed are all except three or four of the ancestors recorded. In the traditions connected with the early arrivals in the Group from Samoa, the names of gods are obviously often used instead of the names of the actual persons who arrived. Thus we are told that Taburimai came to Tarawa, Tituaabine to Nikunau, Tabuaniki to Bern, and so on, whereas what is meant is that groups of people ^{linked} ~~to~~ together by a ~~common cult~~ ^{common cult} of these beings came from Samoa to the Gilbert Islands. That such a meaning is indeed intended to be conveyed is clear from numerous parallelisms of tradition, where there exist side by side two accounts of the same migration-story, one told in terms of a deity and the other about a man and his followers. For example, there is a well-known story of an ancestor called Baretoka, the son of a man named Kowraabi in Samoa, who fled ^{with his people} ~~in~~ very early days to Tarawa after a domestic quarrel, and ^{there} married a woman named Batiauea. This tale has a parallel version, recounting exactly the same facts, but making the god Taburimai the hero, instead

of the human Baretoka. As a result of the same tendency, without a doubt, it is still the common practice among older natives of today, to refer to groups of people, and individuals also, by the names of their deities. "Tabuariki te Koraki aei" (this group is Tabuariki), or "Nri Tituaabine tenaree" (that man is Nri Tituaabine) are idioms used to indicate that this group or that individual observe the cult of such or such a god. More pertinently still to our subject, one may hear, "E tekateka Tituaabine i Bairiki", (Tituaabine sits at Bairiki), meaning that the people who "sit" or live in the village of Bairiki observe the cult of the goddess Tituaabine. Very clearly in this last example is the name of the deity used to connote a whole group of living people who practise her cult.

A striking and, I think, essential characteristic of the modern use of a god's name to connote a single individual is that the person thus designated is nearly always the senior living representative of his cult. As such, he is the operator at all ceremonies connected with the worship of the god, and the inheritor of the maaka, or power, which emanates from such a being. As a medium between the spirit and its devotees he therefore assumes the personality of godhead: for the time being he actually is the god. It is a perfectly natural result of such intimacy of association that he should frequently be designated by the name of the deity. This, I believe, is the explanation of the use in tradition of the name of a god instead of the name of the actual ancestor who performed a given series of feats. ~~How,~~

Footnote

Nor in

views of the frequency with which names of spiritual beings are, and always were, bestowed upon living persons, must the possibility be ~~ignored~~ ^{ignored} that the god-names of tradition may in many cases have been the actual name of human ancestors.

We are now in a position to suggest an explanation of the fact, apparently at variance with patrilineal ideas, that not a few boti in the Gilbertese manuaba claim descent from women. The names of these women are the same as those of the deities of the boti. It seems to me highly probable that just as heroes of tradition are often designated by the names of their gods, and just as a man of today ^{may be} alluded to by the name of a ^{confessedly} female deity, so the names of ^{what were in reality} male ancestors may be veiled by those of the respective goddesses whom they represented on earth in the early days of boti-organisation. This is the solution ^{which, I feel, certainly applies to the case of the goddess Pitpaabine} ~~an alternative mechanism suggests itself, by which it was possible for women to become boti-ancestresses in a ~~which does not involve the suppression of a patrilineal organisation without the ^{to intrusion of} matrilineal ~~influence in the establishment of~~ ^{elements into the system} women as boti-ancestors.~~ We have only to suppose that the people, who introduced the boti-organisation into the Gilberts, brought with them on their migration a limited number of women belonging to their own race (which is in itself a highly probable surmise), and a ^{very} simple scheme at once presents itself. If we ~~then~~ ^{imagine} that several of these immigrant women were given away as wives to ^(men) ~~people~~ of the indigenous race, and had children by them, we can picture a new problem arising. To what boti should the~~

children be nominated? Their mothers and, without a doubt, the whole immigrant community would naturally wish to see them identified with the social system of the invaders, but yet they could inherit no sitting-room through their indigenous fathers. The only way of retaining them as members of the immigrant group would be to allow them to reckon descent through their mothers, and the natural method of arranging this would be to create new boti in the manebaba with immigrant women as ancestresses.

~~The~~ A circumstance that would conspire to abet ~~the~~ ~~new departure~~ of this sort springs at once to the imagination. If the social system, to which the indigenous fathers of such children belonged, were a matrilineal organisation, it is clear that from the paternal side no place in the aboriginal organisation community could be inherited by the half-blood progeny. By all the precepts of a matrilineal community the child looks to the mother to establish membership of the group. Thus every circumstance would conspire to thrust the children back into the immigrant camp, and to oblige the patrilineal community to think of ~~some~~ some expedient to meet the situation.

It is true that if matrilineal ideas thus contributed as ~~played an impelling part~~ ^{an impulse} towards the establishment of this new feature of boti-organisation, they cannot be wholly ignored ~~as agents in the mutation~~ ^{as agents in the mutation}; but their agency was catalytic, in that they left none of their own elements embedded in the system whose change they stimulated. Thus, if my alternative suggestion to account for the presence of women among the ancestors of

patrilineal groups is true, we have before us an example of ^{social modification} ~~development~~ under external pressure, rather than the absorption of the constituent parts of one system into another.

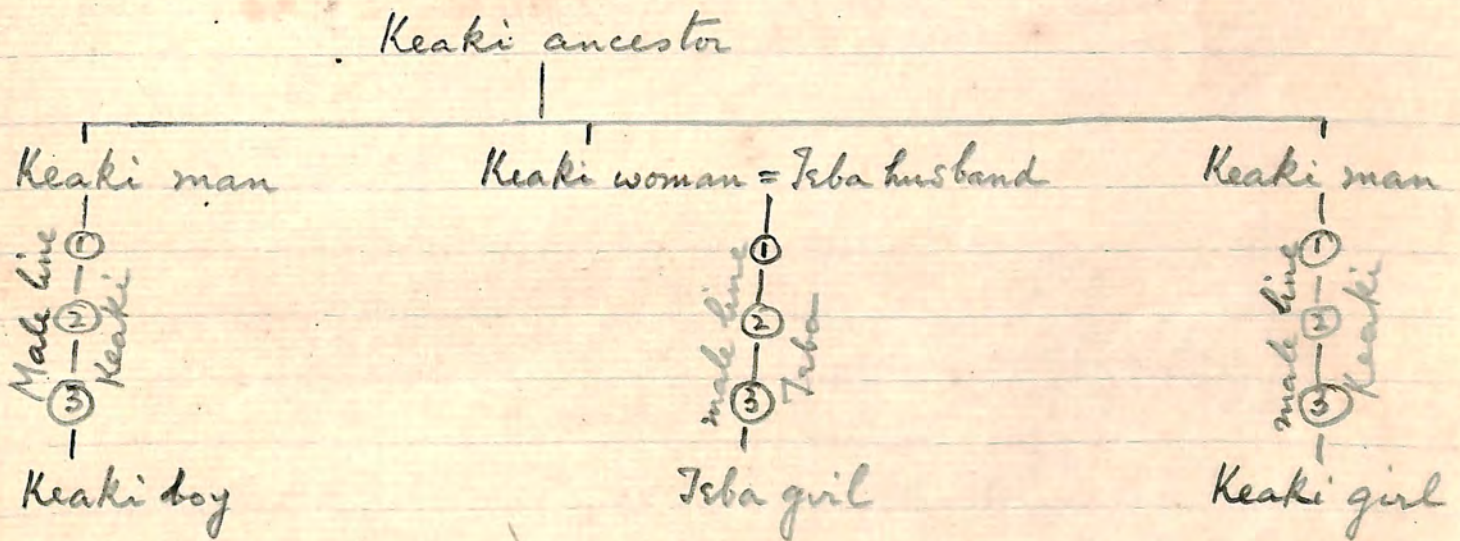
It is possible that this modification of the scheme of male ancestors may be due to a combination of both the series of causation which I have proposed. In some cases it may have been brought about by the substitution of a goddess's name for that of the male ancestor who observed her cult; in others by the problems facing an immigrant people after the marriage of their women with aboriginals. If this double origin is considered probable (and I myself incline to this opinion) we are offered interesting food for thought concerning the cult of the god and the ancestor, for it is clear that in the one set of circumstances the god has become, to all intents and purposes, the ancestor, while in the other the ancestor must have developed into the god. But I shall reserve the discussion of this subject for a later chapter.

Marriage + the boti-organisation.

At first sight it would seem that the only considerations of relationship affecting marriage in the Gilberts emanated from the broad conception of the utu, as a member of which a man reckoned kinship through both his father and his mother. As a generalisation, this surmise would be correct, since the utu of any individual must necessarily ^{also} contain all the members of his boti, ~~and~~ ^{who} ~~these~~ are connected with him on his father's side; but it serves to conceal the special importance of the clan in the regulation of marriage. Since we have seen that the organisation of the utu has been plainly affected by matrilineal influences, it is all the more ~~important~~ ^{necessary} that we should disengage the ideas concerning marriage which are clearly attributable to the patrilineal clan-system alone.

A general dictum throughout the Group on the subject of consanguineous marriages is, "Ewe to Raaroro" — "the fourth generation goes free." That is to say, persons in the fourth generation of descent from a common ancestor may marry each other. Though the marriage of such close connections was by no means favourably regarded by everyone, the principle of consanguineous alliances was at least so well established as to make them everywhere possible in the fifth + sixth generations. But underlying and restricting the application of this doctrine is ~~the~~ ~~absolute~~ ~~prohibition~~ ~~of~~ ~~any~~ ~~marriage~~ ~~between~~ ~~members~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~boti~~, ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~eight~~ ~~southern~~ ~~islands~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Group~~, ~~but~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~northern~~ ~~islands~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Group~~, ~~but~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~northern~~ ~~islands~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Group~~, was an absolute prohibition of any marriage between members of the same boti.

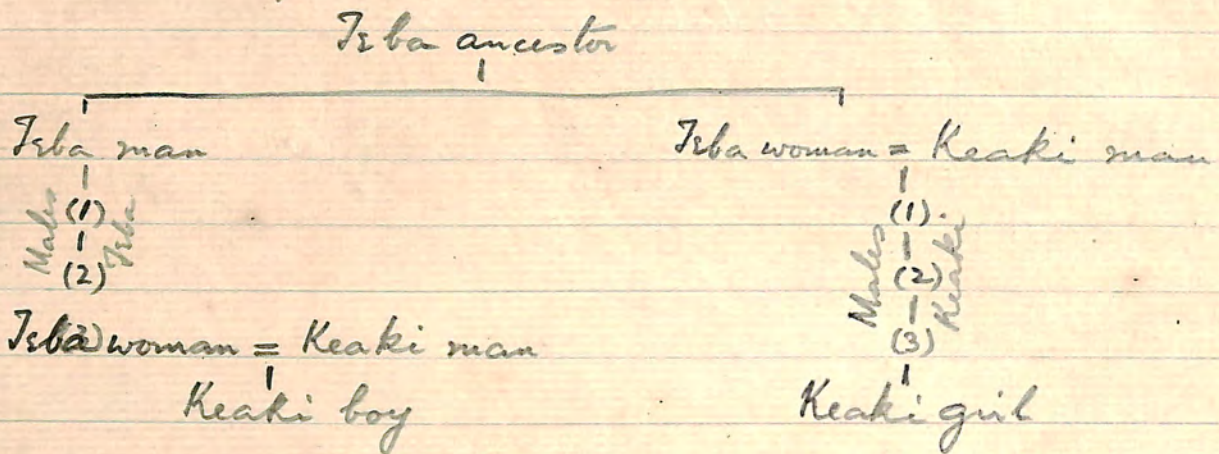
This did not preclude the possibility of a man's marriage with every relation on the paternal side, for provided that they were sufficiently distant in degree, he could still contract alliances with connections of his father descended through a ~~woman~~ ^{male ancestor's sister} and so into another boti, as the following simplified diagram shows:—



The boy of the Keaki boti could marry his Teba ^{paternal} ~~consin~~ but not the girl who had descended into the Keaki group, although one was no more distant from the common ancestor than the other. Similarly, it could easily happen that while he could take as a wife a moderately close ^{paternal} relation from another boti he would be debarred from union with a ^{collateral} ~~relation~~ ^{man} in his own group so distantly removed from him that ~~it would be almost impossible to trace back step by step the actual lines through which they were related~~ the common ancestry was a matter of mere tradition. It was membership of the same group that constituted the bar, above any other consideration.

The next diagram will show that relations through the mother also could be disqualified

as wives by the boti-organisation:—



But from a native point of view, the important consideration would be the male ancestry of the boy and girl, by virtue of which both had descended into the same group.

There was no impediment ^{under ordinary conditions} to the marriage of a man with a woman of his mother's group ^{outside the forbidden degree of relationship} ~~under ordinary conditions~~. But if a boy, for one of the reasons already described, took the boti of his mother, he was at once debarred from union with any member of it; at the same time, he still remained under the prohibition of contracting alliances with women of his father's clan. These conditions lay particular emphasis on the importance of ~~the~~ clan ^{membership} ~~as a~~ regulator of marriage. But it must be remarked that this importance seems to vary in degree from island to island. In the seven most southerly islands of the Group, it is most pronounced: going northwards, one finds that in Abemama, Kuria and Aranuka it is absolutely non-existent; in Maiana, Tarawa, and Abaiang it is again very evident; in Marakei, it seems to lose in strength; while in Butaritari & Makin it again disappears.

On Abemama, Kuria and Aranuka, I think

there can be little doubt as to the reason for the disappearance of the clan's importance in the regulation of marriage. The decay and the subversion of nearly every ordinary native standard of sexual morality on those islands is indubitably attributable to a single powerful and sinister individual, not very long dead. This was the infamous Tem Binoka, High Chief of the three atolls, whom Stevenson describes. It is almost impossible for us to conceive the terror which this remarkable man inspired among his people. One of his methods of asserting ascendancy was to ride deliberately roughshod over the customs of his ancestors. He allowed no bar of consanguinity to balk his sexual appetite, and thus ~~laid~~ ^{laid} the foundations of a promiscuity for which the island is famous to this day. And he deliberately disorganised the ceremonials and the rules of precedence in the maneaba, in order that his boti should have a pre-eminence to which tradition did not entitle it. These are known facts, and it seems to me that we have in them the explanation of the disappearance of the clan-regulation of marriage on Abemama & its tributary islands. First, there was the complete predominance of the High Chief, tending to obliterate the significance of all social groupings. This was an influence which had probably been at work through the six generations of the dynasty preceding Tem Binoka. Second, came the subversion of ^{every} ~~all~~ previous standards of sexual morality, and as a finishing touch, the scrapping of ^{all} ~~many~~ traditions connected with the boti in the maneaba.

If my proposed explanation is correct, we

have a remarkably clear example of the rapidity with which native institutions may under certain circumstances decay, and an illustration of how purely local & individual conditions may ^{profoundly} modify a social organisation.

There is no evidence from Butaritari and Makin that the organisation of the boti had any connection with the control of marriage. The four divisions of the maneaba were according to tradition made to provide sitting-room for four respective ^{grades} ~~classes~~ of society, namely, Chiefs, Free-landowners, Slaves, and Strangers. One feels that the spirit which led to such distinctions of caste ^{might} ~~would~~ lean rather towards endogamy than exogamy. But while admitting such a possibility, it must be borne in mind that the ^{purley} patrilineal character of ^{boti} descent in Butaritari and Makin, and the general ^{underlying} similarity of the boti scheme there with that of other islands, suggest that the dissociation of the clan with marriage has been the result of some special modification of the social organisation under influences unknown to us.

On Ocean Island (Banaba) no ^{detailed} information about ~~clan~~ groups is available; but some of the old people can still remember that there were boti in the maneaba. The vagueness that exists cannot be the result of European influences alone, since this island ^{was little visited before} ~~came under the British flag~~ 1900. It is probable that the clan-grouping has been in process of decay for some long period, probably as a result of the tendency towards purely local groupings, of which I shall speak

elsewhere. Banaban descent is patrilineal, but succession is an exact compromise between patrilineal & mat. methods. A survey of our material ^{thus} shows that eleven out of the seventeen Gilbertese-speaking communities, of which there is evidence, have a system of clan-organisation ~~which~~ plainly exogamous in character. ~~Three of the six except~~ ~~some islands have been shown to~~ ~~owe their~~ Out of the six communities that show no sign of having practised clan-exogamy, three have been shown to have come under a late influence entirely calculated to result in its ^{entire} disappearance; these three have kept ^{to} their patrilineal mode of descent, succession & inheritance, ^{to a certain extent their} both organisation, as also have two other exceptional islands, Butaritari and Makin. Only one, Banaba, seems to give no sign whatever of having practised clan exogamy; but this must form the subject of a separate enquiry. In the future, I shall refer to clan-exogamy as an essential part of the social organisation of the Gilbertese people.

1. I have no details of the Nui both organisation