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THE MIGRATIONS OF A PANDANUS PEOPLE.

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PART 1.

FACTS CONCERNING FOOD.

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# The Migrations of a Pandanus People

As traced from a preliminary study  
of Food, Food-traditions,  
and Food-rituals  
in the  
Gilbert Islands

BY  
ARTHUR GRIMBLE, C.M.G., M.A.

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INSTALMENT No. 1.

Pages 1-50

## PART 1.

## FACTS CONCERNING FOOD.

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Introductory—1. The daily work of a woman—2. Cooking methods (a) The covered hearth (b) Broiling upon embers—3. Cooking magic and protective rituals—4. Poisons (a) Used in fishing (b) Used for homicidal purposes—5. Prohibitions upon food-stuffs: Totem creatures; Creatures avoided by pregnant women and nursing mothers; Creatures avoided by women in general; Foods avoided by adults in time of war; Medical avoidances; Creatures connected with healing magic; Other avoidances—6. Diet: general observations upon food articles; emergency diet; the stages of the coconut; coconut toddy—7. Preserved foods (a) The manufacture and use of *kamaimai* (b) The manufacture of *kabubu*, its use and associations—8. Luxuries; the manufacture of puddings—9. Meals and manners—10. Notes on the distribution of *te kabubu*, and the manner in which it is drunk.

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## INTRODUCTORY.

PART 1 of this work is a record of those Gilbertese practices relating to food which either are still extant, or else have been customary until quite recent times. The working axiom accepted from the outset is that the mere externals of material culture are almost valueless for evidential purposes when divorced from their historical, religious, and social setting. It is therefore without apology that, in the discussion of such objects as cooking-ovens, the traditions concerning their origin and the rituals associated with their use are reviewed; that, in dealing with concrete food-avoidances, a condensed account of Gilbertese totemism and totem-groups is given; and that notes on many other aspects of native life, however remotely connected with the subject of food, are appended to the text.

The general effort, however, has been to keep the account of material facts as distinct as possible from the record of traditional, religious, and sociological data. Part 1 being allocated, roughly speaking, to the things and

practices of open life; Part 2 is reserved for the analysis of certain traditions concerning foodstuffs not now in use, but believed to have been common, in other times and lands, among the Gilbertese ancestors; while Part 3 is devoted to a review of the myths and socio-religious observances associated with growing food-plants.

A single tree—the pandanus—will be seen to stand out with increasing salience as the evidence proceeds, and an inquiry into its meaning to the race will occupy the remaining parts of this work. The quest will involve the cutting of a section through all that is most vital in Gilbertese myth, religion, and social structure; it will carry us far beyond the confines of Micronesia, and lead to the discussion of matters anything but gastronomic; its ultimate goal will be the identification of a culture-stream that once passed, by way of the Gilbertese Islands, into Polynesia; yet its chief theme will remain throughout that of a food-plant and, far from being irrelevant, many of the facts concerning food recorded in Parts 1 and 2 will be found highly pertinent to the final issue.

It is convenient to prelude the general subject with a rapid survey of the daily work of a Gilbertese woman: a useful insight into the common round of domestic life will thereby be obtained, and the ground will be cleared of a good many minor points concerning food. My information was collected in the Northern Gilberts, but may be taken as fairly descriptive of custom throughout the group, including Baanaba (Ocean Island).

### 1. THE DAILY WORK OF A WOMAN.

p. 36. The woman awakes and gets up, with the whole household, at the hour just before dawn, called *te itingaaro*: one who sleeps into the daylight becomes the butt of derisive comment and, if unmarried, risks her chance of securing a husband. After a drink of *kamaimai* (boiled coconut-sap—a food which will be described later) she begins work. The cool hours “before the sun is over the tops of the coconut-palms” are dedicated to her heavier tasks, which roughly divide themselves into (a) those

connected with the dwelling and (b) those concerned with agriculture.

In connection with the dwelling, the first duty is to examine the household's water-supply and replenish it, if necessary, at the nearest seepage-well (*maniba*). For the purpose of drawing water, a cluster of coconut-shells (*ibu*) is slung over the shoulder at the end (or both ends) of a convenient pole.<sup>1</sup> The dawn-hour is also the moment for collecting certain raw materials for home manufacture, including pandanus-leaf (*rau*)<sup>2</sup> for plaited articles, coconut-fibre (*benu*) for string-making, and dry coconut-leaves (*rin*)<sup>3</sup> for fishing-torches. The incentive held out to young girls to proceed early to such tasks is that the leaves—especially the prickly leaves of the pandanus—are *marau*, or soft, before the sun rises.

In connection with agriculture, a woman's early morning business is centred upon the preparation of black soil for the enrichment of the pits wherein the household's *babai* (*Alocasia indica*) is cultivated. Her duty is to collect humus from beneath the *ren* and *uri* trees (*Tournefortia argentea* and *Guettarda speciosa*), for both her husband's pits and her own.<sup>4</sup> She carries the humus to the side of the pit, and sifts it into a heap through a string-sieve called *te kamareirei*; there it remains for the man of the house to dig in. The woman also gathers old *babai* leaves and stalks, to twist them into ropes with pandanus-leaves, so that they may be laid by the man around the growing *babai*-roots, forming paniers to contain the richer soil. A third important labour is the collection of the petals of the *kaura*-flower (*Wedelia strigulosa*), which, after drying in the sun for two or three days, she mixes with the sifted humus at the side of the pit.

<sup>1</sup>See fig. 1. This method of carrying is called *te amoamo*, and is used indiscriminately for all types of burden. The ends of a carrying-pole are often seen resting on the shoulders of bearers of mixed sexes, the burden being slung from the middle.

<sup>2</sup>See figs. 2 and 3.

<sup>3</sup>See fig. 4.

<sup>4</sup>In the Gilbert Islands a woman inherits land or interests in land, and disposes thereof, quite independently of her husband.

When the sun shows signs of rising "over the tops of the coconut-palms," the woman returns home, for the hour of the early meal is near, and it is her duty to prepare the food and set it before the men of her household.

The distribution of her tasks over the remaining daylight hours is almost entirely dependent upon the state of the tides. She is required to take advantage of low-water by hunting in crevices of the reef for the smaller kinds of octopus (*kiika*); by fossicking in the lagoon-shoals for the various sorts of cockle (*koikoi*; *katura*, *nakoa-rikiriki*) or other molluscs; and by fishing in the shallows with a dip-net (*riena-n-urakaraka*) or off the edge of the reef with rod and line. As her fishing duties depend upon the hour of the tide, it follows that she may have to perform them by night, in which case she is accompanied by a companion of her own sex authorised by custom.<sup>5</sup>

When a husband accompanies his wife at night, the man handles the dip-net, while the woman bears the torches, fish-basket, and other gear. Women often go with their menfolk on deep-sea fishing excursions after dark—especially at the season when the moon sets at about midnight, this being the time when flying-fish are plentiful. The method of fishing is that called *te tatae*—the man standing slightly forward of the waist of the canoe, a raised torch in his left hand, and in his right a long-loomed dip-net held at the point of balance, wherein the fish is caught as it rises to the light. The woman's share of work on such occasions is to light and hand up fresh torches at need, and to paddle the canoe as ordered.

If a woman accompany one of her menfolk for purposes of cultivation or food-collection, her function is to hand him whatever implement or material he may need for his business at the place of labour. She does not carry his tools to or from work; she does not dig when a man is

<sup>5</sup>If she be married, her *kainaba*, husband's sister (on *Baanaba kainuma*) is her natural guardian. The husband's mother, uterine or classificatory, comes next in order. If she be unmarried, an elder sister or any senior female relative, with preference for the father's sister, is the companion.

present; and she is at all times prohibited from climbing.<sup>6</sup> In the collection of nuts, pandanus-fruit or *babai*—the principal vegetable foods of the race—it is generally the man who wins the produce, and the woman who carries it home, walking behind him; but a very heavy burden may be carried between the two of them, and, as far as the winning is concerned, a girl or wife may, with the proper implements, pull down branches and knock off the fruit of coconut or pandanus-palms.<sup>7</sup>

During the hotter part of the day, if agriculture or fishing does not take her abroad, the woman's chief work is the plaiting of mats and the preparation of food. It is generally an older woman of the household who does the cooking, builds the ovens, and collects firewood, but failing an elder there is no prohibition preventing a young girl from performing such duties, except at the time of menstruation.

From the first day of the menses until the fourth day after complete cessation every woman is absolutely prohibited from sharing in the cultivation of *babai*, and from touching any food—or implement, or utensil connected with food—save that intended for her own consumption. Pregnant or nursing mothers are usually held exempt from any but sedentary work, but are not obliged to abstain against their will.

Since the advent of European clothing (and alas! its universal adoption by the native) the duty of household washing (if any) has been added to the Gilbertese woman's

<sup>6</sup>The prohibition seems to be founded on reasons of modesty alone; its tendency of latter years is to diappear. Several modern Gilbertese women known to the writer have won public respect by becoming experts in toddy-cutting, an occupation which necessitates much climbing.

<sup>7</sup>The implement for pulling down branches, called *te kai-ni-kereke* (the stick-to-catch in a crook), consists of a fifteen-foot pole, at the distal end of which is lashed a small, barblike crosspiece. The tool for knocking down fruit, called *te butika*, is often a plain pole, though it is more frequently seen with a knife lashed to the distal end. In former days, a blade of shell fashioned like a small triangular fin and attached in the manner of a flag took the place of a knife.

tale of work. Her other common daily tasks are: the care of children; the manufacture of coconut-oil (*ba*); thatch-making<sup>s</sup> (*wai-rau*); the making of *riri* or kilts of leaf or grass—both her own and the men's; the plaiting of wreaths (*kaue*) for the dance; and the preparation of all ornaments for the personal use of her menfolk which do not require strength, skill in carpentry, or a particular magic ritual reserved to men, for their manufacture.

It is generally the men who make fire<sup>9</sup> with the *kai-n-iri* (stick-to-rub), but a woman who learns to do this is considered, even in an age of matches, particularly clever and helpful.

## 2. COOKING METHODS.

### (a) *The covered hearth.*

The word *umuna* means "cook in a covered hearth." The process of cooking by this method is called *te umum*, the hearth itself being referred to as *te ai-n-umum* (the fire-to-cook).

The hearth is made as follows. A shallow depression about 10 inches deep and 20-24 inches in diameter is first scooped in the sand. This is lined, as shown in Diagram A, with a layer (sometimes a double layer) of segments of coconut-husk, quite dry and each about four inches broad in the middle. Upon the husk is laid a stratum of coconut half-shells, mouths downward, as pictured. As a top-dressing over the coconut-shells is thrown in a filling of small dry rubbish, generally composed of the chewed and discarded seed-cones of the pandanus-fruit. In the centre of the filling is scooped a hole, right down to the level of the coconut-shells, and this is filled in with a wick of *te ing*, the fibrous material which grows at the base of the coconut-leaf. The whole is then covered with a double layer of stones, preferably flat or flattish, each about as big as a man's hand.

The wick of *te ing* having been lit, it is covered with a capstone, and the flame descends into the fuel. The fire

<sup>s</sup>See fig. 5.

<sup>9</sup>See fig. 6. The common ploughing method is used.



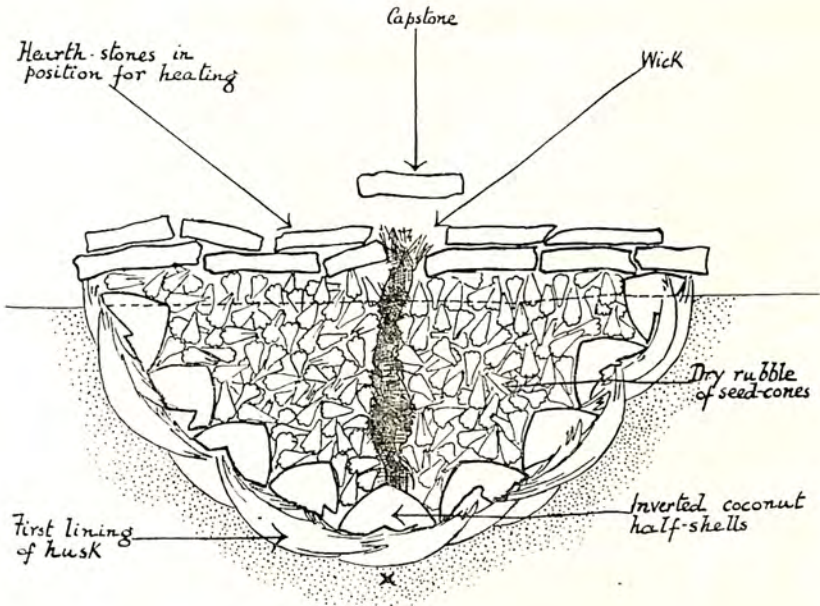


Diagram A. Gilbertese cooking-hearth (Section 2)  
 The cross marks the position in which the  
 cockle or sea-snail shells are laid in the  
 Katura or Habanaba ovens.

is allowed to burn itself clear, the stones settling down as the fuel is consumed. When the stones are red-hot, and neither flame nor smoke issue from the interstices between them, they are spread out in a single layer so that they form a pavement in the depression. The hearth is now ready for cooking.

Before the food is laid upon the hot stones, a little fence of stones or green husk is raised around the lip of the hearth. This serves to keep clear of stray sparks the mat with which the oven is to be covered.

The food having been put into the oven, an old mat is laid over it, totally concealing the hearth. For most foods, except fish, *babai*, and pandanus-fruit, steam is used in the process of cooking; one edge of the mat is lifted, and about half a pint of water is poured on the outer edge of the hot stones; the mat is quickly pressed down

again and the process repeated on all four sides. The act of pouring in water is technically called *teboka-na*.<sup>10</sup> When this is complete, the edges of the mat are buried in sand and the oven left to do its work.

According to the nature of the food, it may be set direct upon the hot stones, or kept clear of them by "keels" of green coconut-husk or midrib laid across the pavement of the hearth. For steam-cooking, each kind of food has its particular form of jacket. The pudding called *buatoro*<sup>11</sup> has a *nira* (winding) of *babai*-leaf, while that known as *tangana* has a *baabaa* (plaited basket) of coconut-leaf. A fish, cooked dry, is enclosed in a spiral winding of coconut-pinnules, knotted at head and tail, called a *bara* (hat).

The dimensions of an oven depend entirely upon the amount of food to be cooked. That which I have described and pictured is of the size appropriate to the daily need of a single household of three or four people, and is of the type known as *te bora teuana* (the single layer). This name refers to the single strata of husk and coconut-shells respectively with which the bottom is lined; a larger oven generally contains two layers of each sort of fuel, laid alternately, and is called *te bora uoua* (the double layer). Four strata of husk and four of coconut-shell are the most I have seen. In no case is there more than a single filling of small rubble.

A particularly deep and narrow form of steam-cooking oven is called *te ai-ni-Kiroro* (the fire of Kiroro) or simply *te Kiroro*. The mechanical arrangement of fuel in this type of hearth is different in no detail from that already described, but the depth of the pit prepared for the fire is so great in relation to its diameter that the sides are precipitous, and the hearth-stones eventually lie at the bottom of an almost straight shaft. This is one of the commonest forms of oven, being used when great quantities of food are to be cooked. It is stated to be "the fire of olden time," which is to say, a type long known to the

<sup>10</sup>*Teboka* washing; *na* is the suffixed possessive, third person.

<sup>11</sup>See section 8 for recipe.

Gilbertese ancestors who immigrated from Samoa some 22-25 generations ago.

An oven called *te katura*, which I have seen only in the Northern Gilberts, is also used for steam-cooking. Its form is identical with that pictured, the highly technical difference being that a *katura* (smooth cockle) shell is set in the centre of the hearth before the first lining of husk is laid. But the method of producing steam distinguishes this oven very clearly from other types. The water used for the purpose is not introduced in four places, nor is it poured direct upon the hot stones; it is carefully directed through a single hole in the centre of the covering mat, with the object of saturating the food under treatment before it drips upon the hearth-stones and is turned into steam. A fundamentally different mechanical conception of cooking is thus involved.

The *katura* oven, together with the shell-fish of the same name, is said on Tarawa to have been introduced by an ancestress called Nei Katura, who came from a very distant western land named Onouna. Local tradition is rich in allusions to Onouna, and evidence from all sources seems to indicate that a stream of immigrants came thence into the Gilbert Group about 25 generations ago.<sup>12</sup>

An oven called *te ai-n-Nabanaba*—the oven of Nabanaba—is precisely the same in construction and principle as the *katura* oven; but whereas a smooth cockle-shell is set in the centre of the *katura* hearth, a *nimataanin* (*Nerita plicata*) shell is laid in that bearing the name of Nabanaba. This is the only difference between the two. The land of Nabanaba is famous in Gilbertese tradition as the western home of an ancestress named Nei Tekanuea, who married into a family of Tarawa Island about 27 generations ago, and became the grandmother of an illustrious local high chief named Kirataa. The stories connected with Nabanaba will be examined at some length in a later section.

*Te ruanuna* is the name of an oven used for dry—i.e., steamless—cooking. Its mechanism is similar to that

<sup>12</sup>Texts of the oral traditions of origin and migration among the Gilbertese should appear in print within the next two years.

of the ordinary steam-hearth pictured, but the covering mat is entirely buried in sand as soon as it is put into position. The natives state that the object of burying the mat is to prevent the free ingress of air and thus to control the heat of the oven, which might otherwise scorch the food in the absence of steam.

The tradition connected with the *ruanuna* oven is that it was imported from a western land named Ruanuna. It is interesting to add that a certain kind of fish-trap made of coconut-leaves is also called by the same name. No particular ancestor appears, however, to be associated with this oven, from which it might be inferred that the *ruanuna* form was not imported by a single strange group or stream of immigrants, but was generally known to a large section of Gilbertese ancestors before their arrival in their present home.

On Butaritari and Little Makin, the two most northerly Gilbert Islands, the name Ruanuna takes the form Ruaniwa.

The geographical associations of the different types of cooking-ovens are arresting, inasmuch as they point so decidedly toward the west. Regarding the Kiroro oven, it is interesting to observe that in old dancing-chants dealing with the wars and voyages of Gilbertese ancestors, the ancestors are sometimes called Bu-Kiroro (the breed of Kiroro). Bu-Kiroro, often modified to Bongiroro, is also the collective name applied to what is otherwise called *te rina-n aba i maeao* (the line of lands in the west). If the Kiroro oven, which was brought into the Gilbert Groups by immigrants from Samoa, be connected with the Indonesian island of Gilolo, it follows that the immigrants represented a stream which, in earlier times, had migrated from Indonesia to Samoa.

There appears to exist no definite clue in local story as to the identity of Onouna, the homeland of the *katura* oven, but it might possibly be connected with Unauna, an island in the northern bight of Celebes, about 250 miles to westward of Gilolo. That it is a land very far to westward of the Gilbert Group local tradition leaves no doubt. In Baanaban (Ocean Island) story, it is connected

with a sister-land called Tabeuna, and both places are said to be situated on the western confines of Bu-Kiroro.

Ruanuna, under its variant form of Ruaniwa, strongly suggests Lieuenieua (Ontong Java), one of the Polynesian outliers of Melanesia. It is pertinent to add that Lieuenieua is one of the somewhat strangely scattered areas wherein appears the Y-shaped stick attachment between a canoe-outrigger and its float, also seen in the Gilbert Islands.<sup>13</sup>

(b) *Broiling upon embers (te tintin).*

For the cooking of certain kinds of fish, especially the flying-fish, the broiling method is preferred. An open fire is built upon the ground, and when it has burned itself clear, the gutted fish, complete with head and tail, is laid upon it. To keep the food clear of burning embers, it is sometimes accommodated upon supporting "keels" of green coconut-leaf midrib set parallel to each other across the fire.

The fuel preferred for the *tintin* method is dry coconut-husk, coconut-shell, and pandanus seed-cone rubble, because all these materials burn clear very quickly.

When the fire is made by a dwelling-house, it is generally built in the hearth-place of the customary cooking-oven; if this depression be not used, a scooped-out hearth is prepared elsewhere for the purpose. But if the fire be built on the beach—as often happens when a midnight catch is brought home by the fishers—or if the cooking be undertaken far from home—as during a fishing excursion up or down the lagoon—no preliminary depression in the ground is considered necessary.

Fish may also be broiled on the hot stones of an ordinary cooking-oven, in which case no covering mat is used, and the food is wrapped in no jacket.

<sup>13</sup>Haddon, "The Outriggers of Indonesian Canoes," *J.R.A.I.*, vol. 50, January-June, 1920, page 127.

Grimble, "Canoes in the Gilbert Islands," *J.R.A.I.*, vol. 54, January-June, 1924, p. 122.

## 3. COOKING-MAGIC AND PROTECTIVE RITUALS.

A Tarawa woman, Nei Batiauea—Roman Catholic convert, aged 25—learned from her maternal grandmother, and later gave to me, a magic formula held to be efficacious in spoiling the oven of an enemy. According to Batiauea's account, she doubted the power of the formula (owing to her religious education) but felt that it deserved a fair trial before being consigned to limbo. She chose her unfortunate mother-in-law as the victim of her experiment, although she was on the best of terms with that lady.

At about midday, when a cooking-hearth was being prepared by the old woman for the reception of some *buatoro* puddings, Bataiuea covered herself with a sleeping-mat, turned on her side to face the fire (which was near the side of the house), and muttered the following formula three times in succession:

Antena ai are e bubu aarei . . . e-e?	Whose is that fire which smokes . . . e-e?
Kai, ana ai Nei Tuta!	Why, her fire Nei Tuta!
Ba ai-tina-na Kanounou, ba ai- tama-na Kanounou;	For her aunt is Kanounou, <sup>14</sup> for her uncle is Kanounou;
Ba a ira te taanga n Tikinono.	For they (i.e., the male and female Kanounou) accompany the host of Tikinono. <sup>15</sup>
Tiiki-tiiki-tiki-tiki-tiki!	Heavy-heavy-heavy-heavy-heavy!

At the words "*Tiiki-tiiki-tiki-tiki-tiki*," the performer of the ritual clasped her hands, closed her eyes tight, and stiffened every muscle of her body as in a rigor, with the object of transmitting the quality of stiffness or heaviness to all food cooked in the oven. According to her own statement, her mother-in-law was from that moment unable to make a success of anything she cooked, until she changed her hearth. The change was ultimately made upon the solicitous and filial advice of Batiauea herself!

<sup>14</sup>*Ka* is the causative prefix; *nou* is the poisonous monacanthus fish, which has a dirty rough skin. *Kanounou* therefore means, in this context, "to cause to be as rough and dirty as the *nou*."

<sup>15</sup>*Tikinono* means "hauled taut," and is used to denote heaviness or sadness in a cooked pudding.

Food and cooking-fires were formerly much used in connection with the sinister form of magic called *te wawi*—the death-magic—which, though sternly prohibited by British law, is without any doubt still occasionally practised. A man is held to be particularly vulnerable through the embers or ashes of a fire upon which his fish is being broiled, and will keep a sharp look-out upon any individual not of his own household who approaches while cooking is under way. The method of the magician is to possess himself covertly of a handful of ashes, or a few morsels of charred wood, before the food is taken from the fire, and retire with them to a dark corner. Setting them upon the ground before him as he sits, he stirs the fragments slowly, in a counter-clockwise direction, with a piece of the riblet of a shrivelled coconut-pinnule, muttering to himself the following formula:

Ewara-n ai-ni kana-na:	The stabbing of the fire of his food:
Boa-rio, boa-rake,	Strike westwards, strike eastwards,
Boa-mate, boa-tabwe!	Strike death, strike rending apart!
A bung kanoa-n-nano-na:	His bowels give birth (i.e., begin to labour):
A bung, ao a rai, ao a mate, ao a tabwenaua.	They give birth, and they are overturned, and they are dead, and they are rent apart.
Maama-ia, bekebeke-ia!	Their shame, their unease!
Raira ato-na!	Overturn his liver!
E a tia, b'e a mate-o-o!	It is done, for he is dead-o-o!
Kokon-na . . . konie-e-e! <sup>16</sup>	Strangle him . . . !
Kokon-na . . . konae-e-e!	Strangle him . . . !

The section of the formula beginning with the words "*A bung kanoa-n-nano-na*" and ending with the last line is repeated a second and a third time; after which the magician stabs the ashes and leaves his riblet of coconut-leaf standing upright in their midst. It is claimed that, if the man against whom the ritual is directed eat of the food cooked in the cursed fire, he will soon begin to vomit, after which he will be seized with stomach-cramps and die within three days. His companions will feel no ill

<sup>16</sup>The words *konie-e-e* and *konae-e-e* are merely euphonic variants of *kokon-na*.

effects, as "their pictures have not stood in the heart of the sorcerer" during his performance of the spell.

Such is still the fear of all forms of the *wawi* (and there are many) that one who believes himself to have eaten cursed food may, indeed, by force of auto-suggestion, induce upon himself all the symptoms described above and die, unless he possess a protective spell which he believes to be more powerful than his enemy's magic.

The protective spells are of particular interest, because they generally contain the names of the great ancestral deities of the Gilbertese totem-sibs, which *never* appear in any formulae purporting to attack life and property. A very distinct set of religious ideas thus sets protective rituals apart from offensive magic.

Offensive magic appears to be purely animistic in attitude; the spiritual powers (if any) named in the formulae are held to be resident within the material of the ritual performed, and to be forced by the power of word and ceremonial to do the bidding of the sorcerer. On the other hand, the ancestral deities of the protective spells are not considered to be immanent in any material object, or to be constrained to obedience; their response to any spell is believed to depend, not upon the power of that specific ritual at all, but upon the past faithfulness of the performer in (a) observing the cult of his ancestors, and (b) abstaining from incest.<sup>17</sup> It is thus by favour that they are believed to afford protection, and it is the

<sup>17</sup>Incest (*te kanikira*), according to authentic Gilbertese custom (not now so strict as it used to be), consists of the establishment of sexual relations between (1) Persons descended into the same (patrilineal) exogamous totem-group; (2) Lineal ascendants and descendants not of the same totem-group, e.g., mother-son; maternal grandfather-granddaughter, and so on; (3) Collaterals descended from a common ancestor (not being of the same totem-group) down to the fourth generation of descent. The "fourth generation goes free"; (4) Collaterals of unequal degrees of descent from a common ancestor, thus standing to each other in the relationship, however distant, of classificatory parents and children.

The eating of the totem, or its desecration, was once considered a form of incest.



feeling of being justified before them that gives the performer of a protective ritual his confidence in their favour.

It would seem on the evidence that offensive and protective magic are the products of two sharply distinguished modes of religious thought, representing two different culture-streams. The absence of the names of ancestral deities from offensive formulae seems to indicate that the patrilineal folk, to whom such deities belonged, originally possessed no magic of an aggressive kind. This leads to the interesting hypothesis that the protective formulae were invented by the folk possessing the ancestor-cult, when they came into contact with an animistic people, as a measure of safety against an alien system. The constant recurrence of ancestral names in protective spells lends much support to the conjecture.

The first example chosen in illustration comes from the island of Marakei. If a man fears that the food which he is about to eat has been cursed, he first takes a pinch of the suspected dish in his right hand, and quickly whispers to himself the following words:

Taua-ni kana-ia aio-ee!	This, the holding of their food!
Taua-ni kana-ia Taburimai Auriaria, Nei Tevene, Riiki, Nei Tituaabine!	The holding of their food, Taburimai, Auriaria, Nei Tevene, Riiki, Nei Tituaabine! <sup>18</sup>
I aki bua, I aki taro!	I am not lost, I am not accursed! <sup>19</sup>
Te mauri, te raoi.	Safety, peace.
Te tabomoa Ngai-o-o!	Excellent am I-o-o!

<sup>18</sup>These are ancestral deities of Gilbertese totem-sibs, into which descent is patrilineal. They are believed to be related to each other in varying degrees of brother-sisterhood, and so have a general importance to the race outside their respective totem-groups.

<sup>19</sup>*Taro* (accursed). The term *tataro* is reserved for the essentially religious formulae pronounced in connection with the cult of the ancestor, and may be translated "prayer" or "supplication"; as such, it is sharply distinguished (both in fact and in the native mind) from the term *tabunea*, which denotes "magic formulae" of the purely animistic type already exemplified. The use of the word *taro* to mean "accursed" is thus in the manner of a misnomer, for curses are only effected by means of *tabunea*, never *tataro*. The inference is that *taro* was adapted to its present use by a race to whom the *tabunea* was a strange thing and its technical name foreign.

After the third repetition of this formula, if his conscience be clear of the two offences already indicated, he eats the food with confidence.

I have a note of a rather more elaborate ritual from Tarawa. The suspected food is laid on a leaf upon the ground, and covered with any sort of mat. The performer of the ceremony sits, with no particular regard to orientation, holding in his right hand the fanlike tip of a dry coconut-leaf; this he waves to and fro over the covered food, occasionally tapping the mat with light blows. While thus occupied, he mutters:

Unauna-ni mata-n anti!	The gouging out of spirits' eyes!
Kang anti, Nei Tabaa, anti!	Eat up the spirits, Nei Tabaa, the spirits!
Kang anti, Nei Tabaa, anti!	Eat up the spirits, Nei Tabaa, <sup>20</sup> the spirits!
Antni ni Mauere, Mauere-o-o!	Spirits of Mauere, Mauere <sup>21</sup> -o-o!
O, naako-o-o-o!	O, depart-o-o-o!
Naako, te anti-o-o-o!	Depart spirit-o-o-o!
Ko ninibaa ni bong, ko ninibaa ni ngaina,	Thou are bent double at night, thou are bent double by day (i.e., unable to rise and walk),
Anti ni meangi-ra, maiaki-ra, mainiku-ra, maeao-ra maieta, mainano.	Spirits of north of us, south of us, east of us, west of us, above, below.
Ko na kanna Neveneve;	Thou (Nei Tabaa) shalt eat up Neveneve; <sup>22</sup>
Ko na kanna te boka, ko na kanna te buni.	Thou shalt eat the <i>boka</i> , <sup>23</sup> thou shalt eat the <i>buni</i> .
Anti ni Mauere, Mauere-o-o!	Spirits of Mauere, Mauere-o-o!
O, naako-o-o-o!	O, depart-o-o-o!
Naako, ma kam a tai rikaaki maikoa.	Depart, and return not to this side (of the Unseen).
Kaanga-o-o, te anti-o-o naako-o-o-o!	As it were, spirit, depart!

<sup>20</sup>*Tabaa* means "young pandanus-bloom," and Nei Tabaa is the name sometimes given in song and ritual to the pandanus-tree. It will be seen in a later place that the pandanus is the ancestress-tree of the Gilbertese.

<sup>21</sup>Mauere is the name of a host of evil beings, believed to be the familiars of sorcerers who practise the death-magic.

<sup>22</sup>Neveneve is the collective name for another host of familiars similar to those called Mauere.

<sup>23</sup>*Boka*: an old coconut much used in certain kinds of death-magic. *Buni*: the trigger-fish (*Tetradon*), of which certain parts are very



FIG. 1.

Water-carrying in coconut-shells by the *amoamo*-method. The two ways of using the carrying pole are shown (see Section 1).



FIG. 2.

Pounding sun-cured pandanus-leaf for the manufacture of strands for mat-plaiting (Section 1).



FIG. 7.

Boiling coconut-toddy to make *kamaimai*. Note ladle made of half a small coconut-shell on shaft of pemphis-wood. The lifted vessel of boiling liquid is held in a clip made of the husk of a dried coconut-spathe (Section 7a).



FIG. 8.

Pounding cooked pandanus-fruit in the *nyabingabi* during manufacture of *kabubu* (Section 7b).



FIG. 9.

Tamping *kabubu* down into its container of pandanus-leaf (*te iria*). The companion on the left feeds the dry powder into the container from a coconut-shell while tamping proceeds, and the spiral envelope of leaf grows as the work progresses (Section 7b).



FIG. 10.

Grating coconut. The half-shell is held inverted and rolled forward and down over the teeth of the grater. The performer sits on the lengthened base of the instrument while at work. The grater illustrated is of modern construction, with metal teeth (Section 8).



FIG. 11.

Shredding cooked pandanus-fruit on the *twairoa*. The soft end of the seed-cone is scraped off against the upper edge of the metal plate (formerly a large shell) and falls into container below (Section 8).



FIG. 12.

Throwing back the head to drain a draught of *kabubu*. The drinker holds in his left hand a wooden spoon for stirring the sediment.

The native on the left is pouring water from a coconut-shell into a cup of *kabubu* (Section 9).

As soon as the third repetition of this spell is accomplished, the performer rises and goes quickly to the lagoon-beach; there he throws his coconut-leaf, handle first and dartwise, into the sea. He may then return and eat the cursed food with impunity.

#### 4. POISONS.

##### (a) *Used in Fishing.*

For stupefying fish in pools on the reef, the seed of a tree called *baireati* is used in the northern islands. One or two *baireati* trees grow in Butaritari and Little Makin, but the supply of seed is obtained, mainly, from the western beach of any island, where it is sometimes washed ashore in considerable numbers during the season of westerly gales. Its thick envelope of husk renders it capable of travelling great distances oversea. The *baireati* is conjecturally identified as *Barringtonia butonica*. The seed is taken out of the husk, and grated on a rasp of cured sting-ray skin; the gratings are then scattered in the pool as desired. A very small quantity suffices to poison a large sheet of water; on a calm day, fragments allowed to sink into five-fathom water off the edge of a reef will stupefy fish in the near neighbourhood.

Another stupefying agent used in both the north and the south is *te ntabanin*, a small, thin variety of sea-slug. The creature is taken alive and shredded on a grater, and the fragments are thrown into the water of a pool, where their effect is almost immediate. Some of the fish float in a comatose condition to the surface, others continue to swim lethargically below water; it is noticeable that the latter become quite blind, making no attempt to avoid any rocks that may stand in their way, or to escape the hand of the fisher.

Fish stupefied with *te baireati* or *te ntabanin* are eaten with no further precaution than gutting before being cooked.

poisonous (see *post*, Poisons). By implication, the performer of the ritual is asking his ancestress to consume everything harmful in the suspected food.



(b) *Used for homicidal purposes.*

Neither of these poisons appears ever to have been used against human beings, their respective smells being considered to convey too clear a warning of their presence; the native of the Gilbert Islands uses that sensitive organ, his nose, to an extent undreamed of by Europeans.

The *buni*, or trigger-fish (*Tetrodon*), formerly provided the most effective human poison known to the Gilbertese. The flesh of the *buni* may be eaten with perfect safety (in these waters) if the gall-sac (*ari*), liver (*ato*), alimentary canals (*ninika*), and roe (*bia*) be first removed without rupture; but these parts—and above all, the gall-sac—contain a virulent poison, which is swiftly absorbed by the flesh if rupture takes place before the fish be gutted. The usual trick of the native poisoner apparently was to spill the contents of the gall-sac into the abdominal cavity during the removal of the viscera. This was sufficient to secure the death of any who ate the flesh.

The symptoms of *buni*-poisoning are well known to the modern race, as accidental cases still occur from time to time. The sense of balance is first affected, the knees give way, the legs become paralyzed, and death quickly supervenes. The poison appears to be of a neurotoxic order. The native treatment is to administer copious draughts of sea-water as soon as possible, in order to induce vomiting.

*Te bwatua*, a little teleost fish of the order *Plectognathi*, probably the small fry of one of the globe-fish, was also used by the poisoner of old days, the viscera being ruptured and inserted into the abdominal cavity of any other fish being cooked for food-purposes. As described by an old man of Marakei, the symptoms produced in the victim seem to have been similar to those of *buni*-poisoning.

*Te kaveana*, a crab with a light carapace and very long legs of which I have not been able to obtain a specimen, was known and used at Ocean Island (Baanaba) and in the Northern Gilberts. All parts of this creature are said to be poisonous. The meat was shredded and cooked inside the food intended for the victim. The symptoms are described as "sleepiness, heaviness of the senses (*te aawa*)

increasing quickly to extreme lethargy, and final unconsciousness followed by death." No pain appears to have been caused by the poison.

A horrible method of killing was used in Butaritari, Little Makin, Marakei, and perhaps other islands. A great number of cantharides beetles were first collected by the poisoner, and "wrung out" in a piece of *ing* (the fibrous material at the base of the coconut-leaf); the juice thus obtained was mixed with *kamaimai*, and the drink offered to the victim. The fluid secreted by the cantharides beetle being a powerful vesicatory, causes inflammation throughout the uro-genital tract, accompanied by strangury, haematuris, priapism, and glairy urethral discharge; in some cases acute membranous cystitis may occur, as many Europeans know to their cost after having drunk coconut-toddy in which a few cantharides beetles have accidentally fallen. The victim of a draught containing the juice of some hundreds of these creatures must have died a terrible, lingering death.

A poison rarely used, because seldom obtainable at the right moment, was the liver of a shark. Under normal conditions, this is a perfectly safe food, but individuals of the blue-shark species are said by natives to have a liver of aberrant shape, one lobe of which is recurved like a hook; in this condition it is stated to be very poisonous. The symptoms are those of neurotoxaemia.

##### 5. PROHIBITIONS ON FOODSTUFFS.

*Totem-creatures*—Gilbertese society is divided into exogamous groups, wherein descent is patrilineal, and of which each purports to be either descended from or closely connected with at least one totem. Most sibs possess a minimum of two totems, some have three or four, one has eight. Several sibs occasionally share the same totem or totems; in such cases, the social groups concerned, although having different names, are seen to trace descent from the same ancestor or ancestress, and to observe the cult of the same *atua*.

No member of a sib may eat the totem-creature of his group; the creature is held to be flesh of his flesh, and its use as food is considered to be the first step toward incest. The ceremonial eating of the totem on special occasions seems never to have been practised in these islands.

In accordance with the patrilineal system of descent, a native owes greater deference to his father's sacred creature than to his mother's, but he will generally refuse to eat the latter, and also his wife's. It must, however, be added that this applies nowadays to a very small class of persons—the majority of the modern race having definitely discarded the strict practice of earlier times. It is estimated that not more than ten per cent. of Gilbertese now living remember even the names of their totems.

A remarkable exception to the general forgetfulness is afforded by the clans of which one or another of the varieties of the ray is the sacred creature. The members of these groups will still refuse, in the northern islands, even to share a pipe or a drinking vessel with a person who has recently eaten the flesh of a ray. The belief is that any such offence against the totem will be resented by Nei Tituaabine, the ancestral spirit of the sibs in question, and punished by visitations of the skin-disease known as *te rabarabataki*.

The appended table contains a list of the food-creatures avoided, for totemistic reasons, by those who continue to respect them.

*The Frigate-bird.* In a class by itself is the frigate-bird (*itei*), which, although not regarded as a totem by any social group that I can trace, is not eaten because, according to a tradition common in the Northern Gilberts, "it is the bird of the sun, of high chiefs, and of the dance."

*Creatures connected with Divination.* Four fish frequenting clear water at the edge of the reef, and belonging to the *Labridae*, are *tabu* for those who practise divination with the leaves of the pandanus and coconut; these are *te nnari*, *te bukibuki*, *te arinai*, and *te bave*. They are

TABLE OF FOOD-CREATURES AVOIDED.

TOTEMS	NAMES OF TOTEM-SIBS	NAMES OF SIB-DEITIES ASSOCIATED WITH TOTEMS	OTHER TOTEMS OF SIBS NAMED (Associated deities in brackets.)
1. Bêche-de-mer ( <i>kereboki</i> )	Keaki	Nei Tituaabine	Giant-ray, Tropic-birds (both Nei Tituaabine)
2. Clam, giant ( <i>kima aubunga</i> )	Karongoa	Auriaria	Sun (not specifically allocated). Rat (Auriaria) wind, thunder, cockerel, shark (Tabuariki). Kanawa tree (Teveia).
	Te O	Auriaria	Rat, tern (Auriaria)
3. Cockerel ( <i>moa</i> )	Uma-ni-Kamauri	Auriaria	Rat, tern (Auriaria)
	Karongoa	Tabuariki	See 2 above
	Taunnamo	Tabuariki	Shark (Tabuariki)
	Aa-n-te-Kanawa	Tabuariki	Shark (Tabuariki)
4. Eel ( <i>rabono</i> )	Nukumauea	Riiki	
5. Garfish ( <i>ana</i> )	Nei Ati	Nei Ati	Bonito (Nei Ati)
6. Giant-ray ( <i>baimanu</i> )	Keaki	Nei Tituaabine	Same as 1 above
	Tebakabaka	Nei Tituaabine	Shark (Tabuariki); tropic-birds (Nei Tituaabine)
	Kaburara	Kaburara	Sting-ray (Nei Tituaabine); a creeping plant, <i>te ntaraai</i> (Nei Tituaabine)
7. Toddy ( <i>kunei, io</i> )	Teborauea	Tabakea	A small tree ( <i>te ibi</i> ); a mythical beast, <i>te Kekenu</i> , apparently a crocodile or alligator; the turtle (all Tabakea)
8. Octopus ( <i>kiika</i> )	Nei Ati	Nei Ati	
9. Porpoise ( <i>kua</i> )	Ababou	Bue ma Riirongo	Sun and moon (Bue ma Riirongo); the rock-cod (Nakuaumai)
	Maerua	Bue ma Riirongo	Sun and moon (Bue ma Riirongo); the rock-cod (Nakuaumai)
	Tekokona	Bue ma Riirongo	
10. Rat ( <i>kimoa</i> )	Karongoa	Auriaria	Same as 2 above
	Te O	Auriaria	Same as 2 above
	Uma-ni-Kamauri	Auriaria	Same as 2 above
11. Rock-cod ( <i>kuau</i> )	Ababou, Maerua	Nakuanmai	See 9 above
12. Sandstipe ( <i>kun</i> )	Teba	Taburimai	Trevally and other carangoid fish (Taburimai)
	Tekirikiri	Taburimai	Trevally and other carangoid fish (Taburimai)
	Tabiang	Taburimai	Trevally and other carangoid fish (Taburimai)
	Namakaina	Taburimai	Trevally and other carangoid fish (Taburimai)
13. Shark ( <i>bakoa</i> )	Karongoa	Tabuariki	Same as 2 above
	Taunnamo	Tabuariki	Same as 3 above
	Aa-n-te-Kanawa	Tabuariki	Same as 3 above
	Katanrake	Tabuariki	
	Karumaetua	Tabuariki	
	Tebakabaka	Tabuariki	Same as 6 above
14. Sting-ray ( <i>baiku, buataru, bakananeku</i> )	Kaotirama	Nei Tituaabine	
	Bangauma	Nei Tituaabine	
	Buataru	Nei Tituaabine	
	Kaourara	Nei Tituaabine	See 6 above
15. Tern ( <i>kiakia</i> )	Te O	Auriaria	See 2 above
	Uma-ni-kamauri	Auriaria	See 2 above
16. Trevally and allied carangoid fish ( <i>rereba, urua, kuana</i> )	Teba	Taburimai	See 11 above
	Tekirikiri	Taburimai	See 11 above
	Tabiang	Taburimai	See 11 above
	Namakaina	Taburimai	See 11 above
17. Tropic-birds ( <i>taake, ngutu, karara</i> )	Keaki	Nei Tituaabine	See 1 above
	Tebakabaka	Nei Tituaabine	See 6 above
	All Giant-ray sibs	Nei Tituaabine	See 6 above
	All Sting-ray sibs	Nei Tituaabine	See 13 above
18. Turtle	Teborauea	Tabakea	See 7 above

believed to swallow the ashes of the leaves used for divination, which are always burned after they have served their purpose, and thrown into the sea by the edge of the reef. If a diviner eats the forbidden creatures, it is believed that his eye will lose the power of seeing and interpreting the attitudes of the divining-leaves.

*Creatures avoided by pregnant women and nursing mothers.* Pregnant women may not eat the following fish, for fear of affecting their unborn children in the various ways indicated:

*Te baibai* (sole or plaice). Is believed to cause the child's eyes to squint, or even to be set on one side of the head, like those of a flatfish.

*Te baa* (sp. *Mulloidae*). Having a body very small in proportion with its head, this fish is supposed to induce a similar disproportion in the unborn child.

*Te koinawa* (sp. *Labridae*). A small-mouthed creature, thought to convey its deformity to the unborn. A large (but not over-large) mouth is a mark of beauty among the Gilbertese.

*Te buni* (*Tetradon*). Is believed to prevent the growth of eyebrows. Thick eyebrows are greatly admired, especially those which meet in the middle.

*Te nneve* (crayfish). With its allied forms, *te ura* and *te mnao*, is thought to make the eyelashes coarse and stiff, instead of silky, as most admired.

*Te on*, *te tabakea* (turtle). Causes cowardice, on account of its crawling habit.

*Te aubunga, kima, neitoro, batua* (giant clam). Causes baldness in the child.

Remnants of fish used as bait may not even be touched by expectant mothers, for fear of giving their children unshapely hands, having a hacked and raw appearance. The close union of bait with "its brother, the hook" is also supposed to induce incestuous prenatal tendencies.

A woman with child must also avoid eating any of the creatures *tabu* to her husband or brothers for any reason at all, totemistic or otherwise, in order to save her child from the various and particular consequences feared by them.

*Creatures avoided by women in general*—All women avoid the following foods:

*Ye kuu* (unidentified fish). Because of its name, which means "wrinkled." It is believed that a diet of this fish causes the mats plaited by the eater to have an uneven texture and a wrinkled surface.

*Te inaa*. A large fish with rough scales. Because it is supposed to cause the ends of the hair to become *mangarua*, or forked.

*Any ill-formed pandanus-fruit*. For the same reason.

*Te kua* (porpoise). Elder women may eat this mammal in any quantity, but young girls are not allowed to take it in small amounts at a time, as it is said to rot young teeth if eaten in morsels. If, however, a large catch of porpoise be made, a young girl is allowed to eat her fill. Probably an economic arrangement, devised in the first place to limit the distribution of the prized flesh to a smaller circle in the event of a meagre catch.

*Foods avoided by adults in time of war*. At a time of communal or private strife, fighting-men used to avoid certain foods for the reasons indicated below:

*Te koinawa*. A fish of the species *Labridae*. Because it was believed, if eaten in anger, to cause the skin-disease called *te nimanu*, an itching-complaint especially affecting the hands.

*Te bukibuki* (sp. *Labridae*). On account of its name, which means "throb," was thought to induce a hurried beating of the heart, and thus cowardice.

*Te kekerikaaki*. A long, thin stinging jellyfish of a bluish colour; also on account of its name, which means "retire."

*Te batua.* The giant clam at one of its stages of growth. The similarity of the name of this fish with the word *batiku* (to bow) was considered to predispose the eater to assume a bent or servile attitude toward his enemy.

*Te on, te tabakea* (turtle). As previously stated, the crawling habit of the turtle associated it, in the native mind, with cowardice.

*The liver of any fish.* Being much used as shark-bait, was considered to put the eater into the position of a bait to be snapped up by a fierce enemy.

*Medical avoidances—*

*Te arinai* (see creatures connected with Divination). Is not completely avoided, but, if consumed in large quantities is believed to cause falling of the hair, especially of the beard, in sympathy with the smoothness of its skin.

*Te kima* (giant clam). Is eaten sparingly, because believed to cause baldness if taken to excess.

*Turtle.* Flesh in large quantities is supposed to encourage *kinaka* (tertiary yaws).

*Te ane* (unidentified fish). Is forbidden to young boys and girls, because it is said to induce *te waiwai*—an inflammatory condition of the bladder or urethra.

*Creatures connected with healing-magic.* A very interesting example of marginal diffusion is presented in the case of certain avoidances connected with healing-magic (*te wairaakau*). This form of magic is not of Gilbertese origin, being, as now practised, a medley made up of Fijian and Ellice Island components. The Fijian elements were introduced (a) by members of the local native constabulary recruited in Fiji, and (b) by Gilbert Islanders returned to their homes after long residence on Viti Levu.<sup>24</sup> The Ellice Island components—including the name *wairaakau*—were imported chiefly by Ellice labourers employed on Ocean Island (Baanaba), who diffused it among their

<sup>24</sup>A moderate number of Gilbertese are always to be found at the settlement of Nasese, near Suva,

Gilbertese fellow-workmen,<sup>25</sup> who in their turn carried it back to their various home-islands.

The food-creatures avoided by those who either practise or undergo this form of treatment are:

*Te kiika* (octopus);

*Te rabono* (eel);

*Te bakoa* (any kind of shark).

All these happen to be totem-creatures of Gilbertese social groups, but their connection with the *wairaakau* is, like the ritual itself, of purely foreign origin.<sup>26</sup>

*Other avoidances—*

The *buare* (belly) of any fish is forbidden to all, being called "slave's food."

The *bukiri* of a coconut—i.e., the distal end, where the shell comes to a point—is forbidden to men; women may eat it. No man may drink the water of a coconut from the *bukiri* end, the correct method being to pierce the "mouth" of the face at the proximal end, and suck.

*Raw fish* is forbidden to children, for two separate and distinct reasons: (1) It is said to make their breaths "heavy" which is to say, unpleasant. (2) A more mysterious reason is that "the child's head will be smitten (*bo*)" if he eat uncooked fish. The phrase is a catchword, of which the present generation appears to have lost the meaning but not the fear.

<sup>25</sup>From 400 to 600 Gilbertese labourers, accompanied by their wives and children, are constantly employed in the phosphate-industry at Ocean Island.

<sup>26</sup>It seems probable that the Ellice Island form of the ritual had itself been learned from the Fijians before its conveyance to the Gilbertese. See Kennedy, "Field Notes on the Culture of Vaitupu, Ellice Islands," page 264, supplement to *J.P.S.*, no. 158, June, 1931. The avoidance of the creatures named appears to have originated in Fiji. But the subject needs further research.



## 6. DIET—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS UPON FOOD-ARTICLES.

The leading principle of diet is that foods, to give strength, must be mixed; a satisfactory meal cannot be made of one dish only; there must be a *tanna*, a second dish of a savour so contrasted that it relieves, and is relieved by, the taste of the first.

Of all qualities most prized in food, fattiness (*nenea*) comes easily first. Nevertheless, this is not listed as a gastronomical preference, inasmuch as the native, though admittedly fond of the taste of fat, sets an even greater value upon its food-properties, and, despite its scarcity in the atolls which he inhabits, regards it not as a luxury but as a necessity. For this reason he spends much care in the artificial conservation of the fish called *te baneawa* (a kind of mullet), which is relatively rich in dorsal-fat. The small fry of the *baneawa* (called *te tarvaa*) is periodically netted on the shoals of the ocean reef, and confined in very carefully prepared ponds of brackish water, there to remain until it is about a foot long. When taken for the table, the fish may be eaten fresh-cooked, but is much more usually dry-salted and sun-cured, in which case it is eaten without cooking.<sup>27</sup>

On account of the same quality of fattiness, the porpoise (*kua*) is very highly valued, and a single stranded porpoise can still give rise to bitter dispute concerning the foreshore-rights of different social groups. On some islands, the single totem-sib of Karongoa-n-uea (Karongoa-of-kings) claims ownership of the creature, irrespective of where it may have come ashore; elsewhere it is regarded as the perquisite of high chiefs; everywhere, in former days, the proprietary interest was carefully defined. To whichever family group the prize may be awarded, its division and sub-division are matters of extraordinary care to every

<sup>27</sup>A wealth of magico-religious ritual which needs intensive study, has attached itself to the care of the *baneawa*. On certain islands communal *nei* (conservation ponds) are maintained, in connection with which is practised a series of fishing customs, prohibitions, and ceremonials that may be said to dominate the social life of the population.

member; even though a scrap no bigger than a man's first phalanx be the portion of one person, he will feel much aggrieved if he be forgotten in the distribution.

If a sudden large supply of porpoise-flesh be acquired, it is cut into strips and cured, without salt, in the sun. The somewhat leathery product is eaten in an uncooked state.

The deep-sea conger (*rabono-ni-man*) is esteemed for its fat to a degree hardly less than the porpoise, and is eaten either fresh-cooked or dry-salted. Though highly prized, this creature is the object of no socio-religious reservations comparable with those connected with the porpoise.

The octopus (*kiika*) is held to be very nourishing; it is usually hung up in the sun to cure, without previous salting, the tough white interior flesh of the resultant product being eaten uncooked.

The following fish are often eaten raw, at the taste of the consumer:

*Te aubunga*—Giant clam (allied forms, *te kima*, *te neitoro*, *te batua*).

All other kinds of shellfish.

*Te onauti*—Flying-fish.

*Te baneawa*—Mullet (*Mugil cephalus* ?).

*Te aua*—Grey mullet.

*Te rereba*—Trevally, cavally (allied forms, *te kuaua*, *te urua*).

*Te ati*—Bonito (allied forms, *te atuara*, *te nari*, *te nariari*, *te ingimea*, *te baibo*).

*Te baara*—Cero (*Scomberomorus regalis*).

*Te koinawa*—Sp. *Labridae*.

*Te inaa*i—Unidentified.

*Te ikamaawa*—Unidentified.

*Te imunai*—Unidentified.

*Te benu*—Unidentified.

*Te kobe*—Unidentified.

The habit of *te oraora* (the eating of uncooked food) seems to be founded upon taste alone; no *tabu* prohibits a man from eating any kind of fish in an uncooked state,

but experience has found the varieties which are not *wakaa* (stringy or tough) when raw, and these only, as a rule, are the objects of *te oraora*.

Generally speaking, the native prefers the deep-sea varieties of fish to those obtainable in the lagoon shallows. His taste is distinctly coarse, according to European standards; the flesh of shark (*bakoa*), spear-fish (*raku*), and sail-fish (*raku-ika*) is far more savoury to him than that of the *baibai*, a very delicate sole, which is plentiful in some lagoons. The red flesh of the bonito (*ati*), the barracuda (*ika-baouea*), and the horse-mackerel (*baiura*) ranks higher in the gastronomic scale than the white meat of the cero (*baara*) or the carangoids (*rereba*, *urua*, *kuaua*). A tubular, colourless jellyfish called *te baitari*, which has a strong salty taste, is very popular.

Among the crustaceans, *te waro*, a delicious member of the order *Stomapoda*, is largely neglected in favour of the commoner sorts of crab; e.g., *te manai*, a russet-coloured land variety; *te ntabaaba*, found on the ocean reef; *te ntabena*, a pale greyish crab of the shoals; and *te kauki*, a white and grey speckled species with dark grey legs found on most beaches. The crustacean most admired as food is the formidable coconut-crab (*aai*), on account of the fat contained in its tail. The various kinds of crayfish—*te nneve*, *te ura*, *te mnao*—are eaten sparingly, because they are believed to cause diseases of the skin if consumed in large quantities.

Of molluscs, the oyster (*baiao*) is never eaten, though it is said to be non-poisonous, and no especial *tabu* appears to have caused the avoidance. The *batua*, *neitoro*, *aubunga*, and *kima*—each of which names signifies a giant clam at a particular stage of its growth—are much esteemed by some, but avoided by others because they are believed to cause baldness. The staple mollusc is the *koikoi*, with what are believed to be its allied forms, *te koiriki*, *te koikoi-n-anti*, *te katura*, and *te nakoarikiriki*, which include cockles, smooth cockles, and (possibly) trigonia. The sea-snail (*Natica*), the warrener (*Nerita plicata*), and a large kind of periwinkle, all called by the one name *nimataanin*, are also eaten.

Among mammalian fauna, the porpoise, as already indicated, ranks easily first as a food-giver. The dog (*kiri*), which was known to the native from ancient times, but appears to have become extinct about five or six generations ago, was eaten, according to the evidence of tradition, by the ancestors of the race. Nowadays, it is not a common article of diet, but is occasionally used as such by the people of Butaritari and Abemama.

The rat, locally represented by *Mus exulans*, has never been eaten in the northern islands; I have made no enquiries on this point in the south.

Reptiles appear in the Gilbertese dietary in the forms of the turtle (*on, tabakea*) and the lizard (sp. *Scincus; te beru*). The latter is considered to be a very tasty morsel. After being killed, it is wrapped, without gutting, in a piece of pandanus-leaf, and cooked in the steam oven. It is said to be very fatty. The gecko (*tukunei*) is never eaten.

The domestic fowl is not used for food except in Butaritari and Makin (the extreme northerly Gilbert Islands) and Ocean Island (Baanaba). Its consumption in these three places may be the result of western influences, but this is not quite certain; its avoidance elsewhere may possibly have originated from its connection with the spirit called Tabu-ariki who, besides being the ancestral deity of a local totem-sib, is also regarded as the god of thunder and tempest. The fear of offending Tabu-ariki may, in the first instance, have inhibited persons outside his actual totem-group from killing his creature, and so have caused an avoidance for which the modern race can give no definite reason. Fowls' eggs are also excluded from the bill of fare on most islands, but on Butaritari and Makin they are eaten raw with relish, being considered especially delicious when they contain a half-formed chick.

Sea-birds are rarely eaten in the north; I have seen the noddy (*kunei, io*) and the tern (*kiakia*) being cooked in the south, but conjecture that the habit may have been introduced by Ellice Islanders or Samoan missionaries.

Two land-birds, the sandsnipe (*kun*) and sandpiper (*kitiba*), which are plentiful throughout the islands, seem to be eaten nowhere. The former is associated with one

of the more important ancestral deities, named Taburimai; the latter is used for sporting purposes as a fighting bird, in the manner of a game-cock, and is the object of many magico-religious rites in this connection.

#### EMERGENCY DIET.

In times of drought, when not only vegetable-foods but all kinds of fish are scarce, the islander would formerly eat the stalks and foliage of certain creeping plants—*te mtea* (turtle grass), *te wao* (unidentified), and *te boi* (unidentified). It is curious to note that he seems never to have discovered the edible qualities of the *Dioclea* bean (*riku*), which grows on many islands. Hedley has noted a similar omission in the Ellice Group.<sup>28</sup>

Another emergency diet was the over-ripe fruit of the *non* (*Morinda citrifolia*, commonly called the Malay custard-apple). This most unpleasantly-smelling food is still used as a stimulant by fishermen, during cruises of three or four days about their islands; it is said to be hot and comforting to a tired body. A variety of *non*, particularly prized for the bigness of its fruit, is called *te non-nabanaba*. The name of Nabanaba, a western land of tradition, has already been seen attached to a particular kind of cooking-oven.

The desiccated pandanus-fruit product called *te kabubu*, whereof the manufacture is described in section 7 (b), may be regarded as an emergency food, in the sense that it is carefully hoarded in times of plenty against periods of drought, and in olden times was kept in stock as "the food of fugitives" (i.e., the diet of people conquered in battle who had to flee their islands at a moment's notice) and "the food of voyagers."

#### EUROPEAN FOODSTUFFS.

The pig, which was unknown to the islanders before its introduction by Europeans, is highly esteemed for its fat; for the same reason, fresh beef and mutton are eaten

<sup>28</sup>Hedley, "Notes on the Ethnology of Funafuti," *Memoirs of the Australian Museum*, Sydney.

with avidity whenever obtainable, and tinned meats are very popular. The native has taken very readily to tinned fish of all kinds, salmon being that most frequently seen at his board, on account of its moderate price; but the oily sardine seems to be his favourite from a purely gastronomic point of view.

Sugar, especially brown sugar, now ranks in the native mind almost as a necessity; mixed with water, it replaces in many households the molasses called *kumaimai*, which is made of boiled coconut-toddy. Since this relieves the islander of much toddy-cutting, and enables him to conserve numerous trees for the sole purpose of copra-production, the advent of sugar may be regarded as an economic benefit, as far as it affects adults; but there can be little doubt that fresh toddy, with its vitamin-B content, forms a superior food for expectant mothers and children.<sup>29</sup>

Rice and navy-biscuits are now so generally used by the people that they may almost be called staple foods.

Tinned milk is bought for children, as a rule, on medical grounds only; it is regarded with complete aversion by most adults, who cannot understand the white man's liking for milk puddings, and consider that all food of this class is *te bai ni kamumuta* (a thing to make vomit).

Cod-liver-oil and castor-oil appeal immensely to the native palate, and are rolled around the mouth with much puffing of the cheeks before being swallowed.

#### THE STAGES OF THE COCONUT.

The Gilbertese recognize seventeen stages in the development of the coconut. The generic name of the nut is *te uaa-n-ni* (the fruit-of-coconut palm), but each stage of growth is distinguished by a particular term, which

<sup>29</sup>See in this connection Dr. G. W. Bray's remarkable monograph, *Dietetic Deficiencies and their Relationship to Disease*, which has particular reference to toddy and its derivative foods on the island of Nauru. The Australasian Medical Publishing Company, Limited, Sydney, 1927.

is sometimes a name proper and sometimes a descriptive epithet.

- Te nimoimoi* is the name of the nut from the time of its first appearance until the water begins to develop.
- Te onobua* contains water, but as yet no flesh, save a little gelatinous deposit (*marai*) at the distal end.<sup>30</sup>
- Te matari* has a gelatinous deposit covering the whole interior of the shell. This *marai* is held to be the best food for infants, and is given with good results even to babies in arms.
- Te moimoto* is the drinking-nut, wherein the *marai* has begun to form itself into a soft, milky-white flesh. The husk is still green and sappy. *Moi* means "drink."
- Te bukimaere* (the end-striped). The flesh is now thoroughly firm, and fit to be the food of adolescents. The distal end of the husk begins to crinkle and turn a reddish-brown.
- E tangi ni kimoa* (it cries secretly). If shaken close to the ear, the nut gurgles a little, as the water is beginning to absorb. The water is considered to be at its best at this stage; the flesh is still food for adolescents.
- Te aamakai* is the nut of which the husk is nearly all turned a greenish and reddish-brown.
- Te ben* is the ripe nut, of which the flesh has reached its maximum thickness. The flesh is adult's food; the husk is brown; but the fruit has not yet fallen from the tree.
- Te moi* is the freshly-fallen nut. At this stage, the water begins to dry up quickly, and the sweet spongy substance called *te bebe* takes its place.
- Te ranimauna* (the water-disappeared). The nut is dry inside.

<sup>30</sup>By distal end is meant the point (*bukiri*) of the nut, opposite the stalk or "face" end.

*Te maeke.* The flesh begins to become oily. During this and the next three stages it is considered at its best for food purposes when eaten raw, and is called "the food of men."

*Te bobo.* The flesh begins to turn a yellowish-brown. *E tawaa* (it is ripe); *e uraura* (it is red). The flesh is brown throughout.

*E tenatena* (it clings or sticks). The flesh is leathery, and no longer breaks off crisply when bitten; it is now held in particular esteem by the aged of both sexes, on account of its sweet oily flavour.

*E nananga nako* (it peels away). The flesh is easily separated from the shell, and begins to taste rancid.

*Te boka* or *te bokakua.* The flesh becomes pitted.

*Te momoka.* The flesh becomes spongy as the pitting increases, and eventually turns a dirty greyish-black.

It is, of course, at the *moi* stage that the nut begins to sprout, if allowed to do so, and is selected or discarded for plantation purposes by the agriculturist. If opened at this stage, it is seen to be pushing out a tender white shoot from the hole which constitutes the "mouth" of the "face" at the proximal end. For agricultural purposes it is now called *te buro*; its further development, when planted, is as follows:

*E wi-n-taake.* Literally translated this phrase means "it (has) beak of tropic-bird," and refers to the young shoot which now begins to protrude through the husk.

*E baa-raerae.* It (has) leaf-pulled apart. The fan-like first leaf opens.

*Te uto.* The young tree, with leaves fully developed, but as yet no sign of a trunk. Also called *te ene.*

*Te uto ae e maiu boto-na.* The *uto* whose base is vigorous. The first signs of a trunk are appearing.

*Te uto ae e toro boto-na.* The *uto* whose base sits firm. The young trunk becomes woody.



*Te ni*. The full-grown tree. When the first bloom (*ari*) appears, the *ni* is said to be *ribaiai* (coming into first flower); when it begins to bear nuts, it is called *kai-ririeta* (timber-growing high).

#### COCONUT-TODDY.

Toddy is the sap extracted from the coconut-blossom before the hard spathe which contains it has burst. The tip of the spathe is cut off, exposing an inch or two of compressed unopened blossom; the spathe is then bound around with string, in the manner of a cricket-bat handle, upward from the base to the cut-off end. A section of the exposed blossom is shaved off, and the toddy oozes from the cut surface; the spathe is pulled down, so that it protrudes horizontally from the tree, and lashed in that position; a coconut-shell suspended below the tip catches the sweet liquid, which is guided into its mouth by a funnel of leaf. A leaf-shield prevents the intrusion of insects.

Numerous "schools" of toddy-cutting exist, nearly every family-group having its own peculiarity of technique. The methods of binding the spathe are particularly varied, as the flow of sap is held to depend very greatly upon the skill with which this operation is performed.

The collecting-shell is changed twice (sometimes three times) a day, and on each occasion a fine wafer of the exposed bloom is sliced away, to stimulate a fresh discharge of sap. As cutting progresses, the binding of the spathe is gradually unwound, so that further lengths of the contained blossom may be exposed as necessity arises.

The hours of collection and renewal are usually just after sunrise and just before sunset, but some toddy-experts favour an intermediate operation at midday. A skilled cutter can win more than two pints of sap in twenty-four hours from a single spathe; the present writer, after several years of endeavour, was unable to achieve a full pint—which was politely attributed by the natives to lack of the proper magic. In point of real fact, the cutting process demands an extremely deft and sure touch, without which the sap refuses to run freely.

Toddy-cutting is said by some to have been confined, seven generations ago, to the single island of Abemama, the secret having been brought thence by an individual named Nakuau, and introduced into the Northern Gilberts. But this hardly tallies with the evidence of other tradition, which connects the art with the ancestral being named Taburimai—one of the most important of the *anti-ma-aomata* (spirit with man) of the race—and seems to indicate that it was generally known from very early times.<sup>31</sup>

Toddy begins to ferment within fifteen hours of its collection, especially if allowed to stand in a previously-used vessel; it is a popular intoxicant in its fermented state, though modern law prohibits its use. The effects of sour toddy upon the native are such that it was early recognized as a social evil, and those who became addicts were sometimes, by communal consent, expelled from their islands.

#### 7. PRESERVED FOODS.

(a) *The manufacture and use of kamaimai (see fig. 7).*

*Kamaimai* is the treacly product obtained by boiling and reboiling coconut-toddy (*kareve*). In consistency, it varies from a state of liquidity comparable to that of olive-oil to the solidity of a caramel, according to the number of boilings. For its manufacture, toddy collected at midday is considered the best; as the toddy used must be quite fresh, it follows that the boiling is an afternoon occupation.

Only women perform the work, and these must be related by blood or adoption to the man who has cut the toddy. It is still believed that, if an outsider undertake the task, her *kamaimai* will not thicken. The existence of such beliefs in connection with toddy is another indication of its use from very ancient times.

<sup>31</sup>A story of the trickster type describes how Na Areau, a son of the Creator of Heaven and Earth, was ignorant of toddy-cutting and attempted to steal the toddy of Taburimai. Taburimai's bird, the sand snipe (*kun*), was set to spy upon the thief, who, however, caught it and reversed its tongue, so that it has only been able to say *Kun, Kun!* ever since.

The vessels in which the liquid is boiled are ordinary *mangko*, half-shells of the coconut; the fire is made of embers, not in a scooped hearth but above ground.

The *mangko* are filled almost to the brim with toddy, and set in rows of three or four on the fire, perhaps as many as thirty or forty together in a big boiling. I shall take as a standard the number twelve, which represents an average boiling.

The liquid is allowed to boil at a gallop until the contents of the *mangko* are reduced by one half; at this stage, it has turned to a light, tawny-golden colour, and is already *kamaimai* of the variety called *te mai-nakoiang* (the boiling towards north), because it is drunk in this state more in the northern than in the southern islands; but, as a matter of fact, it is nowhere very much favoured.

For the second boiling, the contents of half the vessels on the fire are emptied into the other half, thus leaving six full *mangko* to proceed with. These are again allowed to gallop until half the liquid has evaporated. The *kamaimai* is now of a rich golden-brown colour and about as thick as boiled linseed-oil. In this state, it is called *te maran* (smooth) because of its oily consistency, and also *te iran-atu* (hair-of-head) because it drips, if sampled, in trailing threads, like golden syrup. This is the usual kind of *kamaimai* seen abroad in the houses. To a European palate, it is sickly sweet, even when liberally mixed with water; the dilution used by the native is in the proportion of half and half.

For further boiling, half of the *mangko* are again emptied into the others, leaving now only three full vessels. These are kept boiling until the bubbles which rise to the surface no longer scatter drops as they burst, but swell glutinously from the now sluggish liquid. When it has gone thus far, it is called *te mata-warebwe* (the broad-eyed), with allusion to the size and shape of the bubbles.

The contents of one vessel are now divided between the two that remain. These boil on until, when a test is taken on a slip of pandanus leaf, the cooled liquid sets about as hard as a soft caramel. The food is now called *te karebwerebwe* (the make explode) because the bubbles

make a crackling noise as they burst. *Te karebwerebwe* is a great favourite with children, whose mothers will generally dip a piece of wood into the boiling fluid and hand out a "bloom" of the sticky mass for their benefit.

The last stage arrives when a test shows the *kamaimai* to set as hard as a tough caramel. It is then scooped out into a single one of the two vessels remaining, and allowed to cool off. While still slightly warm, it is moulded into a ball and put by until cold. Its name is now *te bakamai-eta* (the fall from above), for no reason that I can discover. This is a great luxury; when needed as food, slices are cut from it, and it is eaten as a relish with *babai* or coconut. A sparing portion is considered enough for one meal, and the rest is carefully hoarded.

A drink of *kamaimai* (second boiling) forms the normal breakfast of the Gilbertese man or woman before setting out for the early morning labours.

(b) *The manufacture of te kabubu, and its associations.*

The product called *te kabubu* is a sweet powder of the consistency of sawdust made from the ripe fruit of the pandanus; it is mixed for purposes of consumption with water.

Extraordinary care is taken, in the manufacture of this food, to expel all moisture, as the durability of the finished article depends wholly upon the degree of desiccation achieved. The following description of the method of manufacture was obtained at Tarawa, which island abounds in traditions concerning the food, and enjoys the distinction of producing the best *kabubu* in the Gilbert Group. The somewhat complicated procedure is set forth in the separate stages technically recognized by the native:

Stage 1. The pandanus fruits are broken up into their constituent seed-cones, which are heaped on a mat at the left side of the (sitting) worker. Another mat, or screen of plaited coconut-leaf, lies before her. The seed-cones are taken, one by one, and their juicy proximal ends (*tabataba*) are sliced off upon the empty mat, their hard outer ends containing the seed being thrown aside to the worker's right.

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217

Stage 2. The *tabataba* are gathered together in a net of coconut-fibre string, and steam-cooked for about an hour. They are then taken out and heaped upon a mat of very close texture, about 3 feet square, called the *ngabingabi*. The sides of the mat are raised on stones, so that it forms a shallow crater, and the worker, sitting close up against one edge, proceeds to pound the cooked fruit with a pestle (*iku*) of pemphis-wood into a smooth mash. Not a single lump (*taribi*) is permissible.<sup>32</sup>

Stage 3. The mash is then separated into clots, each about as big as the lower half of a cottage loaf, and these are placed side by side on a separate mat. This process is called *te buabua* (the moulding) with reference to the shaping of the clots between the hands of the worker.

Stage 4. Each clot is now taken individually upon the *nagbingabi*, to be kneaded and pummelled until it assumes the shape of a rectangular slab about two inches thick, and eighteen by eight inches in area. After kneading, the slab remains fairly close-packed and solid. This process is called *te kaboraa* (kneading). As each slab is completed, it is covered with a green mat of plaited coconut-leaf called *te raurau* (plate) and tipped over upon it, as a pancake on a dish.

Stage 5. The slabs are then set out in rows to dry in the sun upon their respective *raurau*, being continually turned, to equalize the desiccation. This goes on for a greater or less number of days, according to the weather; in a good, dry season, the process is considered complete after about thirty-six hours of exposure to the sun. During the whole of this stage the mash is called *te karababa*; it is said to be *mae* (a special technical term indicating dryness) when the sun-curing is complete.

<sup>32</sup>See fig. 8.

Stage 6. The *karababa* is now ready for the stage called *te evenako* (the going away to another place). The slabs are taken to be dry-cooked in the Ruanuna oven, being set therein upon a foundation of green coconut-leaf midribs, which keeps them clear of the hot stones. They are left in the oven overnight. The next morning, they are again exposed (*tawaaki*) to the sun, and the process of curing continues for not less than seven or eight days in fine weather. At the end of this stage the slabs are hard, rather brittle, and of a pale golden-yellow colour. Now comes the browning process.

Stage 7. The cakes are heaped in piles of ten or more upon the hot stones of a cooking hearth. The undermost cake of a pile is not allowed to remain more than a few minutes in place; as soon as contact with the stones has browned its lower surface, it is removed to the top and another takes its place. When the whole pile has been browned on one side, it is reversed and the process is repeated for the obverse sides. The name of this stage is *te aa-karababa* (the word *aa* meaning "under-side").

Stage 8. All the slabs having been browned, they are laid out on a mat to cool, a mat covering them. Being quite cold, they are broken up into bits and thrown into the largest *aubunga* (*Tridacna gigas*) shell procurable, and there pounded into dust with a pemphis-wood pestle. The dust is *kabubu*, the finished article.

The *kabubu* is packed for storage in carefully prepared tubular containers of pandanus-leaf called *iria* wherein, if securely tamped down, it will keep for as long as two years.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup>See fig. 9.

## VARIOUS USES OF KABUBU.

This desiccated product of the pandanus is esteemed by the natives to be the most sustaining of all foods known to them. Above all, it was valued in earlier days as the ideal "food of voyagers." As long as a canoe's company had a good supply of *kabubu* and water, it would venture forth on a voyage of almost any length.

A man will cheerfully do a full day's work on nothing but a handful of *kabubu* in water at sunrise and the same at sunset, if other rations fail him. The gently purgative qualities of the food are also recognized and valued by the islander, who uses it freely as an aperient for his children.

The powder is occasionally eaten dry in these days, but its consumption in such a manner was formerly prohibited except on sea-voyages, when it was consumed as the traveller wished.

Mixed with *te kamaimai* (see previous section) until it assumes the consistency of a caramel, the food makes an aromatic sweet, called *te korokoro*. In this form also it will keep good for an indefinite period. It was under the guise of *te korokoro* that the first fruits of the pandanus harvest were formerly offered to the sun. The first-fruits ritual will be described in a later section.

## 8. LUXURIES—THE MANUFACTURE OF PUDDINGS.

A native considers himself provided with a suitable diversity of diet if he be possessed of the staple foods already described, but will nevertheless consider himself pretty poor if his wife or daughter cannot supply an occasional luxury in the shape of a pudding. The ingredients of the various puddings made in the Gilbert Islands are all vegetable. Though methods of manufacture vary slightly in different parts of the group, the following descriptions and recipes may be taken as representative of the more prevalent ideas:

*Te buatoro* is a golden-brown pudding, shaped like a large crumpet; it is sometimes seen as an elongated rectangle; its usual weight is four or five pounds.  
*Ingredients.* Uncooked *babai*; *kamaimai*; *te ran-*

*ni-ben*, the cream wrung out of grated coconut-flesh.  
*Method.* The uncooked *babai* is pounded into a smooth mash. Half its volume of *kamaimai* is mixed with coconut-cream, in the proportion of two to one, and the mixed fluid is poured into a depression scooped in the mash. Solid and liquid are kneaded into a smooth dough. The dough is shaped into circular or rectangular form and wrapped in fresh *babai*-leaves. The pudding is cooked in the Ruanuna oven, i.e., by the dry method, a special variation of the usual process being that hot stones are laid not only under but also over the food. About 3½ hours of baking are enough.

In spite of its apparent simplicity, a skilled hand is needed to make this dish; in inexpert hands it turns out heavy and sad. Ideally made, it is of the consistency of plum-pudding. As a rule it is eaten cold.

*Te tangana.* A round or rectangular pudding of the same shape and size as the *buatoro*. Also seen in globular form, about as large as a sixteen-pound shot. Tawny-yellow in colour.

*Ingredients.* Cooked *babai*; fresh coconut-flesh; *kamaimai*.

*Method.* The coconut is grated on the *kautuai* (grater; called *koiriki* in Southern Gilberts).<sup>34</sup> An equal quantity of cooked *babai* is scraped into flakes with a cockle-shell. The two solids are mixed, and *kamaimai* is poured into a depression scooped in the heap; the mixture is then kneaded until it binds. The amount of *kamaimai* used is entirely at the taste of the maker, the general preference being to mix in only enough to make the pudding moist and firm.

In this form, the *tangauri* is generally eaten uncooked. Another and commoner method of preparation is to omit the *kamaimai*, and to use

<sup>34</sup>See fig. 10.



sea-water instead; this is kneaded in in quantities only just sufficient to knit the mixture. The pudding is then dry-cooked for not more than twenty minutes in a jacket of *babai*-leaves. Its consistency, when done, should be about that of firm putty.

✓ *Te tangauri*. A sun-dried cake of pandanus-fruit and coconut-flesh, generally seen in rectangular slabs. *Ingredients*. Fresh grated coconut; double the volume of the juicy ends (*tabataba*) of pandanus-fruit sections; a quantity of whole fruit (i.e., having the juicy ends still attached to the seed-cones). *Method*. Dry-cook the *tabataba* and the whole fruit together in a bag of netting. Mash the cooked *tabataba* as if for making *te kabubu*. Scrape the juicy ends from the cooked whole fruit, and mix the flakes with the mashed *tabataba*. Mix in the grated coconut, and pummel the dough into cakes about half an inch thick. Lay the cakes in the sun until they are brown and sticky. The result is *te tangauri*.

If the *tangauri* is treated from this point exactly as *te kabubu*, and the drying process already described is completed, a very highly-esteemed variety of *kabubu* is obtained. The presence of desiccated coconut in the finished article is believed to render it especially suitable for the purpose of long canoe-voyages.

✓ *Te tuaee* is made of steam-cooked pandanus-fruit, of which the juicy ends are scraped off upon a bed of *uri* (*Guettarda speciosa*) leaves.<sup>35</sup> The resultant heap of moist scrapings is then patted and stroked with the palms until it becomes a coagulated sheet about half an inch thick, and perhaps two feet by ten inches in area. This sheet is placed in the sunlight to dry, when it assumes a dark brown colour and a consistency comparable to that of a soft caramel. The sweet is aromatic and pleasant to the taste, and keeps good for months.

<sup>35</sup>See fig. 11.

✓ *Te beo* can be made by covering the surface of a sheet of *tuace* with a rich layer of coconut-cream, and then rolling the *tuace* in the manner of a Swiss roll. *Te beo* is eaten at once, as it will not keep. The name of this pudding in the Northern Gilberts is *te kabaa*.

*Tekorokoro*, a mixture of *kabubu* and *kamaimai*, has been described under the head "Various uses of *kabubu*."

*Te katii* is a sweet made of *kabubu*, *kamaimai*, and finely shredded *tuace*; it has, like *te korokoro*, about the consistency of a caramel.

*Te manam* is a mixture of cooked and grated *babai* with fresh grated coconut, bound together with coconut-cream. A little salt water is sometimes added. The pudding is not cooked.

The above list by no means exhausts the vegetable-puddings made by the native, but represents the varieties most usually seen. It is said in the Southern Gilberts that the manufacture of these luxuries was invented in the northern islands, and has been adopted only of recent years by the poorer populations south of *Abemama*.

#### 9. MEALS AND MANNERS.

✓ Meal-times depend much upon the supply of food, but a Gilbertese household normally likes to eat after returning from the early morning labours, at some time between 8 and 9 a.m., and again after the evening's supply of coconut-toddy has been brought home, at the hour of sunset. In well-to-do households, an intermediate meal is not infrequently eaten after the noontide cutting of todody, but this is a very movable feast.

A universal habit is to wake at about midnight, and make an impromptu meal of anything remaining over from the evening's repast. This kind of meal, called *te tairaa*, is, however, not under any circumstances taken by those who wish to cultivate their *babai* pits next morning; it is also avoided by people engaged in certain magico-ritual observances, especially those connected with love, puberty, and the composition of dancing-chants.

Subject to such exceptions, every Gilbertese household will habitually arise at any hour of the night for the purpose of supping on broiled fish, if one of its members comes home with a good catch, or if a present of fish be sent along by some other household.

Individual inclination plays a great part in determining meal-times, and though the majority of people are seen eating at the times indicated, there is no etiquette which binds a native either to take his meals at a particular hour, or to do so in the company of his fellow-householders. In a very general sense, however, the meal may be regarded as common to the household.

The whole household eats together, without distinction of age or sex. Children are generally seen to sit in company with those who rank as *tibu* (grandparents—lineal, adoptive, or classificatory), because it is held to be the duty of the young to “watch the mouth” of the aged—that is, to minister to their wants. The only persons excluded from the board are women and girls during menstruation. These eat not only apart from the rest, but also, if there be two of them, apart from each other.

At this period, it is said of a woman that “she stands outside” (*e tei iao*), which signifies that, although she may take her meals at the same times as her fellow-householders, she must eat at a distance from the main communal dwelling. In fair weather, she occupies a mat on the ground a few yards from the house; at other times she may eat in some outhouse, provided that she takes care not to touch any agricultural or domestic implement in the neighbourhood. She uses special eating- and drinking-vessels, which may not be brought into the dwelling, and are carefully washed in sea-water and stowed away in a secret place after each meal. On the fourth day after complete cessation of the flow, the woman wraps all utensils in the mat upon which she has sat, hides the bundle, and returns to the household board.

It is the office of women at meals to bring in the food, and set it before the males. As soon as the man or men have begun to eat, the women may also set to, if food be in plenty; but at a time of scarcity, the men

are first allowed to appease their hunger, the remnants only being taken by the women. Neither remnants nor titbits are ever thrown at women by their houselords, all food being left on the *raurau* (leaf-platter) whereon it is served.

The elder men, having the rank of grandfathers, are supposed to be given the first choice of all foods. This, at least, is the theory, but the degree of piety varies much from household to household, and in actual practice to-day the old people are not seldom half starved.

No ceremonies appear ever to have been used at the beginning or end of a normal meal. I have a note from Marakei of one old man who used to break off a portion of his first dish and offer it to the skull of his grandfather; his habit was evidently analogous to the ritual used when offering first fruits at an ancestral shrine, but was regarded as a personal idiosyncrasy, as far as the ordinary routine of the daily meal was concerned, and I have not discovered the practice in any other island.<sup>36</sup> The food is not cut up or handed round by attendants. Everyone breaks off what he wants from the platter, but a grandchild will often do this on behalf of the grandparent, and carry the portion in his hands to the elder.

A passing stranger (by which term I mean anyone not a member of the totem-sibs represented by a household) may be called in casually to partake of a meal, and can hardly refuse such an invitation without causing offence. To him the first choice of food is offered, unless the meal has actually begun. In any case, before eating, he will break off a piece of the article chosen by him as his first dish and offer it to the master of the house, who will accept and eat it. This done, the stranger proceeds with his meal. The custom is called *te taarika*, which name

<sup>36</sup>At ritual-meals connected with the cult of the ancestor, and celebrated communally by all the members of a given totem-sib, it is (or, rather, was) customary to reserve the first portion for the *atua* of the sib. After the offering had been laid before the stone which represented the body of the *atua*, and the proper formula of words accomplished, the rest of the meal was consumed by the human assistants. This aspect of eating will be dealt with in a later section.

is also applied to the first portion given, at any ritual-meal, to the ancestral diety of a clan. Failure to observe the *taarika* is believed to cause a guest to vomit back all the food given to him, and to become *maraiā*, or accursed. No set formula of words is attached to the practice.

A stranger may never eat to repletion; if he be observed to do so, he will acquire a reputation of trading upon the hospitality of others. Nevertheless, good manners require him to simulate repletion, no matter how little he may have eaten. There is no particular method of doing this, and no formula of thanks is set for observance, but a rubbing of the stomach with the remark that "a full meal makes sleepy" is considered delicately to the point, and an eructation followed by the explanation that the stomach is *riba* (packed tight), or *tibutaua* (inflated), is particularly appreciated by the host.

Food at all meals is served together, without discrimination of variety, and each individual follows his taste as to the order of eating. The only gastronomical preference of a general nature that I have been able to discover among the natives is the principle that something sweet ought to be eaten simultaneously with fish, as a *tanna* (relish). This seems to apply especially to fatty fishes, such as the *bancawa* (sp. *Mulloidae*) and the *rabono* (deep-sea conger) and to porpoise-flesh. Under modern conditions on Baanaba, an especial delicacy is made by mixing store-sardines with raspberry jam, the horrible result being eaten rapturously with a tablespoon.

A meal is usually rounded off with a drink of *kamaimai*, *kabubu*, or water.

Implements used in eating are: *te eria*, made of any flat, tapering bone, and *te kauae*, of exactly the same shape but made of turtle-bone, both used as spoons for conveying sticky puddings to the mouth; *te bora*, a curved scoop of turtle-shell, about 2 inches wide and 6 inches long; *te kai-ni-moi*, a ladle made of half a small coconut-shell attached to a wooden handle, used for filling drinking bowls from larger vessels; *te mangko*, a drinking-bowl made of the half-shell of a coconut; *te kumete*, a large wooden bowl in which liquid foods are mixed ready for the ladle

(this vessel is also used as a mortar for pounding food-stuffs); and *te noko*, the riblet of a coconut-leaf pinnule, used in lengths of about 10 inches, in the manner of a fork, not a chopstick.

A brush called *te kai-ni-kammamma* (the implement to make suck) is often used to convey liquid food to infants and elders; it consists of a piece of the dried spathe of the coconut-blossom, pounded and teased out at one end. Alternatively, a two-foot tube is employed for the same purpose; this implement is called *te kai-n-tooree*, and is made of a branch of the *mao-bush* (*Scaevola koenigi*) from which the pith has been extracted.

To eat sticky food from the fingers is considered unmannerly, but fish is always taken by hand, except in the case of nursing mothers; these, for reasons of hygiene and not etiquette, abstain from touching with their fingers any strongly-scented food, and either use the *noko* or else ask a friend to feed them. Nursing mothers must also avoid the *kauae* and the *bora*, because these implements are made of the bone and shell of the turtle, a beast which is believed to inform a mother's milk with the spirit of cowardice.

Except in the drinking of *kabubu*, and the consumption of other pandanus-products, table manners are ill-defined. A clumsy eater is popularly said to be disgusting but, according to western standards, the clumsiness must be highly exaggerated before it is noticed. Small eaters are pitied (unless they be guests), and encouraged to eat more. What we should regard as gross eating commands respect, especially in Abemama and Butaritari, where high-chiefly dynasties are established and fatness is considered an attribute of royalty. A man must be a stupendous trencherman to earn the unsavoury title of *bua-beka* (bag-excrement) or *mangai-n-rang* (jaw-of-slave) reserved for gluttons.

A very strict etiquette must, however, be observed in the drinking of *te kabubu*. In a dry state, this food is of the consistency of sawdust, and the correct way to take it is to mix it with water. The drinking-vessel is first half-filled with the powder, and water is poured in to within

half an inch of the brim. After the mixture has stood for a few minutes, it is stirred with a piece of green pandanus-leaf; the first draught may then be taken. Each fresh draught must be preceded by a renewed stirring. When the liquid is finished, there always remains a thick sediment of liquescent *kabubu* at the bottom of the vessel, to finish which manners demand that more water should be added, and the mixture stirred again before drinking. The process must be repeated until but a little sediment is left. Only when a man judges that the remainder will make no more than a single mouthful, is he allowed to tip it into his open mouth, with head thrown well back; this action is called *te tara-rake* (the looking upward).<sup>37</sup> But woe betide him, if he misjudge the quantity, or is so maladroit as to spill even a little of the sediment down his cheek or chin. The whole household will immediately interrupt its meal to deride him, and the elder folk will consider it their duty to express themselves in terms of real disgust. The necessity of performing a clean *tararake* is unqualified; though the sediment may be collected (with the pandanus-leaf scoop) in the bottom of the bowl for the purpose of convenient tipping, it may on no account be ladled out or touched with the fingers, and to leave it unconsumed is a serious breach of manners.

The remarkable attitude of the *tararake* is still observed by a very small number<sup>38</sup> of old men in the Northern Gilberts when any product whatever of the pandanus, or any pudding containing such a product, is being eaten. Such purists take *babai*, fish, or coconut in the ordinary position of eating, with the face turned downwards to the platter, but the juicy seed-cone of the pandanus-fruit is gnawed and sucked with the head tilted back, and the *tuæe*, *korokoro*, or *katii* puddings (see section 8) are dropped morsel by morsel into the open mouth with the face similarly uplifted.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup>See fig. 12.

<sup>38</sup>I have personally met only two.

<sup>39</sup>It was the singularity of the *tararake* posture, and the somewhat elaborate nature of the behaviour observed toward pandanus-foods by a race whose other table-manners are of a rustic simplicity, which

## 10. NOTES ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF TE KABUBU AND THE MANNER IN WHICH IT IS DRUNK.

It is a striking fact that *kabubu*, which is universally used over fourteen islands of the Gilbert Group, and also on Baanaba, is nowadays almost entirely neglected by the populations of the two most northerly islands, Butaritari and Little Makin. Very little pandanus is grown on these two units of the group, and it seems to be a fact that the local cultivation of this tree, wherever it does now exist, is due to modern influences emanating from the neighbouring islands of Marakei, Abaiang, and Tarawa.

There is abundant evidence of the fundamental relationship of the Butaritari and Little Makin populations with the other Gilbertese communities;<sup>40</sup> Auriaria, the spirit of the pandanus-tree, is one of the most important local deities; and it can hardly be doubted that the manufacture of *kabubu* once flourished on both islands to the same extent as elsewhere. It may be that the decline has been encouraged by environmental circumstances, for Butaritari and Little Makin lie outside the zone of periodic droughts which seriously afflict Baanaba and the rest of the Gilbert Islands thus liberating the inhabitants from the necessity, very keenly felt elsewhere, of hoarding supplies of desiccated food against a time of famine.

Certain ethnic factors may also have played their part. Some notable dialectic, physical and social differences distinguish the people of these two islands from other Gilbertese communities, and seem to indicate that they have been subjected to cultural influences which did not penetrate to the rest of the group. A survey of these peculiar traits—particularly (a) of certain methods of disposing of the dead and (b) of the system of social grouping—suggests that the culture stream which introduced the *kabubu*-pandanus habit into this area of Micronesia found in occupation of Butaritari and Makin an

first led me to pursue the enquiries concerning the parent-tree and its associations whereof the major part of the following pages is the result.

<sup>40</sup>Certain migration traditions which put the relationship beyond doubt will come under examination in a later section.



aboriginal population different from that of the more southerly Gilbert Islands. It is possibly to the different conditions under which the immigrants fused with the autochthones that the decadence of the *kabubu* habit on Butaritari and Makin may be partly traced.

Nevertheless, while the environmental and ethnic factors may have weakened the appeal of *kabubu* to the two communities, and so facilitated its ultimate abandonment as a food, it seems probable that the main reason for the cessation of pandanus-cultivation was religious in character. Old men of Little Makin state that the pandanus was formerly the *anti*<sup>41</sup> of high chiefs,<sup>42</sup> and that certain trees of the genus which once stood on Butaritari were, for this reason, sacred.<sup>43</sup> Clearly, therefore, the pandanus was well known to the people and, just as clearly, its religious history among them must have been an ancient one. The cessation of its cultivation as a food-plant may have been due either to the gradual increase of its religious importance up to the point where it became, as a genus, *kamaraia*, or else to the sudden imposition of a *tabu* upon its use by some member of the high chiefly dynasty whose *anti* it was. The latter seems the more likely hypothesis. Owing to the rapid decay of custom and tradition on Butaritari and Makin, it is doubtful now whether anything more conclusive than a hypothesis will ever be reached.

\* \* \* \* \*

The distinctly ceremonious manner of throwing back the head when a draught of *kabubu* is being drained cannot fail to arrest attention. It might be thought that the

<sup>41</sup>*Anti*—any spiritual power, not being the ghost of a recently dead person.

<sup>42</sup>High Chiefs. Butaritari and Little Makin have been for many generations under the suzerainty of a single high chief. They are, with Abaiang and Abemama, the only Gilbert Islands where a high-chief dynasty has succeeded in remaining established until modern times

<sup>43</sup>The word applied to these pandanus trees, which I have translated *sacred*, was *kamaraia*. *Maraia* is an epithet which denotes the state of being liable to punishment in consequence of having done a prohibited thing; *ka* is the causative prefix. *Kamaraia* therefore means "causing to be *maraia* (if in any way offended)." And hence meet "to be carefully or ceremoniously treated, i.e., sacred."

operation of *te tararake* (the looking up) was the product of two interacting local factors, namely (1) the esteem in which the food is held by a folk whom poverty has forced to be thrifty, and (2) the mechanical difficulty of handling the mixture, enforcing its treatment in a pseudo-ritual manner. Against this, however, must be set the facts that the dangerous tipping operation is very far from being the most obvious way to economy, and, in addition, seems to demand a standard of behaviour far more precise than the Gilbertese—judging from their other table-manners—would naturally have adopted, had thrift and cleanliness been their only incentives.

That the original motive of the *tararake* was indeed not material but religious will appear beyond argument in Part 3 of this work, wherein certain rituals connected with the fructification of the pandanus and the offering of its first-fruits to the clan-deity will be described. It will be seen that the upturning of the face, in one case to an elevated tuft of feathers called the Sun and in the other to Heaven, is an essential part of those rituals; and it is here most pertinent to add that, in former days, the persons whose function it was to fructify the pandanus were habitually buried at death in a sitting position, with the head thrown back in the *tararake* attitude. The looking-up when a draught of *kabubu* is being drained clearly belongs to the same group of religious observances, and thus may be regarded, together with the careful treatment of the sediment, as a ritual act.

It cannot, however, be too clearly stated that, to the enormous majority of Gilbertese to-day, the *tararake* posture has no religious connotation whatever. The rituals which explain its true significance have been for many generations the secret of three social groups only, and the traditions which demonstrate the real meaning of the pandanus to the race have been no less jealously guarded. So close indeed has been the guard kept upon these monopolies, and so swift the concomitant decay of custom within the last half-century, that there are perhaps not now living as many as a dozen old people possessed even of fragments of the authentic lore of the pandanus and its people.

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THE MIGRATIONS OF A PANDANUS PEOPLE.

BY ARTHUR GRIMBLE, C.M.G., M.A.

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PART 2.

TRADITIONS CONCERNING FOOD.

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## PART 2.

## TRADITIONS CONCERNING FOOD.

11. Foods of the Dead: (a) The well, the fish, and the tree; (b) The red food called *te renga*—12. Cannibalism and head-hunting: (a) Modern cases of cannibalism; (b) The Little Makin head-hunting tradition; (c) The Tabiteuea Text; (d) The man-eating tropic-bird of Keaki; (e) The Matang tradition of Karumaetoa.

Appendices—1. Series of traditions from Little Makin, forming the prelude to the genealogy of the High Chiefs of the Northern Gilberts—2. Series of traditions from Tabiteuea, beginning with the first Ancestral Tree and leading up to the migrations of the children of Batuku the Skull—3. Text and interlinear translation of the tradition of the Keaki clan, concerning the immigration of the tropic-bird totem-groups from Samoa into the Northern Gilberts—4. Tradition of the Karumaetoa clan, concerning the immigration into Beru, Southern Gilberts, of a man-eating ancestor named Tewatu-of-Matang.

## 11. FOODS OF THE DEAD.

(a) *The well, the fish, and the tree.*

It is generally believed by the Gilbertese that when a departed ghost has safely passed the Bird-headed Woman<sup>44</sup> and the Old Man of the Cats-cradle<sup>45</sup> on his way to the

<sup>44</sup>Bird-headed Woman: Nei Karamakuna, who pecks out the ghost's human eyes and gives him spirit's eyes in return, provided that he can give her the only food she desires, namely, the tattoo-marks on his arms or body. If the ghost lack these he must pass blind into the Land of Shades.

<sup>45</sup>Old Man of the Cats-cradle: Noubwebwe, who displays before the ghost the series of string-figures collectively called by his name. The ghost is bound to name correctly that figure of the series, which is also called Noubwebwe, whenever it appears. If he fail, he will be either strangled in the string or else impaled by the old man's staff, and die forever. The being Noubwebwe is represented as a stunted, black, curly-haired person; he appears in a servile capacity in some versions of the Creation Myth, and is believed by some to have invented the string-figure and displayed it for the first time while heaven was being separated from the earth.

western bourne of the dead, called Bouru,<sup>46</sup> he is caught in the netting strand of Nakaa, guardian of the entrance of that land, and entertained for three days upon the "food of spirits," before being allowed to join the great company of his ancestors. During that period the ghost is fed—or, rather, feeds himself—upon the fruit of an inexhaustible tree, the fish of an inexhaustible lake, and the water of an inexhaustible well, owned by Nakaa.

The well has no name, being simply called Te Maniba, the term for the ordinary seepage-well of the Gilbert Group. Upon arrival the ghost is sent to draw water from the *maniba*, wherewith to lave his feet and slake his thirst.

The lake (*nei*) is sometimes called by the name Neineaba; it is believed to be of great expanse, and fringed with immense shoals not more than ankle deep. Neineaba is situated "in the middle of Bouru," due north of the coastal place called Manra where Nakaa lives; it contains a single fish, the *mon-n-taai* (*mon-of-the-sun*), which is of a brilliant red-gold colour. The *mon-n-taai*, once caught in the net of a ghost, is immediately replaced in the lake by another. The belief is that, if the ghost can abstain for three days from eating either the flesh of this fish or the fruit of Nakaa's tree, and from drinking the water of the well, he will be free to return to his body in the land of the living; but being hungry and thirsty after his long journey to Bouru, he cannot resist the temptation of food and drink, and so forever binds himself to Nakaa.

<sup>46</sup>Western home of the dead . . . Bouru: For a general description of the path of a Gilbertese ghost to the Land of Shades, see "From Birth to Death in the Gilbert Islands," *J.R.A.I.*, January-June, 1921. Much additional information concerning the rituals of the dead, their burial, and despatch to Paradise, has been collected since 1921, and will be published in due course. In connection with footnote 45 above, it may be stated that certain string-figures used to be made over the dead during the course of the ritual for "straightening the path of the ghost" to its western home. The religious significance of the cats-cradle is thus very definite in the Gilbert Islands. *Vide* also the ritual connected with the sun-figure, "Gilbertese Astronomy and Astronomical Observances," *J.P.S.*, December, 1931, pp. 213-215.

The inexhaustible tree is called Tara-kai-maiu—an interesting name. Setting aside for a moment the first component, *tara-*, the meaning of the second and third is alternatively *tree-vigorous*, or *tree-life*. Either rendering would be compatible with the tree's character, the one referring to its unceasing fruitfulness, the other to its association with eternal life. A Baanaban myth of the origin of death not only settles the matter in favour of the second meaning, but also adds considerably to our special knowledge of Nakaa's tree.

It is related in the Baanaban myth that Nakaa lived formerly upon Boura with the first men and the first women, who as yet knew nothing of the sexual act. Nakaa said on a day to his people, "I am about to leave you for a while. When I am gone, you shall live separate—the men under this tree in the north, the women under that tree in the south. The men and women shall not play together when I am gone." After he had departed on his voyage, a south wind carried the scent of *tabaa* (young pandanus-bloom) from the women's tree to the men. So the men went over to pluck the bloom of the women's tree. They played with the women, and it was then that they first learned *te bunu* (the sexual act). On Nakaa's return, his first work was to examine the hair of every man's head, and he found that grey hairs had come to all of them. From this he knew that they had disobeyed his word and played with the women. He turned to them all in anger, saying, "Now you shall leave this land, for you could not abide my word." He pointed to the two trees, "Take your choice," said he, "for one tree shall remain, and one shall go with you." They chose the women's tree, and he said, "That is Tara-kai-mate, and its companion is death. If you had chosen Tara-kai-maiu you would never have known death. But Tara-kai-maiu shall remain with me, and you shall take death with you." They took Tara-kai-mate and prepared to depart. While they were passing before him Nakaa plucked leaves from Tara-kai-mate, and in these he rolled a host of little insects. As the people were leaving, he pelted the backs of their heads with his leaf-bundles, saying, "These insects are grey hairs, and toothache, and

Boura

stomach-ache, and all things that bring death; and as for the leaves, you shall use them as shrouds when you are dead." Thus it is that, to this day, the dead are wrapped for burial in mats of pandanus-leaf.

It is clear from this myth that Tara-kai-maiu is not merely the tree-vigorous but, in a strong symbolic sense, the Tree-of-Life, and equally clear that, at some time in the history of the race, it was held to be a pandanus. This second fact accords very well with the first component of the tree's name, for *tara-* is evidently built up of *te* and *ara*, whereof the first is the definite article, and the second the generic term invariably prefixed to the name of any species of pandanus.<sup>47</sup>

Nevertheless, according to the popular Gilbertese belief of to-day, Tara-kai-maiu is not a pandanus at all, but a coconut-palm. This is not so surprising as it seems. As stated in the final paragraph of Part 1 (p. 50), all the vital tradition and ritual surrounding the pandanus has been for many generations the sacred (*kamaraia*) mystery of three social groups only,<sup>48</sup> and, even within those groups, the secret knowledge was confined to a very narrow circle of clan-elders, who made it their deliberate business to edit myth and tradition for public circulation in such a form as to blind all but the initiated to its inner meaning. It is entirely natural, in the circumstances, to find that popular belief as to the identity of Tara-kai-maiu is wide of the mark. The secret lore of the pandanus being regarded as *kamaraia*,<sup>49</sup> its transmission to any but a select few of the authorised social groups would have been held

<sup>47</sup>E.g.: *te ara-bouru* (the pandanus of Bouru), *te ara-matang* (the pandanus of Matang), *te ara-maunga-tabu* (the pandanus of the sacred mountain), are some of the hundred and seventy-odd pandanus names used by the Gilbertese. *Ara* changes euphonicly to *an-* and *ani-* before *n* and *k* respectively—e.g., *te an-nabanaba* (the pandanus of Nabanaba), and *te ani-koura* (the pandanus of Koura).

<sup>48</sup>The three social groups are named Karongoa, Ababou, and Maerua. See 2 and 9 in the table of totems exhibited in section 5, Part 1, p. 20.

<sup>49</sup>See footnote 43, section 10, Part 1, p. 49, for the meaning of *kamaraia*.

to endanger the life both of the giver and the receiver, and this is doubtless the basic reason for the deliberate corruption of tradition that I have indicated. The over-jealous hoarding of the authentic story, allied to the swift decay of custom during the last half-century—especially of religious custom—has almost secured its obliteration to-day; but there are still a few old men alive in the Northern Gilberts who know enough to deny that Tarakai-maiu was a coconut-palm, and one or two bold enough to volunteer that it was a pandanus.

(b) *The red food called TE RENGA.*

According to the old man Taakeuta, of Marakei Island, the substance traditionally known as *te renga* was the food of ancestors (*bakatibu*) in "the line of lands in the west" called by the inclusive name of Te Bu-kiroro or Te Bongiroro.<sup>50</sup> Quoting the same authority, who is backed by other old men of Marakei, Abiang and Tarawa—all in the Northern Gilberts—"te renga was a food which made the mouth red when it was eaten." There is a tradition in Taakeuta's social group,<sup>51</sup> and also extant upon the island of Abiang, that this substance was not taken alone, being chewed (*kantaki*) with the leaf of a certain tree.

Taam, of Marakei, who is descended through nine generations from a Beru ancestor named Kaabwibwi, remembers a story of his clan relating how Kaabwibwi used to "visit the west in dreams," there to chew *te renga* in company with his ancestral deity Tabu-ariki. Kaabwibwi is believed to have gone, after death, to live in Bouru with all his ancestors and to feast with them upon the red food.

Supporting this individualized account is found a general tradition in the Northern Gilberts that *te renga* is the food of all departed ghosts, when they have accomplished their three days' sojourn with Nakaa, and joined the company of their ancestors in Bouru.

<sup>50</sup>*Bu-kiroro, Bongiroro*: These names have already appeared in connection with a certain form of cooking-oven. See antepenultimate paragraph of section 2 (a), Part 1, p. 10.

<sup>51</sup>The eel-totem group of Nukumauea.



A belief which finds acceptance on most islands of the Group is that the red food is the diet of the fair or red-skinned ancestral deities of the race—Auriaria (the spirit of the pandanus), Nei Tevenei (his wife, the meteor), Nei Tituaabine (his sister-paramour), Riiki the eel (whose belly is the Milky Way), Tabu-ariki (the thunder-god), and Taburimai—in their western home called Matang. The red lightning that flashes in the storm-clouds of the westerly winds is sometimes called in old songs “the *renga* of Matang” and “the *renga* of Nei Tituaabine.” The redness of the sky at sunset is held to be a memorial of the food’s colour, and of the western lands (sometimes Bouru, sometimes Matang) where it originated.

Clearly, all the above accounts of *te renga* have reference to a single family of ideas: in Taakeuta’s story, it is the food of ancestors; in Taam’s, the food of a specified human ascendant in company with his ancestral deity; in one generalized account, it is the diet of the great deities from whom descent is traced; and in the other, it is eaten by all departed ghosts when joined with the shades of their forefathers. The land of shades and the ancestral fatherland of at least one branch of the Gilbertese race are thus compactly identified, the one with the other, so that the red food of ghosts and gods may be regarded as an article once used by the human antecedents of the race in their western homes of Bouru and Matang.

Confirming the Marakei and Abaiang evidence that the food was not a simple but a composite substance is its name *te renga*, which means *the mixture*.<sup>52</sup> The invaluable details (a) that one of the elements of the mixture was the leaf of a tree, (b) that the whole was chewed, and (c) that it stained the mouth red, read together with the information that the food originated in the far West, enable the immediate identification of this substance with the betel-mixture (areca-nut, betel-leaf, lime), which is, of

<sup>52</sup>The word has, for obvious reasons, acquired a second meaning, i.e., *red dye*. The verb *rengana* signifies *to mix*.

course, still commonly chewed in the far western Pacific and Indonesia.<sup>53</sup>

The question which naturally arises, if the Gilbertese forefathers had the betel-chewing habit, is why their descendants have not persisted in the practice until to-day. This is fairly answered by the physical conditions of the Gilbert Group, whereof the almost purely coralline soil will support only two food-trees—the pandanus and the coconut-palm.<sup>54</sup> If the areca-palm ever was introduced into these atolls, it could not well have outlasted the first generation of settlement. As the betel-chewing habit must thus have been involuntarily abandoned at an early epoch of the race-history, the memory preserved of the ancestral practice is remarkably precise.

Indonesia being the focus of the betel-chewing habit, it is natural to look first in that area for the far western lands named in the Gilbertese *renga* traditions; and, as the Moluccan portion of Indonesia stands at the gates of the Pacific, it seems *prima facie* more likely that the culture-stream which brought the Bouru-Matang-*renga* beliefs to the Gilbert Group emanated from that area of the Asiatic archipelago. Such a supposition is encouraged by the conclusion of Rivers that the betel-culture was brought to the western Pacific by immigrants from Indonesia, and receives further support from Haddon's finding, on quite different evidence, that the Moluccas were the most probable starting-point of the various race-movements into the Pacific Ocean.<sup>55</sup>

Bouru is highly reminiscent of Buru, a large island in the centre of the Moluccan area, and a pair of topographical coincidences strengthens the suggestion that Buru may have been the ancestral land of the *renga* tradition.

<sup>53</sup>As to the distribution of betel in Oceania, see Rivers, *History of Melanesian Society*, vol. 2, pp. 249-251 and *passim*.

<sup>54</sup>The soil of Ocean Island, consisting mostly of phosphate of lime in an insoluble form, supports only the wild almond in addition to the pandanus and coconut.

<sup>55</sup>Haddon, "The Outriggers of Indonesian Canoes," *J.R.A.I.*, January-June, 1920, p. 71.

A belief which finds acceptance on most islands of the Group is that the red food is the diet of the fair or red-skinned ancestral deities of the race—Auriaria (the spirit of the pandanus), Nei Tevenei (his wife, the meteor), Nei Tituaabine (his sister-paramour), Riiki the eel (whose belly is the Milky Way), Tabu-ariki (the thunder-god), and Taburimai—in their western home called Matang. The red lightning that flashes in the storm-clouds of the westerly winds is sometimes called in old songs “the *renga* of Matang” and “the *renga* of Nei Tituaabine.” The redness of the sky at sunset is held to be a memorial of the food’s colour, and of the western lands (sometimes Bouru, sometimes Matang) where it originated.

Clearly, all the above accounts of *te renga* have reference to a single family of ideas: in Taakeuta’s story, it is the food of ancestors; in Taam’s, the food of a specified human ascendant in company with his ancestral deity; in one generalized account, it is the diet of the great deities from whom descent is traced; and in the other, it is eaten by all departed ghosts when joined with the shades of their forefathers. The land of shades and the ancestral fatherland of at least one branch of the Gilbertese race are thus compactly identified, the one with the other, so that the red food of ghosts and gods may be regarded as an article once used by the human antecedents of the race in their western homes of Bouru and Matang.

Confirming the Marakei and Abaiang evidence that the food was not a simple but a composite substance is its name *te renga*, which means *the mixture*.<sup>52</sup> The invaluable details (a) that one of the elements of the mixture was the leaf of a tree, (b) that the whole was chewed, and (c) that it stained the mouth red, read together with the information that the food originated in the far West, enable the immediate identification of this substance with the betel-mixture (areca-nut, betel-leaf, lime), which is, of

<sup>52</sup>The word has, for obvious reasons, acquired a second meaning, i.e., *red dye*. The verb *rengana* signifies *to mix*.

course, still commonly chewed in the far western Pacific and Indonesia.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Haddon, "The Outriggers of Indonesian Canoes," *J.R.A.I.*, January-June, 1920, p. 71.

First, there is the story of Nakaa's great lake on Bouru, wherein the ghosts of the dead do their fishing.<sup>56</sup> A glance at any good chart will show that the centre of Buru is occupied by a lake of quite exceptional size, no such considerable expanse of water occurring on any other island to westward of Celebes.<sup>57</sup> And second, there is the tradition, also recorded in the previous section, that a place or area called Manra lies either on the south coast or else to southward of Bouru. A further reference to the chart will disclose the Banda Islands and Banda Sea immediately to southward of Buru.

Some further coincidences of nomenclature demand record in conjunction with these facts. Matang, the name of the other *renga* paradise already mentioned, is a widespread Indonesian place-name between Mattang of Sarawak and Medang of New Guinea; and Mwaiku, yet another Gilbertese paradise, recalls Waigiou by the Macassar Straits. Gilolo, facing Waigiou on the other side of the Straits, and immediately north of Buru, has already claimed notice in connection with the Kiroro cooking-oven, and Unauna in the northern bight of Celebes in connection with the Onouna of the *katura* oven. Between Unauna and Buru on the chart are seen the islands of Bangaai and Taliabu: Bangai and Taribo are common place-names in the Gilbert Group. To the West of Buru lie Manipa and Serang (Ceram): there are many Manibas and several Terangs in the present home of the Gilbertese.

The cumulative value of these coincidences is enhanced by the diverse nature of the traditions which make them apparent. Two similarities of nomenclature have appeared in connection with cooking-ovens; four from an examination of Gilbertese place-names; one in a paradise story; and three in the paradise-*renga* traditions. It is certainly remarkable that whenever, in this diffuse material, the name of an original land is mentioned, it finds its counterpart in a single small area of Indonesia. The effect is that of

<sup>56</sup>See preceding section.

<sup>57</sup>See for preference Admiralty Chart No. 942a, Eastern Archipelago, eastern portion.

a series of sign-posts set up at different points in Gilbertese culture and tradition, every one of them pointing to a common centre. Adding to this the commonly admitted likelihood that from this very centre—the Moluccan area—both the betel-people and other migrant swarms emerged into the Pacific, there seems to be very reasonable ground for the belief that Buru, the Banda Islands, Serang, Gilolo, and the places grouped around them were once the homes of those Gilbertese ancestors who chewed the red food called *te renga*.

\* \* \* \* \*

Taakeuta of Marakei told me that the tree whose leaves were taken to chew with the *renga* mixture was Tara-kai-maiu, thus suggesting that the Tree of Life discussed in the previous section was neither a coconut (as believed by the masses) nor a pandanus (as held by the initiated), but a betel-palm.

Though Taakeuta's other evidence about *te renga* is backed by a good deal of outside testimony, he is the only witness known to me who associates the Tree of Life with the red food, and he is unable to state whence he obtained this exceptional information. On the other side, the identification of Tara-kai-maiu with the pandanus is based upon the direct testimony of the Karongoa clan—the pre-eminent authority—being also supported by the Baanaban myth and by the etymology of the tree's name. The likelihood therefore is that Taakeuta (who is not a Karongoa man) has not the authentic story. Nevertheless, I have found him, despite his great age, a reliable witness in many directions, and I cannot avoid feeling that his association of *te renga* with the Tree of Life amounts to something more than a mere confusion. Upon this matter further research may throw a light which I have been unable to obtain, perhaps necessitating a modification of my conclusion that a single tree only—the pandanus—is bound up in the tradition of Tara-kai-maiu.

## 12. CANNIBALISM AND HEAD-HUNTING.

(a) *Modern cases of cannibalism.*

70<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that sporadic cases of cannibalism have occurred throughout the Gilbert Islands until very recent times. A man was pointed out to me on Butaritari in 1922, whose father, just deceased at the age of about 80, was known to have strangled one of his wives a short while before the establishment of the British Protectorate (1892), and eaten raw her thumbs, great toes and breasts. It seems that he committed this atrocity whilst drunk with sour toddy, under the goad of sexual jealousy. His object was not to procure food, but to load the dead woman with the last imaginable indignity. He is reported to have said, while eating her flesh, "*Ai beka-u mamma-m aei*" (my excrement withal this thy breast).

Individual cases of cannibalism from two to five generations old collected from eight islands (including both northern and southern units, and also Baanaba) indicate that by far the most common motive of cannibalism, in later times, was that which appeared in the above example—the ultimate abasement of the dead.

A common practice during war-time in the Northern Gilberts was to pluck out the eyes of enemies slain in battle, and crush them between the teeth. The mere biting in two appears, as a rule, to have sufficed, but I have obtained from several old men of Tarawa and Marakei the admission that they actually swallowed the eyes thus enucleated. An idiom still in common use at moments of extreme anger is "*I bia orai mata-m*" (Would that I might eat uncooked thy eyes). The operation was usually performed in the heat of battle, standing over the newly-fallen enemy; but there is a tale of a certain High Chief of the Northern Gilberts, not very long dead, to the effect that he would occasionally cause his suspected rivals to be murdered in cold blood and brought to him, in order that he might bite their eyeballs with due deliberation.

An interesting story from Baanaba relates that, four or five generations ago, a Tabiteuean canoe containing five starving occupants drifted ashore there. The castaways

were kindly treated, one of them, named Tebuke, being adopted into a household of the village of Buakonikai. After several years, Tebuke was suddenly missed from the village and, after vain search, was given up for dead. From that time onward many other people of the same village district began to disappear mysteriously, and it was believed that they had become victims of the same evil power that had spirited away Tebuke. After a good many years, Tebuke reappeared, sick and on the point of death. Just before dying, he confessed that he had lain hidden all the time in a hollow rock (now known as Tebuke's rock), which stood near one of the paths taken by fishermen to reach the eastern shore of the island. Whenever a man or a woman passed the rock alone, Tebuke had followed and killed the victim; he then dragged the corpse back to his hiding place, to eat it at his leisure. There seems to be no reason for doubting this story, which shows that, in some cases at least, there was a tendency to revert to cannibalism for purely gastronomic reasons.

The word "revert" is used advisedly, because tradition seems to leave no doubt that the eating of human flesh was commonly practiced, in conjunction with a form of organized head-hunting, by the race-ancestors who came to the Gilbert Group from Samoa, about 22-25 generations ago. This, however, is one of the most carefully-hidden secrets of the Karongoa clan; it was not until my ninth year among the Gilbertese that an authentic account of the facts was given to me.

[NOTE—A preliminary reading of *all* the traditions exhibited in Appendices 1-4 is advised before the perusal of the following pages is undertaken.]

(b) *The Little Makin head-hunting tradition.*

In 1923, three old men of the high chiefly group of Little Makin<sup>58</sup> allowed me to take down at their dictation the text of which a translation appears in Appendix 1. Though some parts only of the narrative are pertinent to

<sup>58</sup>The high chiefly group of Little Makin is the local equivalent of the Karongoa sibs on other islands,



cannibalism and head-hunting, the text is given in full, as it contains much that will be of use hereafter.

Section 2 of the story opens with an account of the place in Samoa where (according to Section 4) human heads were laid in sacrifice, and of the spiritual powers to whom they were offered. The locality was Maunga-tabu (the sacred mountain) whereof the summit "smoked, and sometimes burned fiercely"; the deities were, first of all, Auriaria, who dwelt in the top of an ancestral tree upon the mountain-slope, and second, Batuku, a skull (which was also an ancestor) believed to have sprung from the smoking summit.

Section 3 describes the building of the canoe wherein the children of Batuku the Skull "fared forth to seek the food of their father from the west." It is mentioned in this context how the canoe was launched over the bodies of dead men. Section 4 proceeds to give a clear account of how organized head-hunting raids were conducted against one island to westward of Samoa, called Butuna, and two to the south, called Tonga and Nuku-maroro. Butuna is clearly Futuna, or Horne Island, about 250 miles due west of Savaii; Tonga, correctly placed to southward, needs no explanation; and Nuku-maroro, given the alternative name of Nieuve by the old men of Butaritari, is easily identified as Savage Island, a little to eastward of Tonga.

The victims selected by the raiders were "men who were the first-born, and bearded, and bald"; their heads were cut off and hung in the rigging during the homeward voyage, while their trunks were heaped in the raiders' canoe. On arrival in Samoa, the heads were immediately taken as an offering to Batuku and Auriaria, being laid for this purpose on the lower slopes of the sacred mountain, "because the treading of that place was feared." After this ritual had been observed, the bodies of the slain were divided as food among "the people of Samoa."

The salient features of the Little Makin account are corroborated by a somewhat less detailed version collected from the Karongoa sib of Beru in the Southern Gilberts: discounting marvels, I see no reason for doubting the

general accuracy of the facts related. Further supporting evidence is supplied by the traditions connected with the canoe-crest of Karongoa. This crest consists of various arrangements of tufts and pennants of pandanus-leaf, which I have described elsewhere.<sup>59</sup> Almost any Karongoa man in the Group knows that the tufts are representations of human heads, "in memory of the food of the kings of Samoa in olden times." The account given in the Little Makin texts of how the heads of the slain were hoisted in the rigging of the raiders' canoe interlocks very well with this widespread tradition.

As I have stated, the head-hunting and cannibalism of the Gilbertese ancestors in Samoa and elsewhere is the dark secret of an inner circle of Karongoa. Members of the outer circle, and of other social groups, possess versions of the Little Makin story, told, not in terms of fact, but in curious cryptic form, which they relate without in the least understanding their hidden significance, and which, set side by side with the authentic story, form a most interesting study. They are mythopoeic renderings of the truth which the initiates of Karongoa have put into currency, in order the more completely to conceal the real facts of history.<sup>60</sup>

It is related in the cryptic class of traditions that *stranded porpoise* formed the favourite food of the people of Samoa, and that the heads of the porpoise were the portion (*tiba*) of the kings of Karongoa. To a bitter quarrel arising out of the unfair division of certain porpoise is attributed the scattering of the people from Samoa, and their migration to the Gilbert Group. This, it is seen, agrees in general outline very well with the Little Makin account; only, porpoise-flesh replaces human flesh, and all details concerning the practice of head-hunting, the rituals

<sup>59</sup>"Canoe Crests of the Gilbert Islands," *Man*, June, 1921.

<sup>60</sup>I was present when a Karongoa elder, to whom the real facts were perfectly well known, purveyed the cryptic form of the story to a large audience with great gravity and conviction. When I talked with him a few hours afterward, he explained, "These things are shameful, and they are also *kamarai* for both reasons, they may not be squandered (*bakataeaki*) to the mass of the people."

surrounding it, and the deities with whom it was associated, are suppressed. In the expurgated versions, no mention is made of Auriaria or the skull named Batuku, these two personages being replaced by a king of Samoa called Namakaina (the moon); and though the ancestral tree figures in the story as the "abode of the kings of Samoa," nothing is said of the "sacred mountain that smoked" whereon the authentic account places the tree.

Assembling the details with which the two classes of tradition, read side by side, furnish us, we have the following information:

1. Cannibalism among the Gilbertese ancestors in Samoa was secondary to the offering of human heads in sacrifice to certain deities.
2. A form of organized head-hunting was practised to supply the deities with their "food." The heads of those who were the "first-born" and "bearded and bald" were preferred for ritual reasons.
3. The spiritual powers to whom sacrifice was made were Auriaria, a god believed to dwell in the top of an ancestral tree, and Batuku, who was associated with an enormous ancestral skull. There seems to be a connection between these two beings and the moon.
4. The ritual of sacrifice was connected with a sacred volcano called Maunga-tabu, the home of the tree-god and the skull-god.
5. The victims of sacrifice were not, in later times at least, inhabitants of Samoa, having been fetched from the islands of Nieuve, Tonga, and Futuna, all about 250 miles distant from Savaii.
6. The euphemism—perhaps the ritual word—used to designate a corpse to be eaten by the people was *te kua*—a porpoise.
7. The partition of dead bodies among the various social groups was a ceremonious occasion. It was some failure to observe the rights of a social group or groups in the course of such a ceremonial that caused the break-up of the race in Samoa.

8. As the carriage of corpses by canoe from the neighbouring islands named to Samoa could not have occupied under two or three days, the flesh must have been putrid before arrival. This suggests that the form of cannibalism practiced was theoretical or ritual rather than actual or gastronomic.

The connection of Batuku the skull-god with the moon is arresting, because the association of cannibalism with beings who dwelt in the sky is of common occurrence in the Pacific.<sup>61</sup> I refer especially to the famous tales of the heroic personage called Tawhaki by the Maori, wherein Tawhaki himself is seen to be descended from a cannibal grandmother, Whatitiri, who was not only a sky-dweller, but the variant of whose name, Whitiri, means "thunder." The astronomical associations of cannibalism are even better defined in some versions of the story quoted by Dixon,<sup>62</sup> for these place Tawhaki eventually, with his grandmother, in heaven as a deity of lightning.

In the next few sections it will appear how closely the tree-god Auriaria, who shared with Batuku the sacrifice of human heads upon the sacred mountain of Samoa, was associated (in agricultural rituals) with the sun and moon; and later still he will be shown as the sun-god in very person. This being once apparent, the connection of human sacrifices with the moon by the Gilbertese ancestors in Samoa seems to be but one aspect of a sun-moon cult which embraced a wide range of religious activities. I thus anticipate my subject only to point out in passing that the astronomical associations of cannibalism throughout Polynesia—and especially in the Tawhaki traditions—may owe their origin to an ancient cult of the sun and moon, wherein the sacrifice of human heads and the subsequent

<sup>61</sup>Rotuma—Romilly, *Letters from the Western Pacific and Mashonaland*, London, 1891; Mangaia—Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*; Admiralty Is.—Meier, "Mythen und Sagen der Admiralitätsinsulaner," *Anthropos*, 2, 646-67, 933-42; New Zealand—White, *Ancient History of the Maori*, 1; Paumotu Is.—Leverd, "The Paumotuan Version of Tafa'i," *J.P.S.*, 1911, pp. 172-78.

<sup>62</sup>Dixon, *Oceanic Mythology*, p. 59.

eating of human flesh played a part. The likelihood of such a hypothesis will become more apparent when the deeper strata of Gilbertese myth and religion have been examined.

(c) *The Tabiteuea text.*

Much light is thrown upon the antecedents of the Auriaria-Batuku-Tree people of Samoa by a series of traditions from Tabiteuea (Southern Gilberts), which is presented at full length in Appendix 2, and will now be examined side by side with the Little Makin series of Appendix 1, which I have just reviewed.

Opening with a version of the Creation Myth, the Tabiteuea tale passes in its second, third, and fourth sections through a series of exploits of the well-known trickster type, wherein Na Areau the creator is the malicious hero;<sup>63</sup> but the fourth section ends with a good deal of genealogical information, up to which climax the whole preceding series of narratives, in the manner common to such annals in the Gilbert Islands, is intended to lead.

The opening sentence of Section 1 of the tale relates how, before the creation era—which is to say, in the very distant past—two western lands named Aba-the-little (Abaiti) and Aba-the-great (Abatoa) were the home of the first ancestral tree (the ancestress sun), a pandanus, whereof the presiding spirit was none other than the deity

<sup>63</sup>The name of the creator, Na Areau, means spider. For variant versions of the Gilbertese Creation Myth, see *Folklore*, 1922, pp. 91-112. As a rule, the creator does not appear as the trickster, this role being filled by his son Na Areau the younger, who is portrayed sometimes as a spider, but more often as a little malicious black man, with close curly hair and a flat nose. This personage is often called in the Northern Gilberts Na Areau-Tekikitea, and in the south Na-Areau-Tekitekite or Tekikinto. He is always found in conflict with the large-bodied, tawny-skinned ancestral deities Tabu-ariki, Auriaria, and others, from whose righteous anger his cleverness enables him invariably to escape. The trickster tales whereof he is the hero seem to represent an intermediate stage between the purely animal trickster tales of Indonesia and the stories of impishness grouped around the name of Polynesian Maui-Tikitiki. Observe how closely Na Areau's second name, Tekitekite, assimilates to Maui's second name, Tikitiki.

whom we have already seen in possession of the tree of Samoa, Auriaria. There can hardly be in the history of the Gilbertese race two different and unrelated ancestral pandanus-trees, both owned by the single god Auriaria. The conclusion is that the first tree of Abaiti and Abatoa was the prototype of that later pandanus-tree called Kai-n-tikuaaba which (according to the Little Makin story)<sup>64</sup> was planted on the sacred mountain of Samoa by Ariaria when, in the significant phrase of the text, "he trod the south." Between Abatoa-Abaiti of the Tabiteuean tale and Samoa of the Little Makin account we are given, in fact, the first and the last milestones in the migration track of a tree-descended, head-hunting people, with their god Auriaria, out of a far western land or group of lands into the southern Pacific. Any doubt as to whether the two texts do indeed refer to the same people, god, and tree will disappear as the comparison proceeds.

On Abaiti and Abatoa, according to Section 1 of the Tabiteuea text, grew Na Areau the creator in the primeval darkness; then came the separation of heaven from earth; and finally "grew the lands."<sup>65</sup> The land called "Kai-n-tikuaaba in the west" is stated to have grown first. Kai-n-tikuaaba, as noted in the preceding paragraph, is the name found attached in the Little Makin text to Auriaria's tree of Samoa: whether it be by origin the name of a land or a tree (and its meaning—tree of Tikuaaba—seems to include both connotations), its earliest associations were plainly with the west, whence it was later transferred to Samoa, doubtless when Auriaria "trod the south." That Samoa was indeed the last of a series of lands settled by the tree-people is evident from the context under reference, for there it is carefully stated that, after Kai-n-tikuaaba in the west, grew "Tarawa in the east"; after Tarawa, Beru; then Tabiteuea; and last of all "Samoa in the south." This is the key, land for land, of the order in which the tree-people occupied their successive homes on their way out of the west into nuclear Polynesia. The

<sup>64</sup>Little Makin Text, Appendix 1, Section 2 (6).

<sup>65</sup>Section 1 (5).

final stage of the migration, i.e., the movement from the southern Gilberts into Samoa, is described in Section 4 of the Tabiteuea story, which will now be analyzed.

The section opens by describing how Na Areau the creator, whilst at Tabiteuea, stole from a being named Taranga his wife Kobine, and made her the progenitress of ancestors. We have already seen this tale, under a rather different guise, in the Little Makin series (Appendix 1), for it is there related (Section 1) how Auriaria stole from Taranga in the underworld not a wife indeed, but a tree which nevertheless became an ancestress. The essential myth-fabric—the victim, his name Taranga, the theft, its result the birth of ancestors—is the same in both cases; only externals vary,<sup>66</sup> and the story has been localized in the Tabiteuea account: that which remains common to both recensions represents what was evidently one of the fundamental beliefs entertained by the people of Auriaria concerning the first growth of their race.

The names of Na Areau's progeny by Taranga's wife on Tabiteuea are given as Au-te-rarangaki, Au-te-venevene, and Au-te-tabanou, which signify respectively: Au-the-continually-overturned, Au-the-continually-reclining, and Au-the-skull. These, according to the text, "were the first ancestors of Karongoa on Tabiteuea," which is to say, their names stand as symbols representing a whole group (or perhaps three separate sub-groups) of Karongoa folk who had immigrated into that island. The same context links them together in a single religious category by stating that their *anti* was Auriaria. Their names obviously belong to the same family as that of Au-riaria, which signifies Au-continually-rising-over-the-horizon,<sup>67</sup> and it seems pretty

<sup>66</sup>It will be seen later that the divergence of externals is more apparent than real, inasmuch as Taranga's tree, stolen in the underworld by Auriaria, was a pandanus, and, as such, essentially a woman (see also Part 1, p. 16, footnote 20, for evidence of this). The tree of the Little Makin account thus equates perfectly with the wife of the Tabiteuea tale stolen by the god.

<sup>67</sup>*Ria* is used of ships, luminaries, or lands appearing over the skyline. The duplicated form *riaria* is frequentative in force, denoting habitual or recurrent action.

clear that in the god and his three eponyms (who are certainly not human ancestors) we have but four different personifications or attitudes of a single central identity named Au, who was the object of the Karongoa cult.

Having thus defined his groups by reference to their socio-religious indices, the native historian proceeds to describe the migration from Tabiteuea to Samoa, making Au-the-skull now the inclusive index of the movement: "(21) . . . . The day of voyaging came. Au-the-skull with his people voyaged to Samoa." Three of the canoes which carried the migrants are named, and their names are found to have significant reference, in every case, to the heads of human beings offered in sacrifice.<sup>68</sup> Thus obliquely does the narrator refer to the head-hunting habit which the Karongoa people carried with them to Samoa.

In the next paragraph (22), dealing with the settlement of the immigrants in Samoa, the Tabiteuea history links itself directly with the Little Makin tradition through the name of Batuku. The only differences are that, in this version, Batuku is presented not as a god or a skull, but as the king of the tree of Samoa and the progeny of Au-the-skull; while Koururu the brow appears as his brother, not his offspring as the Little Makin story [Appendix 1, Section 2 (9)] makes him. As far as the practice of human sacrifice is concerned, the text from Tabiteuea tersely confirms the more detailed Little Makin account by recording that the food of the kings of the tree was human heads.

Such, upon the evidence of the Tabiteuea tradition, is the tale of migrations implied in those few opening words of Section 2 in the Little Makin text: "Then was planted on Samoa the tree named Kai-n-tikuaaba, for there Auriaria planted it when he trod the south." The last movement of all was the reflux of the head-hunting people from Samoa, back along their ancient migration track, into the Gilbert Islands once again. Section 6 of the Tabiteuea version deals with that event in semi-mythical language, stating

<sup>68</sup>See footnote 92, Appendix 2, for a discussion of the canoe-names in question.



that the progeny of Au-the-skull were flung by their *anti* Auriaria northward from Samoa to Tabiteuea Island. The Little Makin version interlocks perfectly with this account, in that it also brings a child of the skull, one Rairaeana, from Samoa to Tabiteuea; after which, in its closing paragraph (53) it shows how the line of Rairaeana migrated still farther northward, up to Butaritari, there to produce the ancestors of three high-chiefly dynasties in the Gilbert Group, and of another in Mille of the Marshalls.

Traced backwards into history, therefore, upon the evidence of the texts examined, the lineage of, say, the high-chiefly dynasty of Butaritari takes us first southward to Tabiteuea, and thence southward again into Samoa. Looping back northward, the line passes once more through Tabiteuea; thence, up to Tarawa; thence, westward to the land called Kai-n-tikuaaba; and finally, back to the earliest fatherlands called Abaiti and Abatoa. According to the Tabiteuea account, it was in those very ancient homes of the race that Auriaria, the god of the head-hunting rituals of Samoa, first dwelt with his tree, a pandanus, whose name was The Ancestress-Sun.

Another, and singularly valuable, link with the west is the description of the kings of the tree of Samoa, in paragraph 22 of the Tabiteuea text, as "the breed of Matang, the breed of red men." The text is supported at this point by a mass of authoritative Karongoa tradition, as an example of which I select a second account of Batuku and his kin obtained from the island of Beru, Southern Gilberts. This account states that, after the work of creation had been completed, the being Na Areau-Tekikinto<sup>69</sup> undertook a voyage from Tarawa, Northern Gilberts, to Samoa and, having arrived in that southern land, there begot "the eldest ancestor, whose name was Te-i-matang (The-man-of-Matang)." This is as much as to say that the migration of the Matang people into Samoa was by way of the Gilbert Islands, which constitutes valuable confirmation of our conclusions from the Tabiteuea text.

<sup>69</sup>Na Areau-Tekikinto was the progeny of Na Areau the elder, the creator. See footnote 63 *ante*.

Tei-i-matang, according to the Beru authority, was the ancestor of Batuku the Skull. To quote now from the Beru text:

“Batuku the Skull had a brother whose name was Kanii. Batuku and Kanii are said to have been kings beneath the tree of Samoa, and their food was the heads of the first-born, the eldest. The heads of the first-born children of the people of Nikumaroro were taken to be the food of those kings. And in the men Kanii and Batuku appeared the breed of Samoa, the breed of red men, who were called the people of Matang, the people of the tree Kai-n-tikuaaba: Tabu-ariki, Taburimai, Nei Tituaabine, Koura, Riiki, Nei Tevenei.”

Matang, as will be remembered from the preceding section, is in popular belief the far-western paradise where the fair-skinned ancestral deities—Auriaria, Nei Tituaabine, Tabu-ariki, and others—forever feast upon the red food called *te renga*. The inference has been drawn that this land was one of the early fatherlands of the Gilbertese ancestors. It is almost unnecessary to point out how greatly such an inference is strengthened by the independent evidence from Beru and Tabiteuea that the race of Auriaria was still called, long after it had migrated out of the west into Samoa, the breed or people of Matang. The concrete nature of such evidence clearly sets the land of Matang within the category of material realities.<sup>70</sup>

As a piece of cultural information, the direct connection of Batuku and his breed with Matang is of first-rate importance, for it brings their practice of head-hunting, allied with the cult of an ancestral skull, into immediate concatenation with the chewing of the red food called *te renga*. The close original association of the betel-chewing habit with the practice of head-hunting and a highly developed cult connected with the skulls of relatives has been demonstrated by Rivers.<sup>71</sup> The identification of *te renga* with the betel-mixture thus rests not only upon the

<sup>70</sup>Matang is now a common place-name up and down the Gilbert Group.

<sup>71</sup>*History of Melanesian Society*, vol. 2, pp. 260-61 and *passim*.

very strong internal evidence of the paradise stories, but also upon its perfect consistency with other characteristic features of the betel-culture—head-hunting in particular—now made apparent in the practices of the tree-people.

Rivers has stated that there is no evidence of head-hunting in Polynesia as an organized and habitual practice, having the social or religious importance which attaches to the habit among the head-hunting peoples of Melanesia.<sup>72</sup> Chiefly upon this ground, the same authority doubts whether the betel-culture ever penetrated into Polynesia. The evidence of Gilbertese tradition just examined is therefore of a somewhat sensational nature, and if, as it seems to show, a numerous head-hunting folk with memories of the betel-chewing habit did indeed penetrate, by way of the Gilbert Islands, as far as Samoa, it will be necessary to explain why the vestigia of the betel-culture now traceable in Polynesia are—if any at all—so slight as to be almost unrecognizable. A sufficient explanation will, I think, disclose itself when certain other aspects of the culture of the tree-people shall have been examined.

(d) *The man-eating tropic-bird of Keaki.*

The remainder of this section will be devoted to a review of some further traditions of cannibalism in the Gilbert Group, obtained from social groups other than the Karongoa clan. The first of these, whereof the vernacular text and an interlinear translation appear in Appendix 3, emanates from the clan of Keaki, which claims the tropic-bird as one of its totems<sup>73</sup> and Nei Tituaabine as its ancestral deity. The free translation of the story here follows:

<sup>72</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 261.

<sup>73</sup>For other totems of the Keaki clan, see the table appended to Section 5, Part 1, p. 20.

## THE KEAKI TRADITION.

1. After the breaking of the tree (of Samoa) Kai-n-tikuaaba by Te Uribaba,<sup>74</sup> all the beings who lived in its top were scattered. The birds of Nei Tituaabine, the red-tailed and the yellow-billed tropic-birds, flew away. The yellow-billed tropic-bird flew westward, and settled upon the land of Beberiki; the red-tailed tropic-bird flew eastward to eat the redness of the sunrise, and after that, it came down-wind to the tip of Little Makin, where it settled upon the branch of the pandanus-tree called Te Ani-koura, or Te Aara-maunga-tabu, or Tara-kai-mate, above the bathing-pool called The-laughter-of-waves.<sup>75</sup>

2. And behold! if any man (of Little Makin) went to bathe in that pool, the red-tailed tropic-bird leapt upon him and ate him.

3. And behold! Nei Tituaabine arose (from Samoa) to follow and seek her bird: she came from the south, passing up to windward of the islands, and carrying with her one withered coconut and her divination set called *te kirikiri*.<sup>76</sup> She arrived at Little Makin and went to the *maneaba* (meeting-house). When she met the people in the *maneaba*,

<sup>74</sup>Te Uribaba: c.f. the Little Makin text, Appendix 1, Section 4, where Te Uribaba is named as the traitor who betrayed the people of the tree to the inhabitants of Tonga, Futuna and Nieuve. It is probable that this name (which signifies "the tap-root of a tree") stands rather for a social group of the tree-people than for an individual. The phrase "breaking of the tree" used in the present context obviously refers to the catastrophe which caused the break-up of the race in Samoa, and is a good example of the cryptic idiom originally imposed by the Karongoa clan upon other social groups, such as Keaki.

<sup>75</sup>*Te Ani-koura*—The Pandanus-of-Koura. It will be seen a little later that Koura was an ancestral being of the Keaki clan. *Te ara-maunga-tabu*—The-pandanus-of-the-sacred-mountain; *Tara-kai-mate*—The pandanus-tree-of-death. See discussion of the nature of the tree of life in Section 11 (a) *ante*. The present context seems to put it beyond doubt that the trees of life and death were regarded as pandanus trees.

<sup>76</sup>For a short description of the use of *te kirikiri* (pebbles) for divination, see "Canoes in the Gilbert Islands," *J.R.A.I.*, Jan.-June, 1924, pp. 102-3.

she said, "Have you seen my tropic-bird here?" (They answered) "We have seen it, and now there are hardly any people of our land alive, for the bird has well-nigh eaten them up. Canst thou, then, not save us from that bird of thine, for thou art indeed our mother also?" That woman said, "I can: plait two fans, and with them you shall (be able to) kill it."

4. So when those fans were ready, she told the women Bairuti and Batikoran to go and fan the bird. They did as they were told: the bird died, and they returned to tell Nei Tituaabine. Then she went to bury her bird: over its head she planted her withered coconut, and around that plant she set an enclosure of three hard stones. When she had finished burying her bird, she left it and returned to the *maneaba*. Then all the people of the land were happy, and gathered together to play and dance; every day, indeed, they made merry.

5. And when it was again evening on a certain day, they were dancing together, and behold! there appeared a red glow within the *maneaba*, on its eastern side. The people of the *maneaba* looked toward the place where the red glow appeared, and behold! they saw a shining red-skinned man as big as a giant. But when the dancing chant was nearly ended, that man ran away.

6. And when they were next dancing, that man once more appeared: and when the chant ended, he was chased; and behold! he was found in the top of the pandanus-tree upon which the tropic-bird had formerly settled. A great company also dwelt with him in the top of the pandanus-tree. And Nei Tituaabine asked him, "Whence grew ye?" And that man, who was the eldest of them, answered, "I grew out of the pandanus-tree, where the tropic-bird settled upon it." And thus said Nei Tituaabine, "Thy name is Koura."<sup>77</sup> Then she pointed at the rest of his company in turn saying, "Thou art Iti-ni-koura; thou art Rube-ni-koura; thou art Koura-toa; thou art Koura-iti;

<sup>77</sup>*Ura*, in modern Gilbertese, signifies *red* or *burning*. Cp. Polynesian *kura*.

thou art Koura-ma-te-taake; thou art Koura-n-tamoa; and thou Koura-n-Tarawa."

7. The whole of this company was red-skinned. And after a little while, they were all taken to the *maneaba*, and later still they were made *uea* (high chiefs) therein.

8. After a time, they ordered that a canoe should be built for them. When it was ready, it was called "Te-buki-ni-benebene" (The-tip-of-a-coconut-leaf); and then the time came for them to travel, so that they might see the neighbouring islands. And Nei Tituaabine told them, saying, "You shall go first to look at the coconut-tree which I planted over the tropic-bird." They went to look at it, and there were people in its top. These people were led back to Nei Tituaabine, and when thy came to her she said to the eldest of them, "Thy name is Nei Riki; and thou art Nei Temareve; and thou art Nei Tebaarae; and thou, Nei Tarabainang; and thou, Nei Newi." And then she gave her divination-set of pebbles to Nei Newi, with a mat of invisibility as its covering; and then (again) she tore off the top of the coconut-tree from which they had all grown, and gave the leaves to Nei Tarabainang as a divination-set.

\* \* \* \* \*

After this point, the narrative describes the voyages of the tropic-bird people, under the leadership of Koura, down the Gilbert Group, and their colonization of the four islands of Butaritari, Abaiang, Tarawa, and Beru. This carries the tradition beyond the scope of the present subject, but it is worth while to point out in passing the evident criss-cross of immigrant currents that was set up in the Gilbert Islands by the return of the Samoan branch of the race to Micronesia. While the Karongoa clans of the two texts first examined are seen to have entered the group at Tabiteuea in the south, and to have proceeded thereafter up to the extreme northerly islands of Little Makin and Butaritari, the tropic-bird groups of the tradition now presented took the diametrically opposite course of invading the group at Little Makin, and working their way thence down to Beru, an island as far to the southward as

Tabiteuea. This single example must suffice at present to illustrate the restless and complex swirl of clan-movements that vexed the group during the period immediately succeeding the incursion from Samoa.

Regarding now the technique of the Keaki tradition, we have in this narrative a good example of the method common to many clan-histories in the Gilbert Islands. The tale is fundamentally a record of facts, the central event being the immigration of a certain man-eating group from Samoa into Little Makin; but, instead of naming the actual ancestors who took part in the invasion, the historian uses the clan-deity and totem-creature—Nei Tituaabine with her tropic-bird—as social indices, and attributes to them the historic acts of the whole Keaki group of immigrants for which they stand.<sup>78</sup> He overlays the whole with myth-material relating to the totem and the deity, which obviously dates from an era much earlier than that of the return from Samoa.

Setting aside the myth-fabric, and rationalizing the account of facts, the tradition may be read as follows: When the ancestors of the Keaki clan were obliged to leave Samoa, they fled northward until they came to Little Makin. There they landed, having secured their first foothold in the neighbourhood of the bathing-pool called Tengare-n-nao. From that centre, they proceeded to attack the local population, their victims being killed and eaten. The practice of cannibalism, however, ceased for a very definite reason, which is made apparent in the prayer to Nei Tituaabine put into the mouths of the victimized people (paragraph 3 of text): "Canst thou, then, not save us from that bird of thine, for thou art indeed our mother ALSO?" This is an excellent example of the characteristically oblique manner in which the Gilbertese historian imparts

<sup>78</sup>It is still a common Gilbertese practice to designate a whole group of people by the name of their totem or clan-deity: e.g., *E roko Taburimai i aba-ra* (Taburimai arrives at our island) means, "Some people of the clan whose deity is Taburimai have arrived." *E noraki te Taake i Tarawa meang* (The tropic-bird is seen at north Tarawa) signifies, "There are people of the tropic-bird clan living on north Tarawa."

his most vital information. The passage means that Nei Tituaabine was the ancestral deity not only of the invaders, but of the invaded: in other words, the immigrants from Samoa were of the same ancestral stock as the people whom they found established upon Little Makin. This is, of course, valuable support to the conclusion dictated by the Tabiteuea text (Appendix 2), that the immigration from Samoa into the Gilbert Group was nothing more than the return of a race—or part of a race—along an ancient migration-route to one of its earlier homes. The intent of the historian, in the passage quoted above, is to explain that the incoming tropic-bird folk, though first obliged to fight their own ancestral kin for a foothold upon Little Makin, nevertheless ceased to practice cannibalism upon them because they shared with them the cult of a single clan-deity, Nei Tituaabine.

Nevertheless, though cannibalism ceased, it is clear that the immigrants established themselves as conquerors of the land, for the evidence of paragraphs 6 and 7 of the text is that the Koura people, who “grew out of the pandanus-tree” of the tropic-bird from Samoa, were made high chiefs in the *maneaba* of Little Makin. This naturally raises the question why the people of the Keaki clan are not, to this day, high chiefs of the island. The answer is implied in the final paragraph of the Little Makin text (Appendix 1) which we have examined. While the tropic-bird group was invading the extreme northerly Gilbert Islands, that branch of the Karongoa group which was led by Rairaeana the Man-of-Matang, child of Batuku the skull, was immigrating into Tabiteuea. The genealogical details supplied in the closing sentence of the text show that, in a later generation, the Karongoa clan moved northward, in the person of Rairaeana's descendant Teietoa, to Butaritari. By that time, the tropic-bird folk must have been well established as overlords of Little Makin, and probably also of Butaritari, but such was the sacred prestige of Karongoa among the Samoan immigrants that it is very doubtful whether the tropic-bird folk withstood—or even desired for a moment to withstand—the prerogative of Rairaeana's group to supersede them.



However this may have been, it is certain from the records of the high chiefly dynasty now established upon Butaritari and Little Makin that, but a few generations after Rairaeana the Man-of-Matang first invaded Tabiteuea, his three famous descendants, Rairaeana the warrior, Na Atanga, and Mangkia—whose names appear in the final paragraph of the Little Makin text—represented the only ruling caste upon the two northern islands.<sup>79</sup> The reign of the tropic-bird immigrants was thus of short duration, but a great many of their descendants still form part of the local population.<sup>80</sup>

A somatological point of great interest stressed by the Keaki historian in paragraph 7 of the text is that “the whole of the company of Koura”—which is to say, all the tropic-bird invaders from Samoa—were red-skinned. This is evidently the Keaki rendering of that Karongoa tradition already examined, concerning “the breed of Samoa, the breed of red men, who were called the people of Matang.” That the tropic-bird folk were indeed also “people of Matang” is clear from the fact that their ancestral deity was Nei Tituaabine, this goddess being numbered, as the sister-paramour of our tree-god Auriaria, among those fair-skinned beings believed to feast upon the red food called *te renga* in Matang-of-the-West. But perhaps the clearest evidence of the racial identity of the tropic-bird clans with the breed of Matang<sup>81</sup> is contained in the intimate relationship of their ancestral beings, Koura and Nei Tituaabine, with that very index of the Karongoa-Matang culture, the ancestral pandanus of Auriaria called Kai-n-tikuaaba, the tree of the sacred mountain. Out of

<sup>79</sup>Rairaeana the warrior migrated to Mille in the Marshall Islands, and there established a chiefly group which (according to a Butaritari claim which I have not verified from the Mille end) is still extant. The third brother, Mangkia, migrated to Abemama, where his descendants are still high chiefs. The second, Na Atanga, stayed at Butaritari and became the ancestor both of the local high chiefly dynasty now in power and of that established upon the island of Abiang, about sixty miles south of Butaritari.

<sup>80</sup>See footnote 40, Part 1, p. 48.

<sup>81</sup>See Section 11 (b) *ante*,

that tree, according to the Little Makin text in Appendix 1 (paragraph 4), sprang not only the Karongoa god Tabu-ariki, but also every other great clan-deity of the head-hunting people, including Nei Tituaabine, who grew from one of the branches, and Koura, child of the first bloom. The inference is that all the social groups who believed themselves descended (through their gods) from the tree were, equally with Karongoa, of the breed of Matang. The following very explicit passage from the Beru text already quoted confirms the conclusion: "And in the men Kanii and Batuku appeared the breed of Samoa, the breed of red men, who were called the people of Matang, the people of the tree Kai-n-tikuaaba: Tabu-ariki, Taburimai, Nei Tituaabine, Koura, Riiki, Nei Tevenei."<sup>52</sup>

The tree of Auriaria may thus be regarded henceforth as the index, not only of Karongoa, but of a whole congeries of red (i.e., tawny)-skinned clans who practised head-hunting and cannibalism, and brought with them into the Pacific memories of betel-chewing out of a western land called Matang.

But the full lore of the tree—its myth, its history, its head-hunting rituals—was peculiar to Karongoa. Only such fragments of that lore as Karongoa passed for circulation were permitted to subsist in the traditions of other social groups, and these were so cryptically presented that, in the course of time, their meaning was lost to the uninitiate clans who purveyed them. Examples of such morsels of occulted truth are to be seen in the Keaki text. In paragraph 1, the man-eating tropic-bird of Nei Tituaabine is pictured as having settled at Little Makin upon the branch of a pandanus-tree, whereof one of the three recorded names is Ara-maunga-tabu (Pandanus-of-the-sacred-mountain). In paragraph 6, the ancestral being Koura is shown to have grown from this same tree.<sup>53</sup> These allusions carry a merely local significance for the Keaki

<sup>52</sup>See page 71 *ante*.

<sup>53</sup>Allied to the tradition of Koura's growth from a pandanus-tree is the widespread Keaki belief that any pandanus-drupe represents the body of this ancestral being, whose name, signifying *red* or

Taane-n-toa the second, a famous high chief of Beru, with whom Tewatu had dealings. According to the best Beru pedigrees in male lines, Taane-n-toa flourished 19 generations ago, so that probably not less than 400 and not more than 500 years have elapsed since the immigration described in the Karumaetua history.

Paragraph 9 makes a particular point of the transport by Tewatu of his parents' skulls from Matang to Beru. In another version of this story which I possess, it is declared that the hero used the two skulls as his drinking vessels, but paragraph 13 of the text exhibited indicates that, on his arrival at Beru, he buried them near the *boua*<sup>85</sup> (stone pillar) at which he practised the cult of his ancestral deity. As we have seen, the cult of an ancestral deity together with an ancestral skull was the basis upon which rested the head-hunting and cannibal rituals of the tree-folk in Samoa, who called themselves the breed of Matang. The texts which have made this fact apparent, however, belong to the secret lore of Karongoa, and are confined to a narrow circle; furthermore, though they give rise to the plain inference, they fall short of furnishing the direct statement, that the cult of god and skull emanated from Matang or, indeed, from any land in the west; thus, the concrete evidence of the Karumaetua text that Tewatu came direct from Matang with his cult of one of the best-known tree-gods linked with that of his parents' skulls, plus the habit of cannibalism, is of high value, inasmuch as it is of a domestic rather than a sacerdotal kind, and concatenates in a single stroke all the main features of the Matang-religion with which this section is chiefly concerned.

Paragraph 10 gives a terse but unequivocal description of Tewatu's cannibal activities on Beru, and paragraph 11 relates how, "after many men were eaten at Teteirio," he was called to parley with the high chief, Taane-n-toa. The honour with which he was treated by the chief—including the ascription to him of a sitting-room in the *maneaba* at Tabiang—plainly indicates that he was a person to be placated rather than opposed: that is to say, the

<sup>85</sup>A description of one of these stone pillars will appear in Part 3.

force of the immigrant host from Matang was a strong one. What, then, prevented it from continuing to pursue its cannibal habits on the island?

It was seen in paragraph 3 of the Keaki text that the tropic-bird invaders of Little Makin ceased to prey upon the local population because both immigrants and autochthones practised the cult of the same ancestral deity, Nei Tituaabine. Paragraph 13 of the Karumaetua story now provides us with an exactly parallel situation, the historian using the same oblique or allusive method of conveying his facts as that observed in the former instance. Tewatu-of-Matang is pictured to us as taking the sitting-room in the *maneaba* just accorded to him, when the high chief asks, "Who is the ancestral god of the stone where those two skulls of thine are buried?" In other words, "What is thy ancestry?"—the first of all questions asked by any Gilbertese native to this day of the stranger who assumes a sitting-place in his *maneaba*. Tewatu answers, "Tabuariki is my ancestral god." "Ours also!" replies Taane-n-toa,<sup>86</sup> and, this point having been made clear, the conclusion follows naturally, "It is enough! Thou shalt not after this eat the people of Beru." The breed of Matang, composed of social groups all claiming descent from the ancestral tree of Auriaria, did not prey upon itself. This accords perfectly with the evidence of the Little Makin text (Appendix 1), which shows the children of Batuku-the-skull organizing their head-hunting raids, not against the people of the tree in Samoa, but against the inhabitants of Nikumaroro (Nieu), Futuna, and Tonga, about 250 miles overseas. The skulls of kinsmen evidently played an important part in the rituals of the head-hunters, but it was the heads of strangers that formed the sacrifice, and the flesh of aliens that made the food of the tree-folk in the cannibal meal that followed.

<sup>86</sup>The high chief Taane-n-toa of Beru was demonstrably of the breed of Matang, being descended from a line of Tarawa high chiefs belonging to the clan of Karongoa. There will be some discussion of the Tarawa line in Part 3.

Such, presumably, were the reasons which led to the extinction of head-hunting and cannibalism on a national scale in the Gilbert Group. The raiding of island by island was inhibited, because all units—including Baanaba—were populated by tree-folk, and the gods of the tree demanded only alien heads in sacrifice. Isolated in mid-Pacific, far from any foreign population, the race was starved of material for its rituals, and since the eating of human flesh was but the by-product of those rituals, that too fell into abeyance. The biting in two of enucleated eyeballs in time of war, described in the opening part of this section, may perhaps be taken as a vestige of the ancient head-hunting practice, while the sporadic acts of cannibalism recorded might be regarded as rare individual reversions to a habit engendered by the old tree-god cult. That the eating of human flesh was regarded as anti-social within a few generations of the immigration from Samoa is clear from the local history of that personage named Mangkia, who is named in the final paragraph of the Little Makin text (Appendix 1). Mangkia was a member of the high chiefly group on Butaritari, directly descended from Rairaeana, "the child of Batuku-the-skull," who invaded Tabiteuea from Samoa. According to a well-authenticated tradition of his island, Mangkia was expelled from Butaritari because he developed, and too often satisfied, a taste for human flesh, at which his brothers were ashamed and his fellow-islanders indignant. He was nevertheless followed into exile by a good many retainers, which enabled him first to win a foothold upon Abemama, in the Central Gilberts, and finally to establish there a dynasty of high chiefs, of whom the infamous Tem Binoka (all too romantically depicted by R. L. Stevenson) was a descendant.

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THE MIGRATIONS OF A PANDANUS PEOPLE.

BY ARTHUR GRIMBLE, C.M.G., M.A.

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PART 2.

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APPENDICES.

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## APPENDIX 1.

SERIES OF TRADITIONS FROM LITTLE MAKIN,  
FORMING THE PRELUDE TO THE GENEALOGY  
OF THE HIGH CHIEFS OF THE NORTHERN  
GILBERTS.

*all answered*

1. THE GROWTH OF THE ANCESTOR, THE TREE CALLED  
KAI-N-TIKUAABA. ✓

1. A certain being lived in Mone in the depths, and his name was Taranga. That being's thought was for ever busy seeking a way up to the land above; so he took the seed of a certain plant, a very small seed, and he buried it in a hole in the earth.

F (58) (e)

2. And behold! that plant grew tall and great from Mone in the depths, and Taranga mounted its branches, for he desired to go up with it as it grew; but he did not see that another person was hiding in the top of the tree—even Auriaria.

3. And behold! the top of the tree reached the heights of Mone. The time came for it to spring forth above the land; the land was struck by it and cracked: Auriaria sprang forth on high, for he had mounted upon the top of the tree. As for Taranga, who was the very owner of that seed, he stayed in Mone in the depths, for the branches of the tree were held down by the sky of Mone, so that he could not spring forth on high.

*insertion* 4. That tree was a pandanus, and its name was Kai-n-tikuaaba. Auriaria mounted upon its top, and the branches of it were many when it was full grown, and people grew thereon—even Tabu-ariki, Riiki, Nei Tevene, and Nei Tituaabine. And Taburimai grew from a swelling in its trunk; and Koura grew from its first bloom (tabaa);<sup>87</sup> and Te-uribaba grew from its tap-root.

*added*

*insertion*

<sup>87</sup>Tabaa means "young pandanus-bloom," and can be used in no other sense.

*Teboake &  
Ner Korooa - Ngutu - Ngutu omitted*

5. And all the inhabitants of that tree were gathered together, and Auriaria was the king of the top, and Te-uribaba was the king of the underside. Even thus was the first growing of the tree called Kai-n-tikuaaba, the ancestor. (Tree of Samoa in M.S.)

F (58) (6) 2. THE GROWING OF BATUKU-THE-SKULL. ✓

6. Then was planted on Samoa the tree called Kai-n-tikuaaba, for there Auriaria planted it when he trod the south. It stood on the slope of a mountain. Auriaria dwelt in the top, and the man Te-uribaba dwelt beneath it.

7. This was the manner of the mountain whereon the tree stood: its summit smoked, and sometimes burned fiercely; and the people of Samoa could not walk upon that mountain, for it was sacred (*kamaraia*), even as a shrine; and its name was Maunga-tabu (sacred mountain). } sent-  
22

8. There came a time when the summit of the mountain swelled, and behold! it was cleft asunder, and that which was within came forth—even a skull. That was the great skull whose name was Batuku, the king of Samoa of old, and his *anti* was Auriaria. And behold! Batuku rolled about upon the summit of the mountain: he ate the living things of that place—even the rats, and the lizards, and the little beasts, for that alone was the food which he found on the summit.

9. Batuku grew. Marvellous was the skull. It was tall, it was great, its height was as the height of a *maneaba*. A long time passed, and there came a day when that which was within the skull came forth. The crown (*mango*) swelled, and behold! the first-born came forth, even Te-mango. And Te-kaburoro came forth from the brain (*kaburoro*), and Te-bure came forth from the occiput (*bure*), and Kabo-tananga came forth from the ear (*tananga*), and Koururu came forth from above the brow (*koururu*), and Te-ria-kaeve came forth from the lip (*ria*); and the last-born was Rairaeana Te-i-matang (The-man-of-Matang). That man came forth from the front tooth of the skull. All these people indeed came out of the skull.



10. And the work of those men was to seek the food of their father. For a time they remained on the summit, and behold! the food on the crest of the mountain was well-nigh finished. Then it came to pass that they went down from the top of the mountain to seek the food of their father upon the low land. And the food of Batuku was the heads of the people killed by his children.

11. And once, as the children of Batuku were going about on the mountain side, they met Te-uribaba, who lived beneath the tree of Auriaria, and they disported themselves with him. *Te maka* (sling) was the name of their game. And behold! the hand of the man Rairaeana Te-i-matang went astray, and the front tooth of Te-uribaba was struck. The heart of Te-uribaba was hot when his tooth was struck, but he hid it within his heart. That was the first anger of Te-uribaba toward the people of the mountain.

### 3. THE BUILDING OF THE CANOE "KABURORO."

12. There came a time when the children of Batuku fared forth to seek the food of their father from the west. Whence should they get them a canoe? They spoke to Batuku, and thus he said to them, "Go, call the cutters of the timber of your canoe—even Au-te-venevene, and Au-te-rarangaki, and Taburitokia."

13. Those people were called, and they went to cut timber for the canoe, even the timber of the *ranga* tree, which grew on the slope of the mountain. When that was done, the children of Batuku said to their father, "Who shall build our canoe?" And thus spake he, "Call Kotunga." Kotunga was called, but he was unwilling to build the canoe, and said to them, "Tell your brother Kabororo (brain) to build the canoe, for this is a mighty work." They asked Kaburoro, and he consented.

14. First was built the shed of the canoe. When that was done, the keel was laid. The time came to lay the garboard strake in place, and behold! there were no women of their company to make string, for there were only men of their company.

15. The man Kuburoro created the string-makers: he rubbed the edge of the garboard-strake so as to make it sit well upon the keel; and the dust fell from the wood, and behold! a company of women grew from the dust (*bubu*) of the wood—even Nei Bubuia: not one woman only, but a family of many persons. These were the makers of the string of that canoe. The garboard-strake was laid in place. The time came to fit the second plank, and again there grew a family of persons from the dust of the plank—even Nei Te-wa-matang (The-canoe-of-Matang), a numerous company of women.

16. Again there grew people from the third plank (*buaka*)—a numerous company of men, even Nan Te-buaka. Again the fourth plank (*eke*) was laid in place: Nei Kaekea came forth, a numerous company of women. Again the gunwale-strake (*wi*) was laid in place: Nei Te-wi came forth, a numerous company of women. Then was the hull of the canoe strutted out, and the ribs (*aiai*) were set in place: Nei Kiaiai grew from the dust of the ribs, a numerous company of women. The deck-planks (*bao*) were lashed on: people grew from the lashings, even Nei Kameenono, a numerous company of women. The canoe was finished, and its name was Te Kaburoro. The outrigger float was shaped, and its name was Te-ira-n-timtim. The sail was made, even Te-akaranaba, and the steering oar, Bakamwea-tarawa. This is the full tale of the things which were named. The canoe is ready for launching.

17. They went to seek rollers (*nangoa*) for the canoe; they went to slay men to be the rollers of it; they slew men and brought them up to the canoe-shed. They set the canoe upon the dead people for rollers. They loosed the screens of the canoe-shed, and behold! heaven thundered, it lightened, the thunderbolt fell, and rain also. The canoe was moved down to the sea, and the name of the launching place where it went down to the sea was Te-bu-nangonango (The-stinking-of-many-rollers). And it was night of that day: Te Kaburoro was launched on the morrow.

18. The crest (*bou*) of the canoe was made: a man grew from it, even Nan Tabera-ni-bou. The sail was

hoisted: a man grew from the outrigger-stay (*ata*), even Nan Te-ata. The sheet (*baba*) was hauled: a man grew, even Nan Te-aa-baba. The steer-oar (*bwe*) was lashed in place: a man grew, even Nan Tari-ni-bwe. The fore and aft stays (*taumori*) were hauled tight: a man grew, even Na Uamori.

19. And behold! the canoe sped away: a woman grew from the wake, even Nei Te-buroburo (The-boiling). Now it is done; the tale of people who grew is finished. And all the people who grew from Te Kaburoro went up on shore: they returned to Samoa, for that was indeed their land.

#### 4. THE FIRST VOYAGE OF TE KABURORO.

20. Then went Te Kaburoro with its crew, the children of Batuku-the-skull, to seek the food of their father from the west. Westward they drove, and came first to the land of Butuna. The canoe sailed up to the land and lay under its lee, and the people of the land stood on the crest of the beach to watch them.

21. The children of Batuku went ashore to slay the inhabitants of Butuna. They were not prevented, for the inhabitants of the place knew naught of fighting. The killing made by the children of Batuku was even as many as a hundred slain.

22. And there were chosen from among the dead (the bodies of) men who were the first-born, and bearded, and bald. The canoe was loaded with them, for they only were the food most acceptable to the kings of Samoa. And the children of Batuku cut off the heads of the dead, and used the heads as the crests of their canoe. And behold! the blood of the heads dripped down from above, and as they sped eastward, fish followed them to eat the blood which dripped from the boom, even two *rereba* (trevally); and a turtle mounted on the outrigger float to drink the blood which flowed down from the stay of the mast. Then came the canoe to Samoa; it sailed up to the land at the launching-place called Te-maungi-n-aomata (The-putrefaction-of-men), and the dead within it were taken ashore.

23. The time came to divide the food in shares. First set apart was the food of Batuku and his *anti* Auriaria, even the heads of the men slain at Butuna. The food of Batuku was carried and set down at the base of the mountain, for the treading of that place was feared.

24. And when Batuku did eat, the summit of the mountain smoked furiously. After that, they portioned out the food of the people: the flesh was divided among the families; all the families of Samoa received a share. Only the share of Te-uribaba was forgotten among all men: he had no share of the flesh, for he partook only of the remnants, even the bowels. Te-uribaba was hot of heart, but he said no word, for he held his counsel.

25. Then again the canoe Te Kaburoro went voyaging to find the food of the kings of Samoa: it went that time to Nuku-maroro in the south, and once again, even as at Butuna, the people were slain at Nuku-maroro, for they also knew naught of fighting. And when the dead were brought ashore, their heads were laid on the slopes of the mountain, to be the food of Batuku and his *anti* Auriaria. But when the flesh of the dead was divided up among the people, the share of Te-uribaba was again forgotten: they gave him to eat of the bowels, whereat their gorges rose. The heart of Te-uribaba was sore at that manner of sharing, but he hid it.

26. Once again the Kaburoro went voyaging to find food for the kings of Samoa: it went that time to Tonga, to southward of Samoa. And behold! the man Te-uribaba arose: the time had come for him to go with the canoe. It was night when he arose, and went and hid himself under the leaf-mats which lay within the Kaburoro. And behold! the canoe set forth, and the people of it knew not Te-uribaba.

27. When Te Kaburoro came to Tonga, the people of the land were slain, even as the people of Butuna and Nuku-maroro before them, for they knew naught of fighting. And when the canoe was about to return to Samoa with its cargo of dead men, behold! Te-uribaba slipped forth from under the leaf-mats, and dropped into the sea with

a leaf-mat to cover him. The people of the canoe saw the mat when it fell, and one among them said, "Behold! a mat has fallen." Others answered, "No matter, it is only a coconut-leaf." They knew not that Te-uribaba was hidden beneath it: they drove forward without heed to Samoa.

28. The man Te-uribaba swam ashore: he landed on Tonga; he gathered together the people to teach them the ways of fighting and battle; he taught them the craft of striking, and the craft of the spear, and the craft of all weapons, and all the ways of war. Mayhap there was no manner of fighting that he did not teach them. Much time passed, and they were skilled in battle, for he gave them all his skill. And after that, Te-uribaba arose and went to Butuna and Nuku-maroro, and all the people of those lands learned his skill. Never before Te-uribaba had those people any skill in war.

5. THE WAR OF TE-URIBABA AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF SAMOA. ✓

29. And behold! a new generation grew up on Butuna, and Nuku-maroro, and Tonga, and they were all skilled in war.

30. There came a time when the canoe went again to seek the first-born, the food of the kings of Samoa. It sailed first to the land of Butuna, and when it lay to under the lee of the land, not a man was seen to stand on the crest of the beach. Then thus said the people of the canoe, "How strange is the manner of this land, for the manner of it is changed! The people were formerly wont to stand before us, and now not a man do we see on the crest of the beach."

31. They went ashore to slay the people; they went up to the village; there were but a few people in the village, who, when the people of Samoa came, arose and fled before them. The people of Samoa followed them into the bush: they came to the midst of the land.

32. And behold! when the people of Samoa came to the midst of the land, a great host of people stood before them. All the people of Butuna were gathered together before them, and they were skilled in war.

33. Then came the time for the people of Te Kuburoro to be slain, every one of them. Their heads were beaten, their throats were cut, their vitals were pierced by the people of Butuna. A single man was saved of their number, even the child of Batuku whose name was Kabo-taninga. That man was held by the people of Butuna. They dragged him to their village; they wounded his body; they cut out his tongue; and thus they said to him, "Thou shalt return to Samoa, and thou shalt spread the news of this land, even that we shall be ready to carry war to Samoa after three moons." Then they gave the steer-oar into his hand; and he returned to Samoa.

34. Watch was kept for Te Kaburoro on Samoa. And behold! the people saw it coming from the west. There was no company thereon, nor any dead men. One man only was thereon, even Kabo-taninga. The canoe went up to the northern tip of Samoa, and grounded among the rocks. Men went down to lift that man ashore.

35. Bewildered were all the people! The body of Kabo-taninga was wounded and he could not speak, for he had no tongue. He was led to the council-house, so that the people might hear his news, and he was asked of the manner of the slaying of his companions. He could not answer. They said again, "Sir, what man of that land is skilled in warfare, What is his name, and of what country is he?" Then Kabo-taninga pointed at that land of Samoa, and they knew that it was a man of Samoa.

36. And they brought out to him all the families of Samoa, and thus said they, "Is he of this family?" And he shook his head. Only when the family of Te-uribaba was pointed out did he nod his head. Then enquiry was made to find out who was absent of that family, and Te-uribaba was missing from among them. They asked Kotunga, who was the friend of Te-uribaba from of old, "Where is thy friend?" and thus said he: "Doubtless it was he who brought us defeat, for he was hot of heart because of his share of the food, even the bowels." And Kabo-taninga nodded his head when he heard, so that the people of Samoa knew that it was Te-uribaba.

37. Then all the people made ready, for the time of war had struck. The appointed time of three moons went by, and the people were all ready. And behold! the canoes of Butuna, and Nuku-maroro, and Tonga came out of the west: they came up to the land at the northern tip of Samoa; their people disembarked on the shoal; and the people of Samoa stood ready with their warriors before them. A division went down upon the shoal to meet the people of Tonga: they fought with spears, and pelted each other with throwing sticks. Many of the people of Samoa fell that day, for there was one man among the people of Tonga who was stronger than they, even Te-uribaba. And the people of Samoa were defeated.

38. They retreated to consider their plan of battle for the morrow, and the warriors were questioned by the old men, "Why are ye defeated?" The warriors answered, "There is one man who is stronger than all the rest, at whose hands we are slain, every one of us." The old men said, "Did you recognize him?" They answered, "We did not recognize him." The old men said, "Enough! Ye shall recognize him to-morrow."

39. When the morrow came, another division went down to give battle. Then they recognized that man, and it was indeed Te-uribaba; so some of their number played a stratagem, and took Te-uribaba, and brought him ashore. Te-uribaba came to land. They asked him, "Why didst thou bring us defeat, and slay the people of Samoa?" He said that his heart had been hot when his tooth was broken, and because of his share of the food, even the bowels.

40. Then they said to him, "Enough! Let there be peace." He agreed. And Te-uribaba with his companions was held upon Samoa, to dwell upon the northern tip of the land, and not to leave that place. They were held for long on Samoa, but afterward all their food failed, for there was a great number of them; so Te-uribaba was called by the people of Samoa, in order that he might tell his friends to go back to their homes.

41. And behold! they went away: they returned to their homes, and never came again to Samoa. As for

Te-uribaba, he sailed northward until he came to Onotoa, and Nonouti, and Tabiteuea.<sup>ss</sup> There remain his descendants to this day.

#### 6. THE CANOE FROM TARAWA.

42. Rairaeana Te-i-Matang, the son of Batuku-the-skull, desired again in his heart to go voyaging, so he launched Te Kaburoro for a voyage to northward. The companions of his voyage were the whole company who had grown at sea when the canoe was first launched.

43. The canoe sped northward. After a while it met with another canoe, which came sailing down from Tarawa,<sup>ss</sup> even the Aka-rua-tarawa. That canoe and Te Kaburoro collided with each other to windward of Rotima, and Te Kaburoro was damaged: her deck planks were torn away, and so she sped down-wind to Rotima to be repaired. The Aka-rua-tarawa beat up to Samoa, and reached land at Makua-n-te-rara (high-tide of blood), and was taken ashore to the canoe-shed in that place. The people of the canoe were Taubakarebua the captain, and Nei Marebu the sorcerer, and Kotei the diviner. And when they were in the canoe-shed, they were fed there by the people of Samoa. Food was brought to them for two days, but behold! they were to have been slain on the third day. A certain man of Samoa told them that they were to be slain; so, when they heard, they launched their canoe on the evening of the second day. But the canoe did not depart, for they had forgotten their steer-oar, so they went to anchor in the deep water under the lee of Samoa.

44. In the morning, the time for their slaying arrived, but they were not in the canoe-shed, for they had gone. And their steer-oar was discovered: the people of Samoa held it, and awaited the return of the people of the canoe to fetch it.

45. And Kotei, a man of the canoe, made a divination concerning the recovery of the steer-oar. The divination

<sup>ss</sup>*Onotoa, Nonouti, Tabiteuea*: islands of the Southern Gilberts.

<sup>ss</sup>*Tarawa*: an island of the Northern Gilberts.



was unfavourable to the recovery of the steer-oar by day, but it was favourable for the night.

46. And when it was evening, a storm came: it thundered and lightened. Then Kotei directed the man who was to fetch the oar, "When thou comest to the crest of the beach, crouch down and await the lightning. When it lightens, thou shalt examine thy path, and when it is dark again, thou shalt tread the path that thou hast seen."

47. That man came to the canoe-shed, and there again he hid under the leaf-screens. When it lightened, he saw the steer-oar, and when it was dark, he seized it. And behold! he came back to the canoe, and they returned to Tarawa.

#### 7. THE VOYAGE OF RAIRAUEANA TO TABITEUEA. ✓

48. Te Kaburoro was repaired at Rotima, and launched again in the sea. It sped northward, and came up to the southern end of Tabiteuea, to windward of the place called Te-manoku. There landed the people of the canoe. A time passed, and they saw a man of Tabiteuea, whose name was Nan Tebuanna. They asked him concerning water, for they were thirsty: he went to fetch it, and brought it to them together with a hat full of blood for their food. They asked him, "What kind of blood is this?" Thus he said, "It is the blood of a porpoise which lies stranded on the eastern shore." They said, "How great is the porpoise?" He answered, "It is very great. All the people are gone up to seek it." They said, "Thou shalt go get some of it for our food." And that man said, "You will get no food from it: I am but now come away from it, and there is no room on the porpoise for the multitude of men, and if I go there I shall be killed." They answered, "Enough! Go and say that we beg (our food)." So he went and begged for them, but he was refused: he could not reach the porpoise. Then again spake Rairaeana Te-i-matang, "Enough! I will go with thee. Go, get thy weapon." He went to get his weapon, and Rairaeana also took his. Their weapons were throwing-sticks.

49. They came beside the porpoise; a multitude of people was gathered upon it. Rairaeana stood upon the

high ground above the beach, and he told Nan Tebuanna to go to beg (food). Again he got no food, for he was pushed back from the porpoise. Then thus said Rairaeana, "Enough! Stand aside, that I may throw." He aimed at the forehead of the porpoise: it was pierced through from forehead to tail-bone, and not a man remained upon it, for all were slain by the throwing stick of Rairaeana.

50. Then came Tebuanna to cut up the food, and no people came after that, for they were afraid. Rairaeana took his food, and they departed. And the saying of the people of Tabiteuea went abroad, "If a porpoise be stranded after this, let no man take the first share thereof, for the porpoise belongs to the people of Matang."

51. And Rairaeana and his companions remained at the south end of Tabiteuea, at Te-manoku. One night, they lay down to sleep at Te-manoku, but when they awoke no houses covered them, for they had been taken away. Auriaria, their *anti*, had removed them, for he was not content that they should live at the end of the land: he desired that they should live in the midst of Tabiteuea. They arose in the morning to seek their houses, and they found them in the midst of the land, at the place called Utiroa, where Auriaria had placed them. There, at Utiroa, they remained to dwell.

52. Then Rairaeana lay with a woman of Tabiteuea, even Nei Mangati. He begot children upon her: his descendant was Te-ietao.

53. Te-ietao voyaged northward to Butaritari, and there he settled. He was made a high chief on Butaritari. He lay with Nei Maima: his son was Ataata-ni-makin. Ataata-ni-makin lay with Nei Kabutibo: his son was Te-i-mauri. Te-i-mauri lay with Nei Rakentai, the daughter of Beia, who was a high chief upon Tarawa; and the children of Te-i-mauri with Nei Rakentai were Rairaeana-the-Warrior, and Na Atanga, and Mangkia, from whom are descended the high chiefs of Abemama, and Abainag, and Butaritari,<sup>90</sup> and Mille<sup>91</sup> to this day. The history is ended.

<sup>90</sup>Abemama, Abiang, Butaritari: all islands of the Northern Gilberts.

<sup>91</sup>Mille: an island of the Marshall Group.

## APPENDIX 2.

SERIES OF TRADITIONS FROM TABITEUEA, BEGIN-  
NING WITH THE FIRST ANCESTRAL TREE, AND  
LEADING UP TO THE MIGRATIONS OF THE  
CHILDREN OF BATUKU-THE-SKULL

(see preceding tradition).

1. THE DARKNESS (*Bo*) AND THE CLEAVING-TOGETHER  
(*Maki*).

1. The First Tree was the pandanus,<sup>92</sup> and its name was the Ancestress-Sun;<sup>93</sup> Auriaria was its spirit, and it grew in the west on Aba-the-great (Abatoa) and Aba-the-little (Abaiti). That was before the Darkness and the Cleaving-together.

2. The inhabitants of Abatoa and Abaiti were Te-ba (the rock), Te-atiibu (the stone), Te-ati-nari (smooth white coral pebble), and the two great eels Nanokai and Nanomaaka. Nanokai lay with Nanomaaka, and Na Areau was born. Only after Na Areau grew came the time of the Darkness and the Cleaving-together.

3. At that time were neither things nor men: there was only the giant Na Areau, and his work was to seek a manner of separating heaven from earth. (Here is omitted an account of the separation of heaven from earth by Na Areau. Those interested in the Gilbertese Creation Myth are referred to the several versions thereof published in *Folklore*, 1922, pp. 91-112.)

4. When heaven stood on high, Riiki the eel followed it into the heights: it is his belly which lies across the midst of heaven, and is called the Milky Way.

<sup>92</sup>Cp. paragraph (2) of the preceding tradition, wherein the ancestral tree called Kai-n-tikuaaba is also described as a pandanus.

<sup>93</sup>Ancestress-Sun: the Gilbertese name is Nei Bakatibu-Taai, which signifies "Woman Ancestor-Sun."

5. Then grew the lands. Kai-n-tikuaaba<sup>94</sup> in the west grew first, and after that grew Tarawa in the east. The third land was Beru, and the fourth was Takoronga of Tabiteuea, and the fifth was Samoa in the south.

## 2. THE TALE OF NA AREAU AND TABURIMAI.

6. After the separation of heaven from earth, Na Areau the giant went to live on Tarawa. He seems to have been malicious, for he continually stole the coconut-toddy<sup>95</sup> of other folk on Tarawa. So the giant Taburimai called to him his two Sandsnipes,<sup>96</sup> and said to them, "Ye shall go and watch for the man who steals my toddy. When ye see him, remember his name, and report it to me." So they went and waited in the top of Taburimai's toddy-tree.

7. When Na Areau climbed Taburimai's tree, the sandsnipes saw him, and began to call his name aloud, but behold! he caught them and turned their tongues over, so that they could no longer speak. When they returned to Taburimai, they gabbled; there was no meaning in their talk; they said thus, "kun-kun-kun-kun"; therefore they are called *kun* to this day.

8. But Taburimai was angry when his birds came back to him. He knew that Na Areau had played him that trick: he told his company that they should do that man to death. They agreed. They gathered together and awaited Na Areau's coming, and when he appeared they said, "Sir, we wish to set up a new stud in the side of our *maneaba*. Wilt thou help?" He answered, "I will help. What shall I do?" They said, "Get down into the hole, and steady the end of the stud as we lower it (into place)."

<sup>94</sup>Kai-n-tikuaaba: here the name of an ancestral land, but applied to the ancestral tree of the preceding tradition (paragraph 4).

<sup>95</sup>This is one version of the tradition referred to in footnote 31, Part 1, in connection with coconut-toddy.

<sup>96</sup>Sandstipe: one of the totems of the social groups claiming Taburimai as their ancestral deity. See item 12 in the table of totem-creatures appended to Section 5, Part 1.

9. Na Areau knew their hearts. He knew that they desired to cover him with rocks when he was in the hole, so he scooped a little cave in the side of the hole. Then he said, "Do ye make ready, and I will dig (the hole) a little deeper." So they went to get their rocks, and when they came back he called to them, "How is this (for depth)?" They shouted, "That is enough," and at the same time they let fall their rocks into the hole. But Na Areau had already hidden in the little cave.

10. Then Taburimai and his company thought that Na Areau was killed, and they made a feast all together in the *maneaba*. While they ate, they derided Na Areau, saying, "Would that this fine pudding<sup>97</sup> might be the food of Na Areau!" And behold! Na Areau himself sat on the roof-plate of the *maneaba* and heard them, for he had changed himself into a spider (*naareau*) and had run up the stud of the *maneaba* to the roof-plate while they were eating. When he heard them say, "Would that this fine pudding might be the food of Na Areau," he answered from above their heads, "Very well, hand it to me." They were astonished, but when they knew him for Na Areau they arose to chase him, so that they might kill him. He fled before them, and as he fled he cast off the pointed hairs (*reka*) of his stern: they stood on end in the path of those who chased him, and behold! they pricked the feet of Taburimai, so that he could not run. Taburimai returned to the *maneaba*, and Na Areau got upon his canoe Te-roro and set sail for Tabiteuea.

### 3. THE TALE OF NA AREAU AND NA UTIMA.

11. Na Areau came first to Abemama. There he landed and came to a man whose name was Na Utima. That man was kind to him, and brought him food, and told his wife to grate coconut for the stranger. But while the woman was busy grating coconut, Na Areau lengthened his penis, and sent it underground, and made it rise from below, so that it entered her secret parts. She was taken

<sup>97</sup>The pudding named in the native version is *te tangana*, for a description of which see Part 1, Section 8.

by surprise, and paused in her work when that thing happened to her. Then Na Utima watched her face, and thus he said to her, "Woman, what is the matter with thee?" She answered not, but Na Areau was convulsed with laughter at that woman, for he was unscrupulous.

12. After that, Na Areau said to Na Utima, "Tell thy wife to light a very great fire." The woman lit the fire. Then said Na Areau to Na Utima, "Sir, thou shalt see my (way of) fishing." He said again, "I shall lie in the fire, and thou and thy wife shall bury me in the midst of it. When ye have done that, leave me."

13. They did as he told them, and went to sit at a distance from the fire. And behold! there presently came from the east a man: it was Na Areau. He said to Na Utima, "The fish is cooked: go, take it from the fire, that we may eat." So the woman went and took the food from the fire. Na Utima was amazed, for there was a great quantity of fish.

14. Then Na Utima's wife whispered to him, saying, "Marvellous is the fishing of this man. It would be good to go with him some time, to learn his way." The next day, Na Areau said, "Na Utima, I am about to go," but Na Utima held him for he had set his heart upon that fishing: he said, "Before thou goest, teach me thy (way of) fishing." Na Areau answered, "It is good. Let thy wife light a fire, and let her make it large, for there will be two of us." So the woman made an enormous fire, and when it was ready Na Areau said to her, "Woman, when we lie down in the fire, thou shalt cover us vigorously." She answered, "I will."

15. And behold; Na Areau held the hand of Na Utima, and they lay down in the fire. Na Utima struggled, for he was burned, but his wife covered him vigorously with the embers as Na Areau had told her; she knew not that he was dead in the midst of the fire.

16. When a long time had passed, the woman saw Na Areau coming down toward her from the east: she said to him, "Sir, where is thy companion?" He answered, "He comes after me. Go thou and open the fire, for we

will eat before his coming." She went and opened the fire: she saw her husband dead in the midst of the ashes. She wept, but Na Areau took the flesh of Na Utima, and ate it.

#### 4. THE TALE OF NA AREAU AND TARANGA.

17. Na Areau came to Takoronga of Tabiteuea, and a man came to that islet from the mainland, whose name was Taranga. Na Areau took that man's head from his shoulders and put it on his own shoulders: his own head he put upon the shoulders of Taranga. Taranga knew not what Na Areau had done: he went back to (the mainland of) Tabiteuea, and behold! he was seen by Taburimai and his companions, for these had come after Na Areau from Tarawa. They thought that Taranga was Na Areau, so they chased him. Then Na Areau landed on Tabiteuea.

18. The wife of Taranga went to draw water from her well. When she came to the well, she saw a child lying beside it. That woman was childless, so she was glad when she found the child: she said, "Behold! I have a child." She knew not that it was Na Areau.

19. She picked him up: he cried, so she carried him to her house, and lay down, and sat him upon her belly. Then his crying ceased. When night came, he made free with that woman, and so also (it happened) many nights thereafter. At last, the woman was pregnant by him. As for her husband Taranga, he had been killed by Taburimai and his companions, for they thought he was Na Areau.

#### 5. THE VOYAGE OF AU-THE-SKULL TO SAMOA.

20. Then that woman, whose name was Kobine, bore two children on Tabiteuea, even the children of Na Areau, and their names were Au-te-rarangaki (Au-the-continually overturned) and Au-te-venevene (Au-the-continually reclining). Afterward, she bore a third child, whose name was Au-te-tabanou (Au-the-skull). These were the first ancestors of Karongoa on Tabiteuea, and their *anti* was Au-riaria (Au-continually-appearing-over-the-horizon).

21. The day of voyaging came. Au-the-skull with his people voyaged to Samoa. The names of the canoes wherein they set forth were Te-iti-ma-te-rube, and Te-ataata, and Te-ataata-moa.<sup>98</sup>

These were the canoes of Karongoa; there were others indeed, but set them aside, for they were of no account. The crests of the canoes were the crests of Karongoa—the single-tuft, and double-tuft, and in the third canoe was the double-tuft aloft and the crest called Tintim-te-rara (drip-the-blood) upon the outrigger.

22. Behold! Au-the-skull came to Samoa: there he landed and dwelt. Soon there grew a swelling in his forehead, and two men came forth, even Batuku and Koururu.<sup>99</sup> These were the kings of the tree of Samoa, even the breed of Matang, the breed of red men, and their food was human heads.

#### 6. THE RETURN OF THE PROGENY OF AU-THE-SKULL TO TABITEUEA.

23. Time passed, and the progeny of Au-the-skull remained in Samoa; but their *anti* Auriaria desired them to return to Tabiteuea, so he threw them out of Samoa northward. They fell at Tauma of Tabiteuea, and there they begot children: the man Manika was born.

Manika lay with Nei Temaea: Te-nikaraoi was born;  
Te-nikaraoi lay with Nei Kaintoka: Taoroba-of-Beru  
was born;

Taoroba lay with Nei Tetarae, a woman of Abemama:  
Nariri was born;

<sup>98</sup>The radical upon which these three canoe-names are built is the word *ata*, which means "the top of the head," but is also used secretly by the Karongoa clan to designate "a head offered in sacrifice," in contradistinction to *atu*, "the head of a living man." The first canoe name, Te-iti-ma-te-rube, is particularly interesting. On the surface, it means "the-lightning-with-the-flickering"; but the word *iti* (lightning) is a secret variant of *ata*, and the word *rube* (flickering) is added only to give colour to the overt significance of the name, so that the secret allusion may be the better concealed.

<sup>99</sup>Koururu appears as the child of Batuku in Section 2 (9) of the Little Makin account, Appendix 1.



Nariri lay with Nei Taramoro: Tabomao was born;  
 Tabomao lay with Nei Tematang: Te-ariki was born;  
 Te-ariki lay with Nei Motika-te-ang: Te-nikaraoi the  
 Second was born;  
 Te-nikaraoi lay with Te-uru: Marea was born;  
 Marea lay with Nei Teninikatang: Te-kawakawa was  
 born.

24. I, Te-kawakawa, have told the tale. The *atu* (heads or generations) are not complete, for I am old and have forgotten. There were twenty-three heads from Manika to me, Te-kawakawa,<sup>100</sup> but I have forgotten.

<sup>100</sup>Te-kawakawa, from his appearance, was in his eighties when he gave me this text (1918). His great-grandson was six years old. His list of 8 generations between the coming from Samoa and modern times is certainly not complete: his count of 23 generations is probably correct, as it falls within the approximate number, 22-25, obtained by the collation of the most reliable pedigrees now obtainable in the Gilbert Islands.

## APPENDIX 3.

TEXT AND INTERLINEAR TRANSLATION OF THE  
TRADITION OF THE KEAKI CLAN, CONCERNING  
THE IMMIGRATION OF THE TROPIC-BIRD TOTEM-  
GROUPS FROM SAMOA INTO THE NORTHERN  
GILBERTS.

1. *Imwin uruaki-n te kai are Kai-n-tikuaaba iroun Te-*  
After breaking-of the tree which Kai-n-tikuaaba by Te-  
*uribaba, ao a bane n uamaae-nako kaai-n tabera-na.*  
*uribaba, and they all to scattering-go inhabitants-of top-its.*

*A bane ni kiba-nako ana man Nei Tituaabine ae te*  
They all to fly-away her birds Nei Tituaabine which the  
*Taake ao te Ngutu. E kibara*  
red-tailed tropic-bird and the yellow-billed tropic-bird. It flies to  
*maeao ni karawa te Ngutu ao e tiku i*  
west of heaven the yellow-billed tropic-bird, and it settles at  
*Beberiki, ao ana man ae te Taake e kibara*  
Beberiki, and her bird which the red-tailed tropic-bird it flies to  
*mainiku ni karawa ni kanna uraura-ni mainiku, ao rimwi e*  
east of heaven to eat redness-of east, and afterward it  
*batetea tabo-ni Makin, ao e tiku ietan te nei are*  
descends-on end-of Makin, and it settles above the pool which  
*ara-na Te-ngare-n-nao iaoni maanga-n te kaina*  
name-its The-laughter-of-waves, upon branch-of the pandanus-tree  
*are ara-na te Ani-koura, ke te Ara-maunga-tabu*  
which name-its the Pandanus-koura, or the Pandanus-mountain-  
*ke Tara-kai-mate.*  
sacred, or The-pandanus-tree-death.

2. *Ao akea ba nkana iai ae nakon te nei aarei, n*  
And behold ! if there-is who goes-to the pool that, to  
*tebotebo iai, ao e kibar-ia te man aarei ba e na*  
bathe therein, and it leaps on-him the bird that for it will

*kana-na. Ao e boni bati kona-na are e mate.*  
eat-him. And it indeed many victim-its who he dead.

3. *Ao akea ba e teirake Nei Tituaabine n ri-mwin*  
And behold ! she stands up Nei Tituaabine to go-after  
*ana man ma ni kae-a, ao e ri-etan*  
her bird with to seek-it, and she goes-above (i.e., to eastward of)  
*aaba mai maiaki ma uota-na teuana te ben ae*  
lands from south with burden-her one the ripe-coconut which  
*te tii, ao ana kaiwa taiani kirikiri. E*  
the withered-coconut, and her divination (set) the pebbles. She  
*roko i Makin ao e nakon te maneaba.*  
arrives at Makin and she goes to the *maneaba* (meeting house).  
*Nke e bo ma kaai-n te maneaba ao e taku nakoi-ia,*  
When she meets with inmates-of the *maneaba* , she says to-them,  
" *Kam nora au man te Taake ikai ke kam aki?*"  
" You see my bird the red-tailed tropic-bird here or you not?"  
" *Ti nor-ia ao akea nkai kaai-n aba-ra*  
(They answered) " We see-it, and none now inhabitants-of land-our,  
*ba a kani bane ni kanaki iroun te man aarei. Ma ko*  
for they nearly all to be-eaten by the bird that. So thou  
*aki kona ni kamaiui-ira man am man aarei, ba tina-ra naba*  
not can to save-us from thy bird that, for mother-our also  
*nkoe?*" *E taku neirei "I kona: kam na ata uaai te*  
thou?" She says that-woman, " I can: you shall plait two the  
*iriba, ba kam na tiring-nga iai.*"  
fans, for you shall kill-it therewith."

4. *Ao nke a tia iriba akanne, ao e tuangi-ia*  
And when they finished fans those, and she tells-them  
*Nei Bairuti ma Nei Batikoran ba a na nako n iriba te*  
Nei Bairuti with Nei Batikoran that they shall go to fan the  
*man aarei. A karaoa are a tuangaki: e a*  
bird that. They do that which they are told: it (intensive  
particle) *mate te man, ao a oki n tuanga Nei Tituaabine.*  
dies the bird, and they return to tell Nei Tituaabine.  
*E nako ngkanne ba e na taunna ana man: e unika*  
She goes then that she may bury her bird: she plants

106 THE MIGRATIONS OF A PANDANUS PEOPLE

*aroka-na te tii ietan atu-na, ao e bono-*  
 plant-her the withered-coconut over head-its, and she sets

*bono-ia n te ati-n-ai ae tenua.*  
 an enclosure around-it of the stones-of-(cooking)fire which three.

*Nke e a tia n taunna ana man ao e*  
 When she (intensive particle) finished to bury her bird, she

*kitan-na ao e okira te maneaba. A bane ni kukurei*  
 leaves-it and she returns-to the maneaba. They all to be happy

*nkanne kaai-n ao-n te aba, ao a botaki ba*  
 then people-of surface-of the land, and they are assembled that

*a na takaakaro ma n ruoia: a boni maie ni*  
 they may play with to dance: they indeed play-games on

*bongi nako.*  
 days successively.

5. *Ao nke e manga tairiki n te bong are teuana*  
 And when it again evening on the day which one (certain)

*ao a botaki n ruoia, ao akea ba e meata*  
 , they are assembled to dance, and behold ! it glows-red

*nano-n te maneaba n tani-mainuku. A taraa mwi-n te*  
 interior-of the maneaba to face-east. They watch place-of the

*meata kaai-n te maneaba, ao akea ba a nora te*  
 red glow people-of the maneaba, and behold ! they see the

*aomata are e raneanea, are e riba-ura, are te toa*  
 person who he shines, who he complexion-red, who the giant

*rabata-na. Ma nke e nangi moti te kuna ao*  
 body-his. But when it about-to be-worn-out the dance-chant ,

*e biri-nako teuaarei.*  
 he hastens-away that-man.

6. *Ao nke e manga bo te ruoia ao e a*  
 And when it again meets the dance , he (intensive particle)

*manga kaoti teuaarei: ao e kakioaki nke e moti*  
 again appears that-man: and he is chased when it is-worn-out

*te kuna ao e reke i tabera-n te kaina*  
 the dance-chant, and he is-caught at top-of the pandanus-tree

*are e tiku iai ngkoa te Taake. E bati*  
 which it settles thereon formerly the red-tailed tropic-bird. It many

*naba ana koraki are e memena ma-ngaia i tabera-n te*  
also his company which it dwells with-him at top-of the

*kaina. Ao e titirakin-na Nei Tituaabine, "Kam riki*  
pandanus. And she asks-him Nei Tituaabine, "You grow

*mai-ia?" Ao e taku teuaarei, are te ikawai iroui-ia,*  
from-where?" And he says that-man, who the eldest among-them,

*"I riki mai nano-n te kaina ike e tiku*  
"I grow from interior-of the pandanus in the-place-where it settles

*iai te Taaake." Ao e kaangai Nei*  
thereon the red-tailed tropic-bird." And she thus-speaks Nei

Tituaabine: "*Ara-m Koura.*"<sup>101</sup> *E kotei ngkanne nikira-n*

Tituaabine: "Name-thy Koura." She indicates then rest-of

*ana koraki nako ao e kaangai: "Nkoe, Iti-ni-koura;*  
his company successively, and she thus-speaks: "Thou, Iti-ni-koura;

*nkoe, Rube-ni-koura; nkoe, Koura-toa; nkoe, Koura-iti; nkoe,*  
thou, Rube-ni-koura; thou, Koura-toa; thou, Koura-iti; thou,

*Koura-ma-te-taake; nkoe, Koura-n-taamo; ao nkoe, Koura-n-*  
Koura-ma-te-taake; thou, Koura-n-taamo; and thou, Koura-n-

*tarawa.*  
tarawa.

7. *Koraki aikai a bane n riba ura Ao*  
Companies these they all to be complexioned-red. And

*rimwi teutana a bane ni kairaki ri-aan te maneaba,*  
afterward a little they all to be-led toward-under the maneaba,

*ao nke e maan riki teutana ao a ueanaki iai*  
and when it long-time more a-little, they are-made-kings therein.

8. *E aki maan, ao a tua ba e na kabaaki*  
It not long-time, and they command that it shall be-built

*waa-ia. Nke e tia ao e aranaki ba Te-buki-ni-benebene;*  
canoe-their. When it ready, it is-called even Te-buki-ni-benebene

*ao e nangi tiba bo nkanne*  
(the tip of a coconut-leaf); and it about-to just strike then

<sup>101</sup>*Koura*: the word *ura* signifies red or burning. *Iti-ni-koura*=  
Lightning-of-koura; *Rube-ni-koura*=Flickering-of-koura; *Koura-toa*=  
Koura-giant; *Koura-iti*=Koura-little; *Koura-ma-te-taake*=Koura-  
with-the-tropic-bird; *Koura-n-taamo*=Koura-of-Samoa; *Koura-n-*  
*tarawa*=Koura-of-Tarawa.

*aia bongi ni borau, ba a na newe-aba*  
 their day of voyaging, that they may spy-land (i.e., go sight-

*ri-aon abamakoro aika a kaan. Ao e tuangi-ia*  
 seeing) toward-over islands which they near. And she tells-them

Nei Tituaabine *ni kaangai:* "Kam na nako moa n nora te  
 Nei Tituaabine to say-thus: "You shall go first to see the

*ni are I unik-ia iaon te Taake."* A  
 coconut-tree which I plant-it over the red-tailed tropic-bird." They

*nako n nor-ia, ao iai aomata aika a toka i*  
 go to see-it, and there-are people who they are-aloft in

*tabera-na. A kairaki rikaaki naakii nakon neirei*  
 crest-its. They are-led back these-people to that-woman

Nei Tituaabine, *ao nke a roko irou-na ao e taku nakon*  
 Nei Tituaabine, and when thy arrive with-her, she says to

*are te ikawai iroui-ia, "Ara-m Nei Riki; ao nkoe,*  
 her-who the eldest among-them, "Name-thy Nei Riki; and thou,

Nei Temareve; *ao nkoe,* Nei Tebaarae; *ao nkoe,* Nei Tarabainang;  
 Nei Temareve; and thou, Nei Tebaarae; and thou, Nei Tarabainang;

*ao nkoe,* Nei Newi." *Ao e angan Nei Newi nkanne ana*  
 and thou, Nei Newi." And she gives-to Nei Newi then her

*kaiwa are te kirikiri, ma rabuna-na te kie ni*  
 divination-set which the pebbles, with covering-its the mat to

*karaba. Ao rimwi e raea marewe-n te*  
 make-hidden. And afterward she tears-off top shoot-of the

*ni are a bane n riki maiiai, ao e angan*  
 coconut-tree which they all to grow therefrom, and she gives-to

Nei Tarabainang *ba ana kaiwa.*

Nei Tarabainang even her divination-set.

(After this point, the narrative passes beyond the scope of the present subject, by describing the passage of the Koura folk down the Gilbert group, without further reference to cannibal practices.)

## APPENDIX 4.

TRADITION OF THE KARUMAETOA CLAN, CONCERNING THE IMMIGRATION INTO BERU, SOUTHERN GILBERTS, OF A MAN-EATING ANCESTOR NAMED TEWATU-OF-MATANG.

1. The tree of Samoa was broken, and Te Taake (red-tailed tropic-bird) and Te Ngutu (yellow-billed tropic-bird), which were the birds of Nei Tituaabine, flew north until they came to Beberiki<sup>102</sup> and Totoronga, but first they stayed at Beru. Te Taake made its first nest at Rurubao, on Beru, but she was driven thence by the people, so she flew to the place called Uma-n-te-anti and made another nest. But Tabu-ariki of Beru flung a stone at her: she flew aloft from that place, and dropped a tail-feather under the lee of Teteirio. That feather became the sandspit by Teteirio, which is called Bike-n-taake (shoal-of-Taake).

2. Te Taake flew northward until it came to Totoronga (Little Makin). There it settled upon the branch of a tree which stood above a bathing-pool.

3. There was a *maneaba* by the bathing-pool, whither all the land went to dance, and when the dancers were hot with dancing they bathed in the pool. But when Te Taake saw them, it fell upon them and ate them, for it was an eater of human flesh. And the pool was filled with the blood of those who were eaten: therefore, the name of that place until to-day is Makua-n-te-rara (high-tide-of-the-blood).

4. A short time passed, and Nei Tituaabine came from Samoa, for she was seeking her bird. She saved the people

<sup>102</sup>Beberiki: see paragraph 1 of Keaki text, Appendix 3, which seems to imply that this place was a land to westward of the Gilbert Group. Other authorities in the Northern Gilberts, however, state that both Beberiki and Totoronga are ancient names for Butaritari and its tributary island, Little Makin.

of Totoronga, for she told them the way in which the bird might be slain, so that no more of them were eaten.

5. Nei Tituaabine buried Te Taake, and planted over it a young coconut-tree. Then there came a night when the people were dancing in the *maneaba*, and behold! Nei Tituaabine led into the *maneaba* a giant, whose skin was red, and there was not one of the people who knew him. And Nei Tituaabine said to the people, "This is Koura, who grew from the coconut-tree that I planted over the tropic-bird. Ye shall honour him, for he is indeed a king (*uea*)." So Koura was made a king in the *maneaba*.

6. There was a man of Totoronga named Tewatu who was not eaten by the tropic-bird, and he refused to be subject (*toronaki*) to Koura. He mounted his canoe and fled from Totoronga to Tabiteuea (S. Gilberts). There he landed, at the place called Te-ati-rababa, and married a woman of the island, whose name was Nei Te-bai-bunani-karawa: he begot a son, whose name was Tautua.

7. But Tewatu did not dwell long on Tabiteuea, for there was war in that land. He took his son Tautua and all his people, and they fled from Tabiteuea. They sailed down-wind toward the west, and after a long time they came to the land of Matang, a great land in the west, where dwelt Tabu-ariki, his *anti*.

8. Tewatu and his people landed upon Matang, and dwelt there. Tautua, the son of Tewatu, grew to be a man: he married a woman of Matang named Nei Abunaba, who was the child of Tenrake and Nei Teuna; he begot a child, a man, whose name was Tewatu-of-Matang.

9. When Tewatu-of-Matang was a man, his father and mother died, so he took their skulls and set them upon his canoe, and departed with his people from Matang. He set forth eastward, and after a great time came to Beru (S. Gilberts). His canoe took the ground in the shoal water under the lee of Teteirio, and there he landed with his people. The skulls of his father and mother he carried ashore also.

10. And Tewatu-of-Matang made war upon the south of Beru, and killed many people: those whom he killed,



he ate, for he was an eater of human flesh. Many men were eaten at Teteirio.

11. The king of Beru at that time was Taane-n-toa, the son of Beia-ma-te-kai and Nei Teveia: he was the second Taane-n-toa, and his house-place was at the north end of Beru, by Tabiang. When he heard that Tewatu-of-Matang was eating the people of Beru, he sent to him the man named Bareiti, who was the keeper of his *bwatua*.<sup>103</sup> So Bareiti went to Teteirio and brought Tewatu-of-Matang back to Tabiang.

12. Taane-n-toa was sitting in his *maneaba* at Tabiang, and at the south end of the *maneaba* sat the man Teikake with his dog. When Tewatu-of-Matang went in, the dog of Teikake ran out to bite his heel, so he laid hold of that beast: he raised it aloft by the hind legs, and tore it in halves, and made as if to strike Teikake therewith. But Taane-n-toa the king prevented him, saying, "Hold! Strike not that man for he is beneath thy foot (i.e., 'he is thy servant henceforth'). Thou shalt sit in the *boti*,<sup>104</sup> the sitting-place of Karumaetua, under the south gable of the *maneaba*. Thou shalt speak first among those who sit in the south, but the last share of the feast shall be thine, and the tail of the porpoise, for thou hast come too late for the head of the porpoise, and the men of Tabiang have eaten it."

13. So Tewatu-of-Matang took the sitting-place of Karumaetua, and Taane-n-toa said to him, "Who is the *anti* of the stone where those two skulls of thine are buried?" He answered, "Tabu-ariki is my *anti*." Taane-n-toa said, "And (Tabu-ariki is) our *anti* also. It is enough! Thou shalt not after this eat the people of Beru."

14. Then Tewatu-of-Matang married a woman of Beru, whose *boti* was Te-kirikiri and Te-ba, under the north

<sup>103</sup>*Bwatua*: a small teleost fish of the order *Plectognathi*, much used in former days by the Gilbertese for sporting purposes, in the manner of game-cocks.

<sup>104</sup>*Boti*: the term used to designate the hereditary sitting-room of a Gilbertese clan, for purposes of council and feast, in the *maneaba*.

gable of the *maneaba*. He begot sons, whose progeny are the people of Karumaetua upon Beru, and his daughter was Nei Taakeiti, who was the mother of Te-tongana, who was the ancestor of the lodge of Teaabike and the lodge of Auatabu<sup>105</sup> upon Tarawa.

<sup>105</sup>The lodge of Teaabike and the lodge of Auatabu upon Tarawa were two political or military factions which, without reference to social organization or family ties, contended between A.D. 1700 and 1892 for the mastery of the island. Their incessant conflict went far toward obliterating the clan-organization upon Tarawa.

