Apparently a preliminary draft of Part III of

The Migrations of a Pandanus People.

Note: This part was never published.
Part III. MYTHS AND RITUALS CONNECTED WITH FOOD-PLANTS.


The following myth of the origin of the coconut, pandanus, and almond trees was collected on Baanaba (Ocean Island), the only "elevated" unit of the Gilbertese-speaking communities. The general outlines of the story, as recorded, are commonly known throughout the Gilbert Group; but outside Baanaba, which alone is capable of supporting the almond tree, mention is made only of the coconut and pandanus.

(1) Nei Tituaabine boni kaai-ni are i malao Matang, ao l'ai naba kaai-ni Matang temanna, are maane-na, are ara-na Auriaria, ao bu-na Nei Tevenei. A bon aor-iia n tekateka iao-ni Matang te Koraki aarei; ao aro-iia, bon tainian usa.

(2) E swaan tamaaroa Auriaria, b'e ribaura, m'e aintoa, ao e tainaki irou aine-n te aba aarei.

(3) E nakonako n tetaina Auriaria, ao e bo ma Nei Tituaabine. Te aine are akea n te tamaaroa neirei, b'e ribsura naba, m'e ititi kanoa-ni mata-na, ba ai aro-n te iti are i karawa.

(4) E nakoi-na teuaarei, ao ngke e roko e kaangai: "Neiko, ai bati-rai tangira-m irou". Ao ngaia, e kaeka ni kaangai: "jao, Ngai naba, I bon tangiri-ko".

(5) Ao aken! ba e kanikira Auriaria...
ma maane-na ane Nei Tituaabine anne.

(6) Ao e un Nei Tevenei, are bu-n Auriaria, ngke e ongo, ba kanga e koko; mangaia are e kanaengi ma bu-na. E toka n waa-na, e waerake, e roko i Tarawa. E maan teutana i Tarawa, ao e a manga mananga nako Maiana: e tekateka n te aba anne, ao e aranna te tabo are e tekateka iai ba Arinnanona.

Footnote. Note the sudden transition, in this paragraph, from myth to history. The native chronicler uses the dramatic opportunity offered by the quarrel of Nei Tevenei with her husband to introduce the sketch of a migration out of Matang into the Gilbert Group.

(7) Ao e aki toki Auriaria ni kinano ma Nei Tituaabine, ma e aki kariki mangaia. Ao akea! b'e aoraki Nei Tituaabine: e namakinna mate-na, ao e taetae nakon teuanne, ni kaangai: "Nao, ai kaswa-ra nkai N nangi mate, ao akea nati-u ae e na tiku iroum ba motika-n nanoanga-n! Na an, taona nano-n, ba iai te bai are e na riki ba kamuringa-u iroum. Nkana I mate, ao ko na taon-ai, ma ko na taninge te kai are e na riki iao-u; ao nkana iai are e riki, ao ko na kawakin-na.

(8) E mate, ao e taon-na Auriaria. E maan teutana, ao e riki te kai maista-n atu-na, ba ai te nii.

(7) And Auriaria did not cease to make love with Nei Tituaabine, but he begot no children upon her. And behold! Nei Tituaabine fell ill: she felt her death (approaching), and she spoke to that man, saying thus: "Sir, how sad it is now that I am about to die, and there is no child of mine to remain with thee as the comforter of thy sorrow! But come, still thy heart, for there is a thing which shall grow as a memorial of me with thee. When I die, thou shalt bury me, and thou shalt await the tree which shall grow over me; and if any (tree) grow, thou shalt care for it.

(8) She died, and Auriaria buried her. A while passed, and a tree grew from the top of her head, even the coconu.
And a second tree grew from her navel, the almond; and the third grew from her heels, the pandanus. These were the things that grew from within the body of Nei Tituaabine, and they remained after her as the comforters of Auriaria's sorrow; for when he drank a coconut he rubbed noses with her; and when

Footnote 2. The allusion is to the "face" of the coconut, which is believed to be the face of Nei Tituaabine, and from which a man (though not a woman) is obliged to drink. The rubbing of noses - or, rather, nostrils - is the love-greeting in the Gilbert Islands.

Footnote 3. All Gilbertese sleeping-mats are manufactured of pandanus leaf.

Footnote 4. The offering of pandanus first-fruits to Auriaria (in company with the Sun and Moon) will be described in Section 15 post. The first-fruits of the almond on Baanaba were offered not to Auriaria, but to Nei Tituaabine; nevertheless, they were indeed the "food" of Auriaria, in the sense that one of his totem-creatures, the Rat, invariably consumed the offering left at the boa (stone pillar) of Nei Tituaabine.

(9) And those trees, indeed, were carried by Auriaria wherever he voyaged, as a memorial of Nei Tituaabine forever.

We immediately recognise the western land of Matang pictured in this myth as that Matang populated by the betel-chewing, fair-skinned ancestral deities of the renga-Paradise traditions, which were reviewed in Section 13(d), and as the ancient fatherland of the head-hunting Tree-folk - the tawny-skinned Breed of Matang - identified with their
deities Auriaria and Nei Tituaabine. In Section 35 it is convenient now to record much other fragments of information or belief concerning this storied country as popular memory still preserves.

According to one set of tales, concerned chiefly with the voyages and adventures of Auriaria, Matang is a foursquare island, peopled by "old gods (anti n ikawai)" unattainable by human beings because, when approached, it either "flies to heaven" or "sinks beneath the sea." This Matang is believed by some chroniclers to lie near Samoa, but is placed by others next to the Land of Pouri in the west—an association which we have already seen confirmed in the renga-Paradise traditions. The "old gods" who rule the land are Tangaroa with his brothers Taurareroa, Rebarara, Teborata, and Bwebwe-n-renga. All these are the "fathers" of the heroine, Nei Tituaabine, whose picture (mentioned be in paragraph of above text) is that of a beautiful red-skinned girl with eyes as bright as lightning.

This association of Nei Tituaabine with lightning is not merely figurative. We have already seen how the red lightning of the westerly storm-clouds is sometimes called "the renga of Nei Tituaabine," both in the Matang-stories and in general tradition her appearance upon the scene is commonly pictured as being heralded by a lightning flash; and the lightning is said by some to take vengeance upon those who disturb her totem-creature at sea, the Giant Ray. While—on the other hand—any person (whatever his totem-may be) who consistently abstains from losing this creature is believed to be safe from the lightning flash if any kind of Ray appear in his vicinity during a storm. These facts, read together, leave us with little doubt that, although Nei Tituaabine is no longer recognised as a "departmental" deity of lightning, she once

Footnote 5. Compare with this account of Matan, the Polynesian account of Motu Tapu, the magic floating and sinking island, where dwelt the fish-god Timirau. S. Percy Smith, Hawai‘i, 1910 edition, page ....

Footnote 6. See Section 11(b) ante.

Footnote 7. All kinds of Ray are associated with Nei Tituaabine, but the Giant Ray is the variety used as a totem by the clan-of Neaki, whose other totem is the Tropic Bird (vide Section 12(d) ante)
occupied that position in the Pantheon of the Gilbertese forefathers; and this serves to stress her family likeness to all those other gods sprung from the Ancestral Tree - the red-skinned eaters of renga in the land of Matang - whose astronomical and meteorological associations are so plainly marked: Nei Tevenei, the Meteor; Riiki, the Milky Way; Tabu-ariki, the Thunderer; and, above all, her brother-Parakou, the presiding spirit of the Tree, Auriaria, whose evidence shortly to be recorded will identify her as a Sun-god.

The tradition of redness, or fairness of skin, which has been seen to cling so closely to the people and gods of Matang, is well supported in paragraphs 2 and 3 of our myth, and is further emphasized by two useful pieces of social evidence hitherto-unrecorded. The first is, that the traditional bleaching process called te ko, to which Gilbertese girls of high rank were once subjected, was undertaken with the intention of reproducing the ancient fairness of the Matarang people; and the second is, that when Europeans first appeared in the Gilbert Group, they were immediately called, because of their fair complexion, I-Matang (Inhabitants-of-Matang), a name which they bear today.

In the domain of material culture, the name of Matang is found attached to the weapon known as te koro-matang, a heavy cigar-shaped throwing stick, pointed at both ends, formerly much-used in war.

As a land-name, it is ubiquitous, there being no Gilbert Island without its Matang. As a plant-name, it belongs to a variety of pandanus tree, te Ara-matang, still cultivated in the Gilbert Group. It is such small concrete facts which, linking themselves with the evidence of tradition, help to set the original Matang, as I have observed earlier, within the category of material realities.

Footnote 2. Bouru, that other renga-Paradise associated with Matang, has also given its name to a pandanus tree, te Ara-bouru. A third variety of the plant to be called after a western fatherland is te An-nabanaba. The name of Nabanaba has already been seen attached to a form of cooking oven (section 6), and also to a variety of Malay custard-apple (section 6, Emergency Diet).
A comparison of our myth with the text of the Keaki tradition examined in Section 12(d) throws further light upon the manner in which myth-material can suffer mutilation at the hands of the native historian. Setting aside the almond tree (which is peculiar to Baana, and has thus naturally disappeared from the annals of other Gilbertese-speaking communities), the myth with which we are dealing is a plain tale of the growth of coconut and pandanus from the head and heels of Nei Tituaabine, as the result of her incestuous union with Auriaria. Certain essentials of this story are obviously alluded to in the Keaki tradition, but in what garbled form! As far as the pandanus is concerned, the chief reasons for such mutilation have been explained: the pandanus has special genealogical and religious associations, which inhibit its free discussion. No such limitations, however, apply to the coconut; nevertheless, we find the Keaki historian juggling with his material in an amazing manner. He causes the coconut to grow, not from the head of the goddess, but from the grave of her totem-creature. He throws a sop to accuracy by recording, indeed, that it was at the head of the Tropic Bird that the tree grew; and he keeps the goddess personally in the picture by making her the planter of the seed-nut; but this he does merely because it fits in conveniently with his tale. The rest of the myth, the brother-sister love of Auriaria and Nei Tituaabine, he completely ignores, because it does not fit in. We shall observe examples of such licence in other traditions that will come up for analysis. The native historian likes to use the earlier stages of his clan's pedigree as a vehicle for conveying, not only a series of genealogical and geographical facts, but also a tincture of the natural philosophy peculiar to his social group. In other words, he takes a base of mythical material as the warp across which he may weave a weft of mythical strands. But in adopting this course, he never loses sight of his main object - the telling of history - and to this end he makes his myth-matter subservient, taking often the colour rather than the form of it to embellish or illustrate his account of facts, permitting himself the utmost freedom of selection, rejection or, if need be, distortion, and preferring at all times to be allusive rather than outspoken. It will be well to bear this in mind when other texts have to be analysed.

(a) Te kaoanikai and te rabu.

Te kaoanikai is the name of the magic ritual designed for the protection of growing foodstuffs against thieves, while te rabu (the Covering) is the technical term indicating any object attached to a plant for the purpose of denoting that the kaoanikai ritual has been performed upon it.

A rabu often consists of a piece of a woman's worn-out piri (leaf kilt), but it is more generally made of coconut leaf fresh-cut from the tree. For this purpose, on the island of Markakei (Northern Gilberts), a green leaf is split down its midrib into two halves, which are then cut up into sections, each one bearing four pinnules. Every section forms a rabu for one tree, being tied round the trunk by its pinnules (two on either side like a belt). Round the midrib of each rabu is knotted a single slip of white leaf plucked from the topmost shoot of a young coconut palm. The method of tying this knot and of affixing the rabu to the tree is indicated in Diagram B.

Footnote 10. Plate 13 illustrates another form of rabu seen at Tarawa, and probably elsewhere in the Northern Gilberts. The number of forms still in use is indeed legion, and the subject deserves a great deal more research than I have been able to give it immediately before being tied to their respective trees, all the rabu are collected in a heap before the owner, who holds in his right hand an opened drinking nut (moite: see Section 6 ante). Facing east, he sprinkles the water of the nut, with a clockwise sweep of the arm, over the heap, intoning the following formula in a low singsong:

Mataakang, Mataakang!
Mataoraora, Mataoraora!

Footnote 11. The clock is imagined as lying on the rabu, facing upwards.

Footnote 12. These are the names of the spiritual powers who carry into effect the curse of the formula. It will be noted that they are in no sense supplicated or invoked, their obedience being enforced by the declaration of the correct spell and the completion of the ritual. Kaakang means to eat human flesh; oraora means to eat uncooked food; mata means face or eye.

Ko kanna te ra, au rabu?
Ko kanna te aomata anu ana ana uaa-n su ni.
Ko kanna ra-na? Ko kangi mata-na.
Ko kanna ra-na? Ko a tiring-nga, ko a boi-a, ko a kamate-a.
M'ea a mate ...... o-o-o!
Thou eatest what part of him? Thou eatest his hands.
Thou eatest what part of him? Thou eatest his feet.
Thou eatest what part of him? Thou eatest his body.
Thou eatest what part of him? Thou eatest his eyes.
Thou eatest what part of him? Thou eatest his head.
Thou eatest what part of him? Thou shalt smite him, thou shalt beat him, thou shalt kill him.
So shall he die ...... o-o-o!

This formula having been intoned three times, the rabu are tied in place, and the empty drinking nut used for the aspersion is planted, mouth upward, in the ground by any one of the trees: therein, as in a flower-pot, is then stood the topmost leaf of the young coconut tree from which were plucked the pinnules for adding knots to the rabu. The leaf rests against the trunk of the adjacent tree, and remains as a kind of scarecrow to thieves.

Then the owner himself desires to gather the fruit of a protected tree, he is obliged to undo the magic, lest a curse fall upon his own head. He stands before the tree and unties the knot of white leaf attached to the rabu, intoning at the same time:

E maatanaa, e matana au rabu aio!

Footnote 13. Matana is the regular form. Maatana is a euphonic variant of a kind much used in dancing chants and magic formulae.

E matana bai-na, ao e matana wae-na, ao e matana un-na, ma tiririti-na, ma kaskangi-na, ma oraora-na!

E maatanaa, e matana.

It is undone, it is undone, this my rabu; it hand is undone, and its foot is undone, and its anger is undone, with its eating of human flesh, with its eating of raw flesh!

It is undone, it is undone.

Having slipped the knot and thrown the leaf upon the ground, the performer then takes the rest of the rabu from the tree, and proceeds with his food-gathering. There is no ritual burning or destruction of the cast-off rabu.
(b) Te bitanikai, the magic staff.

On Marakei, a man desirous of stealing his neighbour's fruit in despite of the rabu put upon it protests himself from evil by the aid of a magic staff (or tree) called te bita-ni-kai. Bita means change or reverse; the word bitanikai thus signifies reversal of the kaoanikai (see opening paragraph of the preceding sub-section), and applies not only to the magic staff, but also to the whole ritual concerned with the desecration of a rabu.

The performer cuts a straight wand, about six feet long and an inch thick, from any convenient tree, and peels it. Holding this staff by the middle in his right hand, he stands by the east side of his house, facing East, at any time between sunrise and noon, but preferably on a day when both the sun and moon are seen together in the sky. Waving the staff over his head in a circular sweep and looking up towards the sun, he chants in a low monotone:

Footnote 14. From his rising until noon, the sun is said to be marau (agile or active), which is to say, helpful, for the purposes of magic rituals. After his nooning, he becomes makanakana - soft or unhelpful.

Footnote 15. The name Bitanikai is here given to the spiritual power believed to reside in the staff. Nannonikai means Heart-of-staff, i.e., He-who-lives-within-the-staff. The attitude is purely animistic, and, as such, sharply contrasted with that adopted a little later, when the protection of Auriaria and Tabu-ariki is invoked, A clear example of syncretism.

Footnote 16. The rock that forms highest heaven; the hard coral that is the foundation of the underworld; the clam-shell of Auriaria, King of heaven.

The rook is struck, the hard coral is struck, the clam-shell is struck. The attitude is purely animistic, and, as such, sharply contrasted with that adopted a little later, when the protection of Auriaria and Tabu-ariki is invoked, A clear example of syncretism.
Ngaia! Ko kaakang i taari!

Ngaia! Ko kaakang i anna!

Bonobonota maai-n te anti temanna,
Auriaria ma Tabu-ariki-o-o-o!

Ea a ti bon airinako toua-na

So! Thou eatest men at sea (o, my staff)!

So! Thou eatest men ashore!

Close the way of any spirit, Auriaria and Tabu-ariki-o-o-o!

For they (the enemy spirits) shall collectively go whither they are sent.

Footnote 17. Literally translated, this passage reads as follows:

Ma aia anti mawi, ma aia anti n aoraki, ma aia anti ni karaoka, /3
ma aia anti ni kaawa ..... e-e!

Footnote 18. Anti ni karaka, translated new-fangled spirits, means literally spirits to increase-number. The word raka denotes always a surplus, an addition either to number or knowledge: e.g., te bai-n raka aei (the thing-of surplus this) signifies "this is a new and unknown thing". A person who invents an unheard-of story is said to indulge in te taetae n raka - the talk which exceeds the limit of things known and accepted.

Bonobonota maai-n te anti temanna,
Auriaria ma Tabu-ariki-o-o-o!

Inano-ni kaawa nakoaiai, nakoiai.

Kaanga-o-o, e mate te anti, e mate te aomata!

Bonobono-o-o-o-o!

E mate te kua, e mate te aomata, e tei iaotari, e uoweta riba-ni-mate-na, to ikanangananga,

Ea N na taebai-a, ba a tae bai-na n au iter,

Ba kam saki tarai-a, Auriaria ma Tabu-ariki.

Tiringa-ni manawa-na - oro-i-ni boboto-na!

Timtimu-e-e! Bitanikaai, Bitanikaai!

Close the way of any spirit, Auriaria and Tabu-ariki-o-o-o!

In villages towards the south, towards the north.

How now! The spirit is dead, the man is dead!

(I am) protected-o-o-o-o!

The porpoise is dead, the man is dead, he stands in the sea, he carries the colour of his death (upon him), the peeling of skin (i.e., putrefaction).

For I shall rend off his arms, for his arms are rent off on my behalf,

For ye look not upon him, Auriaria and Tabu-ariki.

Smiting of his breast - strike it at its vitals!

Drip-(blood)-e-e! Bitanikaai, Bitanikaai.

This formula having been repeated three times, the performer sharpens the staff at both ends, and carries it with him to the land whereof he desires to steal the fruit; there, he plants it in the ground, while he adorns the legitimate owner's rabu. Having done his will, he takes the
staff home with the stolen fruit, and again plants it in the ground, up against the eastern side of his house, where he performed the bitanikai ritual. There it must remain until used again: it may on no account be either used as an implement or brought into the house, the belief being that sudden death will visit the man who fails to observe these avoidances.

If a thief go to the owner of a tree, and confess to having desecrated a rabu, the owner may, if he will, save him from the curse by waving over him a magic staff prepared according to the above ritual. In such a case, only the staff of the legitimate owner is held to be effective, but even this is held to be of no avail when once the curse has begun to work upon its victim.

(c) A ritual of fructification.

An invocation that is much more like a blessing than a magic formula is used in the Northern Gilberts for the purpose of making land fruitful. The example chosen is from the island of Marakei. The landowner visits his land alone, in the dark before dawn, at any season of the year. Proceeding to the eastern boundary, he watches for sunrise. Just as the luminary’s upper limb appears above the horizon he begins his ritual. Turning his back to the sunrise, he extends his right hand, palm down, before him, and traverses his land from east to west, intoning at the same time -

Tara-ai, aba-u, ba I roko, Ngai.

Kimarimari, ma kitabaa - kimarimari-e-e!

A na baka marin-aba-u aio: te ari, te maritabaa.

O, kimarimari-e-e, kimaamau-e-e!

Kimarimari: "Be abundant, be rich in pandanus bloom - be abundant-e-e!

Behold me, my land, for I come, I myself.

Be abundant, be rich in pandanus bloom - be abundant-e-e!

They shall fall, the riches of this my land: the coconut blossom, the abundant young pandanus bloom.

O, be abundant-e-e, be full of life-e-e! Be abundant!

Footnote 19. The ordinary land-holding in the Gilbert islands consists of a section of the island running from the ocean beach (east) to the lagoon beach (west). A good horizon is therefore, as a rule, obtainable from the eastern boundary.

Footnote 20. Ki- is an intensive prefix; maru means plenty or richness of crops; maamau is a euphonic variant of the word maamu (alive, vigorous) in its intensive form maamau, which may signify either continually vigorous or extremely vigorous.

The invocation is recited three times, the performer starting anew
The justification of the pandanus.

A highly interesting ritual, in which the Sun and Moon played a large part, was formerly used for the purpose of ensuring a rich pandanus harvest. The ceremony could only be performed by members of the three totemic sibs named Karongoo, Abalow, and Maerua. The first-named, Karongoo, was called the King of the Maneaba (council hall), and its members were said to be protected, while under the roof of the maneaba, by the Sun. The chief elder of the clan in the Northern Gilberts was called "The Sun in the maneaba." The sitting-place allotted to the Karongoo folk in council was in the middle of the eastern side of the maneaba, and the coral monolith (stil) supporting the roof, by which they sat, was said to be the "body of the Sun."
from the eastern boundary of his land at each repetition. If the performer belong to the Karongoa clan, he wears upon his head a fillet made of the single pinnule of a young coconut leaf, knotted upon his forehead exactly as that pictured in Diagram B, and called buna-n Taal, the fillet of the Sun; but if he be of any other social group, he wears no fillet.

The ritual is held to be so effective that, unless the performer keeps his eyes strictly confined within his holding, his blessing may become operative on the neighbouring lands, as well as his own.

15. The fructification of the pandanus.

A highly interesting ritual, in which the Sun and Moon play a leading part, is used for the purpose of ensuring a rich pandanus harvest.

Footnote 21. The present tense is used in describing the ritual, because solitary examples of its practice do occur still, in spite of the rapid decay of native custom during the past 40 years.

Only the members of three social groups - Karongoa, Ababou and Maerua - have the secret of the ritual or the right to practice it. The Sun-Moon associations of these groups are remarkable, and demand attention in connection with the ceremony to be described. They will be found outlined in Appendix 1.

The season at which the fructification-ritual takes place lies between July and September, when the S.E. Trades are expected to give way to the westerly rains. The seasonable arrival of these rains is anxiously awaited, because upon it depends the quantity and quality of the pandanus harvest, which is gathered towards the beginning of October.

The days on which the ceremony is undertaken are two, the first stage being completed on the 7th night of the lunar month, the second stage on the 13th night.

The time of commencement is the hour of sunset. For the first stage, the moon must be approaching the meridian just as the sun is over the western horizon. For the second stage, the moon must be just risen as the sun is on the point of setting. The essential point is that both luminaries at once should be visible in the sky when the ritual is begun.

The place is a cleared space on the east side of the performer's dwelling-house, in a straight line with the middle rafter of the roof.

Footnote 22. All Gilbertese dwellings are built with gables N. and S., and sides facing E. and W.
The material prepared for the ritual consists of the parts of a magic tree - a trunk and two branches. The branches are two round wands of pandanus wood, each a span long, and as thick as a man's thumb. The trunk is a rounded and tapered shaft of coconut timber, two spans long and about two inches thick at the base. The shaft is decorated at its point with a tuft of five upstanding frigate-bird feathers, the string with which this tuft is lashed on being made of alternate strands of coconut fibre and human hair. Both the feathers and the string have the same important underlying sun-idea: the frigate-bird is believed to be the bird of the sun, while the spiral pattern of black hair running through the string is believed to be pleasing to the luminary. The tuft, when lashed in place, is said to be "the Body of the Sun at the crest of the tree". At equal intervals around the base of the tuft are attached four strings of hair and fibre, each a span and a half long, in the manner of maypole strings. Each string is then garnished with frigate-bird feathers in the following arrangement:

Near the top - a tuft of three;
In the middle - a tuft of two;
Near the free end - a single feather;
At the free end - a tuft of five.

These feather decorations are technically named buka; the strings which carry them are destined to be draped over the branches of the tree, when the moment comes to lash these latter into position; the technical name of the branches is therefore maanga-ni-buka (branches-of-buka).

The decorated pole and the separate branches having been prepared, they are taken to the space made ready for them on the east side of the maker's dwelling. A small hole for planting the magic tree is dug, and, just as the sun's lower limb is about to touch the western horizon, the first part of the ritual begins.

Stage 1. (Moon's seventh day).

The performer plants the trunk of the tree in the hole. Holding the shaft upright with both hands before him, as pictured in Plate 14, he throws his head as far backwards as he can, and fixes his eyes upon the sun-tuft above him. Having stood silent in this posture for about half a
minute, he intones in a low voice the following formula:

Unika-n au bitanikai alo.

Footnote 28. Bitanikai, magic tree. Bita-ni-kai in this context means to the performer changing-of-trees, with reference to the fructification of his pandanus-trees, which would otherwise not be productive.

E bung meang, e bung maiaki, e bung maeso, ma mainiku-o-o-o-o!

Footnote 26. Bung, gives birth. This is the usual meaning of bung, but the word is also used to denote the setting of sun or moon. Those who use the ritual state that the birth-meaning is here intended, the idea being that north, south, east, and west are made fruitful by the ceremony. The fact that the sun is setting at the same moment gives a punning effect to the word. Puns are not infrequent in Gilbertese magic, their force to the native mind being always strongly esoteric.

E bung Taai na Namahina!

Be I ti namanameti-e ion Taai.

Footnote 27. On the overside of the Sun. The performer believes that, as the Sun sinks below the horizon the roots of his magic tree become planted upon his overside.

Tera uota-n Taai? E uota te maiu.

Footnote 26. Te iti-ma-te-ro, the rain-cloud. The word means literally the lightning-with-the-darkness, and refers to the alternate flickering of lightning and blackness which is seen in the rain-clouds of the westerly winds.

Kimarimari, au bukonikai o-o-o-o!

The formula is recited three times, after which the performer turns his face to the ground and remains immovable, holding the shaft upright before him, for perhaps another half minute. He then proceeds to push loose soil with his feet into the hole at the tree's root, and to stamp it firm.
Only when the tree can stand alone does he release his hold upon the stem, and seat himself at its base, still facing east. His attitude when seated is as pictured in Plate 15, the position of his legs being of great ritual importance. His right leg lies doubled before him, knee to ground, tailorwise; but his left thigh is thrust forward, and the lower leg doubled back beside his hip, so that the sole of his foot is presented to the sunset. He believes that, unless the left foot be thus "given to the sun", he will incur the luminary’s displeasure by having the appearance of wholly turning his back upon him.

The performer’s first business when seated is to finish with his hands the practical work of making the tree firm in its hole. When that is done, he holds the base of the stem in the manner pictured, and throwing back his head to regard the sun-tuft on high, intones:

Kanenea-n au bitanikai aei
Iaan Taa ma Kauakaina.
E tico-otois, maanga-n au bita-bongi-bong aei! 29

Footnote 29. Bita-bongibong, magic-tree-in-the-twilight. Bita- is the first component of bitanikai, and stands for the whole word; bongibong signifies growing dark.

Setting firm of this my magic tree
Under Sun and Moon.

Footnote 29. It flutters and bends, the branch of this my magic-tree-in-the-twilight.

E ti, m’e ruo te baa te karsu.
Ba kataaaka-n au mataburo.

Footnote 30. Mataburo, opening pandanus bloom. A technical term of the same family as tabaa, young (i.e., unopened) pandanus bloom. Both these words are inapplicable to any other kind of flower.

Footnote 31. The allusion here is obviously to the First Pandanus of Abatoa and Abaite, called the Ancestress Sun in the Tabiteuea text exhibited in Part II, appendix 2.

Footnote 32. Bita-hongibong, magic-tree-in-the-twilight. Bita- is the first component of bitanikai, and stands for the whole word; bongibong signifies growing dark.

Setting firm of this my magic tree
Under Sun and Moon.

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Footnote 31. The allusion here is obviously to the First Pandanus of Abatoa and Abaite, called the Ancestress Sun in the Tabiteuea text exhibited in Part II, appendix 2.

The lightning flashes, and the thunder and rain descend.
Even the fruitifiers of my opening pandanus bloom.

Footnote 32. Bita-hongibong, magic-tree-in-the-twilight. Bita- is the first component of bitanikai, and stands for the whole word; bongibong signifies growing dark.

Footnote 29. It flutters and bends, the branch of this my magic-tree-in-the-twilight.

E ti, m’e ruo te baa te karsu.
Ba kataaaka-n au mataburo.

Footnote 30. Mataburo, opening pandanus bloom. A technical term of the same family as tabaa, young (i.e., unopened) pandanus bloom. Both these words are inapplicable to any other kind of flower.

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Ba kataaaka-n au mataburo.

Footnote 30. Mataburo, opening pandanus bloom. A technical term of the same family as tabaa, young (i.e., unopened) pandanus bloom. Both these words are inapplicable to any other kind of flower.

Footnote 31. The allusion here is obviously to the First Pandanus of Abatoa and Abaite, called the Ancestress Sun in the Tabiteuea text exhibited in Part II, appendix 2.
Footnote 32. Mauri, rendered prosperity and prosperous, is difficult to interpret in a single word. It indicates a condition of being free from the influence of all evil magic and so in a state of peace, health or general prosperity.

After reciting this formula three times, the performer turns his face towards the ground, remains still for a few seconds, and then arises. The branches of the tree are now fixed in position. They are first lashed middle to middle with hair and fibre string, in the form of a symmetrical cross. The cross is made fast by its middle to the trunk of the tree, shoulder high, so that its branches are parallel to earth, and point North, South, East, and West, the orientation being controlled by the position of the sun at its setting. Over the ends of the branches are draped the four strings of buka (feathers) attached to the sun-crest, with their terminal tufts dangling earthwards. Diagram C indicates the main details of the completed tree, which is left standing until the moon's thirteenth night.

Stage 2 (Moon's thirteenth day).

Just before sunset, the performer sits on the ground at a distance of about two paces from the tree, back to sun and face upturned, as before, to gaze at the Sun-tuft. The sitting attitude already described is once more adopted, but, instead of holding the base of the trunk, the performer stretches his arms forward, and lays his loosely opened hands, palms upward, upon the ground beside his thighs (see Plate 16). He intones -

This my magic tree in the twilight,
my magic tree in the dusk.

Darkness of Sun going west.

He gives birth to west of me, he
gives birth to east of me, he
gives birth at the crest of my
tree.

And he prepares the way for the
young pandanus bloom and the
opening pandanus bloom.

For (these are) the burden of Sun
and Moon.

Spirits of darkness, spirits of
madness, they tumble down
from the crest of this my
tree.

I am fruitful-e-e, I am fruitful-o-o.
Crest of this my tree of frustration.
Footnote 33. Ka-tabaa, fructification. The literal meaning is causing-young-pandanus-bloom.

After three recitations of this formula, the performer remains for a short space in his attitude of supplication, then drops his head forward to look upon the ground, and finally rises to his feet. The ceremony is complete.

The magic tree may be left where it stands for an indefinite time, and may thereafter be used for other magico-religious purposes. Barren women are brought to the place, to be rendered fertile; and persons desiring to be blest with good-luck (especially in love), good health, and long life may there receive ritual treatment at the hands of the owner. For such ceremonials, the persons receiving attention sit facing eastwards towards the tree, while the performer sits before them in the position already described.

The tree may be used to remove the curse of a desecrated rabu, and there cannot be much doubt that the magic staff described in Section 14(b), which was used for the same purpose, is but a simplified form of the tree. The ceremony of the staff being open for anyone to perform (if he can learn the ritual and formula), while that of the tree is strictly reserved to three privileged groups, it is probable that the staff represents a popular attempt to achieve the benefits of the tree without too dangerously trenching upon the form and substance of the Sun-Moon ritual.

16. The kabubu first-fruits ritual.

After the pandanus harvest, which, in a normal season, occurs during September-October, it was formerly forbidden to partake of any product of the new crop until first-fruits had been offered up, and a ritual meal eaten, at the boua, or stone pillar representing the "body" of the ancestral deity, of the totem-group. The clans of Karonga, Ababou and Waerua made the

Footnote 34. See Footnote 43, Section 12(e) ante.

offering to the Sun and Moon, but included the names of Auriaria and other ancestral deities in the dedicatory formula. Other social groups offered the first-fruits direct to their ancestral deities.

The boua of the Karongoa group on Narakei - now, like most of its kind, unhappily destroyed by Christian iconoclasts - was an upstanding monolith of coral rock hewn from the reef, and planted in the ground to
eastward of the village of Rawannaui. As described by elders who, in pre-Christian days, actually performed the clan-rituals, it "stood as high as a man's shoulder", and was about as "broad and thick as a man"; it was, moreover, waisted like a man in the middle, though it seems to have had no definitely marked head. This monolith stood in the centre of a circle of flat stones set edgewise in the ground, so as to form a kerb about a hand's breadth high. The diameter of the circle was, according to the account, "three or four paces": its exact size was not, as it would seem, a matter of importance. The space within the circle was dressed with white shingle, and therein were buried the skulls of successive generations of clan elders, all males. The crania of the skulls remained uncovered by shingle, so that they might be anointed with oil on occasions when the cult of the ancestral deity was being observed. Care was taken to avoid burying any skulls due west of the houa, as this portion of the circle was reserved for food offerings.

For all everyday and overt purposes, including the normal cult of the ancestor, the houa represented the body of an ancestral being named Teveia. Footnote 35. Teveia is reputed to have been the mother's father of Taane-n-toa II, that Karongoa Chief of Senu named in the tale of Tewatu-of-Matang (Part II, Appendix 4 and Section 12(e)). He is reputed to have been the builler of Taane-n-toa's mansaba and, as such, adopted by the Chief as a deity after his death.

But for the particular and secret purpose of the first-fruits ritual, it represented no longer Teveia, but the spirit Auriaria. Upon its crest were then perched three red coral blocks, each about the size of two fists, one on top of the other. This addition was known as the bara (hat) of Auriaria.

The date of the first-fruits offering was the second day of the next new moon after the pandanus harvest had been gathered. The hour of the ritual was that of sunset, when both luminaries were seen together in the sky, the moon setting almost together with the sun. The material of the offering was a ball of the sweet food called te korokoro made of boiled coconut toddy and that desiccated pandanus product called kabubu. The kabubu used for the purpose was, of course, manufactured from the newly harvested crop.

The ball of korokoro was carried to the houa by the senior male of the Karongoa clan, all the other men and women of his group following him.
The leader wore upon his head a fillet of coconut leaf such as that described in Section 14(o), and called the "fillet of the sun". Arrived at the place of offering, the whole company assumed the sitting posture adopted by the performer of the fructification ritual (Plates 15 and 16), with backs to the sunset and faces to the stone. The leader took his place a little in advance of the others, right up against the kerb of the circular enclosure. Being seated in the ritual posture, he leaned forward and set the ball of korokoro at arm's length before him on the shingle near the base of the stone. Throwing back his head to gaze into the sky immediately above the house, and laying his open hands, palms upward, on the ground by his knees, he intoned -

Kana-mi aei, Taai ma Namakaina,  
Ba ana moan nati Nei Kaina-bongibong.  
Auriaria, ma Nei Tevonei, ma Riiki,  
ma anti-n rabaraba-ni karawa,  

This is your food. Sun and Moon,  
Even the first child of the Woman Pandanus-in-the-twilight.

Auriaria, and Nei Tevonei, and Riiki,  
and spirits of the hidden places of heaven.

 Footnote 37. Rabaraba-ni karawa, hidden places of heaven. This phrase is commonly used to indicate, not the zenith, but the sides of heaven hidden below the horizon. In this context, it obviously refers to the far lands of the ancestral deities.

Kana-mi aei.  
Ba moan tabaa-n te bita-bongibong.  
Te mauri ao te raoci. Te mauri naba Ngaira-o-o-o!

This is your food.  
Even the first young bloom of the magic tree in the twilight.  
Prosperity and peace. The prosperous indeed are we-o-o-o-o!

The formula was recited three times. Through the entire ritual that followed, the leader never for a moment ceased to look up into the sky above the stone. Leaning forward, he first groped for the ball of korokoro and, having taken it upon the palm of his left hand, returned to an upright posture. Still sitting, he plucked out with his right finger-tips a piece of the sticky ball and moulded it into a pellet, which he then laid on the shingle before the stone as "the portion of the Sun, and Moon, and Auriaria". This was called the taarika. The first portion having thus been given, he proceeded to mould a series of similar pellets, passing each one as it was made back over his right shoulder, where it was taken by the man behind him, and sent along the ranks of sitting people, until every member of the company had a portion. Absolute silence was observed until the distribution was
complete, when the man behind the leader whispered, "A toa bai-ia (Their hands are all full). Thereupon the leader made for himself a pellet of the food, and raised it in his right hand above his still upturned face. At once, the whole company threw their heads back to gaze at the sky above the house, and lifted their right arms in a similar attitude. Having allowed time enough for everyone to adopt this posture, the performer dropped the pellet into his mouth and swallowed it whole. The company followed suit. It was essential to the ritual that the bolus should not be bitten.

After a short pause with arm still uplifted, the leader, imitated by the whole assembly, dropped hand to side and turned his face to the ground. The "looking downward" lasted for a few seconds only. Finally, the leader arose and, without special ceremony, placed whatever remained of the ball of koriokori up against the house, beside the small taarika, for the remnant akikira was the "portion of the Sun, the Moon, and Auraria". In a lesser degree also, this akikira (remainder) belonged to the other ancestral spirits, Riki, Nei Teneveri, Nei Tituabina, together with the ghosts of those clan elders whose skulls were buried by the house.

Before leaving the spot, the leader anointed with oil the crania of the buried skulls, and, after he had performed this rite, any other member of the group might do likewise, choosing at his pleasure any or all of the skulls for anointment.

On all islands of the Northern Gilberts, and probably of the Southern Gilberts also, the various social groups sent a portion of their newly collected pandanus harvest to the senior male of the local Karongoa group before offering first-fruits to their own ancestral deities. On Tarawa, this practice is associated with an interesting local tradition concerning a very famous High Chief named Kirataa the Eldest, a member of the Karongoa group, who flourished between 25 and 30 generations ago. It is said that Kirataa's favourite food was te kabubu, and that the pandanus tree was his anti. This is held to be the reason why, even nowadays, the first portion of every local clan's pandanus harvest is set aside each year as a gift to the senior living descendant of Kirataa in the male line. The fundamental reason, of course, is that the line of Kirataa represents the essence of Karongoa on Tarawa.

No formalities were observed in submitting the first portion of
the first-fruits for Karongoa's acceptance: it was enough to send the gift (consisting of any product whatever of the new pandanus harvest) in a basket, by the hand of a small boy, to the house of the proper recipient; but the penalty for neglecting to make such an offering, before the private clan-ritual was undertaken, was believed to be death by the lightning-flash, or thunderbolt, or other visitation from heaven.

17. A ritual meal in time of famine.

As may be already apparent, each separate Gilbertese totem-group, as a rule, practised the cult of its own ancestral deities independently of all others; but in time of famine, a form of religious observance in which all groups united, with the senior male of Karongoa-n-uaa as the officiating priest, was practised at a stone pillar representing the body of a being named Tabakea, within a maneaba of particular style called Naunga-tabu. It will be remembered that the Naunga-tabu name, meaning Sacred Mountain, is also attached (a) to a variety of pandanus tree, and (b) to a volcano, whereon

Footnote 39. See Part II, Footnote 37.

stood the Ancestral Pandanus of the head-hunting Gilbertese forefathers. The other special associations of the Naunga-tabu maneaba are outlined in Appendix I.

The being Tabakea, upon whom the ritual to be described was centred, is associated with four totems; (1) A mythical beast called to kekenu, described as "a lizard as big as two men" - no doubt a crocodile or alligator; (2) the common nodd; (3) a small tree called te ibi, which bears a scarlet, almond-like fruit; (4) the turtle. Of these, the last is considerably the most important, the name Tabakea itself meaning parrot-bill turtle. In a widespread series of traditions Tabakea is represented as the Eldest of All Beings, the First of Things; and in all the tales which deal with the adventures and voyages of Auriaria, he appears as Auriaria's father. This doubtless explains why Auriaria's name is linked with Tabakea's in the formula which will presently be exhibited.

When famine threatened the community, the elder of Karongoa-n-uaa would fix a day when food offerings and tataro (supplication) should be made to Tabakea, and a stone monolith about six feet high, representing the body of the god, would be erected for that purpose up against the Karongoa Sun-stone

Footnote 39. Sun-stone; see Appendix I.
in the *maeana*. The monolith was wreathed with coconut leaves by the acolyte group, Karongoa-n-aete. Just before dawn on the appointed day, the community would enter the building, bringing with them offerings of food, and sit in their respective clan-places. Exactly at sunrise, a watcher posted to observe the eastern horizon would call, "E oti Taai (The Sun appears)" and a portion of food was laid by the elder of Karongoa-n-ua before the stone of the god, to the accompaniment of the following *tataro*:

Ao-ra te amarake, nkoe, Tabakea.  
Ao-ra te amarake, nkoe, Auriaria,  
Mei Tevenei, Riiki.

Tautaua maure-ra, toutoua-nako te rongo, te taki, te mate.  
Kakamaur-i atae aikai,  
Karerekea kara-ra.

Taai-o, Namahaina-o!  
Karerekea kara-ra!  
Te mauri ma te raoi.

Our offering the food, thou, Tabakea.  
Our offering the food, thou, Auriaria,  
Mei Tevenei, Riiki.

Uphold our prosperity, tread away the drought, the hunger, the death.  
Continue to prosper these children,  
Continue to get our food.

Sun-o, Poon-o!  
Continue to get our food!  
Prosperity and peace.

During this ceremony, all present, whether of the clan of Karongoa or not, wore the fillet of coconut leaf known as "the fillet of the sun" (*buna-n taai*). The formula having been recited three times, the fillets were put off, and the remaining food was eaten by the assemblage, which then dispersed.
Appendix 1. Notes on the Gilbertese maneaba, or meeting house, with special reference to the style of building called Haunga-tabu, and to the privileges and functions of the clans Karongoa, Ababou and Naurua therein.

(a) General description.

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

(2) The Gilbertese maneaba in general is the centre of communal life, the council chamber, the dance hall, the feasting place of the gathered totem groups comprising any local population. As such, it is sacred; no brailing or dispute may take place under its roof, or upon the mara (open space) of which it is the centre; its supporting pillars may not be struck; and only games (including, above all, the dance) of a definitely religious or social significance may be played within its precincts. The building is susceptible of offence, and may not be spoken of in jest; he who offends it becomes maraia, and liable to sudden death or sickness.

Each totem-group has its hereditary sitting-room in the maneaba, and its peculiar functions or privileges in connection with the building of the edition, or its maintenance, or the ceremonies which take place beneath its roof. An account of the allocation of a sitting-room, with its privileges, to the ancestor Tevatu-of-Talang has already been studied.

(3) In Part II of Appendix, paragraphs 11-12, to usurp the sitting-room (hoti), privilege or function of another group is to become mansa. The hereditary rights and obligations of the various social groups differ considerably in the three types of building.
Karongoa and the Maunga-tabu maneaba.

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

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

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

(7) The sib of Karongoa-naereke is the companion and acolyte of Karongoa-n-uea in the Maunga-tabu building: its members carry messages from the sacred clan to other groups and, in the Northern Gilberts, its elder
"lifts the word from the mouth of Karongoa-n-uea", i.e., publishes to the assembly the whispered oration or judgment of the Karongoa-n-uea spokesman. The privilege of Karongoa-raereke is to take a share of the first portion of any feast, which is the perquisite of Karongoa-n-uea. Its duty is to supervise the laying and maintenance of the coconut-leaf mats (inaiai) with which the floor of the maneaba is covered, and to perform magico-religious rituals for preventing dissension in the sacred edifice. The time for such rituals is the hour when the Sun is approaching his zenith; and among the material used is a kuo-n-aine—a cup made of half a coconut shell wherein oil has been boiled—which vessel is considered highly important because it formed the magic boat of the Sun-child named Bue, the ancestor of the Ababou clan, when he visited his burning sire in the East.

(3) Ababou and Maerua.

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

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


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

(10) But the Sun's greatest gift to Bue was the craft of building maneabas:

"The maneabas of Kings, which is called Te Namakaina (Moon); and that
called Te Tabanin (The Foursquare); and the long maneaba called Maunga-tabu; and the maneaba whereof the breadth is greater than the length, called Te Ketoa. It is by virtue of this gift that the clans of Ababou and Maerua lay claim to their pre-eminence in respect of which I have been able to collect particulars. What is of Ababou and Maerua lay claim to their pre-eminence function, namely, that of being, on behalf of Karonga-a-n-uea, the master-architects of the Maunga-tabu building. Their duties in this direction are, to find a suitable site for the edifice, to lay out its ground-plan, to order the position of all its timbers, and with their own hands to cap its ridge with a covering of plaited leaf or matting. Their acolytes in these works are the Eel-totem group of Nukumaua and the Crab-totem group of Tabulcaokao. In all their building rituals, the names of Sun and Moon are prominent; they believe that the Sun dwells in the Maunga-tabu maneaba because he was the originator of that style of building, and will take vengeance upon any person who either offends the edifice or attempts to usurp the functions or imitate the rituals of the builder-clans.

Footnote 5. The free translation of the tradition from which this extract is quoted is exhibited in Appendix 2; see paragraph 7. The styles of construction called Te Namakaina and Te Ketoa are now unknown; that called Te Tabanin (The Foursquare) may correspond with the style now called Tabontebike (see the opening paragraph of this Appendix); that called Maunga-tabu is the only one of the four in respect of which I have been able to collect particulars.

Footnote 6. The present tense is used in describing these beliefs, because there are still living one or two old men who cling to them. It should, however, be remembered that the knowledge of myth and ritual upon which the beliefs, as they stand recorded, were based belonged, even before the decay of custom, to a very narrow circle of initiates on each island.

(d) Maunga-tabu building rituals.

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

Ba maneaba-ia Auriaria, Nei Tevenei,
Riiki, Nei Tituaabine.

E toki tera? E toki te bakarere.
E toki tera? E toki te ma-i-n-anti.
E toki tera? E toki te maraia.
E toki tera? E toki te tiringaki.

Te mauri ao te raio.

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

For the time has come for me to cut
the roof-plate of the maneaba
of the Sun and Moon;

Even the maneaba of Auriaria, Nei
Tevenei, Riiki, Nei Tituaabine.

What ceases? Violence ceases.
What ceases? Being under a curse
ceases.
What ceases? Being smitten ceases.

It ceases, it ceases, it ceases,
it ceases.
Prosperity and peace.

(13) When the thatch is complete, the ridge capping is laid in position, and,
again before noon, both sun and moon being seen in the sky, the master-
architect mounts the roof, armed with a thatching awl. Sitting on the
ridge, facing east, midway between the gable ends, he stabs the capping
with his awl on either side of him, and intones -

Ba N nangi tiba ewari-a,

Taubuki-n uma-ia Auriaria, Nei Tevenei,
Riiki, ma Nei Tituaabine.

Ririka-n uma-u tera? Te karau.
Ririka-n uma-u te buaka;
Ririka-n uma-u karawa;
Ba rokiroki-n uma-ia Taai ma Namakaina.

Te ririka-e-e, te ririka-o-o!

The time has come for me to pierce it,

The ridge of their dwelling, Auriaria,
Nei Tevenei, Riiki, and Nei
Tituaabine.

The covering of my dwelling from what?
From rain.

The covering of my dwelling from storm
(or strife).

The covering of my dwelling from
heaven;

Even the screening in of the dwelling
of the Sun and the Moon.

The covering-e-e, the covering-o-o!

(14) This formula having been recited three times, the master architect
descends, and the ridge-capping is sewn in place by workers of Ababou
and Maerua. This takes only a few minutes. When the work is complete,
the officiator again mounts to the ridge, carrying with him four coconuts
in their husks. For the purposes of the ceremony, these nuts are called
(secretly) ata, human heads. Straddling the North end of the ridge,

Footnote 52. See Footnote 4, Appendix 2, Part II,
as to the meaning of ata.
This tradition, with its associated commentary, 
seem to have been intended for inclusion in 
Part III of 'The Migration of a Pandanus People', 
but whether they were actually 
included in the text forwarded to the 
Polynesian Society I do not know.

The tradition has been included in the anthology 
(Cote chapter III: 5: 'The story of Hortega') 
but not the comments, which have special 
relation to a fruit used in Tikis's book as being an example of the blending 
of historical material with myth in traditional texts.
The Tale of the Children of Kurakaa-of-Heaven
and Nei Hnuiku.

Na Autia and Nei Hnuiku dwelt in
Tebukinoro: their children were three girls,

Footnote. Tebukinoro, more commonly
called Tebogirigoro, is described in
general tradition as "the land of
lands in the West." A Creation Myth of
Banaba states that the lands of Tebogirigoro
were fashioned by the spirit Auriaria
"on the oversized of Heaven" before Heaven
was lifted from earth. At the lifting
these lands fell, made of Heaven. These lands fell, made
the sea, where
with their people, into the sea, where
Banaba, they have ever since remained. Banaba
the Navil (Bote) of Tebogirigoro; some of
are Matairango, Janabai, Baantongo,
Waitiru, Kabuntongo, and Nababava.

The last will be seen to figure importantly
in a later section.]

whose names were Nei Hnuiku the Eldest,
Nei Hnuiku the Middle, and Nei Hnuiku the
Youngest.

Behold! Nei Hnuiku the Youngest began
to menstruate; she said to her father and
mother, "Alas! I am bleeding!" They
answered, "Beere!" When she heard that
word, she was ashamed: she arose and
left them in anger; she sought the seed
of her tree called Te Kimaatöre, and when she

Footnote. Te Kimaatöre is modern Gilbertese for a kind of toadstool, but is also remembered as the name of a large tree which does not grow in these islands, but is said to have appeared one of the fiers family seen on the neighboring island of Nararu.

found it, she took and planted it in a far place. She dug a hole for the seed; she threw the seed on high so that it fell into the hole, and then sang she—

I throw it on high,
I throw it on high my plant Te Kimaatöre.
I have no strength,
For I fear in the sun glare
And giddiness (takes me).
E-e-e-e!

A short time passed, and behold! the tree grew great; it reached Heaven. Then the woman climbed the tree. When she arrived in Heaven, there stood before her a woman named Nii-Karawa (Woman of Heaven), who called her into a house, and cared for her as a nati (adopted child).

Footnote. See a paper on Gilbertese adoption by H.E. Mande in J.P.S.
Sept. - Dec., 1931.

When Nii Ikuiku the Youngest had been some time in Heaven, she married Kviataa-of-Heaven, and they had one child who was named Nii Nii Karawa,
The tale of the children of Kuratau of Heaven and Nei Hukuhi.

Na Atua and Nei Hukuhi dwell in Tefukiroro. [Footnote: Tefukiroro, more frequently called Tefongiroro, is described as "the line of lands in the West".]
after her (adoptive) grandmother.

§ 2. Once, when that child was going about idly, she saw a pandanus tree of which the fruit was ripe, and thus she said to her father: "I shall climb this tree and pluck its fruit." He answered, "The tree is my plant. A woman climbs no tree," but she said, "I shall indeed climb it."

She climbed up, and behold! that branch of the tree which turned West broke when she mounted upon it, and she fell to Earth out of Heaven. She fell upon the land named Abatiku. When she fell, she changed her name to Ko-make. The reason for this name was that she fell to Earth on the East side of a pond of water (gurud). There was but one inhabitant of Abatiku before her, and his name was Na-Utonga. Na-Utonga saw her and took her for his wife. They had two children, Naei Matamona and Naei Matanoko.

§ 3. This is the tale of Naei Matanoko. When she was five seasons old, her mother said to Na-Utonga, "Sir, I am about to go out. If this child cries, do not take her out into the sunlight. Let her not see the sun." She left him
After a time Nei Komake said to her husband, "Na Utonga, there is but one end to this child's crying. Alas! we must part with Nei Mata-noko, for thou shalt carry her to the sun and the moon. That will be the end of her crying".

That night Nei Tituaahine, the spirit (antil) of Na Utonga, came to him in a dream, saying, "Na Utonga, thou canst not (of thyself) carry thy child to Heaven; but go thou and tell the man named Nabanaba, who dwells in the midst of the sea, and beg him to carry thy child". So he set forth with Nei Mata-noko to find that man, and when he had found him, Nabanaba said, "It is good. I will go speak with Te-anti-ma-aomata (The-half-spirit-half-man), for he is a navigator". He went and spoke with Te-anti-ma-aomata, and thus spake that man, "It is good. Tell Na Utonga to build his canoe. Let him make seventeen sails, and one
ro (plaited anchor rope), and one tanai (adze with shell blade), and one kibena (dip net), and one kai-ni-kareke (pole with lashed-on crook for pulling down branches or fruit), and one eo (fish line of coconut fibre or ficus bark), and one maneka (climbing step cut in a tree trunk), and one nokomake (broken coconut riblet used in death-magic), and one kai-ni-matamea (noosed pole or stick for catching eels). When all these things are ready, he shall come to me with his canoe."

So Na Utonga returned to Aba-tiku and built a canoe with seventeen sails, and made the things which Te-anti-ma-aomata had said. When all things were ready he put up one sail and voyaged back to the place where Te-anti-ma-aomata awaited him. Then they set forth together, with the child Nei Mata-noko, to visit the sun and moon in the East. They sped Eastwards. When they were far from land they met with a deep-sea octopus, which held their canoe so that it could not go forward: Na Utonga went down into the sea with his adze and cut its tentacles to pieces so that it died. The canoe sped forward towards the East.

Again, they came to the land of large eared folk which was called Tabo-n-noto, and Waituru, and Katatake-i-eta.

Footnote: The land called Waituru, as shown in Note ..., is named in the Barabban Creation Myth as one of the lands of Tefongrido or Tefukiriro.
There they stayed for a long while, but afterwards they set out again to Eastward, and they voyaged until the seventeen sails of their canoe were all worn out. They came to the land that is at the side of heaven to Eastward, beyond all lands, which was called Maiawa. There was no end of that land to North and no end to South: it spread over the North and the South and the Middle, as it were the containing wall (bonobono) of the sea.

There was a rock in the sea which was the place where the sun rested when he came above the Eastern horizon. They anchored their canoe to that rock and awaited the sun. When he came, they said, "Thy grand-daughter Nei Mata-noko loves thee (or desires thee)". As for the sun, he answered, "Give her to the moon, for she will be burned to death with me".

They sailed away until they came to another rock in the sea - the place where the moon rested - and there they anchored their canoe. When the moon came, they said, "Moon, thy grand-daughter loves thee". As for the moon, she took Nei Mata-noko and carried her away. And from that time until now the work of Nei Mata-noko is to sit in the moon and plait mats all night.

This (part of the tale) is finished.
Behold! Te-anti-ma-aomata spoke to Na Utonga, saying, "Sir, shall we return or wilt thou go sight-seeing in Heaven?" Na Utonga answered, "We shall indeed go sight-seeing". So they mounted to Heaven, and came to a great maneaba where people were gathered together. Those were cruel folk: they said to each other, "Let us kill these strangers".

There stood beside the maneaba a single coconut tree, in the trunk of which lived an enormous centipede. The people told Na Utonga to climb that tree, but Nei Tituaabine his anti whispered in his ear, "Sir, there is a centipede in the trunk of the tree which will eat thee. Take thy adze with thee". He took his adze and climbed the tree, and behold! when the centipede came out to eat him, he cut it to pieces, so that it died. The people were afraid when they saw the work of his adze, and they tried no more to kill him. So he was safe, and returned to his house-place on Aba-tiku.

Leave this; speak of the other child of Na Utonga, Nei Mata-mona, who stayed on Aba-tiku when her sister was carried to the moon. Nei Mata-mona remained by the
trunk of the pandanus tree in which her mother had fallen from Heaven. She lay with the tree and was pregnant: her children were Bue and Riirongo, and Nei Bungi-n-taai (Sunset), whose other name was Nei Je-raa-iti (Little Sun).

The work of Bue and Riirongo was to seek out all tabunea (magic rituals). Behold! they voyaged to their father the Sun in their canoe, whereof one end was called Bue-ma-rirongo and the other end Te Kai-ni-kamata; they came to the Sun and they learned tabunea from him. When the Sun’s tabunea were all (learned), he said to them, "Ye shall go to the Moon, and I will travel above you. But do not meddle with (kumea) your sister Nei Bungi-n-taai on the way." They left the Sun and sailed Westwards, but on their third day at sea they committed incest with their sister. The Sun saw them: he cut their canoe in halves and they were sundered. The woman Nei Bungi-n-taai drifted West and the men Bue and Riirongo were stranded upon Tarawa, at the place called Buariki, under the lee of Te-tongo-buangii. That is their house-place to this day, for it was given them for a dwelling by Kiviataaa of Tarawa, the son of Kiviataaa the Eldest, the High Chief of Tarawa. And the descendants of Bue and Riirongo are the people of Ahabou and Maerua, whose houseplace is Te-tongo-buangii at Tarawa.
Leave the men at Tarawa. The woman Nei Bungi-n-taal was stranded in the West. She married the man named Te-uba-itoi (name of sp. Frigate Bird), and her child was Te-bike, a man.

[Footnote: The Frigate Bird, as noted in section ----, is for the Gilbertine race, the bird of the Sun. The bird is here used as a symbol of solar ancestry exactly as the pandanus tree was used in the preceding section of the story]

Te-bike set forth to see the lands of Nei Babatu and Nei Rabango. They were eaters of human flesh, and when they saw him arrive they said to each other, "Here comes a canoe". They called him and made him enter their lodge. He entered. Alas! they caused the roof of their lodge to fall upon him, so that he died!

Then Nei Bungi-n-taal bore another child, whose name was Kobure. When he was grown up, his mother told him of his brother. He made ready his canoe to go and seek Te-bike. He set out, and he carried with him from his mother a pum...
Nei Babatu and Nei Rarango: they saw him and said to each other, "Here comes a canoe. Our food is near". They called him and made him enter their lodge, but when they thought that he slept they caused the roof of their lodge to fall. But Kobure had set up the staff that his mother had given him so that it prevented the ridge pole from falling upon him, so he was safe. Then he arose and hurled the bure shell at the Eastern side of the roof. The roof was pierced; he took the body of his brother and ran out from under the roof where it was pierced by the shell. 
Those women thought that Kobure was dead, and while they were busied in lifting the roof to catch him he put the body of his brother upon his canoe and sailed away. They turned and saw him; they called after him, "Sir, come back", but he fled. Then they raised a great wave before him, so that his canoe should be swamped, but when he saw the wave he held his dead brother before him. The wave broke and tore away his brother's arms, but he was safe. The wave carried his brother's arms to the side of heaven: there they stayed, for they became the stars that are called Baai (arms). The breast-bone of Te-bike also became a star, even Babaa-ni-man (breast bone-of-animal), and his bora-ni-ki (sacrum and coccyx) became Kaama-te-kinaka (Kaama-the-spotted - the False Cross). As for Kobure, he returned to his mother in Te-bongiroro.
This tale, or series of tales, is a perfect example of a type commonly met with in Gilbertean tradition — wherein a framework of historic material forms the framework upon which a web of mythical strands is woven. The approved method of the native historian is to use the early stages of a genealogy or clan-pedigree as the vehicle for conveying not only a series of genealogical and geographical facts but also the philosophy of origin peculiar to the social group to which he represents. Last other clans should too readily understand the essentials which underlie his narrative, and so bring a curse upon him for betraying the secrets of his line, he covers

[Footnote: One who "squanders" (Bakataca) the history of his clan among members of other social groups is in danger of becoming maraia or subject to visitation by his ancestral deities of his own line. Hence the extreme difficulty of collecting genealogical traditions in the first place, and of interpreting their oral meaning when collected.]

symbols more or less all with a cloak of cryptic symbolism, under cryptic in proportion to their importance of the story's meaning.
Pedigree of the "Children of Nei Ikuiru and Kirataa of Heaven"

Nei Atisia and Nei Ikuiru of Tebungena

Three daughters named

Ikuiru, of whom the youngest climbed to Heaven in her Toru, the Rimatoaie, and married Kirataa of Heaven

Nei Nikaara, who climbed Kirataa's Toru, the Pandanus, and fell to Earth with a wistwood-turning branch, and married on the land of Abatiku

Nei Utonga

Nei Matamona, who married the trunk of the heavenly Pandanus tree on Abatiku; (or, according to other versions, became pregnant by a sunbeam in Tebungena)

Nei Matamoko, who continually cried for the Sun. Carried by her father to the Sun and Moon. Eventually became the "Woman in the Moon."

Nei and Riitonga, who were born on Abatiku; voyaged to the Sun to obtain magic rituals; finally settled on Tasawa, and became ancestors of Sun and Moon clans (Abanum and Mamo)

Nei Sunginakai (also called Nei Tserakiti) who visited Sun with her brothers and then returned to Tasawa to marry a Frigate Bird, giving rise to the

Nei Tserakiti, who, according to other traditions, became the wife of Kirataa, the Second, High Chief of Tasawa

Kobo, reigned his brother's body with help of the Moon-shell and the Sun-Staff given to him by his mother.

Tepika, killed by cannibal kags in Tebungena. Was eventually turned into several constellations.

24 generations to adult living descendants.
The purpose of this note is to point out the

important role of the following key terms:

- Religion
- Aliens

In the earliest times, religion and the concept of social status were closely intertwined. In the Gilgamesh epic, the concept of the kinsman was central to the social order, playing a significant role in theGilgamesh period. The kinsman was the closest kinship term, the symbol of kinship

In the land of Kish, the symbol of kinship was the kinsman. The symbol of kinship was the kinsman, the closest kinship term in the social order. The kinsman was the closest kinship term, the symbol of kinship.

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is said to be a mysterious, bright red substance called te ringsa (the mixture), which will be discussed in a later section. Matang is believed by many to lie next to, but beyond, another western land called Böurun, also a bourne of departed shades. It is therefore interesting, in view of the myth just exhibited, that ara-matang and ara-böurun are the names of two species of pandanus tree cultivated in the Gilbert Islands.

A pandanus tree tradition.
land of Abatiku, together with a westward-turning branch of her father's tree; and she
marries a personage called Na Utonga, who
was the only inhabitant of the land of Abatiku. This signifies, in plain speech: "The
land of Abatiku, in a westerly direction, migrated a woman of the heaven-born pandanus-clan, together with a whole branch of her social group. She married into a clan of Abatiku, whereas a certain people were in sole occupation of the place."

(4) The tales of Nui Matanoko and Nui Matamona in the fourth generation are mostly mythical in content but their fabric is shot with veiled facts.

The mention of Na Utonga's anti-ancestral deity), Nui Titiuakatone, in the third section of the story identifies for us the social group with which his name
stands (see note ..., page ...). The warning put into the mouth of Moa's mother against taking their child into the sunlight is the historian's oblique method of saying that the Sun-Moon connection is through the mother's side (i.e., the Pandanus line) and not through that
of the ignorant father.

In the fifth section of the story, the union of Nci Matamona with a Pandams tree, representing the Sun, is, of course, a myth belonging to the Pandams folk, and so also is the tale of how her children Bue, Riirongo and Burungintani visited the Sun. But the myth is used in this place as a symbol of history. Matamona stands for a woman descended from the Na Yfanga folk on her father’s side and from the immigrant Pandams folk on her mother’s, who married a member of the Pandams group on Abatiku, and so became the ancestress of certain people who carried the Sun-myth to Tarawa.

(5) The test of the interpretation is found in the fifth generation of the pedigree. Obviously, a folk claiming descent from the Sun did arrive at Fara, inasmuch as their descendants are there today — the clans of Ababou and Naerua. Just as obviously, the persons of Bue and Riirongo are mythical. It follows that the names of these two beings are used in the story to signify the group of actual ancestors, immigrants from the West, whose real names are not given. In order to round off the mythical
content of his story, the historian carries the narrative in its sixth and final section back to Iebongiriōrō, and relates how the sister of Bua and Riirongo there married the Frigate Bird — the bird of the Sun — and bore children who were responsible for the origin of several constellations. It is possible that history lies concealed under this part of the story, but its key is now lost.

Thus analysed, the story of the "Children of Nei Keniku and Kristaa of Heaven" is therefore an account of how a stream of folk originating in a western land called Abatiku migrated thence into Tarawa. Genealogically, the facts conveyed may be summarised in the following table:
significant:-

The first of all trees was called the (the pandanus) which was called Te Bakatibu Taai (The Ancestor Sun); its spirit was Auriaria; it grew upon the lands of) Abatoa and Abaiti in the West.

[Footnote. The myth proceeds: "And the inhabitants of those lands were Teoa (the rock), Teatibu (the stone), Taatiwani (a species of coral), Nanokai (an 8cl), Nanomaaka (an 8cl). Nanokai and Nanomaaka lay together; their child was Nanoean the Elder. Then came the Darkness and the Clearing Together. There was nothing in the Darkness and Clearing Together save only the giant Na Aream."

This point, the myth adds, the usual account of the separation of heaven and earth by Na Aream the Younger, and of the creation of things and men, common to all islands. A full length version of the usual Creation Story was published in the Journal of the Folklore Society, London, Jan.-June, 1922.]
A fuller account of the land of Matang, the
home of the fruit coconut and pandanus
trees, is given in versions of this myth
collected from the Gilbert Gaigo. According
to some renditions, it was an island that
sometimes floated, sometimes sank, and
sometimes flew in the air, in the vicinity
of Samoa; but the great body of tradition
places it "beyond all other lands in the
West," so far away that it can be
reached only by the ghosts of the
dead. It is called "the land of spirits
and ancestors," the home of a fair
or red-skinned race of giants, among
whom were Auriaria, Nii Tevemei and
Nii Tituaainine, the personages named
in the foregoing myth. Other names
most commonly appearing in Gilbertese
visions are Taumatai, Tabaariki,
Tangaroa, Taumaroa, Rabaraba,
Buebue-n-rena, and Teborata. Of these,
the first two, with Auriaria, Nii Tevemei,
and Nii Tituaainine, are the deities
of the most important totem-sibs today.
The food of these great beings at Matang
is said to be a mysterious, bright red substance called 'vinga' (the mixture), which will be discussed in a later section.

So strongly have the Gilbertese preserved the tradition of fairness or redness of their ancestral deities that the name given to the white man today in these islands is Te Matang — the inhabitant of Matang. The bleaching process called te ko to which Gilbertese girls of high rank were once subjected was said to have as its object the reproduction of the colour and skin-texture of the red-skinned ancestors of Matang.

Matang is believed to lie next to, but beyond, anotherbourne of departed shades in the West, called Bourn. It is therefore interesting, in view of the coconut-pandanus myth just exhibited, to find that ara-matang and ara-bourn are the names of two species of pandanus tree still cultivated in the Gilbert Islands. A third species which bears the name of a western land is te ara-nabanaba (or ara-nabana). The name of Nabanaba has already been seen applied to one of the Gilbertese cooking ovens, and also to a species of...
Hei Tituaahine was indeed an inhabitant of Matang, and there was also a certain inhabitant of Matang, whose name was Auriaria, and his wife was Hei Tevenei. That company did nothing but live on Matang; and the manner of them was that they were High Chiefs. Auriaria was of exceeding beauty, for he was fair-skinned and of great stature, and he was courted by the women of that land. Auriaria went abroad on a day, and he saw Hei Tituaahine. She was a woman of unequalled beauty, for she also was fair-skinned, and the pupils of her eyes flashed, even as it were the lightning in heaven. That man went towards her, and when he arrived he said thus: "Woman, how great in me is the love of thee". As for her, she answered, saying thus: "Sir, I also love thee". And behold! Auriaria took Nei Tituaahine for his paramour.

Nei Tevenei, the wife of Auriaria, was angry when she heard, for, as it were, she was (sexually) jealous and she parted in anger with her husband. She embarked in her canoe, she travelled eastwards, she came to Tarawa. She stayed
Ao aheal h'e aoraki ITeiMEituaaMne; And heholaj Mei Tituaabine fell ill: she felt her death (coming), and she spoke to Auriaria, saying thus: "Sir, how sad it is now that I am about to die, and there is no child of mine who shall stay with thee as the comforter of thy sorrow!

But do thou still thy heart, for there is a thing which shall grow as a memorial of me with thee. When I die, thou shalt bury me, and thou shalt await the tree which shall grow over me; and if any (tree) grows, thou shalt care for it.

She died, and Auriaria buried her. A while passed, and a tree grew from the top of her head, even the coconut. And the second tree grew from her navel, the almond; and the third tree grew from her heels, the pandanus.

Those were the things which stayed in Tituaabine's place as the comforter's of Auriaria's sorrow: for when he drank a coconut he rubbed noses with her; and when he was wrapped in his sleeping mat his body met hers, and his food, the first fruits of the almond, was also her body.
§ 13. Magic rituals connected with growing foodstuffs

The rabu (the covering) is any object attached to the trunk of a coconut tree, to indicate that the magic ritual known as te kaoanikai has been performed to prevent the intrusion of robbers. A rabu often consists of a piece of a woman's old riri (leaf kilt), but is more generally made of coconut leaf. For this purpose, on the island of Marakei, a leaf is split down its midrib into two halves; the halves are then cut up into sections, of which each one bears four pinnules. Every section forms a rabu for one tree, being tied round the trunk by its pinnules (two on either side) in the manner of a belt. Round the midrib of each rabu, in the manner pictured in the sketch, is knotted a single slip of white leaf plucked from the topmost spray of a young coconut palm.

Before being tied to their respective trees, all the rabu are completed and collected in a heap before the owner, who stands before them facing East and, with a circular motion of the arm from right (away from body) to left, and back (next to body) to
right again, sprinkles over them the water of a drinking nut (mōimoa) whilst intoning the following formula, in a low singsong:-

Matakaakang, Matakaakang!
Mataoraora, Mataoraora!

Ko kanna tera, au rahu?
Ko kanna te aomata ane e anaana uaa-n au ni.
Ko kanna ra-na? Ko a tiring-nga, ko a bo-ia, ko a kamate-a.

M'e a mate .... o-o-o!

This formula having been intoned three times, the rahu are tied in place, and the empty drinking nut used for the aspersion is planted mouth upwards in the ground, by any one of the trees: in this, as in a flower pot, is stood the topmost leaf of the young coconut palm from which were plucked the pinnules for adding knots to the rahu. The leaf rests against the trunk of the adjacent tree, and remains as a kind of scarecrow to thieves.

When the owner himself desires to gather the fruit of a
protected tree, he is obliged to undo the magic, lest the curse fall upon his own head. He stands before the tree and unties the knot of white leaf which he has tied to the rabu, intoning at the same time -

E maatanaa, e matana au rabu aic! It is loosed, it is loosed, this my rabu!

Footnote. Maatanaa: the regular form of this word is matana, every a being short. The form with lengthened a is a euphonic variant, of a kind much used in magic formulae and dancing chants.

E matana bal-na, ao e matana wae-na, Its hand is loosed, and its foot is loosed,
Ao e matana un-na, ma tiritiri-na, Its anger is loosed, with its
ma kaakangi-na, ma oraora-na, violence, with its eating of
human flesh, with its eating of raw flesh,
E maatanaa, e matana! It is loosed, it is loosed!

Having slipped off the untied leaf and thrown it upon the ground, the performer then takes the rest of the rabu from the tree and proceeds with his climbing. There is no ritual burning or destruction of the cast-off rabu.

In this, as in all other departments of Gilbertese magic, protective rituals have been invented or evolved, whereof the object is to render the performer immune from the effects of the other man's curse. Such rituals are called in general either honohono or bonota, the root bono- meaning closure, enclosure, or protection. On the island of Marakei, a man desirous of stealing his neighbour's fruit in despite of the rabu put upon it protects himself from evil by the aid of a magic staff, prepared in the following manner.

The performer cuts a straight wand, about six feet long and an inch thick, from any convenient tree, and peels it. Holding this staff by the middle in his right hand, he stands by the East side of his house, in line with the central rafter, facing East, at any time between sunrise and noon, but preferably on a day when both the sun and the moon are seen together in the sky. Waving the staff over his head in a circular sweep, and looking up towards the sun,
he chants in a low monotone:—

Bitanikaii, Bitanikai ma Nanonikai!  Bitanikai, Bitanikai with  Nanonikai!

Footnote. Note again the euphonic variation of the name Bitanikai.
Bita-ni-kai means Reversal-of-weapons;
Nane-ni-kai means Heart-of-weapons,
i.e. He-who-lives-within-the-magic-staff.
These are the beings obliged to obey the words of power uttered by the performer. The attitude is purely animistic and, as such, is strangely contrasted with that assumed a little later in the formula, when the protection of certain ancestral deities is invoked.
The stratification of religious ideas in this formula makes it an extremely interesting example of syncretism.

I bit-ia, ba N na buok-ia!

E teke Karawa, e teke Mone;

E toki te hea, e toki te nari, e toki te subunga.

Footnote. I reverse it (i.e., the enemy's magic), for I shall help it (i.e., the magic staff)!
Heaven is pierced, the Underworld is pierced.

Footnote. At these words, the performer stabs with his staff towards Heaven and the Underworld.
The rock is split, the hard coral is split, the clam shell is split.

Footnote. The implication is that the staff is made so strong that even the hardest substances cannot withstand its stabbing.
Begin, and protect me at the point of the beach turning West, turning East.

Footnote. Literally translated, this passage reads as follows:
Ma aia anti-n-wawi, ma aia anti-n-aoraki, ma aia anti-n-kaoraki, ma aia anti-n-kaawa .... e-e!

Bonobonota maai-n te anti temanna, Auriaria ma Tabu-ariki-o-o-o!

Inano-ni kaawa nakoaiaki, nakoaiang.

Kaangao, e mate te anti, e mate te aomatata.

Bonobono-o-o-o!

E mate te kua, e mate te aomatata, e tei iaantari, e uouota riba-ni-matena te ikanangananga.

Ba N na taebae-ia, ba a tae bai-na n au itera,

Ma kamaki tara-ia, Auriaria ma Tabu-ariki.

Tiringa-ni manawa-na! Oro-ia ni boboto-na!

Timtimu - e-e!

Bitanikai, Bitanikai!

Footnote. Auriaria and Tabu-ariki are ancestral deities of certain patrilineal totem-sibs but, though not the objects of any well defined general cult, have acquired a national prestige far greater than that enjoyed by the majority of sib-ancestors. As pointed out in a previous note, Tabu-ariki has certain characteristics of a "departmental" deity, being associated with thunder and tempest. Of equal prestige with this being and Auriaria are two others, Taburimai and Nei Tituaahn, both of whose names have already appeared in these notes.

Be a ti bon ari-nako
For they only indeed accompany-aways
toua-na
kicking-its (i.e., the kicking of
the performer's ritual or, perhaps,
of his magic staff).

With their spirits of death magic, with their spirits of sickness, with their new-fangled spirits, with their spirits of misfortune .... e-e!

Close the way of any spirit, oh, Auriaria and Tabu-ariki!

In villages to Southward, to Northward.

As it were, the spirit is dead, the man is dead.

(I am) protected-o-o-o!

The porpoise is dead, the man is dead, he stands in the sea, he carries the colour of his death (upon him) the peeling of skin (i.e., putrefaction).

For I shall rend off his arms, for his arms are rent off on my behalf.

And ye look not upon him, Auriaria and Tabu-ariki.

Footnote. The smiting of his breast! Strike it at its roots!

Drip-drip (blood) - e-e!

Bitanikai, Bitanikai!
This formula having been repeated three times, the performer sharpens the staff at both ends, and carries it with him to the land whereof he desires to steal the fruit; there he plants it in the ground while desecrating the legitimate owner’s rahu. Having done his will, he carries it home with the stolen fruit, and again plants it in the ground, up against his house on the East side, in the place where he performed the ritual. There it must remain until used again; it may on no account be either used as an implement or brought into the house, the belief being that sudden death will visit a man who fails to observe these avoidances.

If a thief go to the owner of a tree and confess to having desecrated a rahu, the owner may, if he will, save him from the curse by waving over him a magic staff prepared according to the above ritual. In such a case, only the staff of the owner himself is held to be effective, but even this is held to be of no avail when once the curse has begun to work upon its victim.

An invocation that is much more like a blessing than a magic formula is often used in the Northern Gilberts, for the purpose of making land fruitful. The example chosen is from the island of Marakei. The landowner visits his holding alone, in the dark before dawn, at any season of the year, and walks over it from East to West; as he goes, he extends his right hand, palm downwards, before him and intones -

Tara-ai, aba-u, ba I a roko, Nga!i!
Kimarimari, ma kitaabaa - kimarimari-e-e-e!
A na baka mari-n aba-u aio:
Te ari, te maritabaa.
O, kimarimari-e-e-e!
Kimaaamu-e-e-e!
Kimarimari!

Behold me, my land, for I have come, I myself!
Be abundant, be rich in bloom, be abundant-e-e-e!
They shall fall, the riches of this my land:
The coconut blossom, the abundance of pandanus bloom.
O, be abundant-e-e-e!
Be full of life-e-e-e!
Be abundant!

Footnote. Kimarimari, kimaaamu:
ki- is an intensifying prefix; mərid means fruitful; maamau is a euphonic variant of the word maau (alive or vigorous) in its intensified form maamau.

The invocation is recited three times, the performer starting anew from the Eastern boundary of his land at each repetition. There is no other accompanying ritual, and no amulet is worn or used. The formula is held to be so effective that, unless the performer keeps his eyes strictly confined within his holding, his blessing may become operative on the neighbouring lands, as well as his own.
§ 14. The fructification of the pandanus.

A highly interesting ritual, in which the Sun and Moon play a large part, is

[Footnote. The present tense is used in describing the ritual because solitary examples of its practice do still occur, in spite of the rapid decay of Gilbertese custom during the past 40 years]

needed for the purpose of securing a rich pandanus harvest. Only the members of three particular totem-sibs are allowed to perform the ritual; the religious associations of these social groups will be outlined when the ceremony has been described.

The season at which the ceremony of fructification is undertaken lies between July and September, when the S.E. trades are expected to give way to the Westly rains. The reasonable arrival of these rains is anxiously awaited, because upon it depends the quantity and quality of the pandanus harvest, which is gathered towards the beginning of October.
The days on which the ceremony takes place are two, the first stage being completed on the seventh night of the lunar month, the second stage on the thirteenth night.

The time of commencement is the hour of sunset. For the first stage, the moon must be near the meridian just as the sun is over the western horizon; for the second stage the former must be just risen as the latter is on the point of setting. The essential point at once should be that both lunarwanes should be visible in the sky when the ritual is commenced.
The place is a cleared space on the East side of the performer's dwelling house, in a straight line with the middle rafter of the roof.

[Footnote. All Gilbertese dwellings are built with gables N. and S., and sides facing E. and W. The name of the middle rafter is Kiaromata.

Kiaro = a pole or boom; especially the outrigger boom of a canoe;
mata is a common Polynesian (but not modern Gilbertese) term for father or grand-father.]

The material prepared for the ritual consists of the parts of a magic tree—a trunk and two branches. The branches are two round wands of pandanus wood, each a span long, and as thick as a man's thumb. The trunk is a
a rounded and tapered shaft of coconut timber, two spans long and about two inches thick at the base. The shaft is decorated at its point with a tuft of five uprighting frigate-bird feathers. The string with which the tuft is lashed on is made of alternate strands of coconut fibre and human hair. Both the feathers and the string have the same important underlying sun-idea. The frigate-bird is believed to be the bird of the sun, and the spiral

[Footnote: See section ..., page ...]

pattern of black hair running through the string is said to be pleasing to the luminary. The tuft, when lashed in position, is said to be "the body of the Sun at the crest of the tree." At equal intervals round the base of the tuft are attached four strings of hair and fibre, each a span and a half long, in the manner of maypole strings. Each string is

squished then decorated with frigate-bird
feathers in the following arrangement:

Near the top — a tuft of three;
In the middle — a tuft of two;
Near the free end — a single feather;
At the free end — a tuft of five.

These feathers are technically named **bukka**; the strings which carry them are destined to be draped over the branches of the tree, when the moment comes to lash these latter together and into position; the technical name of the branches is therefore maanga-nil-bukka (branches of buka).

The decorated pole and the separate branches having been prepared, they are taken to the space prepared for them on the East side of the maker's dwelling. A small hole for planting the magic tree is dug and, just as the setting sun's lower limb is about to touch the western horizon, the first part of the ritual begins.

*Stage I: *Plantation (Moon's seventh day)

*Stage 2:* The performer plants the trunk of the tree in the hole, holding the shaft upright with both hands.

[Footnote: See Plate 14]
before him, he throws his head as far backwards as he can, and fixed his eyes upon the Sun-tuft above him. Having stood silent in this posture for about half a minute, he intones in a low voice the following formula:

Unika-n au bitanikai aia! Planting of this my magic staff!

[Footnote. Bitanikai, magic staff. The literal meaning of Bitanikai is 'reversal of weapons', as explained in Note ..., page ... In the context to which that Note applies, the word is used as the name of a spirit immanent in the magic staff. In this context, the staff itself is clearly referred to—the object which reverses or wards off the weapons of enemies.]

E bung meang, e bung maiaki, e bung maeto, ma mainiku—o-o-o!

[Footnote. Bung, gives birth: This is the usual meaning of bung, but the word is also used to denote the setting of Sun or Moon. Those who use the ritual state that the birth—meaning is here intended, the idea being that the North, South, West, and East are made fruitful by the ceremony. The fact that the sun is setting at the same moment gives a punning effect to the word. Terms are much used in Gilbertese magic, their force to the native mind being strongly esoteric.]

The North gives birth, the South gives birth, West gives birth, and the East gives birth!

E bung Taai ma Namakaina! The Sun and Moon give birth!
Bo I ti namanamat-ia!
i'ao-n Fa'ai!

For I make it (i.e., the staff)
ready on the over-side of
the Sun!

Footnote: On the over-side of the Sun. The
performer believes that as the Sun sinks
below the horizon, the roots of his magic
tree become planted upon its over-side.

E notia tera? E notia te
mai.
E notia tera? Te tabaa
mai buakom ro-n
Te-itima-te-ro.

What carries he? He carries life.
What carries he? The
young pandanus bloom
from the blackness of
the storm-cloud.

Footnote: Te-itima-te-ro, rain-
storm-cloud. The
word means literally the-lightning-
with-the-darkness and refers to
the alternate flickering of lightning
and blackness which is seen in
the rainclouds of the Westernly winds.

Kimarimari an
buakonikai-0-0-0!

Be abundant my
plantations-0-0-0!

Footnote: Buakonikai, plantations.
Buako = midst; ni = of; Kai = trees. The
compound word is the usual epithet
applied to bush land or planted land,
as distinct from waste or open land.
The formula is recited three times, after which the performer turns his face to the ground and remains immovable, holding the shaft upright before him, for perhaps another half-minute. He then proceeds to push loose soil with his feet into the hole at the tree's "root," and to stamp it firm. Only when the tree stands securely planted does he release his hold of the stem.

The branches are now fixed in position. They are first lashed together, middle to middle, with hair and fibre string, in the form of a symmetrical cross. The cross is made fast by its middle to the trunk of the tree, shoulder high, so that its branches are parallel to earth and point North, South, East, and West. The orientation is controlled by the position of the sun at its setting. Over the ends of the branches are draped the four strings of buka (frigate bird feathers) attached to the crest of the tree, their terminal tufts being allowed to dangle towards the ground.

When the tree stands thus complete, the performer seats himself at its base,
still facing East. His attitude when seated is of ritual importance. His right leg has doubled before him, knee to ground, tailwise; but his left thigh is thrust forward, and the lower leg doubled back beside his hip, so that the sole of his foot is presented to the sunset. He believes that unless the left foot be thus "given to the Sun," he will have the appearance of wholly turning his back upon the luminary and thus offending it. Seated up against the tree's base he again throws back his head to regard the Sun-tuft, and utters as follows:—

Kanaenn-a nu bita-nikai aei,
Iaa-n Taai ma Namakaina.
E tio-otoia, maanga-n au bita-bongibong aei?

Setting firm of my magic staff,
Under Sun and Moon.
It flutters and bends, the branch of this my magic-staff-in-the-twilight.

[Footnote. Bita-bongibong, magic-staff-in-the-twilight; Bita is the first component of bita-nikai and stands for the whole word; Bongibong = twilight]

E iti, me a rua te ba ma te Karau,
Ba Katabaana-n au mataaburo.

It lightens, and the thunder and the rain come down.
Even the fruitsters of my opening pandanus bloom.
O, Temanna te atae-i-n-aione,  
ba Kaina-n Abatang,  
ma Abatao, ma Abaiti;  
e-e-e!

[Footnote. The allusion is mythical. A creation-story from Tabitenea, which will be quoted later, begins with the statement that the first of all trees was the pandanus tree which grew upon the lands of Abatao (not Abatao as in this context) and Abaiti.]

Anti-n tabera-n an  
bita-bongibong, Auraria,  
ma Nei Tevene-i,  
anti-ni Böuru!

[Footnote. Auraria and Nei Tevenei are the deities of certain Gilbertese totem-sibs. They are closely associated in the myth of the origin of the pandanus tree, q.v., in a later section. Böuru is a western fatherland of the Gilbertese, and one of the paradises of the race, which will be mentioned later.]

Rüki, Rüki — e-e-e!  
I ti obor-ia, I ti weiti  
Nei Tituaabine ma Rüki,

[Footnote. Nei Tituaabine and Rüki are also deities of totem-sibs. The former is the heroine in the myth of the origin of the pandanus tree.]

Ba a na Kamaur-ai  
i aa-n an Kai akei.

Oh, thou maiden, pandanus tree of Abatang, and Abatao, and Abaiti;  
e-e-e!

Spirits of the crest of this my magic staff in the twilight,  
Auraria, and Nei Tevenei,  
and spirits of Böuru!

Rüki, Rüki — e-e-e!  
I only make it successful,  
I only call Nei Tituaabine and Rüki,

That they may  
proper me  
under this my tree.
Te mauni, ao tera?
The shot, and what (she)?
Te mauni naba Ngai
The shot indeed am!
i aan an Kai aiei!
under this my tree!

Footnote. Mauui is difficult to translate in a single word. It indicates a state of being freed from the influence of all evil spells, and so a condition of peace, health and prosperity.

After reciting the formula three times, the performer turns his face towards the grounds, remains so for a short while, and then arises. There is no more to be done until the moon's thirteenth night.

Stage 2 (Moon's thirteenth night). Just before sunset, the performer sits on the ground at a distance of about two paces from the tree, back to sun and face up turned as before, to gaze at the Sun-tuft. The sitting attitude already described is adopted. Stretching his arms forward, he lays his loosely opened hands palms upward upon the ground beside his thighs, and in tones:

Au bita-bongibong aiei, au bita-matako!
This my magic staff in the twilight,
Ro-on Taaio sio!
my magic staff in the dusk!
Ebung i maao-u, e bung i mainiku-u,
Darkness of Sun going west!

Footnote. See Plate 46.
E bung i tabera-n au bitanikai aic,
M'e a oboria te tabaa ma te matabu,
Ba nota-n Taai ma Namakahina.

Anti-ro, anti-rangi a batete-nako i tabera-n au bitanikai aic.
J ti marimari - e-e-e!
J ti marimari - o-o-o!
Tabera-n au kai ni Katabaa aici!

He begins to move at the crest of this my magic staff,
And he makes successful the pandanus bloom and the opening pandanus bloom,
Even the things carried by Sun and Moon.

Spirits of darkness, spirits of madness, they tumble down from the crest of this my magic staff.
I am fruitful - e-e-e!
I am fruitful - o-o-o!
Crest of this tree of fruitification!

[Footnote. Katabaa, fruitification. Ka- is the causative prefix; tabaa = pandanus bloom; Katabaa therefore signifies "causing young pandanus bloom (to grow)."

After three recitations of this formula, the performer remains for a short space in his attitude of supplication, then drops his head forward to look upon the ground, and finally rises to his feet. The ceremony is complete.

The magic tree may be left where it
stands, and may thereafter be used for various other magico-religious purposes. Barren women are brought to the place, to be rendered fruitful, and persons desiring to be blest with good-luck (especially in love), good health, and long life may there receive ritual treatment at the hands of the owner. For such ceremonial, the persons receiving attention sit facing eastwards towards the tree, while the performer sits before them in the position already described.

The tree may be used to remove the curse of a (desecrated) in a manner analogous to that described in connection with the magic staff in the preceding section, and there seems little doubt that the staff and the simplified form of the tree. The ceremony of the staff being common to all clans, and that of the tree being observed to three particular social groups, it is possible that that the former represents a popular attempt to achieve the benefits of the latter.
without too closely imitating the form and substance of the Sun-Moon ritual.

The three totem-sibs which reserve the right to perform the pandanus purification ritual are those of Karongoa-n-Ilea (Karongoa-of-Kings), Ababor, and Marama, whose associations with the Sun and Moon are in themselves remarkable.

The Karongoa clan claims the Sun as one of its totems and enjoys peculiar privileges throughout the Gilbert Islands. In the communal meeting house (mancaba), the spokesman of Karongoa takes the first portion of all feasts and is accorded the first and last word in all debates; he wears a fillet of leaf upon his head, called "the fillet of the Sun," and is considered to be protected by the Sun against all contradiction or insult. On the island of Narakei, the clan as a collective unit is called "the Sun in the mancaba." The hereditary sitting place occupied by Karongoa in the meeting house is up against the coral monolith supporting the roof in the middle of its eastern side; this stone
so erected, when the manseba is being built, to the accompaniment of a Sun-formula, and is named "Sun."

The Ababon and Maerna clans sit immediately opposite the Karonga folk feast and council, which is to say, up against the central coral studd of the western side. This stone is called "Moon." Ababon and Maerna claim both the Sun and the Moon as their totems. Their ancestor, a personage named Bue, is described sometimes as the child of others as the grandson of the Sun. To Bue is attributed the feat of having visited the luminaries at his mien, for the purpose of obtaining (inter alia) the magic rituals for rain-making, and a whole series of solar, lunar, and stellar myths is grouped about his name. The people of Ababon and Maerna claim the power of making and unmaking eclipses of the Sun and Moon.

[Footnote: These will appear in a later section.]


A group of three clans thus dominated by the tradition of solar and lunar
origins is seen to owe to itself the performance of a pandanus 
rectification ritual, which is itself dominated by the Sun-Moon idea. Assuming the 
clans in question to represent a particular culture stream that formerly flowed into the Gilbert Islands, it may clearly 
be taken for granted that the rectification ritual was their peculiar property. 
This makes the pandanus tree—the object of the ritual—a plant of 
exceptional interest. No rectification ritual of the type under discussion is 
attached to the coconut palm or to any other food-plant of the Gilbert Islands; and the inference consequently 

so that the association of the pandanus tree with the Sun-Moon idea 
avise out of something beyond the mere desire to secure good crops and peace, in fact, intimately connected with the religious tradition of the people.
§ 15. The Kabanu first fruits ritual.

After the pandanus harvest, which in a normal season occurs during September-October, it was formerly forbidden to partake of any product of the new crop until first fruits had been offered up, and a ritual meal satin, at the atina-stone of the totem group. The clans of Karonogai, Aidaban and Mauna made the offering to the Sun and Moon, but included the names of Anuanau and their ancestral deities in the dedication formula. Other social groups offered the first fruits to their ancestral deities.

The atina-stone of the Karonoga group on Marakei (now, like most of its kind, unhappily destroyed) was an upstanding monolith of coral rock hewn from the reef and planted in the ground to eastward of the village. As described by elders who witnessed the ceremony performed by the clan ritual, it "stood as high as a man's shoulder and was about as broad and thick as a man." It was roughly dressed to the shape of a rectangular slab, stood in the center of a circle of flat stones set edgewise in the ground so as to form a kerb about a man's breadth high. The diameter of this circle was, according to the report,
"three or four paces"; its exact size was apparently not a matter of importance. The space within the circle was dressed with white shingle, and therein were buried the skulls of successive generations of clan elders, all males. The crania of the skulls remained uncovered by shingle, so that they might be anointed with oil on occasions when the cult of the ancestral deity was being observed. Care was taken to avoid burying any skulls due west of the a'ina stone, as this portion of the circle was reserved for food-offerings.

The a'ina stone represented, for all everyday and public purposes, including the normal cult of the ancestor, the body of an ancestral being named It'e'eia. But for the particular and secret purpose of the first-fruits ritual, it represented Auniaria. Upon its crest were perched three red coral blocks, each about the size of two fists, one on top of the other. This addition was called the hat of the a'ina.

The kerbed circle wherein the stone stood was holy ground, and might not be trodden underfoot. Its name was te nikavere, the sacred enclosure, or te baangota, the shrine.
The time of the first-fruits offering was the second day of the next new moon after the pandanus harvest had been gathered. The hour of the ritual was that of sunset when both luminaries were seen together in the sky, the moon going down within a few minutes of the sun.

The material of the ritual was a ball of the sweet food called Korokoro (see section 7(e)), made of boiled coconut toddy and a portion of the Kabuku manufactured from the newly harvested pandanus fruit.

The ball of Korokoro was carried to the atua-stone by the senior male of the Karongoa clan, all the other men and women of his group following him. The leader wore upon his head a fillet of coconut leaf. Arrived at the place of offering, the whole company assumed the sitting posture described in connection with the incantation ritual, with backs to the stone. The leader took his place a little in advance of the others, right up against the Kerb of the sacred enclosure; being seated, he laid forward and fast the ball of Korokoro at arms' length before him on the base of the atua-stone. Throwing back his head to gaze into the sky immediately above the stone, he raised and laying his open hands, palms upward, on the ground beside
be muted, no longer in the low sojourn of the purification ritual, but in a loud, clear voice —

Kana-mi aei, Taai ma Namakaina,
Ba ana moan nati Nei Kaina-bongibong.
Auraria, ma Nei Tevetei, ma Ruki,
Ruki, ma Auraria, ma
Nei Tevetei, ma
ma anti-n rabaraba ni Karava,
Kana-mi aei,
Ba moan tabaa-n te bita-bongibong.
Te mauiri ao tera?
Te mauiri naba ngai,
O-0-0!

This your food, Sun and Moon,

Even her first child of the Woman Pandanus-in-the-twilight.

Auraria and Ruki and Nei Tevetei and
Ruki and Auraria and
Nei Tevetei, and spirits of the hidden places of heaven,

This is your food,

Even the first young bloom of the magic-staff-in-the-twilight.

Prosperity and what (else)?

Prosperous indeed am I,
O-0-0!
This formula was recited three times. Though the entire ritual that followed, the leader never for a moment ceased to look up into the sky above the stone. Leaning forward, he first groped for the ball of KokoKoro and, having taken it upon the palm of his left hand, returned to an upright posture. Still sitting, he plucked out with his right finger-tips a piece of the sticky ball and moulded it into a pellet, which he then laid on the shingle before the stone, as “the portion of the sun and moon.” The Taarika (first portion) having been thus given, he proceeded to mould a series of similar pellets, passing each one as it was completed back over his right shoulder, where it was taken by the man behind him, and sent along the ranks of sitting people until every member of the company had a portion. Absolute silence was observed until the distribution was complete, when the man behind the leader whispered, “A toa bai-ia (their hands are full).”
The leader then made for himself a pellet of the Koroko, and raised it in his right hand above his still upturned face. At once, the whole company thrust their heads back to gaze at the sky and lifted their right arms in a similar attitude. Having allowed time enough for everyone to adopt this posture, the performer dropped the pellet into his mouth and swallowed it whole. The company followed suit. It was essential to the ritual that the pellet should not be bitten.

After a short pause with arm still uplifted, the leader, imitated by the whole assembly, dropped hand to side and turned his face to the ground. The "looking downward" lasted for a few seconds only. The ritual was then complete. The leader arose and, without ceremony, placed whatever remained of the ball of Koroko up against the ostra-cone beside the small "first portion" for that also was the share of the Sun, and the Moon, and the ancestral spirits.

Before leaving the spot the leader would anoint with oil the ancestral skulls buried in the Mika'uru, and after he had performed this rite any other member of the group might do likewise, choosing at his pleasure any or all of the skulls for anointment.
On most islands of the Gilbert Group, each local tribe sib appears to have undertaken its private fruit-offering, without reference to the Karongoa clan or its rituals; but on Tanawa (Northern Gilberts), an exceptional practice prevailed. On that island there is a tradition that to Kabuna was the favourite food of a personage called Kiataa the Eldest; a very early local High Chief, and that the pandanus tree was his anti. For this historic reason, the first portion of the first fruit of every clan's pandanus harvest was, until recently, set aside each year as a gift to the senior living descendant of Kiataa in the male line. The gift was generally made in the form of sweetstuff manufactured from the newly made kabuna, but it might also include even close relatives of the fresh fruit of the pandanus.

The Kiataa line is of the clan of Karongoa-n-ea, and is considered by some as the chief spokesman of the group of Tanawa. Humanice as one of its ancestral au.

No formalities were observed in the first portion of the first fruit for acceptance; it was enough to send
in a basket

the gift, by the hand of a small boy, to the house of the recipient, but the penalty for neglecting to send it before a move was made to undertake the private first-fruit ritual was he believed to be sudden death at the hands of Attianaria.
Traditions of Tarawa concerning Kalube and the pandanus

Supporting the Butaritari tradition just recorded comes a story from Tarawa that Kalube was the favorite food of a personage called Kiataa the Eldest, a very early High Chief of that island, and that the pandanus tree was his anti. For this reason, the first portion of the first fruits of the pandanus harvest on Tarawa was until recently set aside as an offering to the senior descendant of Kiataa in the male line. No totara-sib would undertake the ceremonial offering of first fruits at its own atua stone until the first portion had been given. The penalty for neglecting the gift was believed to be sudden death at the hands of Auriaria, a spiritual being who was not only the ancestral deity of the Kiataa line, but also, the traditional co-originator of the pandanus tree.

According to local genealogists, three human High Chiefs called Kiataa successively reigned on Tarawa, but the name is also bestowed by tradition upon a fourth, and superhuman being, to whom the title “King of Heaven” is attributed.
One group of stories connected with Kiataa of Heaven identifies him intimately with the pandanus tree; it is therefore arresting to learn that Auriaia, the pandanus spirit, is also called the King of Heaven in a host of folk-tales (unconnected with his tree) current throughout the Gilbert Group.

The evidence seems to build together in a compact body the ideas of heavenly descent, of Kiataa the Eldest, of the pandanus tree, and of the ancestral deity Auriaia.

A heavenly descent is in other parts of the world closely associated with the practice or memory of a sun-cult; the sun and moon figure importantly in the formulas used in the pandanus purification ritual; the last two syllables of the name Auriaia signify "appearing over the horizon", and (read with the other facts) suggest that "Auriaia" was not
originally a name proper, but an epithet descriptive of the rising sun.

Footnote. The single syllable ria means appearing over the horizon; the full force of the duplicated form riaria is continually appearing, etc. The name Auriaria might thus be read to mean “Au-the-Even-Rising.” The whole title conferred upon this being in the folk-tales to which I have referred is therefore “Au-the-Even-Rising, King of Heaven.” These descriptive epithets were possibly adopted in order to avoid a tabu upon the sun-name proper. An analogous use of such pseudonyms epithets is evident in the cases of at least two other Gilbertese clan deities — Nei Tutuaefine and Tabuariki. The first is obviously Tutuaefine, the god woman; and the second Tabuariki, holy chief.

The connection of the pandanus with Kriataa and Auriaria being established, and the association of all with sun cult being at least indicated, the following introductory statement in a Creation Myth collected from Tabitenea (South Gilberts) becomes extraordinarily
Te-ra-ra-iti (Little Sun). In the next paragraph, the

[Footnote. Ra-ra is not modern Gilbertese, but is
the common Polynesian word for Sun. It is
assumed to be the Polynesian diminutive
suffix -iti].

sun is called the father of these three personages.
I pointed out this apparent discrepancy to
the old woman who gave me the tale, and

[Footnote. Nei Okoteta of Banaba and Maiana,
aged about 70 in 1920, when the tale was
recorded. Nei Okoteta traced her descent
from the personage named Bue into the
clan of Ababon on Maiana]

her reply was "Aongkao ti te bo inuam titereu-

They (i.e., the sun and the pandanus tree)
were said to be the same thing by our
great-grandparents. Other versions of the story of
Bue, Riiongo and Te-ra-ra-iti give these ancestors
the same names and the same mother (Matamau),
but relate that the latter became pregnant by

[Footnote. The story of Bue's voyage to the sun is
one of the most popular traditions of the Gilbert
islands; it includes exploits that in Polynesian
narratives are attributed to the hero Maaninga.
Further reference to the tale will be made in a
subsequent section. The denei Bue and Riiongo
are named as ancestors by the Gilbertese as
called Ababon and Maiana, whose titles are
the sun and moon, and who claim the power of
making and unmaking eclipses. See "Gilbertese
Astronomy and Astronomical Observances",
J.P.S., Sept.-Dec., 1931].

visitation of a sunbeam. For genealogical
purposes, therefore, the terms sun, sunbeam,
and pandanus tree are seen to be
synonymous.
Such being the tradition of the parent plant, the motives for honouring its product, to Kabalum, seem to appear more clearly. Reasons have already been advanced for supposing that the stream in which to Kabulm is held and the ceremonious manner in which it is drunk are attributable not so much to its acknowledged excellence as a food, or to the minute thrift of a hard-living race, as to its magico-religious associations. Considered alone, the sanctification formula and ritual described in section ... might justify little more than a deduction that the sun was recognised by the race as a powerful fertilising agent; but considered together with the traditions just discussed, they acquire a more definitely solar significance. The sun-idea dominates the formula and ritual, as it would seem, because the pandanus tree is of the sun's own body—an entity so closely bound up with him that it is called in one tradition the Ancestor Sun, and shown in another as a geological symbol representing the luminous seed of human descendants. The pandanus is, in fact, the Tree of the Sun, in the highly pregnant sense of being the sun in the form of a tree; and as such it is the object of ceremonies which find no parallel in the customs or rites connected
with other food plants.

Thus the ceremonial "looking upwards" when a draught of Kabubu is being drained — an action out of keeping with the normal simplicity of Gilbertese table manners — acquires a deeper meaning from the associations of its parent tree: it is a looking upwards to the sun; and it is logically linked, through this central sun-idea, with the looking upwards of the magician who performs the pandanus sanctification ritual, and the looking upwards of his face when he is buried.

So much for the meaning of the custom.

It is proposed now to exhibit the story of Kiatiaa-of-Heaven quoted in the preceding argument, and then to consider the lineage of that Kiatiaa-of-Tarawa, the lover of Kabubu, to whose first portion of the pandanus first-fruit on his island are traditionally reserved.

Although the Kiatiaa-of-Heaven story contains much that is irrelevant to the present issue, the full text (in translation) is exhibited, in order to afford a complete illustration of the kind of setting from which many of the data used in this paper are drawn.
covered him vigorously with the coals as Na Areau had told her; she knew not that he was dead in the midst of the fire.

When a long time had passed, the woman saw Na Areau coming down towards her from the mast; 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 went bitterly: as for Na Areau, he laughed and ran away.

4. The tale of Na Areau and Taranja.

When Na Areau died, he came to Tabonu of Tabitouca. And behold, a man came to that islet from the mainland, whose name was Taranja; he visited Na Areau. Na Areau took that man's head from his shoulders and put it upon his own shoulders; his own head he put upon the shoulders of Taranja. Taranja knew not what Na Areau had done: he went back to (the mainland or) Tabitonuca, and behold! he was seen by Taburi-nai and his companions; they thought that he was Na Areau, and chased him. Then Na Areau went ashore.

The wife of Taranja went to draw water from her well. When she came to the well she saw a child lying beside it. Now that woman was childless, so she was glad when she found that child; she said, "Behold! I have found a child". She knew not that it was Na Areau. She picked him up; he cried, so she carried him to her house, and lay down, and set him upon her belly: his crying ceased. Then night came, he made free with that woman, and so it came to pass many nights thereafter. At last, the woman was pregnant by him. As for her husband Taranja, Taburi-nai and his companions had killed him, for they thought he was Na Areau.
I. Like Naka series:  
   i. Tree of Samoa
   ii. Children of Fatuku
   iii. Building of Kabuona
   iv. Building of Kofoamo
   v. Ancestry of Kafoamo
   vi. The Ancestry of Nui

II. Bama series:  
   i. The Creation
   ii. Nagaum's first voyage to Samoa
   iii. Bred of Nata
   iv. Bred of Sama
   v. Bred of Sama
   vi. Pe Mama
   vii. Nagaum's second voyage to Samoa
   viii. Nagaum's third voyage to Samoa

III. Nui series:  
   i. Nui Nui
   ii. Bama  a  the Tree of Nara
   iii. Taburina

IV. Tahiti series:  
   i. The Tree of Samoa and its breaking:
      distribution of people.
   ii. Nui Tahiti of Naborara + Naga
   iii. Naka's plants tree of Tahiti: Nui Pate
   iv. Araki: Tahiti canoe tree: Kiota
   v. Obaia to Buraer
   vi. Nima: Numevaru

V. Nui + Ruio series:  
   Ancestry of Nui Ruia

VI. Nui Manga-mi-Buka of Penegei

VII. Tabitana series: 1. Creation
               ii. Trickster tales
               iii. Of Nascus and Antitana
                   showing ancestry of Batukan.

VIII. Banaban series: 1. Creation
          ii. Voyage of Amariana to Samoa

IX. Bataritani series: Tebongaroa and the
                   voyage of Amariana to Samoa.
The voyager Tupaia, in Maori tradition, is said to have married a woman of the Aitanga-a-muka-main-tore people who "knew not the art of fire-making" and lived in trees on the wharawhara. Percy Smith has identified the wharawhara as the pandanus.

Hawaiiki, Whitcomb & Tombs, 1910, p.138