This is the only copy of Part IV of Grimble's book *The Migration of a Pandanus People* that I have ever seen. Parts III and IV were never published by the Polynesian Society, despite my pleas.

The MS includes a Table of Contents for the whole book, Footnotes for Parts III and IV, and a Bibliography. It was probably written soon after Grimble became Governor of the Seychelles in the 1930s, but it was evidently edited immediately after his death in 1956 for his book *Return to the Islands*, published in 1957, is included. The Editor was presumably someone in the Polynesian Society not conversant with the Gilberts for Little Makin is spelt Makiu throughout due to a mistaken reading of his handwriting.
So intimately is the name of the spirit Auriaria bound up with the pandanus tree, and so often with it occur in the sections to follow, that it is convenient now to assemble the facts already recorded in connection with his personality and to review them in the light of such other information as general tradition has to offer.

Social aspects.

From the viewpoint of social organisation, Auriaria is seen in the table annexed to section 5 to be an ancestral deity of the three totem-groups of Karongoa, Te O and Una-ni-Kamauri, the totem-creatures identified with his name being the Rat, the Tern and the Giant Clam. As an anti of these social divisions, he is inextricably identified with their pre-Christian cult of the ancestor and the ancestral skull, and with the system of totem-exogamy associated with patrilineal descent which they still to some extent observe.

The genealogical connection of the deity with his social groups is absolute in the sibs of Te O and Una-ni-Kamauri. That is to say, descent into these groups is traced directly back through male lines to the person of Auriaria himself; and the atua stores at which they practiced the cult of the ancestor were believed to be his body.

The case is different with the Karongoa clan. As observed in section 15, the atua store of this group on Marakei ordinarily represented the body of a being named Tevela, with whom the kalamu-tree totem was identified. (Footnote. See table annexed to section 5).

For social purposes, including the ordinary open cult of the ancestor, Auriaria is not the index of the Karongoa clan; nor, it may be added, does he command in his capacity of a clan-anti anything like the same overt prestige as that other tutelary deity of Karongoa, Tabuariki, with whom are associated the totems of Thunder, Wind, Shark and Cockerel.

Secret aspects: the cannibal tradition.

It is only when the secret love of Karongoa comes under examination that the importance of Auriaria becomes manifest: then indeed his name overshadows the others. The Little Makiu cannibal tradition exhibited in
Appendix I, and analysed in section II, is an example of the clan's hidden doctrine. Therein Auriaria appears as the spirit of the crest of an ancestral tree upon Samoa and, as such, the presiding deity of a ruling caste called "the Kings of Samoa." The tale describes him as the anti of an inhuman skull called Batuku, which was itself a deity from whom the Kings of Samoa claimed descent. Reduced to plain terms, this means that Auriaria was the deity of a chiefly group which practiced in Samoa the cult of the ancestral skull, and traced its descent from a particularly revered ancestor named Batuku.

A host of non-secret traditions throughout the Gilbert Islands corroborate the description of Auriaria as the spirit of the Crest of Kai-n-tikua-aba, the Tree of Samoa, but they attribute no particular function to the deity. On the other hand, I have collected one or two fragmentary genealogies of the Samoan period which mention Batuku, as one of the Kings of the Tree. But only in the jealously guarded type of traditions which none save an inner circle of the Karongoa clan appears to know, and wherein the Little Makiu text is my best example, does the intimate connection between Auriaria, and royalty, and the cult of the ancestral skull appear.

(b) Food of the Kings of Samoa.

The revelation of deepest significance to Karongoa in the Little Makiu text is that Auriaria, with the skull called Batuku, stands for head-hunting and cannibalism. The story leaves no room for doubt that the group of Gilbertese ancestors called here "the people of Samoa", and elsewhere "the people of the Tree", conducted organised raids among the islands adjacent to their home, with the object of obtaining for sacrifice to the deity of their ruling caste, Auriaria, "the heads of the first-born, who were also bearded and bald." Here again, a number of less carefully concealed traditions — chiefly those connected with the canoe crest of Karongoa — relate that (Footnote: See section II, and a paper "Canoe of the Gilbert Islands": Men, June, 1921, 49), human heads were the "food of the Kings of Samoa," or of Teuribaba, one of the two beings connected with Karongoa's Kanawa-tree totem. The name of Teuribaba is a link connecting these tales with the Little Makiu version, which allocates a very important part to the same personage. But the popular renderings
of the story give no hint of the real scale upon which head-hunting was practiced for sacrificial purposes, nor do they ever mention Auriaria's name. The true facts being once known, these omissions or concealments clearly emphasise by implication the sacred and secret character of the god and his rituals.

The pedigree which concludes the Little Makiu text is of high importance, in that it traces the genealogical connection of every existing dynasty of high Chiefs in the Gilbert Islands (and one in the Marshall Islands), through a certain Samoan immigrant named Raiaueana-the-man-of-Matang, back to (Footnote: The name Raiaueana-te-I-Matang may perhaps be more correctly interpreted Raiaueana-the-fair-skinned: see section 10 concerning the application of the name I-Matang to the white man), the ancestral skull named Batuku, and so to the closest possible degree of proximity with Auriaria himself. As the chief ancestral deity of the Royal caste of Karongoa, it is natural that some special aura of distinction should cling to his name, however carefully the real facts of history may have been hidden by his clan, and this helps to explain the apparent paradox that, although the functional valuation of Auriaria as an anti is a good deal power in the general public esteem, than that of Tabuariki or Tituaabine, he remains nevertheless pre-eminently the heroic personality, the mighty adventurer, the splendid lover of Gilbertese popular tradition.

A group of stories which will be analysed later indicates that the connection of Auriaria (Footnote: See section .... post - the Auriaria - Nabanaba traditions), with cannibalism dates from an era far more ancient than that of the occupation of Samoa by the Gilbertese ancestors. The type of tales to which I refer deals with the voyages of a being named Auriaria of Tara Na, and describes him as the "grandson" of certain man-eating hags who lived in a Western land named Nabanaba. Nabanaba itself forms a link in a migration chain which stretches back from Tarawa (Northern Gilberts) in the East to an original land called Matang in the very far West. The traditional evidence associating Matang with cannibalism through the person of a certain Towatu-of-Matang, has already appeared in section 11. And lastly, the name of Auriaria is bound up with that of Matang not only in a great wealth of popular stories but also in the more carefully guarded myth of the coconut and pandanus trees, whereof an example has been
exhibited in section 10. (Footnote: Though this myth does not rank as secret, in the sense of being reserved to the inner-most circle of a clan, it is nevertheless regarded by those who still cling to custom as Kamara - which is to say "bringing a curse" if lightly given away in the form exemplified).

19. The pandanus association.

A practice still common in the Northern Gilberts is to take refuge from thunderstorms under the pandanus tree in preference to any other "because it is safe from the thunderbolt." The belief is that Auriaria protects this tree against the anger of his "brother" Tabuariki, the principal overt deity of the Karongoa clan, with whom the thunder-totem is connected.

But the most familiar evidence of Auriaria's association with the pandanus is the widespread myth of Matang just referred to, wherein the deity is seen to share with his sister-paramour, Nei Tituaabine, the chief role in the origination of pandanus, coconut and wild almond. The last sentence of this text, which was collected on Banaba, suggests that the first-fruits of the almond, as well as those of the pandanus, belonged to Auriaria; but enquiry among the Banabaus, who alone of all Gilbertese communities cultivate the almond, shows that this tree is considered par excellence the property of Nei Tituaabine, at whose atua-stone its first-fruits were, within living memory invariably offered. The apparent inconsistency of the text can, however, be explained by reference to one of the totem-creatures associated with Auriaria - the rat. It was recognised on Banaba that this animal would devour the offering made to Nei Tituaabine, and in this sense the first-fruits of the almond were considered to be the food of Auriaria.

The continual presence of the rat in the pandanus is popularly cited as a proof that Auriaria loves the tree and claims it as his own. The creature was until recently believed to be none other than Auriaria himself, and when the pandanus first-fruit were left at the atua-store of Karongoa, it was anxiously hoped that the god in his rat body would quickly and completely consume them in token of his continued good-will towards his people. It may be that the Auriaria-rat association was historically earlier than the connection between the god and the tree - which would, of course, mean that the tree acquired its present place in the complex because the sacred
creature was observed to haunt its branches and prefer its fruit. On the other hand it seems, prima facie, more probable that the rat achieved its divine character, and its status as a totem, by a process of protection from a tree already sacred, much as the woodpecker of Greek mythology became divine by identification with the oak-tree of Zeus. (Footnote: Also the ivy (with the similax and the vine), and possibly the owl. See D'Hendel Harris's Ascent of Olympus, 1921, concerning the origin of the cults of Appollo, Dionysus, Aphiodite, and Artemis).

c. Association with the sun and the moon.

The importance of the Auraria-pandamus connection is especially salient in the secret rituals described in sections 14 and 15. In the second identification formula, and in the dedication of the first-fruits offering, Auraria's name was the first to be pronounced after those of the Sun and Moon; and a stone representing his body was the central object towards which the whole first-fruits ritual was directed. For the purposes of this ritual, the name "Peuria" overtly attached to the atua-stone was deliberately superseded by the name "Auraria."

It is a notable fact that the god is seen most closely linked, in both the formulae under reference, with his wife Nei Tevenei, and not with his sister-paramour Nei Tituaabine, from whose body the pandamus was popularly believed to have sprung. The native ritualist is (or, rather, was) a precision in such matters, and the precedence given to Nei Tevenei must once have had a very definite significance. The explanation seems to be implicit in the first-fruits dedication, wherein no mention at all is made of Nei Tituaabine, but the name of a being named Riiki is coupled with that of Nei Tevenei. Both Riiki and Nei Tevenei are associated with celestial objects. The first was the great eel who lifted heaven from earth at the Creation and later became (Footnote: See "Myths from the Central Pacific", Journal of the Folk Lore Society, Jan-June, 1922), the Milky Way; the second was the spirit of the shooting star and the comet. (Footnote: Or of any other "fire that floated between heaven and earth," e.g. St. Elmo's fire and Will o' the Wisp). Nei Tituaabine, on the other hand, seems never to have been associated with a heavenly body. Having in mind the prime importance of the Sun and Moon in the two rituals, the prominent places given to Tevenei and Riiki at the expense of the much more famous deity from whom the the pandamus,
according to popular belief, spring seem to be attributable to their peculiar astronomical connections. A portion, Auiaria, the leading personage with whom they are so closely linked, would seem to be, for the purposes of the pandamus rituals, a primarily astronomical deity; and the force of such a supposition is considerably strengthened by the evidence that this god is believed to protect his chosen tree from the thunderbolt of his "brother" Taburiki.

One of the most pregnant commentaries upon the Auiaria-pandamus association is furnished by the following myth-fragment, which forms the prelude to a version of the Creation myth collected from the island of Tabiteuea:— The first tree was the pandamus, and its name was Nei Bakatibu-Taal (The Woman Ancestor-Sun); Auiaria was its spirit, and it grew in the West, on Abatoa and Abaiti. The mythical female tree referred to in this truly remarkable fragment is obviously identical (Footnote: The full text of the myth and its sequels is exhibited in Appendix III), with that invoked in the second sanctification formula, "Oh, thou maiden, even the pandamus tree of Abatang, and Abatao, and Abaiti," and there can be no doubt that the myth and the pandamus rituals described are but separate expressions of a single group of religious beliefs. For evidential purposes, the two sources of information may be regarded as complementary to each other. It is useful to examine them in this relation... (Footnote: A period of 14 years intervened between the collection of the myth (1918) and the complete disclosure to me of the pandamus rituals (1932)).

First of all the formulae of the rituals, we find the pandamus personified under two strikingly contrasted feminine guises. In the context just quoted, a particular tree, evidently a mythical prototype of the species, is addressed as a maiden; but later, in the first-fruits dedication, it is referred to as the Woman Pandamus-in-the-twilight, a mother, whose "first child" forms the oblation at the atua-stone. Clearly the belief which underlies and links the two figures is that of a Virgin tree made fertile by the ritual of sanctification. The formulae of that ritual are seen to be dominated by the idea that the Sun himself is the agent who "carries life", and "gives birth", or, in other words, impregnates the tree which, without him, cannot be fruitful. Turning now to the myth, we are given the picture of an original female pandamus tree so completely impregnated by the Sun that it has assumed the name "Ancestress Sun."
Reading together the Tabiterian fragment and the formulae of the rituals, we can hardly be mistaken in concluding (1) that the original pandanus myth was one of a virgin tree being loved or possessed by a Sun-god, and so achieving motherhood in the lands of Abatang, Abatoa and Abaiti; and (2) that the purification and first-fruits ceremonies represent the annual re-enactment, by a caste whose totem is the Sun, of the miracle of impregnation and fertility.

The myth gives the key to Aurlarla's personal significance in this complex, by presenting him as the anti of the first tree of Abatoa and Abaiti. It is perfectly evident that the ritual connection between that tree and the Sun stood for a group of ideas more sophisticated than the simple association of fruitfulness with sunlight. By some process of elaboration; belief had passed even beyond the stage where the pandanus was regarded as the Sun's peculiar property: the tree was held to be, in some esoteric way, the Ancestress Sun in every person. The conclusion cannot be avoided that Aurlarla, the tutelary spirit of the tree, was himself a sun-god. In this light, his central importance in the Sun-Moon pandanus rituals, his intimate and primary association therein with Astronomical deities, and the belief in his ability to protect his plant against the thunderbolt of another astronomical deity, are seen to be perfectly logical and obvious. He is the Sun-presence in the pandanus, so informing her with his own personality that she herself becomes the Sun. Why she is also called Ancestress will now appear.

(d) Association with Kal-n-tikua-aba.

Turning to the Little Makluru cannibal traditions in Appendix I, we find in their first and second sections the picture of a very remarkable tree, whereof Aurlarla is the tutelary spirit. This is Kal-n-tikua-aba, famous in the overt as well as the secret animals of all Gilbertese communities, for the reason that nearly every local totem-sib claims descent from a being who sprang from its trunk, roots, or branches. It is related in the opening section of the Little Makluru account how "the seed of a certain plant" was first planted in the underworld by a being named Tararunga, and how, when a tree grew from it and sprang further into the world of men, Aurlarla by a trick took possession of its "dead". Then from every part of the tree below the "dead" grew a company of beings whose names, as given, are those of all the greater ancestral deities of Gilbertese totem groups today.
So far, the account seems to be pure myth, being an unmixed philosophy of the birth of a race in an ancestral tree, but the second section of the narrative opens with a historical statement: There was planted in Tamoa the tree named Kai-n-tikua-aba, for there Auriaria planted it when he trod the South. The special significance of these words will appear in a later chapter; their general meaning is clearly that a race of people claiming descent from Kai-n-tikua-aba migrated to Samoa — probably from the North — carrying with them the cult of a tree spirit named Auriaria. That the practices of head-hunting and cannibalism formed an essential feature of this cult appears in the fourth section of the narrative, while the tree, with Auriaria in its name, is shown in section 2, standing as the symbol for a central shrine of the race on the slopes of the volcano called Maunga-tabu (Holy mountain), where the sacrifice of human heads was offered to the god.

The name of Maunga-tabu is of special interest in the present connection, because it is also found attached to one of the many varieties of pandanus tree known to the Gilbertese today. Other varieties of the same family have already been seen to bear the names of ancestral places, and it is not unnatural to assume in this case that the ara-maungatabu has been called after some particular mountain of sacred memory. We are given a striking example of such a mountain in the Little Makiu text, and it is hardly possible to avoid the inference that the Maungatabu of Samoa, or possibly a more ancient locality of similar ritual associations, gave its name to this variety of the plant. A topographical link is thus established between the pandanus and the ancestral tree Kai-n-tikua-aba which stood upon the slopes of Maungatabu.

Going one step further, we know on the one hand that the pandanus was essentially the tree of Auriaria, and on the other that Auriaria took possession of Kai-n-tikua-aba and dwelt in its shade. These facts, read with the clue of the Maungatabu name, seem to point very clearly to the conclusion that the pandanus and Kai-n-tikua-aba were one and the same tree. Evidence confirming such a conclusion is not lacking.

It will be seen in the first section of the Little Makiu text that one of the beings who sprang from Kai-n-tikua-aba was Koura. A variety of pandanus bears the name anikoura at the present day. Furthermore,
in the Tropic Bird totem group called Keakl, which claims descent from Kai-n-tikua-aba through Koura, it is believed that any pandanus drupe represents his "body", and it is stated that his name, signifying red or burning, has reference to the orange glow of the ripe fruit. The Butaritari text in Appendix II, which is a tradition of the Keakl clan, supplies additional clues: first, by connecting Koura's people, through the Tropic Bird totem, with Kai-n-tikua-aba and cannibal practices; and second by mentioning that one of the pandanus trees in which Koura and his brood dwelt was te ara-maungatabu, the eponymous tree of the Sacred Mountain.

A single word in the Little Makiu text accommodates itself perfectly with these extraneous traditions, and, I think, renders the single identity of the two trees certain. I refer to that passage in the first section where it is stated that Koura grew from the "first bloom" of kai-n-tikua-aba. The word used for bloom in this context is tabaa, which is a strictly technical term meaning young pandanus bloom, and cannot, except with ludicrous effect, be applied to any other kind of flower. The native is absolutely precise in his use of such terms, and does not jest when he is revealing his secret doctrine. If the tradition has persisted that Kai-n-tikua-aba bore a tabaa, the tree could certainly have been nothing but a pandanus; and this explains why the clan of Keakl, though ignorant of the concealed lore of Karongoa which the Little Makiu text represents, has nevertheless preserved the belief that Koura's body, the fruit of Kai-n-tikua-aba, is seen in the pandanus drupe.\footnote{The technical term for coconut blossom is ari; the general word for flower, which cannot, however, be applied to pandanus bloom or coconut blossom, is \textit{ua}.}

Had other evidence for the Kai-n-tikua-aba - pandanus identification been lacking, the Tabiteean myth of the original pandanus of Abatao and Abaiti, read together with the Little Makiu story, would have sufficed alone to clinch the relationship; for in the one recension we have presented with a pandanus under the tutelage of Auiraria and called the Ancestress, while in the other we see a tree possessed by Auiraria which bore a pandanus bloom, gave birth to all the great race-ancestors, and is to this day called te Bakatibu. It is.\footnote{A Gilbertese chant descriptive of the flight of the forefathers from Samoa to the island of Mouauti begins:}

\begin{quote}
E maotoua te Bakatibu, te Kai! \\
E raraanako\textsuperscript{a} aba-ia I-Matar\textsuperscript{i} \\
\textit{mal} Taamoa.
\end{quote}

It is broken the Ancestor, the Tree! It overleans their land, the People of Matang from Samoa.)
is clear that the Tabiteean and Little Maklu myths merely present different aspects of the same tree, the first dealing with its chronological, the second with its genealogical, place in the order of things. The second leaves no doubt of the reason why, in the first, the tree of Abalti and Abatoa was called Ancestress as well as Sun.

(e) Traditional origins of the pandanus.

The species of Kai-n-tikua-aba being thus manifest, the Little Maklu account of its growth may now be grouped together with all our other sources of information concerning the pandanus, and a synthetic scheme of the whole myth, its associations, and its contradictions laid out for discussion as follows:

(1) There are two accounts of the pandanus tree’s origin: the very widespread one, which pictures it springing from the body of Auriaria’s sister-paramour, Nei Tituaabine, in the land of Matang; and the secret one of the Karongoa clan which derives it from a seed planted in the underworld by a being named Taranga. The high probability is that the Karongoa version is the real story, while the other is the form which Karongoa has seen fit to release for public circulation - the term public including, of course, its own uninitiated clansmen. This does not diminish the value of the Matang story as a historical document, nor does it in the least weaken the association between Auriaria, Nei Tituaabine and the other two food trees, the coconut and the wild almond; but the comparative unimportance of Nei Tituaabine in the fructification rituals, and the absence of any mention of Matang, indicate that, as a pandanus myth, the Matang version has not the validity of the Kai-n-tikua-aba tale, which equates perfectly with the account of the Ancestress tree of Abatoa and Abalti, and through that link interlocks with the rituals. The occasional appearance of Nei Tituaabine’s name in the fructification formulae is explainable on the sole ground that she was believed to have been the sister-paramour of the sun-god and, as such, not unworthy of mention.

On the evidence, therefore, the authentic pandanus myth seems to begin with the planting of Kai-n-tikua-aba in the underworld by a being named Taranga, and its theft by Auriaria.

(2) Turning now to the Tabiteean fragment, we find that the tree was thought to have existed, with its god, in the epoch preceding the Creation.
The importance of this is that it assumes the growth to have occurred in the primal Darkness, when no luminary had risen to light the universe, and thus appears to indicate that the trick recorded in the Little Maklu text, by which Aurialiari stole into the tree's crest, and so emerged out of the depths, was the trick of the sun-god seeking a way of escape from the blackness that imprisoned him. However this may be, the being of the underworld called Taranga, who planted the tree, is without doubt to be classed as a spirit of Darkness, and his defeat by Aurialiari represents yet another portrayal of that familiar conflict between the sun-god and the power of Night typified in the Horus-Let, Ormuzd-Ahriman, and Apollo-Python class of dualistic myth.

(3). Thus sprang from the underworld the Virgin Tree of Abatoa and Abalti invoked in the second sanctification formula, with the sun-god in her crest. Here at once appears the reason why, at the crest of the magic tree used in the sanctification ritual, a tuft of feathers representing the Sun is bound; and from this nuclear point of the myth every subsequent thread depends.

(4). Possessed by the god, the Virgin Tree herself assumed the Sun-name, as the Tabiteean fragment shows; and, impregnated by the god, she became the fertile Woman Pandactus whose "first child" was annually offered to the Sun at the first-fruits ritual.

(5). By virtue of the same divine impregnation, the tree became not only the Mother of Fruit but also the Mother of Men - the Ancestress of the Tabiteean fragment - the Nei Tabaa invoked as an ancestral power in the ritual of protection against cursed food (section 3) - and the Kai-n-tikua-aba of the Little Maklu text, from whose branches sprang the godlike ancestors of a race that called itself the People of the Tree.

(6). The ruling and sacred caste among the people was a group that called itself Karongoa-of-Kings, whereof the Sun was the chief totem, and the sun-god in the tree's crest the principal, though secret, deity. Linked with the sun-god in the cult practiced by Karongoa were two other astronomical beings, also regarded as ancestors: Nei Tevenei, the Comet or Meteor, his wife; and Riki the Eel, lifter of Heaven, whose body was seen in the Milky Way. Of ritual importance in connection with the Sun and the Tree was the Frigate Bird, whose feathers were essential to the sanctification ceremonies, and whose title is still "the bird of the Sun and of Kings." Connected also with the cult of the luminary was the spiral, the mystic form which it was necessary
to reproduce - because it was pleasing to the Sun - in the strings decorated with frigate bird feathers for the magic tree of the rituals.

We have now come to a point in the traditions where myth merges into "the historical event around which it clusters." The Tabiteuan context shows (Footnote: Sir G. Gonne, Folklore as an Historical Science, page 128) how the ancestral tree stood first upon the lands of Abatoa and Abaiti in the West; but from the Little Maklu account we learn that Auriaria thereafter "trod the South" and planted it upon Samoa. Reading from one tale to the other, we are presented with the prime essentials of a migration-story - the name of a far western land or lands where the tree of Auriaria with its people was believed to have originated, and the name of the Polynesian island whereon they eventually settled. Such is the geographical bracket within which the migration of a folk that may now be called the pandanus people will later be considered.

20. The lands of the Virgin Tree.

It is convenient at this point to examine the names of the lands where the virgin tree was thought to have grown.

(a). Abaiti obviously equates with Avaiki or Hawaiki, the far western fatherland so famous in Maori, Rarotongan, Marquesan, and Taumotuan tradition. The name of Aba-toa consists of the radical Aba- already seen in Abaiti, and the component -toa, which is a suffix fairly common in Gilbertese proper names meaning big or great and, as such, equivalent to Polynesian -nui. As it stands, the name clearly refers to a land intimately allied to Abaiti or Avaiki, but characterised by its great size, and is thus the Gilbertese traditional counterpart of Maori-Rarotongan Avaiki-nui. (Footnote: In contradistinction to -toa, the suffix -iti occasionally appears in Gilbertese names with the force of a diminutive: e.g. Koura-toa = Koura the Big; Koura-iti = Koura the Little. Whether the -iti of Abaiti or the -iki of Avaiki was originally a diminutive suffix has been questioned; but it is evident that the name Aba-toa has reached its present form under the influence of that analogy, true or false).

Both Abaiti and Abatoa are occasionally named with other ancestral lands in the more ancient Gilbertese dancing chants. The following is a pertinent extract from an old and obscure chant of Bern Island, known as the Chant of Moiuia: The poet pictures a voyage by canoe to or through the
the western Paradises of his race:—

.... I kaarakirra, Ngai-o-o!
Ba I kaarakina Maura, 180
Ngai-o-o!

.... I approach it, I-o-o!
For I approach Maura,
I-o-o!

(Footnote: Maura; an abode of ancestral shades and departed ghosts, believed to be near the greater land of Bouru in the West. See section 12).

E-e! ba I aki bia mate, ba
I aki bia tauniki iterala
atibu ma bonobono i Aba
ni Mao, Kiita! 181

(Footnote: Mao, Kiita. This is the only context known to me in which these two lands are mentioned. It is interesting to observe (in any good chart of the Molucca area of Indonesia) that two small islands named Moa and Kissa lie at the southern edge of the Banda Sea, not very far from Bouru or Buru).

E na bua ni mate rorobuaka-u,
E Rae tangi-na, ba I karae-a
1 tabo-ni Maura, 1 tabo-ni
Bouru ma Neineaba 182

(Footnote: Neineaba, a fairly widely known ancestral land, believed to be a part of Bouru).

Ti a toua te Kainimau: e
rengerenge, rengerenge-e-e!
Ti a marau-nako irowna
nkana e tabetabeki jai-na
Kua-ni-marawa, ato-ni-
maraa mai Abalti, mai
Abatoa, mai ia? Baba-
ni-Mao n taurake. 183

(Footnote: The porpoise and whale are common figures of speech, in poetry and magic, to denote mighty rulers or powers. The sense of this passage is: "We shall be in great difficulty if the great ones of Abalti and Abatoa raise their arms against us.")
Footnote: Baba-of-Mao; another land of which I can discover no mention elsewhere. It appears, prima-facie, more than a coincidence that there is a Moluccan island named Babba not far to eastward of Mao and Kissia.

N na Karloa te-angi-na, I shall raise one-wind,
ua-ang, ba angi-n au two-winds, even the winds of the
maneke ni Kuna, words of my chant,
Ba angi-n te iteran auti. Even the winds of the spirit's world.

Footnote: After this point the poem becomes irrelevant to the present issue.

The composer of this chant (who lived seven generations ago) was evidently drawing upon sources of information concerning the geography of the western fatherlands of his race which are lost to the Gilbertese of today. But though the reference to Abaiti and Abatoa is obscure, their association with the porpoise and the whale - whose names are the symbols of royalty and power - indicates that those two lands stood, in the poet's mind, for a tradition of peculiar awe. The general sense of the text is that who so dares to approach the old homes of the race must in some way avoid offending the Great Ones of Abaiti and Abatoa, whose power over-stretches the more accessible lands of Bōuru and Maura.

In naming these two places together with Bōuru and other western fatherlands, the chant comes usefully into line with the second sanctification formula, wherein the spirits of Bōuru are invoked (in company with Auriaria and Tevenel) immediately after the virgin tree of Abatoa and Abaiti. Thus the status of Abatoa and Abaiti as ancient fatherlands - obviously implicit in the Tabitanean fragment, which calls them the home of the first Ancestress-tree - is confirmed by the grouping of their names, in both song and ritual, with those of other known abodes of ancestral shades. A conclusive example of such concatenation appears in the magic formula used by the Sun-Moon totem-group called Ababou, as follows:

N nangi tiba tabek-la, I am in the act of lifting it,
Kaaitia Kawai-n Ten Naewa; i.e. the head of deceased,
of straightening the path of So-and-so;
For he is about to go to his home, 
Even Innang, and Roro, and 
Bōuru, and Marira. 

And thou shalt pass over 
With the contents of their canoes, one 
pandanus drupe, and the tattoo-marks.

We have in this highly secret formula not only the definite statement 
that Abalti is one of the rikia - which is to say lands of origin - of the 
gilbertese ghost, but the further extremely valuable information that a 
place named Atia was also numbered among such lands, and that another 
place named Roro was a home (aba) of the dead. This puts beyond doubt 
the identification of Gilbertese Abalti with Polynesian Avaiki, for both 
Roro and Atia are coupled with Avaiki or Hawaiki, in Maori-Rarotongan 
tradition, as ancient western fatherlands. (Footnote: Hawaiki, 1910 ed., 
pp. 69 and 76).

From the contexts in which their names appear, Abalti and Abatoa seem 
to stand for the innermost secret essence of the Karongoa traditions of origin, 
and the very roots of the pandanus story. A fair indication of the primary 
importance of these two fatherlands to the race may be gathered from the per- 
sistency with which their names recur as place-names up and down the Gilbert
Islands. This frequent eponymous use of ancestral names is also observable in the cases of those other Gilbertese Paradises, Bouru, Malakia, Matang, Marira, Neinea, Roro, Mawuki, and Atia, whose names are scattered throughout the Group, but the Aba- family is strikingly predominant. There are a dozen Abaiti-s in the sixteen Gilbert atolls, and almost as many Abatao-s or Abatao-s. Abataq, the third land of the virgin pandapas named in the second rectification formula is common to several islands. Abatiku, which is seen attached to a part of Butaritari and an islet of Abemama lagoon, also appears in tradition as a western fatherland importantly bound up with the pandapas people. Abemama itself (Footnote: The Abatiku tradition will come under close inspection in a later section), appears to consist of the radical Aba- and the suffix -mama, which means moonlight in modern Gilbertese, but may possibly stand for Polynesian marana. The traditional name for the Gilbert Group as a whole is Aba-riiinga, whereof the second component signifies sunlight in the speech of today, but may represent a corrupted form of runga in the Avaiki-runaga (Avaiki-to-windward) of Polynesian tradition. In the same way, Aba-ro and Aba-roro (Aba-the-dark) may alternatively equate with Avaiki-raro (Avaiki-to-leeward) of Rarotongan nomenclature, and Aba-rao (Aba-the-peaceful) with Hawaiki-roa (Hawakiki-the-long) of Maori story. Abailang (Aba-in-the-North) is the name of an island in the Northern Gilberts; Aba-okoro (Aba-the-separate) is one of the islets of the Tarawa chain; Abacti (Aba-the-clearly-seen) appears at Butaritari and elsewhere. Finally, in the native name of Ocean Island, Baa-n-aba - which is to say, Rock-of-Aba - another memorial of the ancient fatherland appears to have been preserved. (Footnote: Modern Gilbertese aba means land and home. Aba-makoro, of which the second component means a piece cut off, is used to signify island. Aba appears to have acquired its present meaning through an easy process of extension from the special to the general, by way of the following stages: Aba (=Java, Jaba, Saba, Zaba, Ava, Hawa); the name of an original homeland, applied later to any new home occupied by its people; any homeland; any land; home).

(b) Identity with Avaiki

The identity of Abaiti and Abatao with Avaiki and Avaiki-nui being patent, they stand as a vitally significant link connecting the Gilbertese with the Maori-Polynesian traditions of origin and migration. If the relationship be well founded, there should be still traceable among those
peoples who have preserved the Avaiki tradition some association between the pandanus tree and the early fatherland. A passage of quite extraordinary interest in this connection occurs in Percy Smith's "Hawaiki." In discussing the ancient land of Irihia, one of the early western homes of the East Coast Maoris, the author quotes as follows from a native text:

"Behold! The spirits of the children of Tāne-nui-a-rangi were taken up to a great mountain of exceeding height, where their employment was to make the mountain very tapu. Now, hence the spirits of all men ascend to that mountain in order to be purified, and from thence they ascend to the Rangi-tuhaha ...

Now, that sacred mountain where the spirits from this world are made sacred is Te Hono-i-Wairua (the junction of spirits) and is situated in Tawhiti-pā-mamao, at Irihia, and it was from that land that men and tribes dispersed to the islands of the great ocean ...

Hawaiki-nui is a part of that land ... It was a great house of the Maori people, and in it was situated the whare-kura (or temple of learning) of Rongo-marae-roa, who is the god of all cultivated food plants - kūmara, taro, hē, korau, and others - besides the aral-toto-kore, which was reserved as an offering to the gods, because there was no blood in it. It would keep good for a long time, and hence, when the migrations came away from Irihia to the East, to the many islands they afterwards came across, they used this food, the aral-toto-kore. There were three migrations at that date ... The foods these migrations brought with them from Hawaiki-nui and Irihia ... were the taro, dried kūmara, and the best of all, the aral-toto-kore, which could be eaten raw on the voyage." (Footnote: Hawaiki, 1910 edition, pages 73-74).

The author tentatively renders the name of the food which "could be eaten raw on the voyage" as bloodless - perhaps sapless - aral; in conclusion he observes, "I cannot suggest what kind of food aral-toto-kore is. Arai-namo in Mangareva Island is the pandanus, but probably has no connection here, though the drupes of the tree were eaten."

The characteristics attributed in the above account to the mysterious food of Hawaiki and Irihia may be tabulated as follows, side by side with
those of Gilbertese Kabubu:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aral-toto-kore</th>
<th>Kabubu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Material features</strong></td>
<td><strong>Material features</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. A vegetable product;</td>
<td>1. A vegetable product;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A bloodless or sapless substance;</td>
<td>2. A dessicated food;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Valued for its keeping qualities, especially for the purposes of sea-travel;</td>
<td>3. Valued for its keeping qualities, especially for the purposes of sea-travel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Reserved as an offering to the gods;</td>
<td>4. Drunk ceremoniously; reserved as an oblation in the first-fruits ritual;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Particularly associated with Rongo-of-long-marae who:-</td>
<td>5. Particularly associated with clan named Ka-rongo-a whose deity Auralaria:-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) had his temple in Hawalki; and</td>
<td>(a) dwelt in the Virgin Pandanus in Abaiti and Abatoa; and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) was the god of all cultivated food-plants.</td>
<td>(b) was closely connected with the origin of this and other food plants - the coconut and wild almond.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Linguistic features**

6. Called by a name, aral-toto-kore, which suggests its derivation from the pandanus.

So clearly, do the first five points concerning aral-toto-kore clinch with the salient material and religious features of Kabubu and its parent tree, that the identification of the Irihian food with the Gilbertese might be regarded as certain if further evidence concerning the sixth point - its derivation from the pandanus tree - were forthcoming. Such evidence is available. The name of that particular variety of pandanus which, above all others, is prized in the Northern Gilberts for the manufacture of Kabubu is ara-toko-toko. The similarity of this name with Maori arai-toto-kore, considered as an isolated fact, might have appeared to be a mere accident,
but viewed as the culminating point of six coincidences embracing light material; religious and linguistic aspects of the case it acquires a conclusive evidential value. There can remain no reasonable doubt that the food of Hawaiki, remembered in tradition though lost in substance by the East Coast Maoris, was identical with the desiccated pandanus product regarded still by the Gilbertese of today as "the best of all foods," and still "reserved as an offering to the gods" in the first-fruits ritual of every totem-group. (Footnote: Whether the name of the Iria, or leaf packing in which Kabubu is stored (see Plate ... ) has any connection with the Irihia of Maori story is open to question; but the application of the name of a land to an object of material culture has already been observed in the cases of the Kiroro oven, and the Ruanuna oven and fish trap).

(d) The Sacred Mountain of Avârki

It will be observed that the tradition of Irihia quoted by Percy Smith opens with an account of a sacred mountain situated in a land called Tawhitipa-mumao, whereof Hawaiki-nui was a part. The same author shows elsewhere in his work that the name of the sacred mountain of Hawaiki was held to be of the utmost significance in the death rituals of the Maori and Moriori peoples. Another apparent link thus (Footnote: Hawaiki and 1910 ed. p.64), binds the Hawaiki tradition with the story of the pandanus people, inasmuch as we have seen that the ancestral tree Kai-n-tikua-aba was closely associated with a sacred mountain, and that a variety of pandanus is known to the Gilbertese today by the name ara-maungatabu.

The deep significance of the sacred mountain tradition to the Gilbertese as a race is stressed by the fact that, in spite of the absolute flatness of the atolls which they inhabit, Maungatabu appears as a place-name on nearly every island of the Gilbert Group. The identification of Gilbertese Abaiti with Maori Hawaiki having already been secured by previous evidence, and having been further consolidated by the connection of Hawaiki, through the food called ara-i-toto-kore, with the pandanus, it is a natural assumption that the Maungatabu name and Maungatabu-pandanus tradition have reference to that very sacred mountain of Hawaiki which the Maoris and Morioris have remembered with such reverence. I propose, however, before accepting this conclusion, to examine independent evidence of the connection, and this
will involve brief discussion of the Gilbertese maneaba, or social meeting house, and in particular of that form of maneaba which together with a variety of pandanus is called by the Maungatabu name. (Footnote: A Gilbertese maneaba (see Plate ...) consists of an enormous thatched roof, of which the eaves descend to within six feet of the ground, supported upon studs or monoliths of dressed coral rock. The largest of these buildings at present in existence has an interior length of 120 ft, a breadth of 80 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 Tabonetbike, which is foursquare; and that called Maungatabu, whose breadth is to its length in the proportion of about 2:3. All have hipped or gabled, not conical, roofs.)

21 Ritual associations of the maneaba

The Gilbertese maneaba in general is the centre of communal life, the conical chamber, the dancing hall, the feasting place of the gathered totem groups comprising any community. As such it is sacrosanct; no brawling or dispute may take place under its roof, or upon the marae (open space) of which it is the centre; its supporting pillars may not be struck; and only games (including above all the dance) of a definitely religious or social significance may be played within its precincts. The building is susceptible of offence, and may not be spoken of in jest; he who offends it becomes marala (accursed) 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 construction of the edifice, its maintenance, and the ceremonials which take place beneath its roof. To usurp the sitting room, privilege or function of another group is to become marala. The hereditary places, rights and obligations of the various social groups differ considerably in the three types of building.

(b) The Maungatabu maneaba

The Maungatabu maneaba is called by the clan of Karonga-n-Uea "the house of the Sun and the 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 monolith named "Sun", against which the people of Karonga-n-Uea have their hereditary sitting room.
Opposite the "Sun," in the middle of the western side, is the monolith named "Moon", against which the clans of Aabeou and Maerua are seated. It will be remembered that these three social groups share the Sun-totem and the monoply of the Sun-Moon pantheonification ritual. All ceremonial and all speech in the Maungatabu maneaba are subservient to the will of Karongoa-n-Uea, as enunciated by the senior male of that group. This individual is called "Sun in the maneaba", and it is believed that the Sun will pierce the navel of any who contradicts him, questions his judgment, or usurps any privilege of his social group in the sacred building. The Karongoa-n-Uea spokesman wears a fillet of leaf upon his head, called buna-n Taal (the fillet of the Sun) and, as we have already concluded from independent evidence, the principal though secret deity of his group, Auriaria, is a sun-god. He sits alone, slightly in advance of his fellow clansmen upon occasions of a ceremonious nature, and opens proceedings - after silence has been called - by muttering the magico-religious formula called te taemataao, whereof the object is to "clean the path of his words", that is, to protect all he says from interruption or contradiction. In this formula (or Marakei) the Sun and Moon are the protective powers invoked. The words of the formula are muttered three times in succession, with the head bowed so that the chin touches the chest, while the hands are slowly rubbed together, palm on palm. The performer then throws his hands forward, palms up, elbows against body, and raising his head, says aloud, "Ana-ia ba ti na ongo (Take it up, for we will hear)." The debate ceremonial or feast then proceeds.

The sib of Karongoa-raereke is the companion and acolyte (tabonibai, finger) of Karongoa-n-Uea in the Maungatabu maneaba; its members carry messages from the sacred clan to other groups, and in the northern Gilberts its elder often "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 the feast, which is the perquisite of Karongoa-n-Uea; its duty is to supervise the laying and maintenance of the mats of plaited green coconut leaf (inaai) with which the floor of the maneaba is covered, and to perform magico-religious rituals for preventing dissension among those gathered in the sacred edifice. The time for such rituals is the hour when the Sun is approaching his zenith; 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 said to have been used as a magic boat by the Sun-hero Bue in his voyage to the Sun.

The clan of Te Wiwi claims the function of blowing the conch (bu) which announces a gathering in the maneaba. Members of the Keaki group have the right of prior entry into the building, in the sense that when one or more of them arrives in a crowd at the marae upon which the maneaba stands, their companions of other claims (excepting Karongoa-n-Uea) will stand aside to let them pass.

The elder of the Tabukaokao group supervises the collection of food for any feast, in the middle of the maneaba, and shares with the elder of Ababou the right of dividing it into two equal portions - one for the northern the other for the southern half of the building. Ababou then separates from the northern half the first portion of Karongoa-n-Uea, which is issued before any further distribution is made. Karongoa-raereke carries the first portion to Karongoa-n-Uea, and other specific groups have the right of dividing and distributing the remainder.

The architects of the Maungatabu edifice - which is to say the group of people whose function it is to find its site, lay out its ground plan, order the position of all its timbers, and cap its ridge with a covering of plaited leaf or matting - are the Sun-Moon sibs of Ababou and Maerua. Their acolytes in this work are the Eel-totem group of Nukumanea and the Crab group of Tabukaokao.

The posts of dressed coral which support the roof of the Maungatabu edifice are set up by Karongoa to the accompaniment of a Sun formula; and when the ridge of the completed structure is capped, the first formula to be intoned by the Maerua headman runs as follows:

\[ \text{Ba N-nangi tiba ewar-la!} \]
\[ \text{For I am in the act of piercing it (i.e., with the thatching awl)!} \]

\[ \text{Taubuki-n uma-la:} \]
\[ \text{Auriaria, Nei Tevenei,} \]
\[ \text{Riki, ma Nei Tituaabine} \]

196 (Footnote: Note again the grouping together, before Nei Tituaabine).

\[ \text{Ririka-n uma-u tera?} \]
\[ \text{Te Karau} \]
\[ \text{Ririka-n uma-u te buaka;} \]

\[ \text{The ridge of their house:} \]
\[ \text{Auriaria, Nei Tevenei,} \]
\[ \text{Riki, with Nei Tituaabine.} \]

\[ \text{The covering of my house (from) what?} \]
\[ \text{The rain} \]
\[ \text{The covering of my house (from) storm (or strife);} \]

Note again the grouping of the three astronomicical dieties together, before Nei Tituaabine.)
The covering of my house (from) heaven:
Even the screening of the house of the Sun and the Moon.
The covering -ee, the covering -o-o!

The Maungatabu maneaba was, in former days, the scene of the only collective or tribal cult of which any record appears to have subsisted in the Gilbert Group. As I have previously indicated, each separate totem-group as a rule practiced the cult of its own ancestor or ancestors independently of all others; but in time of stress, a form of religious observance in which all groups united, with the senior male of Karongoa-n-Uea as the officiating priest, was practiced at a stone pillar representing the body of a being named Tabakea, within the Maungatabu maneaba. As seen in section 5, Tabakea is associated with form totems - the ili-tree; a mythical beast called the kekenu, which seems to have been a saurian; the common noddy; and the turtle. Of these, the last is considerably the most important, the name Tabakea meaning indeed parrot bill turtle. In a widespread series of traditions, Tabakea is represented as the "eldest of beings, the first-of-things," and the father of Aurlaria. The importance of this relationship is that it confirms a good deal of rather diffuse evidence existing in Polynesian tradition and custom as to the connection of the turtle with the Sun. Tabakea is also called the originator of the fire-sticks in one local variant of the fire myth.

When famine, war or other collective danger threatened the community, the elder of Karongoa-n-Uea would fix a day when food offerings and prayer (tataro) should be made to Tabakea, and a stone monolith about six feet high would be erected for that purpose up against the Karongoa "Sun" stone in the maneaba. The stone was wreathed with coconut leaves by the acolyte group Karongoa-raereke. Just before dawn on the appointed day, the community would enter the building, bringing with them offerings of food, and sit in their hereditary positions. At sunrise the first portion of the collected food was laid as an obligation before the stone by the elder of Karongoa-n-Uea, and the following tataro pronounced by him:--

Ao-ra te amarake, nkoe, Tabakea.
Ao-ra te amarake, nkoe, Aurlaria, Nei Tevenei, Riiki.

Our offering the food, thou, Tabakea.
Our offering the food, thou, Aurlaria, Nei Tevenei, Riiki.
Tautana mauri-ra,
Toutoua-nako te aoraki,
te buaka ... 197

Uphold our prosperity,
Tread-away the sickness,
the war ...

(Footnote: At this point it might be mentioned any specific evil which it was desired to avert).

Kaka-mauri-ia ataei
aiakai
Karekekea karara
Taai-o! Nanakaina-o!
Karekekea kara-ra
Te mauri ma te raol.

Continue to prosper them,
these children.
Continue to get our food.
Sun-o! Moon-o!
Continue to get our food.
Prosperity and peace.

During this ceremony, all present wore fillets of coconut leaf upon their heads. The formula having been recited three times, the people put off their fillets and ate the remaining food, the division and distribution being affected in the ceremonial manner already indicated.

The salient facts concerning the Maungatabu maneaba may now be summarised as follows:

1. It is a sacred edifice known for ritual purposes as the House of the Sun and Moon, and believed to be protected by the Sun from insult or violence;
2. It was until recently the scene of an open or communal cult connected with Tabakea the Turtle, the originator of fire and the sire of Auriaria, a sun-god;
3. Its ceremonial on all occasions was dominated and ordered by a group of people who were Kamarala (sacred) because they were "sun in the maneaba"; who were the performers of a Sun-Moon funification ritual; one of whose totems was the Sun; who wore the fillet of the sun; who were grouped about a monolith called the Sun; and whose chief deity, Auriaria, was a sun-god;
4. Its construction was governed by rituals in which the Sun-name and Sun-association were predominant and was ordered by a group of people who with Karongoa monopolised the Sun-Moon pandamus ritual and claimed the Sun as a totem, and whose sitting room was against a monolith called the Moon.

Such being the facts, I take it to be hardly necessary to elaborate an argument in support of the inference that the Maungatabu maneaba was, at some time in its history, a temple of the Sun, wherein the people of Karongoa-n-Uea,
by virtue of their descent from the Sun-god, were the sacred caste, with the people of Karongoa-raereke as their acolytes; whereof, the men of Ababou and Maerua, also being children of the Sun, were the master-architects; wherein each division of the people had its ordained sitting-room, its peculiar duties and privileges; and wherein altars to the Sun and Moon stood in the positions now respectively marked by the monoliths of Karongoa and Ababou. Though, with the progressive decay of the Sun-cult as a communal form of religion, the building may now have been turned to social uses for which it was not originally intended, its sacrosanct character and ritual associations are still so extraordinary dominated by the Sun-idea that to avoid the conclusions which I have indicated would be merely to shirk the facts. Therefore state the case in passing, though it is enough for my immediate purpose to have shown that the Maungatabu maneaba was a sacred edifice controlled by the groups of Karongoa, Ababou and Maerua, and as such, the temple or house of Auraria, an agricultural deity.

Turning now to tradition, we have in the text exhibited in Appendix IV a series of tales private to the builder-clans of Ababou and Maerua, purporting to be the history of their superhuman ancestor Bue, through whom they trace descent directly from the Sun. It is related in section 1 of the text that the Maungatabu maneaba (together with others, of which the construction is now, unhappily, forgotten) was given by the Sun to Bue after that personage had performed the feat of subjugating and catching him in a noose at his rising. Here at once is a strong link with Maori-Polynesian tradition, for the most cursory reading of the text makes it evident that the story of Bue's adventure is nothing but another account of the Sun's visitation and capture by Maui "that daring, impish, cheeky demon so much appreciated by Polynesians." Similarly, the [Footnote, Hawaiiki, 1910 ed. p.51], tale of Bue's theft of the "tree for making firesticks" from the old woman called Tamaing (see third section of the text) is yet another of the numerous Oceanic accounts of how Maui obtained fire from the old woman Mafuike. A closer reading of the [Footnote: The following references indicate the wide distribution of this story: New Zealand: Grey, Polynesian Mythology, White, Ancient History of the Maori; Chatham Is.: Shand, The Moriori People, J.P.S., 1894; Nieuw, Samoa, Union Islands: Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, pp 253-55, 270.; Cook Group, Manihiki: Gill, Myths and Songs from the South Pacific, pp 51, 66; Marquesas: Radigu et, Les Derniers Sauvages, Paris,
Gilbertese recension discloses the very interesting fact that, although Bue is called the hero of these exploits, the name of Maaui does indeed occur in the story. I refer to the second paragraph of section 1, wherein it is recorded that one of the brothers of Bue, also a child of the sun, was a personage named Maaui-kitekite, which is obviously a corrupted form of Maaui-tikitiki, familiar to every student of the Maaui cycle.

Bue thus equates at the first glance with Maaui. The parallel will bear testing. The Maungatabu maneaba or temple being attributed to Bue, one would expect to find the name of his counterpart in Maori-Polynesian story associated with some kind of sacred edifice; and this is indeed the case, for Maaui is coupled by the Maoris, under the name Rongo-Maaui, with that god of cultivated food-plants named Rongo who is recorded to have had a temple in Hawaiki-nui. (Footnote: Hawaiki, 1910, pp50-51). Again and conversely, if Bue impersonates the Rongo-Maaui of Hawaiki-nui remembered by the Maoris, we should - under ideal conditions - expect to find him connected by the Gilbertese, first, with a god or a ritual of cultivated food-plants, and second, with one of the Aba-group of lands corresponding with Hawaiki.

As regards the first point, there is no direct linking of Bue's name, in any tradition known to me, with that of a god; but, failing this, we have the equally strong evidence that Bue's clans of Ababou and Maerua are linked with Auriaria's clan of Karongoa, both in the pandanus funerization rituals, and in the rituals of the sacred edifice wherein Karongoa's agricultural deity is paramount. As for (Footnote: I suggest at this point that the name Karongoa means the tribe or group of Kongo, the prefix ka- being equivalent to Maori Nga-, Ngahl- and Rarotongan Ngati-, Nga-), the second point, we find one of the Aba-names in that of Bue's own clan of Aba-bou (Aba-the-new); and in an alternative version of his birth story, which appears in a later section, we are told that he was the child of a pandanus tree on the far-western land of Aba-tikiel.

Thus, the following parallels between the Maori-Polynesian and the Gilbertese renderings of this group of beliefs are established:

Maaui visited the Sun, caught Bue performed an identical feat. him in a noose, and obtained various cultural benefits from him.
Maau is sometimes called Tikitiki
Maau stole fire from the old woman Mafuike. In some accounts, he hid the fire in certain trees, thus originating fire-sticks. Maau is coupled with Rongo, a god of agriculture
Maau, through Rongo, is associated with a sacred building or temple of ancient times. Maau's temple stood in Hawaiki-nui, which is associated with sacred mountains.

Bue is called the brother of another sun-child named Maau-kitekite. Bue stole the "tree for making fire" from the old woman Temaing. Bue's clans are coupled with Ka-rongoa a sacred caste, in the rituals of funerification. Bue is held to be the originator of the sacred maneaba called Maungatabu; his clans built this edifice for Ka-rongoa. Bue was born in one of the Aba-group of lands, and his maneaba is called by the name of a sacred mountain.

It is clear that in so closely interlocking with the Maau tradition, our Gilbertese material not only demonstrates the vital relationship that exists between Gilbertese and Maori-Polynesian beliefs, but also immensely enlarges both its own evidential value and that of the stories with which it equates. Each account, in authenticating the other, acquires a higher individual authority for itself, and may be drawn upon with greater confidence to fill the lacunae in its counterpart. Having on the one side Rongo, an agricultural god and on the other a sacred caste called Ka-rongoa, whose deity Auriaria was supreme in agricultural rituals, we can hardly avoid the inference that Auriaria and Rongo stand for one and the same personality, and that the Ka-rongoa group represents the royal and priestly caste of Rongo in his temple; from which, having already identified Auriaria as a sun-god, we proceed to the conclusion that Maori-Polynesian Rongo too was originally a god of the Sun. How inevitable now appears the hyphenation of his name, in Maori tradition, with that of Maau, the sun-hero!

As far as the origin of the Maungatabu name is concerned, the evidence examined has shown that the maneaba called by that name is identified with
Bue and Auriaria, each of whom in his turn is linked with one or two of the Aba-group of fatherlands. On the other side, there is a temple associated with Rongo, Maaul, and Hawaiki-nui. The following equation is thus established:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Rongo} & \quad \text{Auriaria (Karongoa)} \\
\text{Maaul} & \quad \text{Bue (Maaul-kitekite)} \\
\text{Hawaiki} & \quad \text{Aba- (Abaiti, Abatoa, Abatiku, Ababou)} \\
\text{Temple} & \quad \text{Meneaba (Maungatabu)}
\end{align*}
\]

If this equation be accepted, the derivation of the Maungatabu name from some sacred mountain of Hawaiki follows without argument; but, inasmuch as the only sacred mountain hitherto encountered in Gilbertese tradition belongs to Samoa (see Little Makiu text, Appendix I) and not to Abaiti or Abatoa, the connection between Maungatabu and the more ancient fatherlands of the race will certainly bear further elaboration before its final acceptance.

First, there is the evidence of the two Bue stories already discussed. Shorn of their mythical elements these texts are, basically, historical documents which using Bue as the index of his social groups of Ababou and Maerua, tell of the migration of a people out of the West into Tarawa. According to one account, Bue with his brother Maau-kitekite was born in Tebongiroro. Tebongiroro (or Tebukiroro) in Gilbertese story is not the name of a single place, being a collective term applied to what is called te rina-n Aba i maenoo - the line of lands (or Aba-s) in the west; it may thus stand for any or all of the half dozen Aba names hitherto encountered. But the other account fortunately identifies the particular place of Bue's birth - that is, of Ababou's and Maerua last place of residence - as Abatiku. The important point is, that the migration from a western fatherland to Tarawa is shown to have been direct, and not by way of Samoa. Both accounts agree upon this point and, in so doing, coincide with all authoritative Ababou and Maerua traditions of origin now obtainable. This is a very remarkable fact, because the latest swarm of immigrants into the Gilbert Group certainly came from Samoa, and just as certainly included members of the Ababou and Maerua clans among their number. The tendency of these conquerors was to superimpose upon every local tradition of origins an obliteratoring dogma wherein the name of Samoa became overwhelmingly pre-eminent. The fact
that they have not been able to deface the tale of Ababou's original migration direct from the West into Tarawa is a notable guaranty of its truth.

The foundation of the Bae tradition was, in fact, established in the Gilbert Islands before- or, if not before, then at least independently of- the immigration from Samoa. The conclusion from this aspect of the evidence therefore is that the Maungatabu name took its origin from the West- according to one of our texts, from Abatiku, an important member of the Aba group of lands - and that whatever the sacred mountain of Samoa meant to the race it was not the prototype from which the Maungatabu tradition was derived.

I think that the least remaining doubt as to the validity of this conclusion is removed by an examination of the final ritual used by Ababou and Maerua in capping the ridge of the Maungatabu maneaba, whereof a description now follows:-

**The ritual.** The master architect mounts to the ridge of the building, when the ridge-capping has been sewn in place, carrying with him four coconuts in their husks. For the purposes of the ceremony, these nuts are called (secretly) ata, human heads. Straddling the (Footnote: Atu is commonly used for head, but takes the form ata in song and ritual), North end of the ridge, face to South, he strikes off the proximal end of one nut and, sprinkling its liquor over the capping, mutters in a low voice:-

- *Bubu-n al i Aba*; Smoke of fire at Aba;
- *Bubu-n al i Abaiti*; Smoke of fire at Abaiti;
- *Bubu-n al i Maunga-tabu*; Smoke of fire at the Sacred Mountain;
- *Bubu-n al i Ababou*; Smoke of fire at Ababou;
- *Bubu-n al i-rou*.
- **Timtim te rara:** Drip-drip the blood;
- *Taai, Namakaina-o-o,* Sun, Moon-o-o,
- *Ko Kaakangi kana-m te rara!* Thou eatest thy food the blood!
- *Matu, matu, anti ni Kamaamate!* Sleep, sleep, spirits of killing!
- *matu, matu, anti ni Kaaporaki!* 203 Sleep, sleep, spirits of sickness!
- *Matu, matu, anti ni Kambuaka!* Sleep, sleep, spirits of evil dreaming!
- (Footnote: *Ka-aoraki* = causing-sickness; *ka-mi-buaka* = causing-dreaming-evilly).
- *Matu, matu!* Sleep, sleep!
- *Baraaki te unene,* Overturned is the...
- *B'e a burgi te aba* For the land gives birth...
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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.

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.

All Gilbertese sleeping-mats are manufactured of pandanus leaf.

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 boua (stone pillar) of Nei Tituaabine.

Compare with this account of Matang the Polynesian account of Motu Tapu, the magic floating and sinking island, where dwelt the fish-god Tiafrau. S.Percy Smith, Hawaiki, 1910 edition, page 166.

See Section 11(b) ante.
All kinds of Ray are associated with the clan of Keaki, whose other totem is the Tropic Bird (vide Section 12(d) ante).

I have described the bleaching process in a paper entitled "From Birth to Death in the Gilbert Islands." J.R.A.I., Jan-June, 1921.

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 2), and also to a variety of Malay custard-apple (section 6, Emergency Diet).

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.

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

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 declamation of the correct spell and due completion of the ritual. Kaakang means to eat human flesh; oraora means to eat uncooked food; mata means face or eye.
Footnote 118  
Maatana is the regular form. Maatanaa is a euphonic variant of a kind much used in dancing chants and magic formulae.

Footnote 119  
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 120  
The name Bitanikai is here given to the spiritual power believed to reside in the staff. Nananikai 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 Auraria and Tabu-ariki is invoked, a clear example of syncretism.

Footnote 121  
The rock that forms highest heaven; the hard coral that is the foundation of the underworld; the clam-shell of Auraria, King of heaven.

Footnote 122  
Literally translated, this passage reads as follows:

Ba a ti bon airinako
For they only accompany away

toua-na
(treading-its (i.e., the treading, or kicking, of the performer's magic staff)).

Footnote 130  
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.

Footnote 131  
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.
Anta 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 bal-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.

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.

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

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.

All Gilbertese dwellings are built with gables N. and S., and sides facing E. and W.

A span (te nga) is the full stretch of a man's outspread arms, from tip to tip of the middle fingers.

See Section 5 ante, The Frigate-bird, p.20.
Footnote 132  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.

Footnote 133  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.

Footnote 134  Bita-borgibong, magic-tree-in-the-twilight. Bita- is the first component of bitanikai, and stands for the whole word; borgibong signifies growing dark.
Footnote 135  Matahuro, 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 136  The allusion here is obviously to the First Pandanus of Abatoa and Ahaiti, called the Ancestress Sun in the Tabiteuea text exhibited in Part II, appendix 2.

Footnote 137  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.

Footnote 138  Ka-tabaa, fructification. The literal meaning is causing-young-Pandanus-Bloom.

Footnote 139  See Footnote 43, Section 12(e) amka.

Footnote 140  Tevaela is reputed to have been the mother's father of Taane-n-toa II, that Karongoa High Chief of Beru named in the tale of Tevatu-of-Matang (Part II, Appendix 4 and Section 12(e). He is reputed to have been the builder of Taane-n-toa's maneaba and, as such, adopted by the Chief as a deity after his death.

Footnote 141  See Section 7 (c), Part I, for description of te korokoro.

Footnote 142  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.

Footnote 143  See the ceremony of te taarika performed by a guest when invited to eat with a Gilbertese household: Part I, Section 9.
Footnote 144 See Part II, Footnote 137.

Footnote 145 Sun-stone: see Appendix 1.

Footnote 146 See Footnote 42, Part I, for the meaning of marala.

Footnote 147 See Part II, Appendix 4, paragraphs 11-12.

Footnote 148 Acolyte, The native term is tabonibal, finger, which is to say, servant.


Footnote 150 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 151 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.
As each "head" is emptied of its "blood" it is allowed to roll down the thatch of the maneaba to the ground below, where its position is anxiously noted. If the majority of ata lie with the open end (corresponding to the neck of a human head) pointing towards the maneaba, it is a sign of good-fortune; but if the distal ends be presented to the building, war, sickness or famine are prognosticated.

Maau-kitekite. In Polynesian story, the exploit of catching the Sun in a noose is attributed to the famous personage called Maau, who is sometimes called Tikitiki, and is represented in Samoan tradition by a being called the Sun-child. All these elements are seen concatenated in the Gilbertese story. The names Maau and Tikitiki are united in that of Maau-kitekite, who is shown as the fourth child of the Sun, while the famous ensnarement of the luminary is attributed to Maau-kitekite's younger brother, Bue.

Nei Te-raa-iti. Iti is a diminutive suffix: cp. Polynesian - iti. It is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion, having Nei Teraaiti's parentage in view, that raa is the Polynesian word re, meaning Sun. The name thus means Little Sun.

Tebongiroro. The line of lands in the West. See the connection of Tebongiroro with the red food called te renga, Section 11(b) ante; and with the Kiroro cooking-oven, Section 2(a).

See the connection with this craft of the Maunga-tabu maneaba ritual, Appendix 1, paragraph 7.

The six mounting-platforms of the Sun, the six weapons of Bue, and other associations of the luminary with this particular number, have been commented upon in a paper entitled "The Sun and Six," MAN, Jan. 1921.
Footnote 159 The Grave of Bue. Identified in Marakei as the sitting burial reserved for those who practice the pandanus fructification ritual. See penultimate paragraph of Section 10, Part I, ante.

Footnote 160 See illustration of the Kai-ni-kamata in Man, June 1921, "Canoe Crests of the Gilbert Islanders."

Footnote 161 Uri-tree: guettarda spectosa, of which the timber is commonly used for making fire-sticks today.

Footnote 162 This tale of Bue's theft of firesticks is obviously but another version of the very famous Polynesian story, wherein Maui steals fire from the old woman Maufiki. See:

New Zealand: Grey, Polynesian Mythology; White, Ancient History of the Maori.


Manihiki: Gill, Myths and Songs from the South Pacific, pp. 51-66.


Nieuw, Samoa: Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, pp. 253-55, 270.


Footnote 163 See paragraph 11 ante.

Footnote 164 See table annexed to section 5.

Footnote 165 See section 11, and a paper "Canoe of the Gilbert Islands": Man, June, 1921, 49).

Footnote 166 The name Rairaueana-te-i-Matanga may perhaps be more correctly interpreted Rairaueana-the fair-skinned: see section 10 concerning the application of the name I-Matang to the white man.

Footnote 167 See section ..., post - the Auraria - Nabanaba traditions).
Footnote 168  Though this myth does not rank as secret in the sense of being reserved to the inner-most circle of a clan, it is nevertheless regarded by those who still cling to custom as Kamagia - which is to say "bringing a curse" if lightly given away in the form exemplified.

Footnote 169  Also the ivy (with the smilax and the vine), and possibly the owl. See D'Endel Harris's Ascent of Olympus, 1921, concerning the origin of the cults of Apollo, Dionysus, Aphrodite, and Artemis.

Footnote 170  See "Myths from the Central Pacific", Journal of the Folk Lore Society, Jan-June, 1922.

Footnote 171  Or of any other "fire that floated between heaven and earth," e.g. St. Elmo's fire and Will o' the Wisp.

Footnote 172  The full text of the myth and its sequels is exhibited in Appendix III.

Footnote 173  A period of 14 years intervened between the collection of the myth (1918) and the complete disclosure to me of the pandanus rituals (1932).


Footnote 175  Ara-touru, Ara-matang, An-nabanaba, see section 10.

Footnote 176  The technical term for coconut blossom is ari; the general word for flower, which cannot, however, be applied to pandanus bloom or coconut blossom, is us.
A Gilbertese chant descriptive of the flight of the forefathers from Samoa to the island of Mouaotu begins:-

E maotoua te Bakatibu, te Kail
E raraanakoa aba-ia I-Matangi

It is broken the Ancestor, the Tree!
It overleans their land, the People of Matangi from Samoa.


In contradistinction to -toa, the suffix -iti occasionally appears in Gilbertese names with the force of a diminutive: e.g. Koura-toa = Koura the Big; Koura-iti = Koura the Little. Whether the -iti of Abaiti or the -iki of Avaiki was originally a diminutive suffix has been questioned; but it is evident that the name Aba-toa has reached its present form under the influence of that analogy, true or false.

Maura; an abode of ancestral shades and departed ghosts, believed to be near the greater land of Bouru in the West. See section 12.

This is the only context known to me in which these two lands are mentioned. It is interesting to observe (in any good chart of the Molucca area of Indonesia) that two small islands named Moa and Kissa lie at the southern edge of the Banda Sea, not very far from Bouru-of-Buru.

Neinesaba, a fairly widely known ancestral land, believed to be a part of Bouru.

The porpoise and whale are common figures of speech, in poetry and magic, to denote mighty rulers or powers. The sense of this passage is" We shall be in great difficulty if the great ones of Abaiti and Abatoa raise their arms against us."
Baba-of-Mao; another land of which I can discover no mention elsewhere. It appears, prima-facie, more than a coincidence that there is a Meluccan island named Babba not far to eastward of Mao and Kissa.

After this point the poem becomes irrelevant to the present issue.

See section 14 ante.

Te-ungi-nga, ua-ung, tau-ung - one, two, three pandanus drupes. The classificatory particle ung is used in counting whole fruit.

Te taitai: The tattoo marks. It was believed that the bird-headed being Ne Karamakuna would peck out the eyes of a departing ghost unless it could provide her with food in the shape of tattoo-marks.

Hawaiki, 1910 ed., pp. 69 and 76.

The Abatiku tradition will come under close inspection in a later section.

Modern Gilbertese aba means land and home. Aba-makoro, of which the second component means a piece cut off, is used to signify island. Ada appears to have acquired its present meaning through an easy process of extension from the special to the general, by way of the following stages:

- Ada ("Java, Jaba, Zaba, Ava, Hawa); the name of an original homeland, applied later to any new home occupied by its people;
- any homeland;
- any land; home.
Whether the name of the iria, or leaf packing in which Kabubu is stored (see Plate...) has any connection with the Irihia of the Maori story is open to question; but the application of the name of a land is an object of material culture has already been observed in the cases of the Kiroro oven, and the Ruanuna oven and fish trap.

A Gilbertese maneaba (see Plate...) consists of an enormous thatched roof, of which the eaves descend to within six feet of the ground, supported upon studs or monoliths of dressed coral rock. The largest of these buildings at present in existence has an interior length of 120 ft, a breadth of 80 feet, and a height from floor to ridge-pole of 45 feet. There are three main types of maneaba: that called Tabiang, which is foursquare; and that called Maungatabu, whose breadth is to its length in the proportion of about 2:3. All have hipped or gabled, not conical, roofs.

Note again the grouping of the three astronomical deities together before Nei Tituaabine.

At this point it might be mentioned any specific evil which it was desired to avert.

The following references indicate the wide distribution of this story:- New Zealand, Grey White, Chatham Is: Shand, 1894; Nieu, Samoa, Union Islands: Turner, Cook Group, Manihiki; Gill, Marquesas: Radiguet, Paris 1860; Tonga: Laivry, 1850.
Footnote 202  Atu is commonly used for head, but takes the form ata in song and ritual.

Footnote 203  Ka-aoraki = causing sickness; Ka-md-buaka = causing-dreaming-evil.
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