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

General. The importance of the maneaba in the life of a Gilbertese community could not escape the most casual observer. This great thatched edifice is the focus of social life in every village. It is the meeting house where two, or twenty, or two hundred villagers will naturally gather to discuss any sort of project; it is the common ground where the conflicting interests of individuals, households, or factions are debated and arbitrated; it is the domestic lodge, the amusements-hall, the news-market of the community; and it is the resort of the aged men and women of the race, who daily repair to that sanctuary of peaceful repose, and there, seated on their mats with gossip of family, trading, and exchange in terminus, reminisce their reminiscences of a bygone day.

This is all on the surface. As evidence of the general social importance of the maneaba, it is not misleading; but as an indication of the special uses of the edifice in past days it is deceptive and inadequate. The gradual decay of native custom, and its generalization under the influence of foreign ideas for the last 30 years is responsible for a change in the maneaba's centre of gravity. While it has gained in breadth of meaning to the modern native, it has lost in depth of special significance. For example, its application to modern uses has enhanced its character of convenience, and reduced almost to nothing its sacred quality. Employed nowadays as an amusements-hall, where crowds of young men gather at night to cards or skittles, or are seated on the venerable roof, the building, at any hour of the day, in the old
day, it was unthinkable that a child of any age under puberty should be allowed to wander upon the
maree, or shingled open space, which surrounded
the maneaba. Erara te maneaba ni marauruanga
MANUA ATAEI - "the maneaba refuses to be offended
by children," was the expression used by seniors.
For all shouting, all unseemly behaviour, every
attitude or word that was not marked by
decency and decorum, was considered a cause
of offence to the edifice, and a danger to the
community at large, upon whom some misfortune
would certesibly fall if the dignity of the maneaba
suffered through their negligence.

The maneaba was indeed an assembly room
and, in some sense, an amusement hall before
the Government; but the assemblies and amusements
held therein were of a most formal character;
ordained, not carelessly for a few people, on a
light occasion, but after debate by the senior men,
for the whole community of adults, and for some
motive that touched the social life of an import-
want group of people. Nuo mua koka ma tae
Kinaaareirei ae Kakannato te maneaba - "the
maneaba is the container of exalted words and
amusements." Such gatherings as the Kakannato
shindied
abundance, performed when an important man’s
daughter had reached the age of puberty, were
fit to be shown in the manasa; feasts at a birth, a marriage, or a death were held under similar pretext, as were also debates on war or peace. According to circumstances, and the work to be done, a formal discussion and a vote were taken, and the talk was led and regulated by the elders. There was a vote on the steps to be taken or the steps to be avoided in the shedding of a sheaf of sorghum — a most prized delicacy — on the foreheads of the district. And all these arrangements, feasts and ceremonies were conducted ceremonially in accordance with a fixed and rigid programme. There was only one side to the front, from which the building might be entered. There was a chief speaker, and a second speaker; there was a hereditary flower of the group that called the assembly; a divider of the feast; a carrier of potions, and so on. All these duties and privileges were the reserved privileges of the various social groups which took their seats on the manasa; and hence the Great-Breath divided the ascendants of the groups to whom they belonged. Any man who assumed a function which another man had performed, was not a hereditary member of the group; he was believed to be liable to sudden and mortal sickness: the manasa was maintaining (offended) with him; he was maraia (accused); he would die before the moon changed.

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

Remains of the respect once paid to the maneaba are still to be discovered. A child kicking the heel of coral, that is set up under the seats, is reproofed by its parents, "Don't offend the maneaba. You will fall sick and die." And not many natives would yet dare to strike with stick or hand any of the posts that support the roof, for fear of angering it. In the days before the Government, if a man were seen to lift his hand against any part of the edifice, it was the duty of all bystanders to thrash him and trample him underfoot. If they failed to perform this duty, they would be considered accessory to the sacrifice, and subject to any misfortune that might result from it. Even were the offender beaten to death, his relations would not dare to approach his corpse.

It was believed that even had the dead man been suffered to live by his assailants, he would probably have died, later on as a result of his injuries.

On most islands of the Group there is at least one maneaba, used as a common sanctuary, where any man beaten in battle may seek asylum, safe from his enemies. No aggressor would dare to
Violate such sanctuary, the belief having been that should he so outrage the peace of the place his skin would be struck with tumid swellings (ki rabarabataki) and he would die in wretchedness. But it is to be observed that the buildings around such a maneaba generally shared this character of inviolability, and even for a man to stand on the ground in their vicinity was generally enough to save him from his pursuers. Further, there are many plots of land in the Gilberts, wherein neither home nor maneaba ever stood, which were common sanctuaries in past times. For these reasons it seems probable that these maneaba, which came to be recognized as refuges, acquired their inviolability, not as a result of their own special sanctity, but as a consequence of some especial tradition connected with the ground on which they stood. On the islands of Bokoritari, Aonang and Abemama, where there were dynasties of High Chiefs, it is certain that exiguous circumstances intensified the development of inviolability. It was always the High Chief's maneaba that served as the asylum; the chief himself remained unharmed; and it remained his character not because of its inherent sacred character as a building, but because it belonged to the Chief, whose power and eloquence made it, in theory, be as a sanctuary to all men. Nevertheless, any and every maneaba was in a more limited sense a sanctuary. Among people of the same settlement, who shared the same maneaba, no violence must be done within the sacred precincts (with the exception, of course, of such violence as might be visited on an offender against the building itself). And so, if matter of bitter dispute arose within that community, a man or
woman in fear of misfortune might take refuge there.

Advantage was often taken of this protection by
children who stubbornly set their face against a
marriage planned by their parents, and feared the
vicissitudes (even to the point of death) that might result.
Wives of jealous husbands would also often escape harm
by remaining in the maneaba until their lord's anger
was abated. In whatever the strength amnagement of
the nature that sustained a man, to which violence, in
place of the maneaba might constantly be the result and the

throughout employment that could be followed upon a
destination in these positions, existing strong still.

On the islands of Marakei, Abaiang, Maiana,
Bem, and Fakiteua, the duty of recently and
occasional department towards the building is
explained by old men, in the following idiom, in
a single phrase: "Tairi Tairi i nanon te maneaba"
—There is Sun in the maneaba." On Marakei
a variant was given by the old man Taakenta,
who said, "Bon rokin Tairi ma Namakana te
maneaba"—"The maneaba is indeed the screened
enclosure of Sun and Moon." In other words, the
maneaba is the House of the Sun, according to
the majority, and of the Moon as well, according
to the report of a single authority. It was naturally
believed that all evil-sentiments that
might follow upon an act of disrespect against
the structure, were visited upon the offender direct
from the Sun himself, who pierced the ravel
of his victim with transmigrating fire.

In view of the researches that are continually
being made into the sun-cults of Oceania, and
of the only partial success with which they
are crowned, this is a vitally interesting
sense of beliefs. It would be
sufficiently arresting if it stood alone, but it is far from being the only evidence connecting the maneaba with the Sun. In the ceremonial and magic used during the construction of this building, which I shall exhibit a little later, we have direct evidence of a most indubitable nature associating it with the Sun; and if these indications are accepted, there seems to be little room for doubt that the maneaba, as an original part of the culture of the Gilbertese for many, was a temple, and a temple of the Sun. It will be my duty in the evidence brought to justify such a hypothesis.

(b) Various types of maneaba.

The usual type of maneaba now seen in the Gilbertese villages is a building whose breadth is about half its length, having a height perhaps equal to its breadth. It consists of an enormous thatch, with gable ends, supported on stumps of coral rock from three to five feet high. The sakes come down to within three feet of the ground, so that a man has to bend in order to enter the building. The ridge pole is supported on timbers by a row of posts running down the middle of the interior. In a large maneaba, the rafters are also supported half-way up their length by a beam raised on a row of shorter posts.

In pre-Government days the gables of this building were invariably North and South, the long sides being thus to East and West; no other orientation was ever used. Nowadays, the Government having concentrated the villages
along the lagoon shores, the orientation of the edifice
varies according to locality. Frequently, indeed,
the North-South position is possible, as the isles
themselves lie as a rule roughly North and South,
with lagoons to westward; but where the ends
of the land curves westwards, maneabas must
needs lie East and West in order to follow the
time of their villages. Nevertheless, I shall
hereafter speak as if the building were for its
ancient orientation.

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

1. Tabiang, the narrowest, about half as broad
as it was long;

2. Maukaatatu, nearly with a breadth about
three quarters of its length;

3. Tabondebke, foursquare, with a "hip" roof,
not conical.

The largest manaeaba was the island
of Renn. They were all plane-roofed. It is said
that in the time of the Savo invasion of Renn were built
the first three maneabas of historical times,
by the newly arrived conquerors from Samoa,
some 20 generations ago. Before that date,
the inhabitants of the Gilbert Islands had
"other sort of maneaba." Tradition leaves no
doubt that the Samoan invasion also affected
many other islands besides Renn, but history
is silent concerning the maneabas built by
the conquerors on them. It was the wholesale
conquest of the Group, from Aroar on the south to
Manakeri in the north, some eight or nine generations
afterwards by Bern warriors, which led to the
obliteration of other names and styles that
may have existed elsewhere, and to the
establishment of the three Bern styles now
known.

There were, however, three islands of the Group
which were left untouched by the Bern
warriors, namely, Butaritari, Makin, and
Banaba, and on these we should expect to
find variant types. It is quite certain that
the Banaban maneaba had characteristics
very differing from the Bern style, although
the differences were not so much of construction
as of internal economy. But there is not
now living a single Banaban native who
can give an intelligible account of the
maneaba used on this island in the old
days. On Butaritari and Makin, though the
modern native is now much influenced by
traffic with other islands, it is still remembered
that the ancient maneaba was a grassy
building with a "hip" roof, not a conical
shape, and was called "Maknam-tegaa, the
House of Openings." Further allusion will be
made to this style later on.

The maneabas of Bern were classified
according to the ratio borne by breadth to length;
there were also nine different styles of roof,
differentiated solely by the height of their
pitch. Of these the lowest was called
Takalawau, Tolamama, Ngaanica,
Tepu, Tepu, and the others of height
The correct allocation of a maneaba to its particular class is therefore effected by an association of the term connoteing its pitch of roof with the name connoteing the proportion of its breadth to its length. Thus, the narrowest style of maneaba with the highest type of roof would be called Tabiang-Kariaamatang, and so on.

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

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

In the unit, therefore, we have a distinct compromise between the elements of mother-right and father-right. We shall find very little of such a compromise in the social groupings connected with the maneaba. These groupings, which evidence will show to be governed by the idea of descent from the totem, are unmistakably controlled by the patrilineal idea. If one frequents the maneaba to talk to the old people who are always to be found there, a few visits acquaint one with the fact that the same man always sits in the same part of the building. It was the physical inconvenience of this that first brought the circumstance to
my attention. It seemed strangely inconsistent that a few old men, resorting to the maneaka apparently for the sake of companionship, should separate at entrance and habitually assume seats in positions so widely removed that conversation became difficult or impossible. What stimulated my curiosity was to observe, on the island of Onotoa, that a particular elder well known to me would regularly take his place within a few feet of an especial enemy, while his nigea (namesake) and therefore sworn friend, just as regularly sat at a distance of twenty yards from him.

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

It was unquestionably as rne-nta bati, "the container of the sitting-places," that the maneaka was most vitally significant to the Gilbertese people. For more than a place of social festivities or a rank of debate, it was a tabernacle of the ancestors in the male line; a sort of social map, where a man's great or clan could be recognised the moment he took his seat; his totem and his ancestors known, and his ceremonial duties and privileges discovered.

There is still plenty of information available on to the distribution of the bati. This is one of the branches of knowledge still valued by modern generations, for it is found to be extremely useful in inter-island travel. A native having no
near relations on an island where he is on visit will go to the nearest manaeke and sit in his ancestral room. There he will continue to seat himself daily, until the Munipungo of the town who belongs to taho-toho "lift up the word to him". Then, the following conversation will take place:

"Sir, whence come you?"

"I come from such and such an island."

"Where are you sitting?"

"I am sitting in such and such a taho."

"Why do you do that?"

"It is our taho."

"Whose taho?"

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

"Who is your father?"

"So and so."

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

After a silence, the questionnaire proceeds:

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

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

"Aia!" Another silence, and then,

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

"So and so was his ancestor."

"Amaria (take it up), for we listen." Then the stranger must tell the tale of his father's generations back to the common ancestor of the taho, while his audience gravely listens. Having satisfied them that he has not committed the offence of trespass upon their sitting-room, he is unanimously accepted as tario-ia, their brother, for the duration of his stay on the island: very often, a married couple of seven years, one of whom is a member of the taho, will appoint itself his Karo (parents), and may make him a member of the household. In any case, having established his group membership,
he will be fed by his clansmen until he leaves, and probably provided with a respectable present of money at departure.

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

It is the obvious utility of the institution, no doubt, which has caused it to insist better than others the invades of civilisation. Its persistence makes it a fairly easy task on most islands to find the position of the various koro in the manesara. These may be more clearly indicated in a sketch-plan than in words.

(Insert plan)

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

1. Karokaro. Koro in the N. Gilberts is collective, meaning parents; in the S. Gilberts, it is masculine and singular, meaning father. It is used in the latter sense indifferently with the term fana; but while fana takes the suffix possessive, koro is preceded by the pronoun. Koro also means, throughout the Gilberts, "a member of the same koro," evidently connecting the idea of common ancestry. The word karokaro denotes recognition of clan-relationship and its duties.
shot strokes crossing the margin are the ends of the rafters projecting over the roof-plates. The roof-plates themselves are indicated by the straight inner lines of the margin, the small rectangles upon which these pass being the studs of corak rock upon which they rest.

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

The limits of the various both are indicated by the dotted lines running inwards from the roof plates. Notice that the distribution of the both is based upon the rafters, in this particular case. Thus, Tabiang has three rafter-intervals allotted to it, 7i Bakabaka five, and so on. But, if the maraeata were a small one and the rafters consequently fewer, the allocation of sitting rooms would be still further upon the inake (thatch-rumns of the roof), or simply "fitted in", according to the space-requirements of the various clans. But the order of distribution would remain unchanged.

Each of which is named in the diagram.
to be the representatives of the tohunga. Between Keaki and Karongaroa, in 1892, a particular mission, they would have to crush themselves somehow into that parenthesis, for Keaki remained unshakably anchored to its cornerstone of Titirangi and Karongaroa near to its Sun stone in the middle part.

The actual machine, from which this diagram was taken, is a building faithfully constructed in the Maungataporo style, on the island of Marakei. The master-architect was Taakentua, an old man of about 70 years, who built as he had been taught by his grandfather, and whose knowledge of the building craft brought disciples from islands as far South as Nonouih to learn from him. The authorities responsible for the allocation of the lots in the order pictured were thirty-five elders of the island, elected by the inhabitants as the native delegates on a Rando Commission. The chart therefore represents the collective knowledge of the island’s chosen spokesmen, one of whom was a man of fighting age in the wars preceding the hoisting of the flag in 1892. The distribution of the lots in the Tikarian style of maungataporo is identical with that in the Maungataporo.

It is obvious that all the lots shown may not be found on every island, and conversely those exhibited in the diagram do not exhaust the full story of a given ancestor. Some islands may not have descendants in the male line on every unit of the Group. If a gap is made by the extinction of a clan on an island the members of the lot on either side of it will naturally close up and efface the clan, and gradually the name of that clan-place will be forgotten. Some secondary migration, after centuries, may again bring people of this group to the island; they will
look for their place in the maneaka. Suppose then that the groups which have drawn together over their sitting-room are unfamililiar to them. The result may be that instead of claiming the ancient position between them, they will take a place to one side or the other, which more or less coincides with the spot they have been used to on their own island. From causes of such a nature, no doubt, spring the slight variations in relative position of the less known tobi, noticed from island to island.

But the situations of the better known sitting-places are changeless. Karongoa-n-vea is unfailingly under the middle raft of the Eastern side; Tabiang, Te Bakoa is always flanked by Karongoa-raereke on the north. Tabiang, Keaki, Ababon, Te Kua, Kammaetao and Kaburana will everywhere be found in the places allocated to them.
The Tabon-te-bike maneaba, however, has a different arrangement of its loti. The most striking point of variation, as will be seen by the chart, is that the sitting rooms of Karongan-men with several of its near neighbours are not on the eastern side but under the northern gable of the edifice. Another notable difference is that the loti of Tabiang, Tikirikini and TeBa, which occupy the middle of the northern gable in the other two types of maneaba, are non-existent in the Tabon-te-bike building. This is not to be explained by a parallel non-existence of these clans on the island (Bern) when the plan was made; all three are strongly represented on that unit of the Group. There simply is no place for them in the maneaba of Tabon-te-bike. It would therefore appear probable that, whatever branch of the race-forfathers it may have been that introduced the Tabon-te-bike style of edifice, it was a swarm which did not contain representatives of these three clans. This fact probability will be of use in the task of analysing the traditions connected with the various social groups of the Gilberts, and in attempting to trace a scheme of their origins.
According to local tradition the mansaba was divided into these four quarters to provide sitting-rooms for the four different grades of society:

1. *Te-bozi-n-usa* (te-bozi-of-kings) was allocated to the Hea, or High Chief, with all the members of his *uti* descended through males. It was the S-E quarter. The shaded spot just South of the middle of the S. side indicates the sitting-room especially reserved for the Hea himself with his own brother and sisters. This spot corresponds with that foundation of Karongoa-n-Hea in the mansabas of other islands, except that it is to south instead of north of the central stone stud. This central stud is contained in the Hea's sitting place, and is called Nei Tituaabine. It will be remembered that the stone called Tituaabine in other mansabas is in the S.E. corner, being contained in the boti of Keaki. This is important.

2. Jabokororo, in the N.E. quarter was reserved for *toka* (chiefs) and their *uti* through male lines.
3. K-anikabaai was given over to "people who were consigned", i.e., those of the slave class, through male lines.

4. Manyea was called "the bote of aba-tera", the bote of "what land?", which is to say, it was the sitting-place of any stranger who came and settled upon the islands. It is obvious that whatever may have been the origin of the grouping revealed, its organisation was fundamentally patrilineal.
(a) Descent in the Boti.

As I have already indicated in a general way, membership of the social group known as the given Boti is reckoned patrilineally. This was well illustrated by a dispute submitted to my arbitration when I was at Bern. An elderly man named Riiti claimed membership of the Boti Karonga-n-nea, which had consistently been denied his ascendants on the male line for several successive generations. He provided me with a list of 20 linear descendants, assuming them back to his ancestor Kuiata the First, a legendary Chief of Tarawa, known to be of the Karonga-n-nea group. Mr. Marples of Stone disputed the authenticity of the names he furnished; Marples opined that no issue was joined on a point against the question of sex. It was argued by the opposition that an ascendant in the sixth generation back from Riiti, named K vosoko, was not a man but a woman. Under these circumstances, it was alleged, Riiti must count his Boti-descent, not from K vosoko, but from her husband, who belonged to the Ababongop. Riiti himself admitted that such reasoning would have been perfectly just had K vosoko been indeed a woman; his whole argument was to showing that this person had been a man.

This brings out very clearly the predominance of
the patrilineal idea or patrilineal descent.

Nevertheless, there are exceptions. There are certain exceptions in practice, but one of these at least seems to emphasize the importance of descent in the male line. If a particularly illustrious man has only daughters, children he may legitimately arrange that one or several of his male grandchildren through these daughters be made a member of his bote. Thus, in the attached pedigree, Bontu was a near relation of the High Chief of Akenawa, whose bote is Kabwana.

Bontu (Kabwana)
Nia Kaneakia = Tabomao (Maerua)
Karotu (Kabwana)
Samson (Kabwana)

Bontu's sole child was a girl, Kaneakia, who married Tabomao of the Maerua clan. Under ordinary circumstances, the grandchildren of Bontu would have belonged to his father's bote, Maerua. But in order to continue the line of Bontu's male representatives in this group, the grandson Karotu was appointed a member of Kabwana. This, while being an exception to the rule that a man descends into the bote of his father, still emphasizes stress upon the patrilineal idea, in that it is a special expedient for keeping a male line intact, when in default of a male...

Another exceptional practice is resorted to when a man has a large family of children. If the members of his bote are already numerous, and there is danger of overcrowding, it will be arranged that several of his children take the bote of their mother. To take ni Kamaawa bote...
tina-m (A place to make room, the both of your mother), is a well-known phrase throughout the Gilberts. But although occasions are not wanting where sons have been nominated, under such conditions, to their mother's both, the general practice has always been to transfer the daughter by preference, and in no case would the eldest son be removed from his father's group for the mere purpose of making room. The attendant conditions of this practice again are therefore seen to accent the importance of the patriarchal idea.

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

Another case in which the mother's both becomes of importance must be noted. When a native on his travels comes to an island where a village where his father's group is not represented, he will often use his mother's as a "second string", if he desires to establish relations with people of that place. Having 1/9
his mother's right of membership in the given lot: he will usually be received hospitably by her clansmen, but the obligation will not be felt nearly so keenly by the latter as it would have been felt in the case of a paternal link: the entertainment provided will not as a rule (though there are exceptions) be of a lavish sort, and indeed no great approach seems to be incurred if the newcomer is entirely neglected. This holds good even if the candidate for their hospitality has on his own island definitely gone over from his father's to his mother's lot. The transfer of children, from the paternal to the maternal groups, is therefore seen to be of only local effect, and thus viewed, this modification of the patrilineal system seems to have its origin in a motive of pure convenience, namely, the provision of decent sitting space in the marae a. No doubt such a modification only became possible as the result of an extraneous influence, which overcame the conservative value of the patrilineal idea; and this influence was probably the conception of mother-right which seems to have affected the functional aspect of relationship in the Gilbertian otu. But only in this indirect way has the matrilineal system interfered with the organisation of the loti, of which the essentially patrilineal {system seems to contain a remnant, which the customs of a folk that practised mother-right.

Nevertheless, a fact of some significance will be noted from the table of Gods, Ancestors and Totems exhibited a little later. In this table no fewer than six groups are seen to claim a female ancestry. Te Bakabaka, Kabwara and Keaki
have NiʻItuaʻabine; Taluakoa has NiʻItuaʻabai; Bakarawa has NiʻMoai; and Katanaki has NiʻItuaʻabai. At first sight, this would seem to indicate that

in the early period of the history of the两地 organisation, which I have supposed to be almost purely patriarchal. But certain considerations suggest that this may not be the true meaning of the facts.

It must be observed that these ancestors are also regarded as deities, and indeed are all except three or four of the ancestors recorded. In the traditions connected with the early arrivals in the Group from Samoa, the names of gods are obviously often used instead of the names of the actual persons who arrived. Thus we are told that Tabuimai came to Tahara, Ituaʻabine to Nikuman, Tahuanikai to Bern, and so on, whereas what is meant is that groups of people together by a common cult of these beings came from Samoa to the Gilbert Islands. That such a meaning is indeed intended to be conveyed is clear from numerous parallelisms of tradition, where there exist side by side two accounts of the same migration story, one told in terms of a deity and the other about a man and his followers. For example, there is a well-known story of an ancestor called Barotoka, the son of a man named Houaʻari in Samoa, who fled in very early days to Tahara after a domestic quarrel, and married a woman named Batiana. This tale has a parallel version, recounting exactly the same facts, but making the god Tabuimai the hero, instead
of the human Baratoka. As a result of this same
tendency, without a doubt, it is still the common
practise among older natives of today, to refer to
groups of people, and individuals also, by the
names of their deities, "Taburaniki te Koraki
rei" (this group is Taburaniki), or "Nii Tituaabine
tenarei (that man is Nii Tituaabine) are idioms
used to indicate that this group or that
individual observe the cult of such a
God. More pertinent still to our subject,
one may hear, "E takalika Tituaabine i Bainiki,"
(Tituaabine sits at Bainiki), meaning that the
people who "sit" or live in the village of
Bainiki observe the cult of the goddess Tituaabine.

Very clearly in this last example is the name
of the deity used to connote a whole group of
living people who practice his cult.

A striking and, I think, essential characteristic
of the modern use of a god's name to connote
a single individual is that the person thus
designated is nearly always the senior living
representative of his cult. As such, he is the
officiant at all ceremonies connected with the
worship of the god, and the inheritor of the
masaka, or power, which emanates from such a
being. As a mediator between the spirit and
its devotees, he therefore assumes the personality
of godhead; for the time being he actually is
the god. It is a perfectly natural result of
such intimacy of association that he should
frequently be designated by the name of the
deity. Thus, I believe, is the explanation of
the use in tradition of the name of a god
instead of the name of the actual ancestor
who performed a given series of feats.
Nor is it

View of the frequency with which names of spiritual beings are, and always were, bestowed upon male persons, must the possibility be 

neglected that the god-names of tradition may in many cases have been the actual names of human ancestors.

We are now in a position to suggest an explanation of the fact, apparently at variance with patrilineal ideas, that not a few bothi in the Gilbertese mameata claim descent from women. The names of these women are the same as those of the deities of the bothi. It seems to me highly probable that just as the gods of tradition are often designated by the names of their gods, and just as a man of today may be alluded to by the name of a female deity, so the names of male ancestors may be replaced by those of the respective goddesses whom they represented on earth in the early days of bothi-organisation. This is the solution which, I feel, certainly applies to the case of the bothi-tuhemare. 

An alternative mechanism suggests itself, by which it was possible for women to become bothi-organisers in a family-line organisation without the introduction of a patrilineal organisation into the bothi-tuhemare. We have only to suppose that the people, who introduced the bothi-organisation into the Gilberts, brought with them on their migration a limited number of women belonging to the own race (which is in itself a highly probable surmise), and a terrible scheme at once presents itself. If we imagine that several of these immigrant women were given away as wives to bofalls of the indigenous race, and had children by them, we can picture a new population arising. To what bothi should the
children be nominated? Their mother and, without a doubt, the whole immigrant community would naturally wish to see them identified with the social system of the invaders, but yet they could inherit no sitting-room through their indigenous fathers. The only way of retaining them as members of the immigrant group would be to allow them to reckon descent through their mothers, and the natural method of arranging this would be to create new born in the manaca with immigrant women as ancestors. A circumstance that would go to abet a commingling of this sort springs at once to the imagination. If the social system, to which the indigenous fathers of such children belonged, were a matrilineal organisation, it is clear that from the paternal side no place in the aboriginal organised community could be inherited by the half-blood progeny. By all the precepts of a matrilineal community the child looks to the mother to establish memberships of the group. Thus every circumstance would conspire to thrust the children back into the emigrant camp, and to oblige the patrilineal community to think of some expedient to meet the situation.

It is true that if matrilineal ideas thus contributed an impetus towards the establishment of this new feature of both organisations, they cannot be wholly ignored as agents in the mutation; but their agency was catalytic, in that they left none of their own elements embalmed in the system whose change they stimulated. Thus, if any alternative suggestion to account for the presence of women among the ancestors of
patrilineal groups is true, we have before us an example of social modification under external pressure, rather than the absorption of the constituent parts of one system into another. It is possible that this modification of the scheme of male ancestors may be due to a combination of both the series of causation which I have proposed. In some cases it may have been brought about by the substitution of a goddess's name for that of the male ancestor who observed her cult; in others by the problem facing an immigrant people after the marriage of their women with aboriginals. If this double origin is considered probable (and I myself incline to this opinion) we are offered interesting food for thought concerning the cult of the god and the ancestor, for it is clear that in the one set of circumstances the god has become, to all intents and purposes, the ancestor, while in the other the ancestor must have developed into the god. But I shall reserve the discussion of this subject for a later chapter.
Marriage + The Lok-organisation.

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

A general dictum throughout the Group on the subject of consanguineous marriages is, "Eewe to Karoro" — "the fourth generation goes free." That is to say, persons in the fourth generation of descent from a common ancestor may marry each other. Though the marriage of such close connections was by no means favourably regarded by everyone, the principle of consanguineous alliances was at least so well established as to make them everywhere possible in the fifth or sixth generations. But underlying and dictating the application of this doctrine was an absolute prohibition of any marriage between members of the same clan.
This did not preclude the possibility of a man's marriage with every relation on the paternal side, for provided that they were sufficiently distant in degree, he could still contract alliances with connections of his father descended through a male ancestor's sister and so into another boti, as the following simplified diagram shows:

Keaki ancestor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Keaki man</th>
<th>Keaki woman = Ioba husband</th>
<th>Keaki man</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male line</td>
<td>Female line</td>
<td>Male line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keaki</td>
<td>Ioba</td>
<td>Keaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keaki boy</td>
<td>Ioba girl</td>
<td>Keaki girl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The boy of the Keaki boti could marry his Ioba cousin but not the girl who had descended into the Keaki group, although one was no more distant from the common ancestor than the other. Similarly, it could scarcely happen that while he could take as a wife a moderately close relation from another boti, he would be barred from union with a collateral in his own group so distantly removed from him that it departed the actual line from which the common ancestry was a matter of more tradition. It was membership of the same group that constituted the bar, above any other consideration.

The next diagram will show that relations through the mother also could be disqualified.
as wives by the boti-organisation.

Toba ancestor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Toba man</th>
<th>Toba woman = Keaki man</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Toba woman = Keaki man
Keaki boy
Keaki girl

But from a native point of view, the important consideration would be the male ancestry of the boy and girl, by virtue of which both had descended into the same group. There was no impediment to the marriage of a man with a woman of his mother's group outside the forbidden degree of relationship. But if a boy, for one of the reasons already described, took the boti of his mother, he was at once debarred from union with any member of it; at the same time, he still remained under the prohibition of contracting alliance with women of his father's clan. There conditions lay particular emphasis on the importance of clan membership as a regulator of marriage. But it must be remarked that this importance seems to vary in degree from island to island. In the seven most southerly islands of the Group, it is most pronounced: going northward, one finds that in Abemama, Kuria and Aranuka it is absolutely non-existent; in Maiana, Tanawa, and Abaiang it is again very evident; in Marakei, it seems to lose in strength; while in Butiari and Makin it again disappears.

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

If my proposed explanation is correct, we
have a remarkably clear example of the rapidity
with which native institutions may under
 certain circumstances decay, and an illustration
 of how purely local & individual conditions
 may modify a social organisation.

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

On Ocean Island (Banaba) no information
about a clan groups is available, but some
of the old people can still remember that
there were bozi in the maneaba. The
vagueness that exists cannot be the result
of European influences alone, since this
island was little visited before 1900. It is
probable that the clan grouping has been
in process of decay for some long period,
probably as a result of the tendency towards
purely local groupings, of which I shall speak.
elsewhere. Banaban descent is patrilocal, but succession as an exact compromise between patrilineal and matrilineal influence shows that eleven out of the seventeen Gilbertese-speaking communities, of which there is evidence, have a system of clan-organization which plainly exogamous in character. Three of the six except in one island have been shown to owe their origin out of the six communities; that show no sign of having practiced clan-exogamy, three have been shown to have come under a late influence entirely calculated to result in its entire disappearance; these three have kept their patrilocal mode of descent; succession is matronymic, to a certain extent. These two other exceptional islands, Butaritari and Makin, only one, Banaba, seems to give no sign whatever of having practiced clan-exogamy; but this must form the subject of a separate inquiry. In the future, I shall refer to clan-exogamy as an essential part of the social organization of the Gilbertese people.