Traditional origin of the maniaba.

It is convenient to cheer this section with the traditions relating to the Boyanatai and Makeni maniaba, since they lead up to the tale concerning the establishment of the Southern style.

Reference to the traditions of the immigration into the Gilberts from Samoa, exhibited elsewhere, will show that, the ancestral Tree of Samoa having been broken, the Red-Tailed Tropic Bird, which lived on its fruit, flew northward to Itaonga and began to eat the people of that place. Itaonga is the ancient name of the Gilbert island now called Makeni; it is still attached to a desolate stone point at the northern end of the atoll. A detailed Boyanatai version of this tradition in my possession relates that the bird nested among the branches of a tree called Pana-Kai-mate, on a small island called Itaonga Tam (the island), where there was a beautiful bathing pool. Beside the bathing pool stood a maniaba, a hundred feet long and fifty feet wide, where people went to dance. When these went down to bathe in the pool, they were eaten by the Tropic Bird.

After a time came the goddess Titaanabone, also from Samoa, looking for the Tropic Bird, which belonged to her. On hearing from the people of the place how it was behaving, she told them how to kill it, and when it was dead, went to bury it herself. Then she ...
planted over the grave a young coconut palm, and when this was done, went with all the people to the maneaba.

There came a night, after many days of rejoicing, when the inmates of the maneaba were astonished and terrified to see a red light glowing in the eastern side of the building. They saw that it was a man of gigantic stature, whose body and hair gave out this maneata. He ran away.

After this had happened several nights in succession, they chased the visitor, and found that he lived with a host of brothers in the branches of the tree where the Fropic Bird had dwelt. He told them that he and all his brood had grown from the head of the bird, when it was buried. They took him to the maneaba, where the goddess Ituaabine named him Koura, at the same time giving names to his brothers — Koua-iti, Thi-ni-Koua, Rube-ni-Koua, Koua-mere, Koua-Tamaoa, Koua-Te-te-taake, Koua-ni-Tarawa. All these were riba-ura (red in complexion).

It was found later that a race of women had also grown from the young coconut palm planted by Ituaabine over the grave of the Fropic Bird. Their names were Ni Riki, Ni Temarewe, Ni Tebaarae, Ni Nowi, and Ni Tarabainang. With these women the red people married and procreated. Koua was made Rua of the island, and in commemoration of this, the old maneaba
This was destroyed and a new one of immense size erected in the same spot. The tale reports it to have been "more than a hundred fathoms long and more than fifty fathoms wide."

The new building was called Konia's maneaba, and had the special name of Makua-iti-te-rara (the high life of blood), in reminiscence of the Tropic Bird's slaughter of the inhabitants. By this name the style is known at the present day.

Thus far, the tradition accounts for the establishment of the type of building now used on the two islands. According to the evidence, the inhabitants of Makin already had some sort of maneaba before the arrival of the Tropic Bird from Samoa. From the account of the doing of this creature, we are obviously to understand that the island was invaded by a party of immigrants from Samoa, whose totem and ancestor was the Red-Tailed Tropic Bird, and whose skin was of a red or copper colour.

The link between the original inhabitants and the immigrants seems to have been a common cult of the goddess Tituaakine. This is at least suggested by the friendly relations of the deity with both parties.

The immigrants gained the ascendency over the aboriginals; their chief, Konia, became Uea; and a new maneaba, in the style of the invaders, was erected on the site of the old one. Thus, it is the maneaba of the people whom come from Samoa, which we see today on the two islands.

It was Konia's turn to the account, who went on both.
allocated these quarters to the four different grades of society, as delineated in the previous section. In the light of this tradition, it seems possible to discern the mechanism by which these four groups came into being. The disposition of the **bōt** appears to have been the logical result of the conquest of Mākin and Bumatiani by the immigrant population. Clearly, the **bōt**-area (see diagram) was taken by the chief of the immigrants, Kona, and his circle; and it is again explicitly stated that the third **bōt**, Hanikabāen, was given to those "who were conquered", a phrase which must refer to the original inhabitants of the island. The intermediate **bōt** of Fako Kororo was allocated to the toka (chiefs), who with very little doubt may be supposed to have been immigrant warriors not qualifying for a seat among the royal group. The fourth division, for strangers, would be the natural outcome of a later desire to provide a place for peaceful cousins, who would otherwise be excluded from the social scheme by a strict adherence to the original plan.

If the evidence of tradition has led us to the right conclusion, we are faced with a serious difficulty, which is to explain why the invasion of the Gilbert Island by a people from Samoa resulted in so simple a scheme of social divisions on Bumatiani and Mākin, while on the more southerly islands it had no such effects. The multiplicity of the **bōt** of the southern Manusaba is in strong contrast with the simplicity of the Mākin plan.
The immigration into Makin and Butaritari was part of a general, contemporaneous, swarming into the Group from Samoa, it would seem, that only the members of a single social group out of the whole swarm — the Tropic Bird group — reached these two most northerly islands. It is possible that this affords the explanation of the simple organisation of society according to grade. The basic division into an upper and lower class would be a result of a war of conquest. And a pre-existing tendency among the upper class to sub-grouping in the maneaba would easily lead to the separation of the leading chief and his nearest kin from the group of immigrants who were not of his kin. Thus the three clans may have originated, the sharers' clan.

Another solution may be that the migration from Samoa to Makin was not a part of the general invasion of the Group, but a separate movement. In this case, while the possession of the maneaba and the both-scheme stamps the culture of the Tropic Bird folk as a probable ally of that introduced by the immigrants into the southern islands, it is possible that its social organisation was in a different stage of development. Thus again might be explained the difference of character between the social groupings of the south and those of the two northern islands. At present, I must set aside the discussion of the two possibilities suggested for a future chapter, with the remark that evidence of
other Kunsia seems to indicate that the Tropic Bird folk were members of an
earlier immigration district from that
to the southern islands.

The tradition of the Tropic Bird maneaba
proceeds: When Koura had apportioned
sitting-rooms to all the four classes of
people, it was decided to make a voyage
to southward. Koura's son and namesake,
with a host of other Kouras and their
wives, launched their canoe, called
"T te baki-ni-lenehene" (the tip of a coconut leaf)
and set out. Butaritari was settled and
the maneaba erected there. Missiing Nanski,
Abariung and Janawa, these people then
visited to all the six islands
southward as far as Bern: everywhere, they
landed, prospected and left a maneaba.

On Bern they stayed: as the permission of
the ruling chief Tamanta was first, who
lived about 25 generations ago, according to
the genealogists; hence elsewhere. There, they
built their maneaba on the north end of the
island, and therein they exalted (nebo'a)
their brother Koura. The process of exaltation
of this man's position was the next stage.
seems to have been materially manifested, if the tradition is reliable. Komua was seated upon a square platform, slung by ropes from the ridge-pole of the maneaba, high above the heads of his people.

After a residence of unknown duration upon Renn, the peace of the Tropic Bird folk was broken by the immigration of another race of people from Samoa. The leader of this swarm is given the name of Mata-washeke—Broad-face or Wider-eye—and he was accompanied by many others. Apparently, some sort of peaceful settlement was arranged, for we are told that Komua and his people continued to "mrakatika" live in their maneaba until the son of Matawasheke, Tane-n-toa the First, ruled in his father's stead. Then dissension broke out. It is related that the insistence of the Tropic Bird folk grew beyond the endurance of Tane-n-toa. The story relates that Komua the Chief would sit upon his raised platform (cevia) and break wind before the people, at which they would say, "E tagingi Komua; e hevewhe, ki ni Komua." This custom they forbore not to pursue, even when Taneitoa and his brothers came as guests to
Kouma's visit was maneaba; which caused such offence that Tamentoga appointed the destina-
tion of the visitas. This was achieved by burning them all in their maneaba. Everyone was killed, except Kouma-iti, who was saved alive by one of the Bureaus, and adopted as his child. There was now, tradition runs, no maneaba or Bern. Therefore Tamentoga, the King ordained that a large one should be built at the place called Tabon toi, in honour of his Grandfather Matapanawere (Broad-face), who had led the Samoan immigrants into that island. With the help of two spirits, Bon-riki and Bon-tabo, called especially from Samoa, the edifice was erected, and straightway the allocation of sitting places was begun. Matapanawere and Tamentoga took the both of Karongoa-n-nea. Tabanaiki was placed at Tiauako. Ti-i-mone was given To Weivi; and so on, until all the ancestors knew their sitting-rooms. There remained Kouma-iti, the stranger from Bunaritane Makin, who had been saved alive from the Killing of the Tropic people; he was given the both of Keaki in the S.E. corner, and there his descendants remain until the present day. It seems therefore that the social group sitting at Keaki is a representative of the submigation of the Tropic Bird folk from the northern islands to Bern, after their first immigration.
From the traditions reviewed, we can assume with some certainty that the *maenala* called *Tabon-te-bike*, a foursquare building, was brought to Bern by the folk who came from Samoa under the lead of Mata-warriwone, or Brod-face. Mata-warriwone was of the Karonga-oo clan; analysis of the tales of the coming from Samoa, made elsewhere, shows that Karonga-people must, at the period of Mata-warriwone, have poured from the South into nearly every island of the Gilberts. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the foursquare *maenala* was introduced almost universally throughout the Group at about this time.

It remains now to discuss the origin of the narrow Tabiang style, and the intermediate Maunga-tabun type. Evidently the name Maunga-tabun (holy hill) seems to be taken from the spot in Makin where the Tropic Bird settled, and so it seems probable that the Kona people spread it through the netherly islands of the Group as they migrated from Makin to Bern. But although I believe this to be the case, we cannot, on the traditions thus far adduced, attribute it with certainty to the Tropic Bird folk, since we are told that the aboriginal inhabitants of Makin already had a *maenala* at Maunga-tabun before the arrival of the Tropic Bird. The doubtful point seems to be settled by the evidence of the traditions connected with a man named Towatun of Matang. When the Tropic Bird came to Makin, ...
many of the inhabitants fled, for fear of being eaten. According to a tradition of Tarawa and Nonotu, Towatū was one of these refugees. He fled to Tabiteua, and settling in the district called Te-tii-rakabe (the Broad Stone), married a wife, Nei Te-bai-bunna-mi-Karawa. By her he had a son named Tantoa, who quarrelled with his parents, and sailed away in anger to a land in the west, called Matang. In Matang, he married Nei Aturanaka, the daughter of Rake and Nei Tonna. She bore him a child, whom they named Towatū-of-Matang.

When Towatū of Matang was a man, his parents died. He buried them and took their skulls as drinking vessels. Then he set forth on his canoe, "Kato" to eastward. He made land at Bera, and going ashore at Fefeo, in the middle of the island, started to make war on the people and to eat the flesh of his victims. This happened in the time of Fameneta the First.

So Tane-n-toa sent a messenger to Towatū, asking him to go to his maneaba. Towatū went, but as he entered the building a dog belonging to the man Tefake flew at him and bit his leg. Picking up the dog, he tore it apart and with the bleeding remains turned to smite the owner. But Fameneta stayed him, saying: "Smite him not. He shall be your slave. Take the seat in the south gate: it shall be your lot, and its name Kaususete. Your lord
shall be the tell of the foregoing, for you are late for the feast, and the people of Tafang have already eaten the fruit.

Thus Towatui of Matang took the clan-place of Karamaetoe in the Tabang-likes maneaba. But after a while he began to desire a maneaba of his own; and he proposed to Tane-n-taa the King that he should build one in his own fashion. The King allowed it to be done, and so was erected at Tafang, the north end of Bern, Towatui's maneaba in the style called Tafang to this day.

It seems therefore reasonably certain that the narrow maneaba named Tabang was introduced into the Southern Gilberts by the man Towatui and his immigrant party, who came from a land in the west traditionally called Matang. In this case, we are faced with two possibilities: either the Tabang maneaba was a style of building known to Towatui's ancestor and namesake, who had been driven out of Makin by the Tropic Bird folk; or else it was an entirely new type of building, acquired by Towatui in the western land called Matang, and freshly imported thence into Bern.

If the Tabang style was that of Towatui's Makin ancestor, it was obviously the type of building used on that island before the invasion of the Tropic Bird folk — whereas the edifice which stood on the holy hill, at the north end of the land, was the peneu land, to eat up the people of the place. If, on the other hand, the Tabang maneaba was a new import from Matang, there should be islands in the neighborhood of Malansia where this type of building is seen today. In favour, perhaps, of the view that the building...
caught by Towatu was that of his Makin ancestors, in the circumstance that he chose as a site for his maneaba the northern end of Bern, a surprising choice in view of the fact that he owned no land there; for the property which he had acquired by his invasion was all in the centre of the island. It may be that, in this northern site of the Tafahi maneaba, we have a link with the building which stood on the northern tip of Makin, and that Towatu's rather surprising choice of a site on Bern was influenced by some tradition connected with this style of building, which dictated that it should always stand in the north. What is quite certain, is that until recently no native would dream of erecting a maneaba of the Tafahi style anywhere save towards the northern extremity of the island. But the tradition of the first building on Bern might be enough to account for this.

We have now seen that traditions connected with the various styles of maneaba in the Group are definite on three points: (a) That the Tafahi-like style was introduced by the Karama group of people, represented by the names of Mata-warewe and Tama-n-tea, who invaded Bern from Samoa some 20-35 generations ago; (b) That the Tafahi style was imposed by the man Towatu, whose clan was Karama-tea, and whose ancestors were pre-Samoa inhabitants of Makin. As for the third type of maneaba, called Naruga-tea, it has appeared probable that this may be attributed to the Tropic Bird invaders from Samoa, who carried their maneaba with them to Bern when they migrated thither from Makin. The only