The name of Nabana-ba has already appeared in section ... of this paper, attached to a particular form of steam-oven. The place is not to be confused with the island of Bana-ba, for it is pointedly described in local tradition as "lying up against the side of heaven (i.e., very far away) to westward of Banaba."

Nabanaka is intimately connected with the great sub-audiator Aauriaia, whose name has already appeared in earlier sections — first, as that of the co-originator of the pandanus tree in the western land of Makang (section ...); and second, as that of the anti, or spiritual being, who together with Batiuku the Skull was associated with the cannibal site of Samoa (section ...).

A very widespread series of traditions relates how the tradition of Nabana-ba and Aauriaia was transmitted to the land of Tarawa. Aauriaia voyaged to Tarawa to procure timber for the canoes of his kinsmen, "for it was a great land, where numerous trees grew." He was met, on his arrival, by two cannibal hags — Nei Ara-mangati and Nei Noi-mangati — who were his ancestors, and "dwelt upon the shores of Nabana-ba." When they spied him from afar, they failed to recognize.
prepared to devour him. One said, "He is a giant!" Her sister answered, "Yes, he is big enough for two ovens." When he came nearer, however, they knew him to be their kinsman, for he was a giant in stature, and his skin was red, and his hair stood high on his head, with curled ends.

On the top of a hill near the sea grew the "Trees of Nabanaa, the Man and the Woman," whereunder dwelt Tanaba, the High Chief of the land, with Nii Raamikai, his wife, and Nahekeha, his brother, and his wife, and Naabave, his slave. The Trees were the ancestors of all save Naabave, who was a small, black man. There was a village near the South point of the land called Nibangutu (orNibakutu), "where of the inhabitants were skulls without bodies, and arms without hands, and legs without feet, and ribs, and bones of all kinds." On the South-West point of the land dwelt a stunted black man named Nabanaa, another slave of the High Chief's, "whose duty it was to watch the sea for strange canoes." This being
is described as bearded (with black hair), with flapping ears, and curls lying close upon his head, and a nose so flat that, when he breathed, it "made a roaring noise."

It was Nabanata who, at the order of his High Chief, felled one of the ancestral trees — the Woman — for Auriaria to carry back to Tarawa. The hero also took away as his wife Nei Ribana-ni-kai, the High Chief's daughter, whose name, being interpreted means "Sucker (sprout) of a tree."

Discounting marvels, and giving the most obvious values to the not very cryptic symbolism of the Auriaria-Nabana traditions, one is left with the clear-cut picture of a western land wherein a race which claimed descent from two ancestral trees was dominant over a small-bodied folk of Melanesian type. The man-eating "grandmothers" of Auriaria — mythical no doubt as persons — nevertheless signify the concrete fact that cannibalism of some kind was practiced on Nabana, and that between their race and Auriaria's time was Kinship. The account of Nibangutu (or Nibahutu), the village of skulls and...
Reference now to section ... will recall that "beyond all other lands in the West" lay Matang; the land of spirits and ancestors, where grew the first pandanus tree. This land too, according to the traditions recorded, was the home of a red-skinned people, whose High Chief was Anriaria. If this evidence be read in conjunction with that of the Anriaria-Nebanabo tale, the extended picture is that of a tawny race, migrating out of a far western area (Matang), and carrying with it the habit of pandanus cultivation, first to an intermediate land called Nebanabo, and thence again eastwards as far as Tarawa in the Northern Gilbert Islands. An identical picture can be assembled out of a distinct and separate series of traditions, which will now be examined.

Turning to the pedigree, we see that the woman Ni Jekamea, who migrated from Nebanabo to Tarawa and became
an ancestor of the Kiriatan line, brought with her "a root of the Tree of Nabamaba."

This detail is recorded in a tradition widespread throughout the Northern Gilberts, and is of a piece with the symbolism of the Aurarian narratives, which call the hero's wife "Sprout-of-Tree" and stress the obvious by adding that it was the female Tree which he brought back to his home island. The insistence of all traditions on this point seems to indicate a deliberate emphasis on the fact that the Nabamaba woman actually did come to Tarawa in the person of royalty, did not represent victorious invasions of the island by war groups from Nabamaba, but were persons brought overseas at the will of the Aurarian folk.

It will be seen that the pedigree shows Taraha, the King of Nabamaba, to have been the father of the migrant Nei Tikamua, who has already appeared in the Aurarian-Nabamaba traditions, and whose name, which is merely figurative, meaning "Holder of the Land" ($tana = hold; aba = land)
and designating any male of the ruling
tribe-group on Nabanaba. The name of
Nei Ikararara, Jamaba's wife, of the same allusive
or symbolical order, being that of the
Common Tropic Bird, and, as such,
a reference to the Nabanaba totem-group
to which the migrant Nei Ikararara
was related on her mother's side. 

This is an important piece of
information, as the Common Tropic
Bird is claimed as a totem by the
clan of Keaki, one of the most widely
distributed social groups of the Gilbert
islands. [Footnote: The other totems of
Keaki are The Red Tailed Tropic Bird
(Nei Tatake), the Yellow Billed Tropic Bird
(Nei Tungutu), and the Giant Ray].

The coming of a Tropic Bird folk
from Samoa to the Gilbert Group has
already been made apparent in
section . . . . where the tradition of their
section . . . . , wherein the tradition of their
cannibal practices was examined;
but another set of stories, clearly much
earlier in origin than the tales of the
earlier in origin than the tales of the
comeing from Samoa, bring Tropic Bird
comeing from Samoa, bring Tropic Bird
to the Northern and Central
people into the Northern and Central
Gbepis from "Tebongiroto", the line of
Gbepis from "Tebongiroto", the line of
lands in the West", under the leadership
of a woman named Naanga-ni-iuka, whose
paternal "grandmothers" were cannibals,

[Footnote: One of the tales of the Naanga-ni-iuka
series relates how a "son" of this personality
named Tiraaka, returned to Tāngiroro
in order to obtain some pearl-shell fish
hooks from his cannibal ancestresses, and
how they nearly devoured him]

and whose tutelary deity was Ngi Tituaabine,
and whose tutelary deity was Ngi Tituaabine.

Ngi Tituaabine is the tutelary deity of all the
Gilbertese

Tropic Bird social groups at the present day.
Reference to section ... will recall that
she was "the owner" of the man-eating
Tropic Bird people who came from Samoa,
and those who came with Naanga-ni-
and Little Makin from Samoa. She is
common to both streams. There can be little doubt
that the later stream, which came from the same
ancestral stock as the earlier stream, which
came from "Tāngiroro", the line of

and Little Makin from Samoa. She is
and Little Makin from Samoa. She is
common to both streams. There can be little doubt
that the later stream, which came from the same
ancestral stock as the earlier stream, which
came from "Tāngiroro", the line of

buka from the West. That cannibalism.

underlines their relationship of one

nected to both streams. There can be little doubt
that the later stream, which came from the same
ancestral stock as the earlier stream, which
came from "Tāngiroro", the line of

buka from the West. That cannibalism.
Another link is a vital one. The texts created by Nei Tituaabine in this song show he was a member of the red-skinned race of Matang, and indissolubly identified with Auriaria as the co-originator of the pandanus tree. Through the personality of Nei Tituaabine, therefore, the Tropic Bird folk are improbably brought into the Auriaria people: the two stocks were components of the same original race, and what is true of one should be reflected in the traditions of the other. The test is well answered when the Tropic Bird tales are compared with the Auriaria traditions. The cannibal associations of the Maanga-mi-buka stream from Tselongiroro and of the Tropic Bird groups from Samoa are a perfect reflection recorded in the Auriaria - Nabana and the Auriaria - Samoa stones. The migration of a race from West to East, reasonably deduced from the Auriaria narratives, is related in plain terms in the Maanga-mi-buka series. The implication of a racial relationship between Nabana and Arana contained in the Auriaria accounts becomes explicit on the other side that a Tropic Bird clan of which representatives were brought into the Gilbert Group by the Maanga-mi-buka stream was settled.
The pandanus myth shows Nii Piterabine as a member, with Auraria, as a member of the red-skinned race of Matang and as the
upon Nabanaba when Kriataa's grandmother migrated to Tarawa. The evidence that this man-eating group was established on the island corresponds with, and complements, the more cryptic allusions to Nabanaba cannibalism contained in the Auraria traditions.

The migration track Matang - Nabanaba - Gilbert islands having been established, it is convenient now to review all facts pertinent to the subject of this paper which seem to throw light on the habit of the Auraria - Tropic Bird people. That they practiced some form of cannibalism is sufficiently clear, and that organised head-hunting was their custom has been suggested in section ... The evidence appeared in section ... to re-emerge in the legends of gods and ghosts, and is corroborated by the legends of Matang and Bourn (section ...) leaves little doubt that the migrants were of a betel-chewing habit stock. The discussion of food-avoidances and of the dietary of food-avoidances and of the dietary has shown that they practiced totemism and were divided into social groups based upon the totem. [Footnote] These groups
upon Nabunaba when Keiataa's grandmother migrated to Zarawa. The evidence that this anthropophagous group was established on Nabunaba corresponds with, and complements, the more cryptic allusions to cannibalism contained in the Auriaria traditions.

The Auriaria tales, on the one hand, and the Tituaabine accounts, on the other, thus form a close and coherent and consistent unit, it seems to interlock with almost mechanical precision, and by their corroboration of each other present a body of evidence that leaves very little doubt as to the reality of the Matangi-Nabunaba-Zarawa migration track which I have postulated. The conclusion as to the far-western origin of the Auriaria-Tituaabine people derived from this material is, of course, immensely strengthened by the eschatological stories of the modern race, which place every Gilbertese paradise in the West (section...).
practiced also the cult of the ancestor and the ancestral skull in connection with the sub-deity appeared in the pandanus section when the pandanus fruit-fruit ritual was being discussed.

The very remarkable implications of this mixture of elements will be touched upon later. The final picture realised by assembling the facts reviewed up to the present is one of a tawny, cannibal, head-hunting race, migrating out of the lands of Natau and Bona in the far west.

head-hunting race, which chewed the betel-nut, cultivated the pandanus, practiced the cult of the skull and the ancestor, and divided itself into totem-sibs, migrating out of the far-western lands of Natau and Bona, probably in Indonesia, to settle colonies first in islands such as Nakanasaba, relatively near its starting point, and thence to extend across the equatorial Pacific eastwards as far as the atolls of the Gilbert Group.

It is to be presumed that Nakanasaba by the migrants earlier than was colonised earlier than...
to the ceremonial offering of the first fruits of the pandanus at the ateru-stone of the clan has emphasised the social grouping and
River has demonstrated that the migrations of the Kava-people into Melanesia were historically earlier than those of the betel people. In areas such as Vanikolo, Tikopia and the Santa Cruz Islands, where Kava and betel occur together, the betel culture is clearly the later arrival, and its encroachment upon the earlier culture is, indeed, still in progress. [Footnote: Op. cit., vol. ii, page 250]. By extension, it may reasonably be assumed that the use of Kava, which is almost universal in Polynesia, was introduced by early streams of migrants, while any traces of the betel culture that may now subsist in the Polynesian area are attributable to later immigrations.
The hypothesis seems at first sight to involve a paradox. The processes of marginal diffusion which might account for the gradual encroachment of the betel upon the Kava culture in the Santa Cruz Islands are geographically impossible as between Western Melanesia and Eastern Polynesia. Thus, if the betel culture be represented in the Marquesas or other Polynesian groups, it could have been introduced by only one method—that of conquest and settlement, and the consequent superimposition of the new culture upon the old. If this indeed happened, it remains to be explained why the social system of the conquerors has become so obliterated by that of the conquered as to leave the Kava culture—

as it is today in the Marquesas—overwhelmingly predominant.

The difficulty seems to disappear if it be supposed that the conquering immigrants brought with them into Polynesia a social system which contained from the first, or at least from the beginning, a Kava culture in their original home. It is obvious that such a people, once removed from its homeland, would tend to maintain the just balance of elements in its system only in those new homes where it came under the influence of neither a betel nor a
Kava culture. Settled among people possessing one of these cultures in its typical form, the immigrants would obviously tend to and move towards those elements in their own organisation which coincided with the custom of the country. In a group of which the conquered inhabitants were a Kava people, the result would eventually be the predominance of the Kava culture and the profound modification of all such traits of the betel culture as happened to survive the fusion.

It is possible that history may have taken such a course in the Marquesas, and other parts of Polynesia, where vestigia of the betel culture appear to exist. The conclusion that the pandanus-kaba habit introduced into the Gilbert Islands may prove to be of great importance in this connection. That they were a people possessing a mixed Kava-betel culture, I have already shown. That they passed through Micronesia (colonising the Gilbert Islands on their way) and down to Samoa is...
set beyond reasonable doubt by local traditions of their origin and migrations.

Footnote: A paper on Gilbertese traditions of origin and migration is to be published in due course. In the meantime, see the tradition concerning the origin of Batek—one of the Skulls summarised in Section ..., "Cannibalism": They were scattered from Samoa, as the result of discussions and can be an act of heaven. Some of them returned to the Gilbert Islands. Whether the rest migrated, local story cannot tell, but it is noteworthy that the scattering from Samoa took place from 22 to 25 generations ago, which is to say, about 300 years. Footnote: See Percy Smith, op. cit., Note ...]

The famous Maori-Ranotongan ancestor Karikiri of the Samoan period, appears as a Gilbertese ancestor under the name Karikiri. The traditional food of the East Coast Maoris, ara-toko, has been identified with Gilbertese ara-toko-toko. The Ranotogans were cannibals...
The fragmentary evidence thus assembled raises a strong presumption that the pandanus-Kalbu people, who certainly reached Samoa, were a branch of that race, called by Percy Smith and Churchill the Tongafiti, whose dispersion from Samoa caused the latest migration into Rarotonga and New Zealand. [Churchill's conjecture, based upon linguistic evidence, that a Tongafiti migration track through Micronesia into Nuclear Polynesia would have been a shared one]. If the Kalbu habit and memories of it can now be identified, it is obvious how the presumption will be strengthened.

As for the Marquesas, the evidence is that forms of cannibalism and head-hunting were also practiced in those islands; and Percy Smith has shown the probability that the people were a branch of the Tongafiti stream. [Percy Smith, op. cit., pp. 115-123].
The remote origins of Kakahu are naturally bound up with the history of the pandanus tree. The myth exhibited in section 12 attributes the origin of the tree to two deities named Auniria and Nei Titaamabine, in connection with whom (in a certain cult of the skull) the ancestor was until recently of Christianity practiced by the various Gilbertese tribes. The myth relates that the pandanus first came into being in Matang — a land which universal tradition places in the West. Popular belief has it that Matang-of-the-West (Matangi-nsi-Macao) was peopled by a fair or red-skinned race, of which Auniria and Nei Titaamabine were the chief and chiefess, and of which numerous other chiefesses, and of which numerous other deities — including Tahurinai, Jarnariki, Tanarura, Tanarurera (or Tanburena), and Nei Tevene — were also members. [Footnote: The name given to the white man in the Gilbert Islands is te 1-Matang — the inhabitant of Matang — because his skin is held to be of the same colour as that of the ancestral deities]. The inference to be drawn from these facts seems to be that the pandanus tree, and therefore also the
bones, emphasizes the point as to cannibalism; and the extraneous evidence associating Auraria's name with cannibal practices is compatible with his relationship to the folk represented by the two hags. The description of the hero's physical traits distinguishes him sharply from Nabanaa and Naabare, the black-skinned members of the subject people, and in so doing associates him with the dominant people. His marriage with a "daughter" of the High Chief gives further color to the racial connection.

Auraria's name, of course, stands for a whole group of people established upon Tarawa [Footnote. See Note...ante], and the broad outline given by the tradition is one of traffic between two branches or sibs of the same large-bodied, tawny-skinned cannibal race, dominant the one upon a land in the western Pacific, the other upon an island of the Gilbert Group.
particularly valuable in this direction are the traditions which speak of food of gods and ghosts called te ngga, which link together the names of Matang and Boure in the manner indivisibly together. The similarity of these two names with those of places in Indonesia has already been observed. The evidence of the western origin
She's - mā - lady-love
and by the traditions connected with the importation of certain forms of cooking ovens (including one that bears the name of Nabunaba) from Western lands (section --).

That Nabunaba was the real name of a real land is
She is maa — dove — maa — baby-love
She's — no gal — for sitting down to dream
She's the only queen Lájúna knows
I — know — she likes me
I know she likes me
Because she says so
She is my li — ly — of Lá — júná
She is maa l'ly and maa rose
Kaburu habit, was introduced into the Gilbert islands by a stream of folk which originated in the West; which practiced the cult of the skull and the ancestor; which was divided into ten-sibs having Amuraria, Nei Tituahine, and other known beings as their deities; and which was fairer of skin than the saddle-brown Gilbertese of the present day.

A passage of extraordinary interest in connection with the origin of Kaburu appears in Percy Smith’s “Hawaiki”. He discusses the ancient land of Tihitia, one of the early homes of the East Coast Maoris, and the author records the names of certain food-plants traditionally associated with that place, among which appears “the arai-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 while, and hence when the original migrations came away (from Tihitia) to the East, to the many islands they afterwards came across, they used this food the arai-toto-kore.”

New Zealand: 1910 edition, page 74). The author translates the name of the food, tentatively, as “bloodless—perhaps sapless—arai.” In conclusion, he observes, “I cannot suggest what kind of food arai-toto-kore is. Arai-nano in Mangareva Island is the pandanus, but probably has no connection here; though the drupes of the tree were eaten.”

Summarising Percy Smith’s account, the known facts concerning the mysterious food of hihia may be tabulated thus:

(1) It originated in a Western land;

(2) It was valued for its great durability;

(3) It was bloodless or sapless, which is to say, desiccated;

(4) It was a vegetable product;

(5) It was called by a name—arai-toto-kore—which suggests its possible association with the pandanus tree.

Gilbertian kabura also originated in the West; its most valued quality is its durability; it is desiccated; it is a vegetable product. So closely do the first four facts concerning arai-toto-kore conform to the description of kabura that the identification of the hihiaan food with
the Gilbertese might be regarded as reasonably certain if further evidence concerning the fifth point — its association with the pandanus tree — were forthcoming. This is fortunately available. The Gilbertese name of that particular variety of pandanus, which above all others, is preferred for the manufacture of Kabunu is te ara-toko-toko. The similarity of this name with the Irihian ara-toko-toko, considered as an isolated fact, might have appeared to be a mere accident; but viewed as the culminating point of a series of five coincidences, it acquires a real evidential value. The strong coincidence may or may not probability seems to be that the food of Irihia remembered in tradition, though long lost in substance, by the East Coast Maoris was identical with the Kabunu which is still watered by the Gilbert River. Whether the name of the iria, or leaf packing in which Kabunu is stored, has any connection with the Irihia of the Maoris, is perhaps open to question. The afflication of the name of a land to an object of material culture
derived therefrom.

That, however, already been observed in the cases of the Ruanuna cooking oven and fish trap, and the Kiwiro oven.

The identification of the Gilbertese food with the arai-toto-kore of Tihitia seems to afford a sufficient reason for the rather exceptionally ceremonial manner in which it is now drunk, and to confirm the conjecture already made that the act of draining the drink is the vestige of a magico-religious ritual; for it is definitely stated in the Maori tradition that the arai-toto-kore was "offered as an offering to the gods."

So striking and noteworthy is the nature of the food called Kabuku and so individual are the magico-religious observances grouped around its parent plant, the pandanus, that the pandanus-Kabuku habit might well be taken as the index of an individual culture stream which flowed out of Indonesia into
the Pacific. The compound term "pandanus-kaburu" is used advisedly, because, on the one hand, there are Oceanic peoples who cultivate the pandanus; but appear to know nothing of kaburu; and, on the other hand, there may be races who have borrowed the kaburu habit without an associated system of magic connected with the first fixation of the pandanus. Only the possession of both traits together could, in time, be accepted as evidence of an origin of a given community with the formation of a migration stream, through a hypothetical migration stream, acquiring a particular religious attitude towards the pandanus which is suggested by the Maori tradition, or its magic-ritual equivalent represented by the purification ceremony of the Gilbertese. Only the possession of kaburu habit and pandanus ritual together could thus be accepted as evidence of the connection of any Polynesian community, with any hypothetical migration stream out of Gilbertese Melanesia, classical by Elliott-Smith and Rivers, for a "culture complex" with which the kaburu habit, pandanus-kaburu habit may be associated. I have already
shown attempted to show that the folk responsible for its introduction into the Gilbert Islands appear to have practiced the cult of the skull and the ancestor, and to have possessed a social organization based upon descent into the totem sib. Evidence

[Footnote. Though the sib-ancestors were sometimes females, evidence elsewhere in this paper indicates that the method of descent was patriarchal. The sibs were exogamous.]

grouped in later sections of this paper indicates that the race also practiced head-hunting and cannibalism (sections 9-10) and brought with it memories of the betel-chewing habit which profoundly affected its eschatology after settlement in the Gilbert Islands had rendered the cultivation of the area palm impossible (section 11).

The association of such elements of the culture of a single stream of immigrants is noteworthy in its bearing upon certain conclusions drawn by Rivers in his epoch-making "History of Melanesian Society." Rivers has attributed head-hunting, the cult of the skull, and the betel-chewing habit to an individual stream of immigrants whom he calls the betel-people.
A male of the Kimaatere clan in Jibukiroro (Na Atia)

A woman of the Kimaatere clan in Jibukiroro (Nei Nuku)

A branch of the Pandanus clan migrated to Abatiku (Branch of Kirata's Tree)

A woman of the Pandanus clan migrated to Abatiku (Nei Nikarawa)

A man of the Pandanus clan on Abatiku (Jrumk of tree) married a woman of Titaalabine clan on Abatiku (Nei Matamona)

Ancestors of Sun-Moon clans of Aba son and Marena migrated to Tana (One and Riiroge)

Mythically, the connection of the Tanaawa

The Pandanus tree is worked across the fabric of the story, serving a symbolic purpose at some points, and at others cropping out as pure narrative, but always subsumed to the genealogical theme that in the end the ancestors with the Sun, the Moon, and the myth are still to tell, and is thus curiously forced to finish with a stellar creation.

The creation of constellations, whose chronological must be

The story, whose proper name is among the most ancient of his race traditions.