

TUAMOTUAN RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES AND
CEREMONIES

by

Kenneth P. Emory

1939 p.

GEORGE BALAZS

1947

TUAMOTUAN STONE STRUCTURES

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1934

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Tuamotuan Religious Structures and Ceremonies

By KENNETH P. EMORY

BISHOP MUSEUM

INTRODUCTION

On the scattered atolls of the Tuamotuan Archipelago, which lies 14° to 22° south of the equator and stretches from north of Tahiti, 800 miles to the southeast, ruins of coral platforms and upright slabs mark the sites of the marae, or places of worship, of the Polynesian inhabitants before they were Christianized. Although half to a full century has elapsed since ceremonies took place upon these marae, the names of many of them are still cherished, and they figure prominently in the songs, chants, legends, and stories still heard.

While recording the marae ruins in 1929, 1930, and 1934, during the Bishop Museum ethnographic survey of the Tuamotus (16, 26),¹ I became especially interested in their original appearance and in their function. This monograph contains what I have been able to gather from the meager but helpful published literature and from the field work of the two Bishop Museum expeditions, described in my report of the Tuamotuan Survey (16) and in the report of the Mangarevan Expedition (26, pp. 61-67).

It requires only a brief acquaintance with the older generation of Tuamotians to realize that the life of their predecessors revolved about the marae and that the marae, more than anything else in the culture, bound the members of each group together and anchored them to a past which profoundly influenced their present.

I have dealt with the physical appearance of the marae in considerable detail for two reasons: the marae ruins in the Tuamotus serve to mark the original extent of locally distinct cultures, which now have merged and largely lost their identity; and marae ruins survive throughout a large part of Polynesia and furnish a concrete basis for comparative study.

FIELD WORK AND SOURCES

During the first Bishop Museum expedition to the Tuamotus, from the early part of 1929 to the early part of 1931 (16), chants, songs, and prayers used in connection with the marae were taken down from dictation or copied from native manuscripts in existence before our arrival. This work was done mainly by the linguist of the expedition, J. Frank Stimson. In a number of the islands I learned the terms for various parts of the marae and gained some idea of their function. At Fagatau, in 1929, we encountered Te Miro a Pahoa,

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over ninety years old, who had witnessed marae ceremonies in his youth. I went onto his marae, Rannapohia, with him and his son-in-law, Fariata a Makitua, but he could be induced to give only a few details, preferring to rant against the heathen days. What he did give, however, was invaluable.

At Vahitahi, in 1930, Stimson and I were privileged to witness and participate in a four-day native ceremony called the *ti'para* (begging rite), staged at our suggestion. Originally, it was held in times of scarcity of food and as a semi-magic rite to rid the island of evil and bring a return of prosperity. In ancient times, and in its pure form, it must have been held in connection with the marae, for the chants used in dedicating its feast are marae prayers. The *ti'para* has been given at intervals of years since the adoption of Christianity in 1869, ostensibly as an entertainment in which the ancient songs, dances, and chants live again.

I am including in this work only certain of the *ti'para* prayers, which are clearly marae prayers. The full record of the ceremony is a document in itself and will be presented separately.

While we were at Napuka for 10 days, in 1929, we gained the impression that the old people were poorly versed in ancient lore (16, p. 46). At the beginning of my stay at Napuka, from May 15 to July 29, in 1934, I found a reluctance to speak of the marae, in other than a very general way. But finally, Te Mae, one of the oldest men, was led to impart specific information when I asked how the Napuka marae differed from the model of a Fagatau marae which I had constructed of sand and pebbles. After making a model of a Napuka marae, naming its features, he placed his finger on the court and said, "This is where the turtle was laid on its back when the priest recited the prayer, 'E niu kae, ko niu maru ika.'" Looking about to see that no one else was near, he rapidly intoned the prayer. Reaching for my note book, I asked Te Mae if he would repeat the prayer. Without answering, he got up and strolled off.

Several attempts to draw out Te Mae failed. However, I discovered that Te Ufi, who had gone to sea on a schooner in his youth and was much more communicative, also knew the terms for the marae, and knew the start and finish of this prayer I wished to record, in spite of being some years younger than Te Mae. I had Montion's account of marae ceremonies (35, pp. 366-378) with me, and Te Mae was visibly impressed by the fact that "Aperito" (Albert Montion) had written down and printed a similar prayer from Fagatau or Tatakoto. He asked me to read it in its entirety, but I declined to do so until he had dictated the prayer as he had learned it.

Even after Te Mae had done this, he would not admit that he knew of other prayers until I had learned of them from the other old men, Te Urupo, Te Ufi, and Te Uru, who could chant them only in part. I was careful to gather information from these old men individually, and I found them simple

and honest. Te Mae could have told me vastly more than he did, but by the time our relationship had approached an ideal state, I had to leave Napuka. For faithful sketches of these informants at Napuka and of the state of native life as we found it in 1934, I am glad to be able to refer the reader to Clifford Gessler's "Road My Body Goes" (25). Gessler was my companion during this stay.

At the other islands, which have been subject to longer European influence, informants spoke quite freely of the marae and what they knew of it, which, unfortunately, was very little and often unreliable.

No record is known to us of a white person having witnessed a ceremony upon a Tuamotuan marae. Only two writers have attempted to give a genuine account of the marae from native sources. Father Albert Montion (35, pp. 366-378) gives the fullest information. He was the first missionary to live among the eastern Tuamotus, going among them after he had been many years in the western Tuamotus, and his information on the marae was derived from full participants in the original culture. His description, including a number of prayers in native text, is invaluable. I have only been able to amplify it, filling in details, adding chants and prayers, improving his translations through those made by Stimson, and localizing island differences. As Montion's writings are in a publication not readily available, I have translated from the French practically everything he has given on the marae, incorporating it into this work.

Hervé Audran (1, 2, 3), whose writings have appeared in *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* and in the *Bulletin de la Société des Études Océaniques*, has a paragraph on the marae at Fakahina and a paragraph on the Napuka marae. His information was derived shortly after 1900, and contains several important items. I have also found an occasional reference to the marae and to the religion of the Tuamotus among the early published letters of the missionaries.

In native manuscripts at Hao island, in which were written the chants considered most important, we came across two marae feast prayers. At Vahitahi, in 1937, after we had been in the area, Father Paul Mazé unearthed a manuscript written before our visits, in which some of the chants we had recorded from dictation were given as marae prayers, together with some details of the two most important maraes of the Vahitahi area.

In other manuscripts are genealogies and chants in which the gods figuring in the prayers are mentioned. I have brought together all of the references to each of the gods, in an attempt to ascertain their character, and have included results of my study in this work.

The name *Kio*, or *Kiho*, as that of a supreme god of an esoteric cult does not figure in this monograph, because in none of the numerous manuscripts did I come across the name, even in the manuscript books of Paea or Fariata,

the two principal informants to "reveal" to Stimson that they had been initiated into such a cult. I did find that the chants in their own books, written before we knew them, differed very little from the "esoteric" chants they wrote for Stimson, except that the name Kio, or Kiho, did not appear. The "esoteric" chants were given in response to his quest for a cult analogous to the Maori esoteric cult of a supreme god and creator named Io.

What Stimson gathered in support of the cult was published by Bishop Museum in 1933 (45, 46) upon Stimson's insistence that my misgivings as to the authenticity of his material were unjustified. However, during and after the field work carried out by Bishop Museum in 1934, evidence came to light which proved that his informants were unreliable in what they gave in support of the Kio, or Kiho, cult. Furthermore, neither Stimson nor I has been able to find genuine corroboration that any Tuamotuan had heard of a supreme god named Kio, or Kiho, prior to our first visit. What at first appeared to be the name Kiho in a chant in a Vahitahi manuscript turned out to be the juxtaposition of the particle *ki* with *ho*, the first syllable of a following word. This became evident through comparison of versions which we recorded from five different sources in the course of our expeditions (21, p. 132, note 151).

In the "Tuamotuan creation charts by Paioire" (19) and "Tuamotuan concepts of creation" (21), I sketched a brief history of the search for a Tuamotuan equivalent of Io of the Maoris, and presented much of the evidence which revealed that the names Kio and Kiho, as the Tuamotuan equivalent, were deliberately interpolated or substituted in genuine native chants, or have been read into the text by Stimson when these three or four letters have happened to come together. The Tuamotuan were the first to accuse of fabrication the several informants who claimed knowledge of the cult, and most of the informants readily admitted to it. Fariua, informant for "Cult of Kiho Tumu" (46), declared to me that he believed Paea, the chief informant for the esoteric cult in "Tuamotuan religion" (45), was pretending he had been taught that Kiho was the supreme god and creator. Fariua was for weeks in daily contact with Paea while in Papete, Tahiti, before he himself "revealed" that he had been initiated into the cult.

INTERPRETATION OF CHANTS

In the translation of chants such as appear in this monograph the variation of versions, the dropping of particles, the clipping short of words at the end of a line, and the alteration of words to facilitate chanting leave room for quite different interpretations. Furthermore, the natives of today are not sure of the meaning of many lines, or even of some of the words. Many a phrase is an allusion to something about which little or nothing is known. To be able to recite a marae chant seems to have been the main prerequisite; it was not necessary to understand it. Thus, the prayers are in the nature of formulas.

I have used some of the translations by Stimson in their entirety, and have so indicated; in others, which are my translations, I am indebted to him for what I learned from his translations and from his manuscript dictionary on file at Bishop Museum. My chief concern has been with presenting the native texts faithfully. In quoting native texts from French sources, when *u* has been spelled *ou*, I have dropped the *o*. All chants, as originally recorded in the field or as originally copied from manuscripts, are in Bishop Museum, indexed by first lines.

THE MARAE

MARAE'S PLACE IN NATIVE THOUGHT

In reciting the very important chant called the "Nanao Arika" (Probing of Chieftainship), the Fagatau version of which I have given previously (21, pp. 107-113), islands are enumerated in poetic form, each with its head marae. In the genealogy books, which the Tuamotuan have kept since the missionaries first taught them to write, are long lists of islands together with the name of the principal marae of each island. Hence, to know the name of the marae was as important as to know that of the island. When the identity of a strange chief or warrior was demanded, he would give his name, that of his land, and that of his marae in an answering chant. Genealogy books often give the names of the maraes of the various kindred (*gati*), or the names of their maraes are included in their eulogistic chants.

When the Anaa warriors conquered the people of Takaroa and Takapoto in the beginning of the nineteenth century, taking many of them to Anaa as captives, they did not annex the land as theirs by right of conquest. It still belonged to the kindred whose maraes stood upon it, as it does to this day. But, through marriage into the families who had rightful title to the land, the conquerors' children came to inherit it.

A tribe held an island or a certain portion of an island in common but in the title of its chief, who could say, "I turn my back in one direction, I turn my back in the opposite direction, all that I see belongs to me" (chant of the chief of Napuka). But the tribal lands, such as those at Takaroa and Takapoto (18, figs. 14, 22), were frequently divided into districts with fixed boundaries. Each district was the property of a kindred (*gati*) within the tribe, whose living representatives and whose land were both termed *matakeinaga*. The five *matakeinaga* divisions of Takapoto Island bore the names of five brothers, among whom the island had been evenly divided (18, fig. 22) by their father, the first settler.

In the Takapoto manuscript of Toae, the marae of the *matakeinaga* Marerevahine, is given as Vaichu. As the kindred which occupied this district was the senior one of the island, its head was the chief of the tribe. It is not surprising, therefore, to find located in this district, Ragifaoa, the marae where the whole tribe assembled for feasts (18, p. 30). The high chief of kindred

Marere-vahine would not only be the head of the tribal marae, but of his district marae, and the private family marae One-karamea within this district at a place called Ahumea, where the founder of the tribe once lived.

At Fagatali, where the island was not divided into segments of *matakeri-naga*, the use of the land was apportioned, according to our informant Farua a Makitu, among three kindreds who were intermingled: Gati Mahaga, whose marae was Ramapohia; Gati Te Hina, whose marae was Koutu-rere; and Gati Varoa, whose marae was Apataki. Over all was marae Apapa-te-ragi, the marae of their high chief, Mahi-nui.

In the 1870's, marae Ragihoa at Napuka was functioning as the marae of the tribe which occupied the western half of the island. It was the property of their chief. Upon it, on a rack, were installed 10 or 12 miniature god houses, each the possession of one of a group of kin into which the tribe was divided and each attended by the *tiakana*, or eldest male member of that group. At this time also, Te Mae revealed, turtle feasts were held at, and little god houses kept upon, at least one other marae within the tribe.

Actually there are many marae ruins in a district, because any group of kin could erect a marae on land it occupied. A family might have several maraes located on different parts of its land for convenience, and it might build a new one on the occasion of the installation of a chief.

In the following pages are given records of marae foundings which were collected.

Montion said in 1874 (35, p. 502):

In their savage state, our Paumotuans lived scattered along the shore of their islands, grouped, however, by families. The chief or the most influential member established or consecrated his authority by the construction of a marae, a fact which at the same time instituted him as the sole priest.

Te Iho-te-pogi, the Karoia sage, relates in an account of the installation of Varoa Tikarua as chief of Takume Island, upon the marae Aturona, that the people coming to the ceremony brought a gift of six slabs to be set up at the establishing of his marae.

Kamake a Iuragi, our foremost Fagatau authority, told me shortly before his death, that Mahuru-ariki of Napuka, a great-grandson of the famous Moeava, set up a marae on the seaward side of Fagataturu, in the northern part of the island. This marae was called Poihi. Upon Mahuru-ariki's death, his son, Maitupava, who lived 15 generations ago, according to the genealogies we collected, abandoned the marae of his father and set up a large one with a double court (18, fig. 35) on the lagoon side which he named Ragihoa. Maitupava married into the royal line of Fagatau, and when he died, his family built marae Ahutu (18, fig. 33) at the north end of the island. Tahuka-tuata,

his eldest son, was the owner (*fatu*) of this and another marae, Ragi-puia, at Faketa.

We learn from a manuscript written about 1927 by Te Poa a Tamahere of the Vahitahi area, that the owner of Kurakakea, the principal marae of Nukutavake Island, was Te Uho-ariki, or Te Iho-ariki (spelled by Te Poa both ways). He fashioned (*hamani*) the front pillar (*poi mui*), or first upright slab on the right-hand end of the stone platform of the marae, as viewed from the court. This slab was named Te Pofatu-nui. The slab at the opposite end, named Tvtaki, and the platform itself (*mu*) was set up (*fakatu*) by the father of Te Uho-ariki. The center of the three uprights bore the name Mata-uru.

Te Mae of Napuka, when I remonstrated with him for not indicating the existence of a number of marae ruins we stumbled upon at his home islet, Te Matahoa, said that he regarded them as unimportant because they had had a temporary life. He said that some head of a family who had a seat in the district marae, disgruntled with the share of food he had received, might erect a marae of his own at which he and those he chose to invite would share in such turtle as members of his family procured. By this action, however, he forfeited a share in turtle eaten at the main marae. Te Mae added:

The owner (*fatu*) of the new marae, if feeling better inclined towards those he had left, would in time invite the owners of the old marae to partake of turtle with him upon his marae. Were his invitation accepted, he would be reinstated in the old marae and abandon the one he had erected. Thus were new maraes built and abandoned, such as the marae of the person Karere-ariki, the marae named Rau-tu.

Not only were there tribal, district, and local maraes, but they apparently differed in function. Thus, at Takaroa Island, although Ragihoa was the tribal marae for general feasts, the skulls of enemies were always sent for disposition to marae Hiriaga in Huri district. On Fakahina Island, bodies of enemies were buried at marae Katipa, undoubtedly after being feasted upon, and the heads were sent to a special marae named Oromea, nearer the lagoon (18, p. 49).

At Napuka, several informants stressed the fact that certain maraes were for turtle feasts (*marae tifa*). In fact, most of the maraes about which they knew something were classed as *marae tifa*. But a small marae on Faraveke Islet (18, fig. 27), its name unknown, was indicated by three of my informants as a *marae humi*, or marae for the seal, which appeared very rarely. In Napuka village, the site of a marae named Poureva was pointed out as having been for large fish, of the kind called *tapiro* (known elsewhere as *maru*) taken from the lagoon. At times these fish came in great numbers into their weirs in the shallow pass to the north of the village islet. The marae, it was stated by Te Mae, was marked only by ovens in which the fish was cooked.

Tatakoto tradition tells of the wreck, a few generations ago, of their two ships, *Houpo* and *Mangareva*, which were overtaken by a gale while setting

out for Puaga (Pukapuka Island?). It is said that the survivors built a marae named *Marae-te-heke* (Marae-of-the-sinking) at Te Tua-rairoa, where they succeeded in getting ashore. It is also said that they wept as they built the marae (*hina ahu hia to ratou marae ma te tagi*).

So we see specialization in the purpose of maraes both as regards the size of the kin group they served and as regards the type of activities upon them: some serving for feasts of one kind of food, some for another; some serving for the disposition of the skulls of enemies; some, for a single important event.

The maraes, as the property of kindred, were material symbols of them, and formed a visible connection with the past. Always standing on the land, occupied by the kindred, observable by any who might pass, they came to be a seal of ownership. They bound the ancestral spirits and gods of the kindred to the land, putting it under their eternal guardianship.

PARTS OF A MARAE AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

The Tuamotuan marae is a stone platform one to several feet in height, three to five feet in width, and 20 odd feet in length, faced with sandstone or reef-stone slabs set on edge, and filled with coral rubble and sand. It lies before the smooth ground of a court and, if it is an important marae, is probably shaded by lofty *gatae* trees (*Pisonia granitica*). Their broad, light-green leaves form a soft shade, and their buttressing roots lend further to the eerie atmosphere created by the isolation of the place and the sight of bleaching turtle and fish bones lying scattered through the sand at the sacred refuse spot beside the court.

The most striking features of the marae are the stone slabs reared along the back of the platform and standing here and there on the court. At Fagatau and Tatakoto, some of these white slabs have a crude head and short arms, giving them a ghostly appearance. The platform has three upright slabs along the back, except at Tatakoto, where there are five, and at Reao, where there is a continuous line of them. The place where the head person of the marae sat on the court is marked by a centrally placed small stone-platform seat or stone-slab backrest, or a combination of the two. Other slabs mark the seats of persons of less importance. At Napuka, some of the important maraes have a large slab upright, larger than any other at the marae, standing behind the main platform, viewed from the court. (See figure 1.)

For details as to the appearance of specific maraes, and for regional variations, see my descriptions, plans, and reconstructions in "Archaeology of *Mangareva* and neighboring atolls" (20, pp. 53-74), in "Tuamotuan stone structures" (18), and in the section in this paper on additions to the records on Tuamotuan maraes (pp. 42-56).

THE COURT

Only at Reao is the court regularly enclosed, and there only along the two sides and by a ridge of coral. On the other islands most courts are defined merely by the smoothness of the ground compared with the surroundings. The courts are rectangular, the long axis at right angles to the main platform. Throughout the Tuamotus the term for the court was *tahua*.

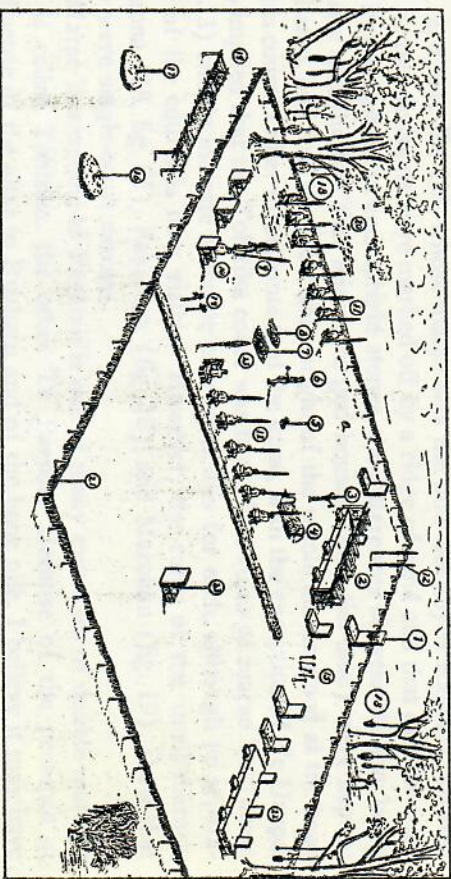


FIGURE 1.—Napukan marae during turtle offering, based on descriptions of eye witnesses, showing Te Fanni court on left, Te Tohitika court on right, divided by ridge of sand: 1, largest upright slab (*po'ofatu*) decorated with plaited coconut leaves; 2, the *ragamuku*, a narrow stone platform bearing three uprights along back, with an upright slab at each end to support two poles on which lie sacred receptacles (to left and right are additional upright slabs, each facing on its own platform); 3, branching stick on which offerings of food were suspended; 4, altar to Ruanatu, consisting of rough coral loosely piled and bounded by slabs on edge or on end; 5, two small slabs on edge on which was laid the *tokiofa*; 6, assistant to priest, carrying first *tokiofa* to be placed on turtle at its dedication; 7, turtle on coconut-leaf mat; 8, coconuts and fish for feast; 9, chief, or high priest; 10, assistant who invested priest with staff and headdress; 11, elders with spear-clubs, seated on four-legged stools; 12, spears of absent elders; 13, drum; 14, whips of *Pisonia* tree branches; 15, impaled skulls of turtles; 16, first oven; 17, second oven; 18, carapaces and skulls hanging from trees; 19, stand for unconsumed food; 20, refuse pile; 21, fence of coconut leaves; 22, *ragamuku* of Te Tohitika court; 23, seat for chief at Te Tohitika court.

Most courts lie at right angles or parallel to the lagoon. At Napuka, nearly every marae faced the east or southeast, that is, the front of the marae (*mua*), where stood the main platform (*ahu*), was at the eastern end of the court. Te Ufa told me that this orientation was for the purpose of facing the marae into the prevailing wind, so that the stench from decaying scraps of food at the eating place or on the refuse heap behind (*ki muri*) the marae would not blow onto the court.

On some maraes the court was given a name. That of Poureva marae, Hao Island, was called *Tohiega* (*o Tohiega ra e tahua ia no te marae*). On the island of Napuka, maraes Taranaki (the marae of the chief and people of

the eastern half of the island) and Raghioa (the marae of the people of the western half) each had two main divisions. The courts were separated, according to some informants, by a low ridge of sand (*tuataviri*). That on the north was the larger and was called Te Fannui; that on the south, reserved for the elders (*pa'ku*), was called Te Tohitika. At marae Havana, on Tepto Island, Havana itself was the name of the larger division, Te Fannui; and Te Raga-tai (The Altar-seaward) was the name of the smaller division, Te Tohitika.

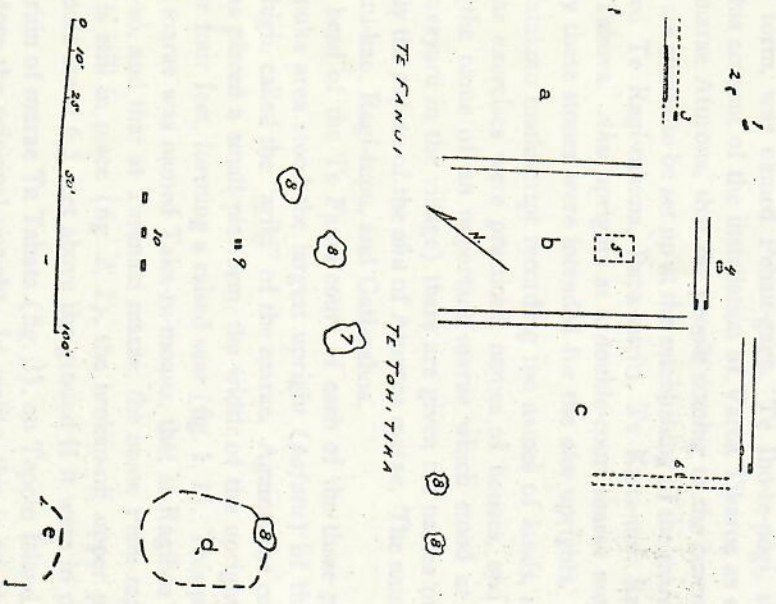


FIGURE 2.—Remains of marae Taranaki: a, b, c, courts separated by slight ridges of sand. At head of a is line of curbs, each about 2 feet long and 8 inches high, which mark facing of low platform called *raganuku*; at head of b is ridge of sand and two facing slabs, all that remains of another low platform or end boundary wall; at head of c is ridge of sand with two facing curbs still in place, marking location of a low platform or wall for closing in this end. d, hillock of fish and turtle bones. e, great hillock of bones, humms, and sand, about 8 feet high and nearly 50 feet long and parallel to lagoon shore 30 feet distant. f, base of upright called *Pehu-ragi*, 3 feet wide with broken-off upper part of slab lying before it; 2, base of small upright, and a curb facing of one side of small platform which stood before it; 3, upright 2 feet high; 4, location for upright named *Tara-ma-nuku*; 5, approximate location for platform of coral (*mahatu*); 6, curb or base of upright; 7, tree marking boundary between Te Fannui and Te Tohitika courts; 8, *Pisonia* trees; 9, two stones called *vai raga tohiofa*; 10, upright stones marking position of priest and his two assistants.

Te Mae said that these divisions were behind the marae and were not separated by a ridge of sand. When I accompanied him onto the site of his marae, Taranaki, the ground Te Mae pointed out as Te Fannui and Te Tohitika was indeed under the *gatae* trees at the back of two or three adjacent courts. In pointing out the support for the sacred bunch of leaves (the *tokiofa*) and the stone backrests for the chief and his two assistants officiating at Te Fannui, he confirmed that this ground belonged within the marae court of Te Fannui (fig. 2, a, b). Te Ufi, whose marae was the now destroyed Raghioa, insisted that its two divisions were marked off by a ridge of sand and that each division had its own platform and upright stones, the differences between the two being the size and the fact that miniature god houses (*fare tini atua*) were kept at Te Fannui, and that the principal upright of the whole marae stood at the head of this court. Other informants said the same, with the exception of Te Urupe, who implied that the Tohitika court was bare. The ruins of marae Te Tahata (fig. 3) clearly indicate a double court with *ahu* for each, although no separation of the courts is now visible. However, the ruins of the small maraes, Aturoa (18, fig. 25), Fakarava (fig. 18), and Marokau (fig. 19), show that they were single-court maraes.

Marae Ramapohia at Fagatau is one of many examples of double maraes; one is called Tohitika, the other Te Paepae. Because of the presence at Te Paepae of the altar to Ruahatu and of the bone pile, I believe it may have fulfilled the same function as the Te Fannui court at Napuka. Te Miro had merely told us that Te Paepae was the older of the two courts. However, I doubt that they had generic names for each court of a double marae at Fagatau, as they had at Napuka, for at Papa-te-ragi marae were three courts. According to Farina, that on the east was called Papa-te-ragi; the middle court, Paepae-kuriri; the last court, Apataga (south). If Farina interpreted Te Miro correctly, both courts of marae Ramapohia were functioning, for he said that when a turtle was offered up, prayers were addressed first at Tohitika, then at Te Paepae.

MAIN PLATFORM AND ITS UPRIGHTS

The most sacred part of the marae is the low stone platform stretching across the front of the court, bearing the principal uprights which stand along the back. At Napuka it was called a *raga-muku*; at Vahitahi, a *niu*; elsewhere, an *ahu*.

The *ahu* uprights are called *keho* or *pojatu*, as are those on the court, and the terms are restricted to marae uprights. The uprights on the court served as backrests for the chief and other dignitaries at the marae and marked their position on the court. Presumably, therefore, the slabs along the back of the *ahu* functioned to mark the position of ancestral gods attending the service. These stones did not serve as material embodiments of their ancestral gods.

although the ones which in shape suggested the human form were called *hiki* (that is, shaped in human or animal form), a term which we are likely to associate with the representation of a god. Montition calls them "idols" (35, p. 366). Some of the backrests on the court were also shaped in the same way, and this shaping can hardly be other than embellishment.

Were the uprights on the *ahu* representations of the gods, they would not, I believe, have received names which were not names of gods or ancestors. The central of the three uprights at Ramapohia marae, Fagatau, shaped roughly in human form, was named Pehau-gaga. Te Iho-te-pogi, the Karoia sage, relates in his account of the installation of Varoa Tikaroa as chief at Takume upon the marae Aturona, that the people coming to the ceremony brought as a gift (o) six stones to be set up at the establishing of the marae. These stones were named Te Ragi-tuhuna, Papa-kuriri, Te Kana-nui, Rere-ao, Manava-rere, and Takova. *Ahu* uprights at a double-court marae numbered six, and presumably these stones were intended for the *ahu* uprights.

In a Takakoto manuscript recording the names of lands, marae, grounds where spear exercises were practiced, names of houses, and so forth, after Aturona (the name of an important marae which stood at the site of the present graveyard in the village) there are given the names of three stones—undoubtedly the *po'ofatu* of the *ahu* of Aturona marae. The names of the stones are: Pofatu-ka'o, Ragi-tupu, and Gati-paho'a.

At the head of the Te Fannu court of each of the three principal marae of the Napuka area stood the largest upright (*po'ofatu*) of the marae, six to eight feet high, called the "ariki" of the marae. Against the court face of this upright was placed a small platform, the width of the upright and extending out three or four feet, forming a raised seat (fig. 1, 1). This principal upright at Havana marae was named Taka-tu-moana, that at Raghioa marae bore the name Uru-ao, and that at Taranaki marae, the name Pehu-ragi. The base of Pehu-ragi is still in place (fig. 2, 1), the broken-off upper part lying along side. It would stand 6.5 feet above the ground if it were in place.

At the ruin of marae Te Tahata (fig. 3), on Tepoto Island, the small platform is before the principal upright. In reality, this is an *ahu* with a single upright, instead of three or more. Except for size, this *po'ofatu* and its platform differ in no particular from the chief's seat, placed midway between the sides of the court at the opposite end of the marae and facing the principal upright. Speaking of the marae of Takakoto, Fierens (22, p. 130) says that several consisted of "a single great stone, 3 or 4 meters high."

In the Nukutavake manuscript of Te Poa, the three uprights along the back of the platform of Kurakakea marae were called, from right to left viewed from the court, the *ponu maa* (first pillar), *ponu roto* (middle pillar), and *ponu mui* (last pillar), and were named, respectively, Te Pofatu-nui, Mata-uru, and Tutuaki. These uprights were referred to metaphorically as *ponu* (posts,

pillars). The chant given by Te Poa for the *ponu maa* begins: "Ka tu e pofatu nui no te ariki" (Erect a great stone slab for the chief).

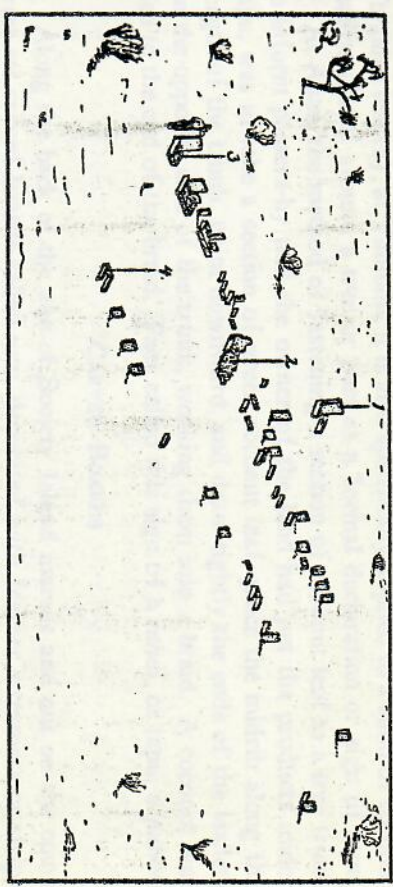


FIGURE 3.—Ruins of marae Te Tahata, based on detailed plan, the uprights spread over an area 105 feet long and 70 feet wide: 1, principal upright, 5 feet high, 3.5 feet wide at top, 2 feet wide at base; 20 feet in front is uneven line of uprights, which faces on small platforms, the remains of which are indicated by boundary curbs; at distance of 15 to 35 feet farther out on court stand other and smaller uprights and remains of small platforms; 2, altar to Rauhutu; 3, an intact upright, 4 feet high, facing a boxlike seat or platform; 4, three boundary curbs of a platform such as shown in 3.

In the following chant from Nukutavake, the *ponu* mentioned may refer to an upright on the marae platform:

Anno toki ko Tane
 ki te pou o te fakakariki,
 E maematea,^a
 Pou-nui^b te pou o te fakakariki . . .
 Tane shouldered his adz
 at the pillar of the chief,
 In calling upon the gods in war,
 Pou-nui (Mighty-pillar) was the pillar
 of the chief . . .

^a In Tahiti, the *ma'aea* is the awakening prayer at the marae, when the gods are called upon to assist in war (30, p. 302).
^b In a manuscript of Te Uruhehu, he says of Tane: "The name of the posts (*oa pou*) of the sky of Tane were, Te Pou-nui for the post in the right hand, and Rau-mahora for the post in the left hand."

Tana of Nukutavake called the three uprights along the back of the marae platform *tara maa*, *tara roto*, and *tara mui*. The term *tara* appears frequently in chants in reference to an important feature, or features, of marae. But what it refers to is uncertain, because of contradictions. Paea, of Anaa, applied the term to the chief's seat on the court, but I have not been able to procure any confirmation for this identification, and much of Paea's information about the marae has proved unreliable. Ruea, of Vahitahi, placed the *tara* on the back of the marae platform. However, she had but one *tara* placed in a central position, whereas the marae ruins found at Tureia in the Vahitahi area have three uprights along the back of the platform (20, p. 63). Having come across the name of the *tara* of marae Peau-kura as Vai-meho in a Takapoto manuscript, I had supposed there would be only one *tara* at a marae. However, it is possible that the *tara* of a marae is the central of the three, the *tara roto*.

When the warrior Moeava is depicted in a chant as standing before the *tara* (*te ta-ta*) of marae Ragihoa (18, p. 11) it may mean a single *tara* or a series of three *tara*. In the legend of Rogo, as recorded at Tatakoto, he addresses the uprights of the marae (*te keho o te marae*), then the platform of the marae (*te ahū o te marae*). In a Fagatau version of the same legend, Rogo addresses the *pou mui*, *pou roto*, and the *pou mui* on the marae. *Pofatu* (stone) and *keho* (upright) are terms applied to any of the upright slabs on the marae, but *pou* (pillar) and *tara* (spur, point) are evidently confined to the uprights on the marae platform.

A puzzling statement in a Hao manuscript says that the two *tara* of their principal marae, Poureva, were named Tokerau-o-Rito for the *tara* in the north and Haro-pito for the *tara* in the south. Perhaps it had a double court, each with its platform and a central upright called the *tara*. But another Hao manuscript gives one name, Tohiega, for the court of Poureva marae. However, our informant, Toroia, gave Tohiega and Huioro as places at the site of Poureva marae, suggesting it had two courts. The Poa's manuscript gives only two uprights on the platform of Maruofa marae, one at each end, named Kiri-a-uta and Kiri-a-tai; but I am sure the middle upright was omitted, because its name was not remembered.

It should be noted in passing that the Tahitians employed the term *tarama* [*tara-(a)hu*?] for the uprights to the left and right of the *haai*, the central upright of the three standing in front of the *ahū* (Emory 17, pp. 17, 18).

At Napuka, when I asked the meaning of the term *tara* as applied to the marae, I found the people were unacquainted with it. An upright which stood "somewhere a few feet to the south" of the one called Pehn-ragi at marae Taranaki, Napuka, and which, therefore, I believe stood before the Tohitika court at that marae, was named Tara-mai-nuku (the *tara* from Nuku). *Tara* also means the gabled end of a house, and the expression *tara o te tahua* in a Nukutavake chant beginning "Kerihaga tapuae tei Kurakakea" evidently refers to one end of a court or field. Hence, in connection with maraes, this term may mean simply the principal end of the court of a marae.

The principal upright at Napuka, in addition to being called the "ariki" of the marae, was referred to as a *tapao ariki* (sign of the chief). The chief's son was taken before this slab for the operation of incision, and Te Mae said that the bones of the chief were sometimes buried under it. He claimed that the chief did not sit before this upright, but Te Ufi said that when the food was cooked the chief went up and sat at the upright until certain prayers were said. The upright named Uruao, at Ragihoa marae, was decorated with a wreath (*hei*) of woven (*hiri*) coconut leaves, according to Te Ufi. Gohé, an old woman, implied that uprights in general were so decorated and called the decorations *takavi* (wrappers).

A Hikueru chant has the line: "Hakamau rahiri ki te tara (a) Pou-tupu"

(Fasten leaf decorations on or at the *tara* of Pou-tupu marae). While *rahiri* is applied broadly to leaf decorations, being derived probably from *rau hiri* (braided leaves), at Vahihahi, it is also specifically applied to a band of coconut leaflets placed around a tree or post as a formal declaration or sign of tapu.

At Anaa, the method of fastening a section of coconut leaf to a tree trunk to inform passers-by that the owner of the land had put the products under tapu, was to take a section of green coconut leaf, place the midrib along the length of the trunk, point downward, and draw tightly the ends of the leaflets on the opposite side of the trunk, working them into a braid. A coconut was tied to the end of the braid. Paea called this sign of a *rahiri*, or tapu, a *puhiki*.

CARVED BOARDS

Along the back of the *ahū* of Society Island maraes and out on the court were set carved boards called *umu*, decorated with feather streamers or strips of tapa and matting (17, pp. 15, 16; 30, p. 134). These were not entirely absent from the Tuanotus, judging from the following line from a Fagatau chant for Hiro's voyage (21, p. 105): "Hakamau rahiri ki te umu ma te ahū" (Fasten decorations on the *umu* at the *ahū*).

In a chant for Te Hio-o-te-ragi of Marokau, *umumu* appears:

Ko vau te ko Te Hio-o-te-ragi,	I here am Te Hio-o-te-ragi,
Te kura [a] te ariki maurua	The favored one of the chiefs, traveling
i te ata.	in the clouds.
E tika i te tara o Fara-a-kura,*	Standing before the <i>tara</i> of marae Fara-a-kura,
E tama fanau no Mahina-tua-tapu	A child of [the woman] Mahina-tua-tapu
te i raka hia.	who was made sacred.
E vaihue tapairu te kato ^a ra i	A beautiful woman dancing before
muia i Mara-u-hia, ^b	Mara-u-hia [name of <i>tara</i> ?],
E unumu, e pou no Pou-tupu	An <i>umumu</i> , a pillar from Pou-tupu marae [at Hikueru]
te tara hia ^c i rei at e koe,	made into a <i>tara</i> cherished by you,
Te Hio-o-te-ragi.	Te Hio-o-te-ragi.

^a The name is Fakarakura in one version. I have recorded that Fara-va-kura is the name of a marae at Rano or Pukarua.

^b *Kato* is to gesture with the hands. From Fagatau we have a chant "Katokato mai ra Te Pua e" about a woman dancing derivatively before the marae because she cannot partake of the food on the marae.

^c This name is Mara-i-hia in another version.

^d One version has *te tara* in place of *te tara*. Also, one version omits *i rei at*.

In the above chant we apparently have an indication of the taking of a stone from one marae to establish another. Pou-tupu marae mentioned in this chant is not a Marokau marae but the name of a marae on Hikueru, the nearest neighbor of Marokau.

SMALL PLATFORMS

Along the face of the *ahū* directly opposite the central upright and, in many maraes, opposite the upright on each end of the *ahū*, is a little stone platform (fig. 1, 2), with or without a small upright at the inner or outer end. Sourat noticed some at the ruins he described and said they were of the nature

of *pi-dieu* for the priest to kneel upon (42, p. 479). Because they occupy the position of the three upright stones along the face of the *ahu* of Tahitian marae, I originally believed (18, p. 12) that the living representatives of the gods might have sat here, no one being allowed to sit on the *ahu* itself, according to Te Miri-o of Fagatau and my informants at Napuka. At Nukutavake, however, I described the feature to Te Vai, the oldest inhabitant of the area, who called it a *tapenu*, the usual term for a sacrifice, and said that food was deposited there.

In the manuscript of Te Poa of Nukutavake he figures three little platforms attached to the main platform of marae Kura-Kakea saying that one named Taputapuata was the "resting place of the food offering" (*te vaiga o te maga paragi*). The other two, named Rau-nere and Rau-miri, he calls "places for the god (*mainu*)." The central attached platform at Maruofa marae, at Vahitahi, is designated as the resting place for food and is named Ata-miri.

A list of marae features furnished by Tuhiragi in 1930 gives *twiki* (a receptacle) and *tapenu-twi* defined as "sort of box as depository of sacred objects." If this term is applicable to one of the little platforms, it may be the equivalent of the Society Island *awa'a*, or small platform referred to as the "bed of the god," which was placed against the face of the *ahu* and in which the representation of the deity was kept, or on which it was placed.

Henry (30, p. 133) says that beneath a flagstone in the *awa'a* was a repository in which were placed the discarded coverings of the tutelary god which were regarded as too sacred to be taken elsewhere. In a number of the little platforms in the Tuamotus, we noticed a compartment. At marae Mahanaitaata, Takaroa (18, p. 32), we found a pearl shell in the small cist formed by the sides of the platform covered with slabs. In most maraes, however, the filling of the little platforms would have been washed out, so we had no way of telling whether a compartment existed, covered, perhaps, with a board.

At Reao we were told of *ama*, or little vaults, at the marae in the *ahu* or in the little step along its court face, where sacred objects were kept. I remember seeing one of these vaults in the step of the Reao marae, Te Ragituani. We recorded a little stone-lined vault, or cist, in the *ahu* of marae Oromea on Fagatau (18, fig. 31). At marae Aturoma, Napuka, a small platform or compartment is attached to the rear of the chief's seat (18, fig. 25) and may have served as a repository for some of the chief's sacred belongings.

SUPPLEMENTARY AHU UPRIGHTS

Flanking one or both sides of the *ahu* at many maraes are additional upright slabs, each facing on a small platform or *ahu* of its own. Te Miri, who was about 20 years old when Montiton converted the people of Fagatau to Christianity, gave to these stones at his marae, Ramaphia, ancestral names

such as Tauruhua, Kainuku, and Puniva. He said they were *tapao tupuna*, ancestral memorials. Offerings were made before them, but no one sat on them. Like the stones along the back of the *ahu* they were called *po'fatu* or *keho*.

I believe that the *ahu* with three uprights is the seat of the principal god of the marae and those second and third in importance after him. Or perhaps these uprights mark the seats of honor for the three most important gods approached in a given ceremony at the marae. The little platforms with their individual uprights on each side of the *ahu* are probably individual shrines. The Reao marae, then, with their continuous line of uprights, did away with the three positions of honor and each upright marked the seat of a specific god. One of our oldest and best Reao informants, Abraham Te Aka, said that if a person were sick a prayer for his recovery was addressed before a certain *keho* (upright), a prayer for another purpose, before another of the *keho*.

UPRIGHTS ON THE COURT

Of the uprights on the court, the most important—and in some maraes the only court upright present—was the seat of the chief midway between the sides of the court and at the opposite end from the *ahu*. Except at Reao, this seat consisted of a slab backrest (*miriaki*, Takaroa, Fagatau) rising at the rear of a small platform. There its place seems to have been taken by the *ahu-taga*, a small platform without a backrest, midway between the sides of the court, but much closer to the *ahu* than is the chief's seat in the islands to the west, and with its long axis parallel to the *ahu*, instead of at right angles.

Te Aka, of Reao, said only that important prayers were recited at the *ahu-taga*. However, in the islands to the west, the term *ahu-taga* was known, and at Marokau, it apparently had an upright. The commencement of the eulogy of Te Hio-o-te-ragi, of Marokau, mentions the clan gathered around the *ahu-taga* and the fastening of leaf decorations (*rahiri*) to the *po'fatu*.

Nununi na keinga ki te ahutaga:

E runaga no te toa hitu,

E papa haga no te rahine.

Nana te mata ki Fare-pia,

Kia tu ki mua te ahutaga,

Kia rahiri hia taku po'fatu.

Te i te veravera tavake.

Te i na tokokoko o Te Hio-o-te-

ragi-maurua,

E kohiko ki te mairi,

E nape ki te rigorigo.

E ruku ki te puga ni . . .

The members of the clan gather round the *ahutaga*;

A gathering place of the seven warriors,

A place where the *rahine* [participants] sit in rows.

The eyes gaze at Fare-pia,

Let [me] stand before the *ahutaga*,

Let *rahiri* be fastened to my *po'fatu*.

There through the redness of the tropic-bird

[feathers],

There through the gods of Te Hio-o-te-

ragi-maurua,

Trap the spirit [of the god],

Snare the souls of the dead,

Dive for the large coral . . .

In a version from Amanu of the great Tuamotuan chant called the "Road of the winds," beginning "Puru e hainai noa," occurs the line "fluttering of

the grille before the *ahu-taga*" (*maro tiri ki mua i te ahu-taga*). We know of the Tahitian term *ahu-ta'a* (= *ahu-taga*) solely through its occurrence in an inaugural prayer for the chief of Taputapuatea marae (Henry, 30, p. 191): "Ua 'ura tini i te ahu-ta'a" (numerous are the 'ura feathers of the *ahu-ta'a*).

At Fagatau, the slab backrest and small platform on the marae, where the chief sat, was pointed out as *te nohouga o te ariki* (the sitting place of the chief), and at Vahitahi, Ruea said that the *nohouga o te ariki* (sitting place of the chief) was out on the court. These are descriptions rather than terms.

Te Mae, of Napuka, said that the uprights to the right and left of the chief's seat on the marae were for his assistants. Te Ufi claimed that the elders, who sat along each side of the court facing inward, also had stone backrests; and Andran, speaking of Napuka maraes (2, p. 130), was told that each of the elders at the maraes sat against his "long special stone (*te pofatu*) at the foot of which was 'Te Nohoga,' a smooth and polished stool. . . ." However, at no Napuka marae ruins did we find traces of uprights facing inward along the side, although we did see a few at some maraes on other islands.

Uprights on the court serving as backrests were called *hirivaki* at Takarua. When I asked Te Miro a Pahoa of Fagatau if the *pofatu* or *keho* along the back of the *ahu* were *hirivaki*, he replied that no one sat on the *ahu* and that only the uprights on the court were *hirivaki*. As a verb *hirivaki* means "to lean against."

In a Hao manuscript, the name of the marae at Pahunnaru is recorded as Ahutu; the name of the *turi*, said to be a stone, is 'Te Muri-i-te-tunaga. This implies that the people of Hao used the term *turi* for some upright on the marae, probably that marking the position of the chief on the court.

In Tahiti, the stone backrests on the court were reserved for the chief, priests, and a few others (13, vol. 2, p. 260). They were called *ofa'i tui'uri ra'a* (stones to lean against) or *ofa'i tui'uri ra'a*, or simply *tui'uri*. Davies (14, pp. 292 and 295) gives the verbs *tui'uri* and *tui'uri* as meaning "to lean against a thing," and further defines *tui'uri* as the "stone against which the priest leaned in saying his prayers." However, a *tui'uri* is defined by Henry (30, p. 134) as a "kneeling stone," and *tui'uri* also means to kneel, both in Tahiti and the Tuamotus. There is a record of a Tahitian kneeling on the right knee beside the *tui'uri* with one hand on the stone, but they also stood beside it (Henry, 30, p. 162; Wilson, 51, p. 208). Montion records (35, p. 379) the term *tui'uri* for those participants who were opposite the chief when he was stationed with his back to the *ahu*, the warriors or elders being ranged along each side of the court.

There may have been other kinds of stones on the court. I was told at Napuka of the "stone where the heart [of the turtle] was left," (*pofatu vaviraga mponpa*). But I am inclined to believe that this was one of the uprights

on the side of the *ahu* representing the place of one or another of the ancestral gods.

At Napuka, two small slabs placed on edge on the court served as a resting place for the *tokiofa*, a consecratory object, and were referred to as *te vai raga takiofa* (the place of the *tokiofa*).

The Tuamotuan term *keho* for marae uprights probably corresponds with the Tahitian term *aho* (= 'aho?), applied to the stones on the marae court where the priests set up their *tapanu*, or *tapanu*, coconut-leaf representations of themselves when they had to be absent (Davies, 14, p. 251; Henry, 30, p. 173). At Hao, *keho* are evidently called *keho*, for Rogotama relates that "the kaho set up by Te Kopu-hei-ariki are standing at the place Apahere" (*te vai ra to Te Kopu-hei-ariki tavaiga kaho i te vahi i reko hia ra e ho .Apahere*). Te Kopu-hei-ariki was a chiefess who lived 10 generations before 1900.

THE RUAHATU

The *ruahatu*, the rough platform of coral apparently representing the god Ruahatu on the courts of maraes at Fagatau, Fakahina, Hao, Napuka, and Vairatea, was composed almost entirely of branch coral, except at Napuka. At Napuka, the platform was clearly defined by a border of stones set on edge, forming a rectangular frame about four other islands, the *ruahatu* was little more than a slab at one or both ends, set also maraes of Napuka, the *ruahatu* was placed front, its long axis parallel to the long axis

REFUSE PILE

To one side or a rear corner of the marae court was the enclosure or pit for the bones of sacrifices and discarded sacred paraphernalia. This was called a *pa-hata*, or *pa-hata kiria* at Fagatau and Fakahina; a *vaiiga keiga* (place for bones) or *fala keiga* (bone pile) at Napuka. At Poureva marae, the "place for the bones" (*vai ra'a no te ivi*) bore the name Manahanu-Tagarua; and the "place for the heads" was named Fareao.

What most attracted the attention of Beechey while ashore at Pinaki in 1826 (5, vol. 1, p. 206) was "a heap of fish bones, six feet by five, neatly cleaned and piled up very carefully with planks placed upon them to prevent their being scattered by the wind." This would seem to be the bone pile of a marae, though it is possible it was simply a place to segregate the sharp bones. At Apataki, all the spines from trigger fish were stored in coconut-leaf baskets and eventually carried to a *Townesfortia* tree, from the branches of which I saw hung a number of filled baskets. In 1857, a "sack" of fish bones was removed from a Tematagi marae (Cailliet, 9, p. 233).

FATA KEISA

At Napuka, the carapaces and skulls of turtles were tied to the branches of the *gatae* trees growing about the refuse pit and about the cooking places in back of the marae. When the trees were cluttered, these trophies were impaled on sticks set up around the marae.

Turnbull (48, p. 261) recorded that at Manihi, in 1803, "At the spot where we first touched we found a few dried fish, sharks' heads, and two turtle shells, hanging up in a sort of *marai*, as an offering to the god of the natives."

RARY OF E II. BALAZS

MARAE ADJUNCTS

MINIATURE GOD HOUSES AND CONTENTS

The most important adjuncts to a marae were the wooden receptacles containing locks of human hair, teeth, or finger nails, taken from the dead before burial, and sacred objects employed in the rites held at the marae. Montiton (35, p. 366) gives the most detailed account concerning the function of these receptacles:

At the center of the platform [*lahu* of the marae] they installed horizontally on forked sticks, small cradles or coffers, carved and decorated, in which they conscientiously preserved tufts of hair or of beard, even nails and teeth, removed from bodies of men before interment, to render them an idolatrous cult. They were all carefully tied in little packages with coconut-fiber cord and covered with bird feathers. Each cradle or coffin contained several of these little packages. It was, one might say, the portable mausoleum of the family, a safeguard for the family, a memorial for the entire tribe. They were ordinarily piled up in a house [*fare heiau*, or *fare maini*] constructed for this purpose near the marae. But, upon the occasion of a religious or patriotic ceremony, they were taken from the general depot, and after dusting and decorating them, they were placed on or near the marae, so that every warrior could venerate his ancestors and not neglect to make a sacrificial offering of food during the occasion.

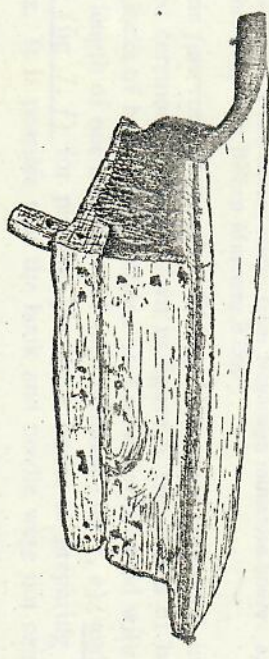


FIGURE 4.—Miniature house for sacred objects, dug from sands of Negonego Island; over-all length 24.5 inches, width 6 inches, height 7.5 inches. (In Bishop Museum, B3569.)

At Napuka, in 1870, Fierens followed a road which led him to a marae where he saw a "dozen boxes in form of coffins" (22, p. 133), and in the same year he saw maraes at Takakoto "furnished with small boxes resembling coffins and enclosing hair of ancestors or feathers of rare birds" (22, p. 130).

Andran calls the sacred receptacle *fare tini atua* (house of the gods), the name by which it is also known in Tahiti. He says (1, vol. 27, p. 134) that

it was "a kind of reliquary in which was deposited the hair of the dead, whom it was desired to honor. It was these bunches of hair (*haruhuru tagata*) that formed, scarcely fifty years ago [before 1918], the chief objects of adoration in our Polynesian islands." He further states (2, p. 130) that the hair, for the most part, was white and that the marae of Reginhoa at Napuka had 12 *fare tini atua*. I was told by Te Mae that each important Napuka marae had about ten *fare tini atua*; his wife, Gohé, said she had seen about 10 at both marae Marokau and marae Fakarava. Te Mae said that each family had a *fare tini atua* and that the *hakama*, eldest of a family, took charge of it. According to Te Mae, the receptacles held not only the hair of ancestors but that of others.

In speaking of Fakahina Island, Andran remarks (1, vol. 28, p. 234) that "to the high-priest belonged by right the privilege of taking from the *fare tini atua*, corresponding to our tabernacle, the sacred stone, and laying it on the turtle for some minutes before cutting its throat."

To judge from Byron's report on Takaroa (1765), these sacred receptacles also harbored human bones. Behind and a little to the east of a marae they saw, according to one account (29, vol. 1, p. 102), "many neat boxes full of human bones," and according to another account (8, p. 130), "a wooden box, in which we found the skeleton of a human being."

One of these coffers, taken from the sands of Negonego Island many years ago, was procured by J. L. Young and is now in Bishop Museum. This is probably a Hao specimen, because uninhabited Negonego Island has always been claimed by the natives of Hao and was formerly visited by them.

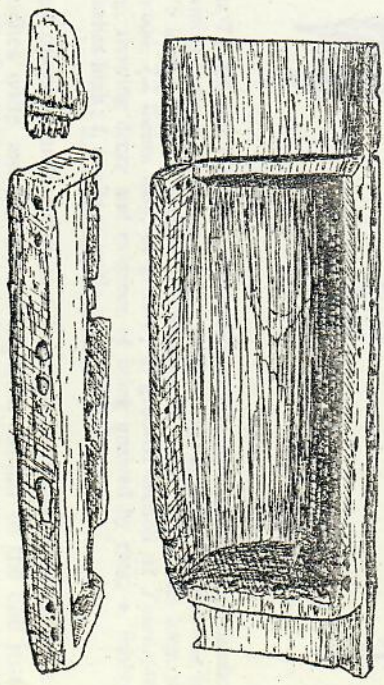


FIGURE 5.—Interior of Negonego miniature house, showing under part of roof, floor, and inner surface of wooden door. (In Bishop Museum, B3569.)

The box is in the form of a miniature house (figs. 4, 5) with the top, sides, and end in one piece. The floor is separate, and the four legs on which the house stood were carved in one piece with the floor. The remaining leg, which had broken off, was evidently kept in place by a cord passing through the hole bored in it and a complementary hole through one end and the bottom of the

floor. As the lower extremity of this leg is also broken, I am not sure of the length of the legs or their shape. A wooden door, found with the box, closed the front end. It had been lashed to the house, the lashings passing through the two holes bored near the top of the sides of the house, then across the outside of the door to corresponding holes on the opposite side of the house. In one of the upper holes, there remain four sections of flat coir braid an eighth of an inch wide, showing that the lashing passed through this hole four times. The upper end of the door rested against a flange cut across the inner side of the roof; and the lower edge of the door rested, by means of a flange cut across its inner surface, on the door sill. The floor was lashed to the sides of the house by means of a three-ply coir lashing an eighth of an inch wide, passing through pairs of complementary holes bored in the lower sides of the house and in flanges raised from the floor. The roof projects well beyond each end of the house and is extended outward from the sides by a flange, in which holes are bored at intervals of three inches. Possibly the ends of the roof extended farther, because they seem to have been sawed off by a steel saw. The wood appears to be *ton* (*Cordia subcordata*).

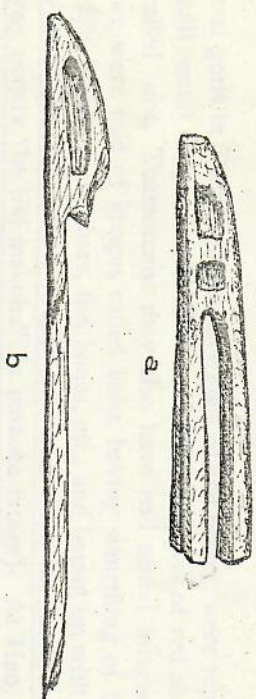


FIGURE 6.—Ends of two carved sticks from Negonggo miniature house: a, 4.5 inches long; b, 7 inches long. (In Bishop Museum, B3569.)

When this *fare tini awa* reached Bishop Museum it contained, in addition to the carved ceremonial sticks shown in figure 6, two pieces of bamboo in which were locks of hair; three sections of *Tournefortia* wood with a groove running the length of one side; a pearl-shell fishhook (fig. 7, e); and a turtle-bone needle (fig. 7, f) for piercing pandanus leaves in preparing them for thatch sheets. It is possible that the hook and needle were not originally in the box.

One of the bamboo receptacles (fig. 7, a) is a fragment of drift bamboo, open along one side and end. The locks of hair with which it is filled are kept in place by coir braid wrapped a number of times around the bamboo. One of the locks of hair is seized at one end by a single strand of coconut-husk fiber (fig. 7, b). The other bamboo container, also a drift piece, is even smaller—6.5 inches long and 0.8 inch in diameter—and holds three thick locks of black hair. One of the locks is laid for half its length along the quill of a white feather and then coiled tightly around itself and the feather. The feather might be the tail

feather of a tropic bird. A second lock of hair, tied in the middle with a thin twine of fiber, probably from the *ogaaga* (*Pleryza ruderalis*) was laid beside the one wrapped with the feather, and the two were held together by a thread of coconut fiber. A third lock of hair lay loose in the container.

In a groove of one of the three lengths of *pimpu* (*Tournefortia argentea*) wood lay a small stick of hard wood held in place by a wrapping of sennit braid (fig. 7, c). The outfit resembles a fire-making kit although the little hard-wood stick, pointed like a fire stick, seems too small for practical purposes.

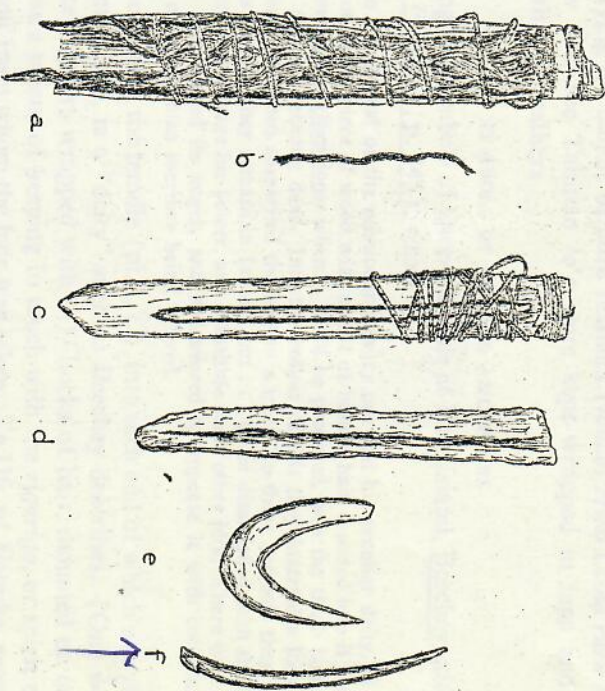


FIGURE 7.—Objects from Negonggo miniature house: a, section of bamboo, 10 inches long, containing locks of human hair 2 to 6 inches long; b, lock of human hair from bamboo container, 5 inches long; c, section of *Tournefortia* wood, 10.8 inches long, with stick of *Pempis* wood, 7.2 inches long, in groove; d, grooved section of *Tournefortia* wood, 9 inches long, showing decay and evidence of being gnawed by rats; e, fishhook of pearl shell, 3.2 inches high; f, needle of turtle bone, 5.3 inches long.

In the Copenhagen Museum is a Tuamotuan miniature god house, 26 inches long, 9 inches wide, and 6.5 inches high, so similar to the one just described that I believe it must have been made by the same people, natives of Hao. (See plate 1, A.) It was purchased in 1881 from a Mr. de Nozelle in Paris, and labeled as coming from Tahiti. This specimen reveals that the holes along the edge of the roof, as described for the other house, served for the sewing on of pandanus-leaf roofing and that the tooling of the lower border of the door of the house was for ornamentation, the door being held in place by horizontal wrappings of coir braid.

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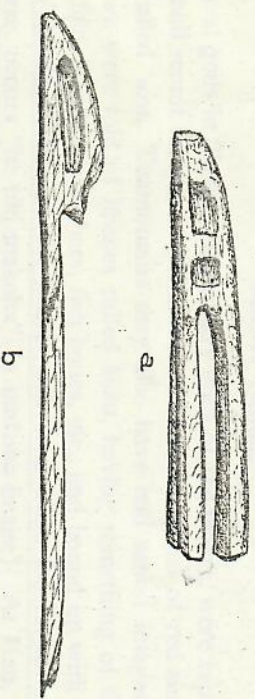


FIGURE 6.—Finds of two carved sticks from Negonego miniature house: a, 4.5 inches long; b, 7 inches long. (In Bishop Museum, B3569.)

When this *fare tini atua* reached Bishop Museum it contained, in addition to the carved ceremonial sticks shown in figure 6, two pieces of bamboo in which were locks of hair; three sections of *Tournefortia* wood with a groove running the length of one side; a pearl-shell fishhook (fig. 7, e); and a turtle-bone needle (fig. 7, f) for piercing pandanus leaves in preparing them for thatch sheets. It is possible that the hook and needle were not originally in the box.

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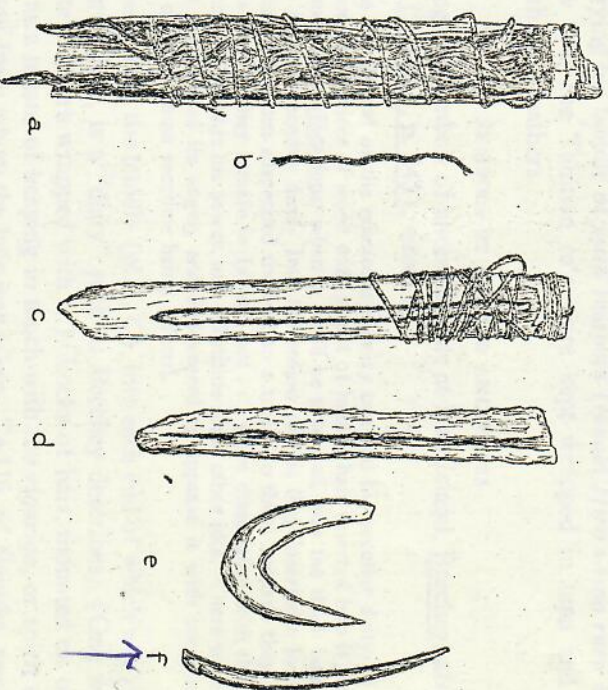


FIGURE 7.—Objects from Negonego miniature house: a, section of bamboo, 10 inches long, containing locks of human hair 2 to 6 inches long; b, lock of human hair from bamboo container, 5 inches long; c, section of *Tournefortia* wood, 10.8 inches long, with stick of *Pimphis* wood, 7.2 inches long, in groove; d, grooved section of *Tournefortia* wood, 9 inches long, showing decay and evidence of being gnawed by rats; e, fishhook of pearl shell, 3.2 inches high; f, needle of turtle bone, 5.3 inches long.

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mouth, neck, and arms rudely carved after the fashion of a Tahitian *titi*. In Tahiti I photographed a smoothly worn oval stone of gypsum, measuring 8.5 inches long, which was found on a marae at Matahiwa and which was thought to have represented some god.

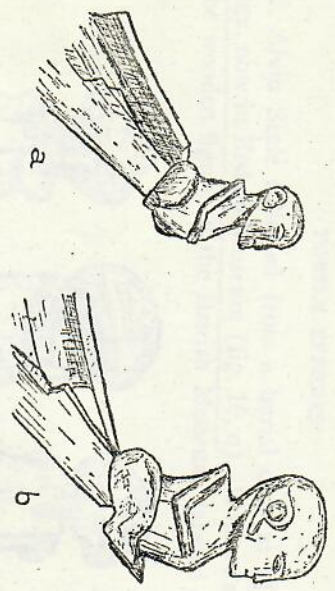


FIGURE 9.—Stern and bow images of a canoe model of Tuamotuan type: a, image on stern, 5 inches high; b, image on bow, 7 inches high. (In Oldman Collection, England)

SENNIT IMAGES

Ancestral gods in Tahiti, the tutelary gods of the marae, were represented by *to'o*, small sennit images to which were attached bunches of red and yellow feathers called *'ura*. Tuamotuan may also have had sennit images, for at Vahitahi we were told of images called *kaha*, having something of the form of a cray fish, "made of feathers, fish bones, etc., and bound up with sennit."

In a Vahitahi version of the prayer delivered when the turtle is offered at the marae, occurs "he tiki makoha" (a *makoha* image). At Hao, *makoha* means braided or put together, or is applied to a bunch of coconut fibers prepared for corflage. Hence, *tiki makoha* may be an image of braided sennit, like the Tahitian *to'o*.

A line from the eulogy of Tahuka-takaoa, a chief of Marokau Island, suggests that some Tuamotuan called certain representatives of their gods *toko*, a term identical with the Tahitian *to'o*:

Niu roa, niu mea,
rahiri taku toko ki ruga
i Pekahi-kura.

Long niu, scarlet niu^a
grace my toko upon
Pekahi-kura marae.

^a *Niu* is a term for a sacred decoration or object.

Of course, *toko* could mean staff, but in all the examples with which I am familiar, *tokotoko* is given for staff. In the list of possessions of King Mahinui, as recorded in a Raratonga manuscript, his staff is referred to by the term *turururu*.

Paea of Anaa, whose information must be checked against other sources because of his familiarity with the Tahitian sennit images, has written this account of the *kaha*:

The *kaha* was a shaped piece of wood, oiled, and wrapped with sennit braid to which was attached red feathers. When it had been made it was carried to the marae and consecrated by the priest who said, "This is the talking *toko* of so-and-so" (*te toko taku teie o'u mea*). Then the priests bade the people to whom the image belonged to come for that "*tokotoko*." When their prayers had ended the people took their stick to their house. When evening came, they looked at the piece of wood. If it was not glowing (*kama*), like a fire, they knew that they would not be successful. Then they returned to the marae to pray again.

The Tuamotuan chant, "Te Ara Matae" (The Road of the Winds; Stimson, 44, p. 190), closes with Hiro unwrapping his gods (*to'afatofa Hiro e ena atua*), and drying his bundle of *hura* feathers (*tanahi Hiro i tena ruru hura*). We know that the Tahitian *to'o* were kept wrapped in tapa and were decorated with *'ura* feathers.

SYMBOLS OF DEIFIED ANCESTORS

Concerning the symbols of ancestor gods at Hao Island, Beechey, after his visit in 1826 (5, vol. 1, p. 243), wrote:

Previous to the arrival of the missionary, every one had his peculiar deity, of which the most common was a piece of wood with a tuft of human hair inserted into it; but that which was deemed most efficacious, when it could be procured, was the thigh bone of an enemy, or of a relation recently dead. Into the hollow of this they inserted a lock of the same person's hair, and then suspended the idol to a tree. To these symbols they address their prayers as long as they remain in favour, but . . . when dissatisfied with their deity [they] no longer acknowledge his power, and substitute some other idol. There were times, however, when they feared its anger, and endeavored to appease it with coconuts; but I did not hear of any human sacrifice being offered.

Clearly the stick in the bundle (pl. 1, C), into each end of which was stuffed a wad of human hair, is a "deity" such as Beechey describes. (One wad of hair had white feathers wrapped with it.) Locks of hair, mounted on or in a stick, served as a means of keeping in touch with the *rigorigo*, or spirit of the deceased person from whom the hair was taken. Te Uf, of Napuka, remarked concerning hair used for this purpose:

At the death of a person [relative ?], you went to the funeral with your spear, you cut off a lock of the deceased's hair. Later you made a god (*fakaitua*) of it by inserting one end in a little stick, with white feathers of the *kaueka* [sooty tern], or the *kohuku* [heron]. A year later the spirit of the deceased would lead a turtle to the land for you. Te Uruupo, of Napuka, called these representations of the *rigorigo* "auraro" and said of them:

The *auraro* was a slender stick of *tonu* wood about six inches long, to one end of which was tied the hair of a child or parent who was to become a god for sending turtle. The hair might be tied by a string wrapped around one end, or it might be inserted through a hole in the end. With the hair were tied bird feathers. Black feathers such as those of the frigate bird were not used. Feathers of the white heron, the white tern (*kirahu*), and the red-tailed tropic bird were used because red and white feathers were pleasing to the *rigorigo*, or spirits, at the marae represented by these locks of hair kept in the *fare tui atua*.

Te Uruupo sometimes Tahitianized his words by dropping the Tuamotuan *k*, and it is just possible that his *auraro* should have been *kauraro*, a Tuamotuan

term for the bed of a fire plough. I mention this because in the sacred box from Ngegonec Island were a number of what seem to be fire-making sticks (fig. 7, c, d).

CONSECRATORY OBJECTS
TURTLE EFFIGIES

In 1902, Alvin Seal collected from a burial cave at Makatea the little wooden effigy, now in Bishop Museum (fig. 10, a). It bears a striking resemblance to the wooden figure in the British Museum, labeled as coming from

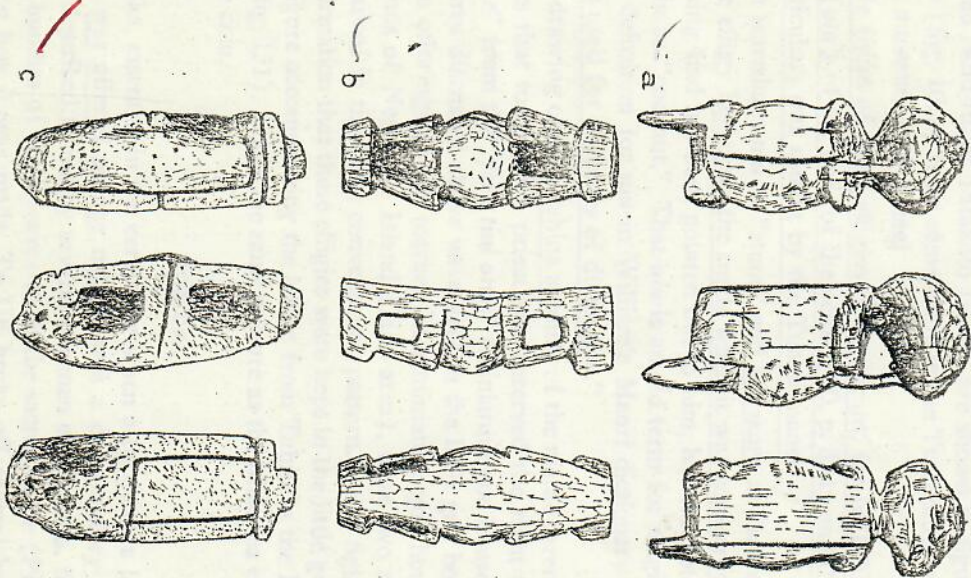


FIGURE 10.—Front, side, and back view of images: a, wooden image from Makatea Island, height 8 inches (Bishop Museum, 6175); b, wooden image in British Museum (Tah, 128), height 6.2 inches; c, coral image 10 to 12 inches high, labeled "Turtle divinity from 'Tuamotus'" (Papete Museum, 6).

Tahiti (fig. 10, b). W. O. Oldman has a similar coral figure (fig. 11, a) which was collected in Tahiti by Krejevski in 1908, but it is more likely to be Tuamotuan than Tahitian, for it resembles the coral figures known to have come from the Tuamotus: the effigy of a turtle in the Papete Museum (fig. 10, c), the figure I picked up on a Tatakoto marae, (fig. 11, b), and two coral figures from Fagatau collected by Montion (fig. 12, a, b).

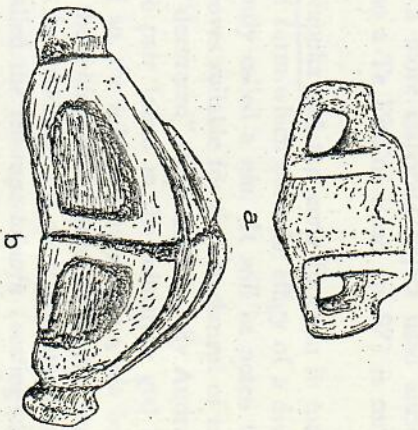


FIGURE 11.—a, coral image, probably from Tuamotus, of fine-grained coral and much weathered: height 5 inches, width 2.5 inches, thickness 2.75 inches (Oldman collection, sketched from a photograph); b, turtle figure of coral, 5.5 inches long, 2 inches wide, and 2 inches high, from court of marae Ahu-tu, Tatakoto Island (in Bishop Museum, C3236).

In his account of the sacrifice of a turtle on the marae, Montion describes (35, p. 379) "a sacred stone of oval form which bore the effigy of a divinity"

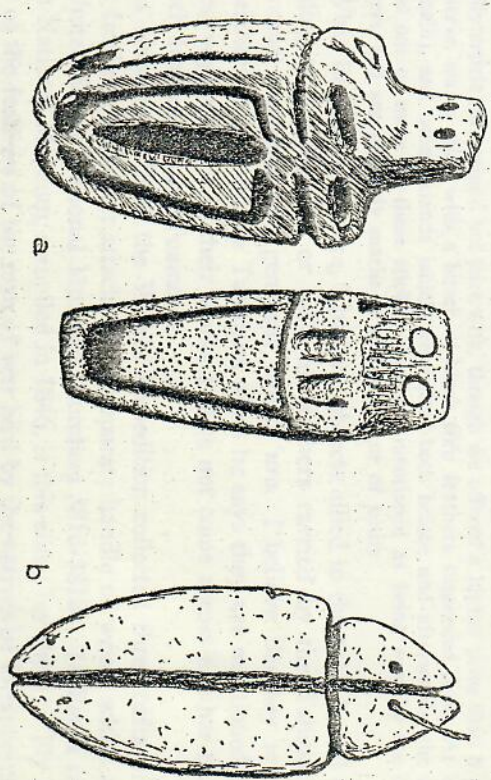


FIGURE 12.—Two images of coral from Fagatau about 3 inches tall: a, two views of image in Catholic Mission Museum, Lyon (after photograph); b, an image figured by Montion.

and which was placed on the stomach of the turtle. The two small coral effigies which Montiton figures (35, p. 499), and which he calls "little idols of coral in great veneration at the island of Fagatau," are clearly such sacred stones. One of these is at present in the museum of the Catholic mission at Lyon, France. We are indebted to the authorities of the mission for photographs of it giving the two views shown in figure 12, a. It is listed on page 59 of their catalog, under the number 372, as an "idol of the inhabitants of the Pomotu. Gift of R. P. Montiton." Montiton's figure of the other image, together with a sketch of a similar stone which I picked up from the court floor of marae Ahu-tu, at Tatakoto Island, are shown in figures 11, b, 12, b. A larger one (fig. 10, c) from somewhere in the Tuamotus, is preserved in the Government museum at Papeete.

* The turtle form of these effigies is significant, for in Tahiti the turtle was the shadow (*aita*) of the gods of the ocean (30, p. 384) and the favor of these gods, in particular, was sought by the Tuamotians.

Montiton translates *niu* as "stone" and *niu marae* as "sacred stone," meaning the stone effigy laid upon the turtle when it was consecrated (35, p. 379). If this meaning had not been pointed out to him, he undoubtedly would have translated *niu* as "coconut." That *niu* is an old term for magic objects is confirmed by a definition for *niu* in William's Maori dictionary (50, p. 258) as "small sticks used for purposes of divination."

Audran, drawing on a Fakahina account of the marae ceremony (1, vol. 28, p. 234), says that to the high priest was reserved the right to withdraw the "sacred stone" from the "*fare tui atua*" (miniature god house). This implies that the figures discussed above were kept in the little god houses and served to consecrate offerings on the marae. In a miniature god house (fig. 4) dug from the sands of Negonego Island (Hao area), were two slender sticks of *ton* wood, carved in the same conventional pattern. (See figure 6, a, b.) As further confirmation that these effigies were kept in the little god houses, I cite the human figure accompanying the house from Tahiti in the British Museum (27, p. 164, fig. 151). It has the same posture as the Makatea effigy: two arms raised to the chin.

TOKIOFA

At Napuka, essential in the ceremony when a turtle or a large fish sacred to the gods was offered on the marae, was a consecratory object called a *tokiofa*. As described to me by several old men of Napuka, this consisted of three to five bunches of fresh leaves from the sacred *gatae* (*Pisonia*) tree. In demonstrating how it was made, Te Ufi broke off several bunches of *gatae* leaves from a young tree, placed together their stems, which were about eight inches long, and then told me they were bound together with pandanus fibers. Audran, who had the advantage of talking with men more closely connected

with the past than were those I interviewed (2, p. 130), says that at Napuka were two *tokiofa* which functioned in the ceremony and that they were "decorated sticks ornamented with tresses of coconut leaf." In another place Audran (1, vol. 27, p. 135) says that they were "decorated sticks" and "covered with garlands."

It may well be that the *tokiofa* described to me at Napuka is a present-day, degenerate form of a more elaborate object used anciently. The *kaufara* described by Te Pano a Te Pito of Reao (p. 97) is certainly a comparable object.

The *tokiofa* of Napuka had the same function in marae rites as did the "sacred stone of oval form which bore the effigy of a divinity," described by Montiton, and evidently called a *niu*. It will be noted that all such figures have openings or grooves suitable for the attachment of tassels of feathers or leaves. Possibly the "decorated" sticks described by Audran for Napuka were carved sticks like the pair found in the miniature god house excavated on Negonego Island. If so, the *tokiofa* was simply a *niu* bedecked with leaves.

When not in use, the *tokiofa* was placed across two small slabs, planted on edge a foot apart on the middle of the court and standing about a foot high. These stones were called the *vai-yaga-tokiofa* (resting-place-of-the-*tokiofa*). Te Mae pointed out these stones at marae Fakarava, and I saw a pair still standing at marae Marokau.

BUNCHES OF FEATHERS

Beechey (5, vol. 1, p. 211) mentions, in connection with his visit to Vairatea in the Vahitahi area in 1826, that

the only article they would not part with, though we offered a higher price than it seemed to deserve, was a stick with a bunch of black tern feathers suspended to it. At Lagoon [Vahitahi], and other islands which we visited both before and afterwards, the natives carried one or more of these sticks: they are mentioned as being seen by the earliest voyagers, and are probably marks of distinction or of amity.

What Beechey saw were, I believe, objects allied to the *tokiofa* and corresponding to the bunches or tufts of feathers carried by the Tahitians for ceremonial purposes and generally called *ura*. I believe Beechey refers to the feathers carried by the Tahitians when he says they are mentioned by the earliest voyagers, for in their works I have not come across another mention of such feathers in the Tuamotus.

At Napuka in 1839, the Wilkes Expedition collected three tufts of split black feathers, each tuft attached to a separate handle of wood, which are in the United States National Museum (numbers 3816-3818). In Peal's catalog at the National Museum, compiled in 1846, is this entry for them: "Fly brush made of the feathers of the man of war bird by the natives of Disappointment Island." No mention of the feather bunches appears in the accounts of the voyage.

into the fare herez of Oati Mahaga, at Takakoto, and snatching the kuru atua within, chanting as follows:

Ka aroha mea te tika o Fare-kura,
Ko te runaga ia o te atua . . .

Love inspiring is the scene of Fare-kura,
The meeting place of gods . . .

Then Tahuka entered the fare papa and took the various fetishes used in sorcery (*haga hoga mana miki*), chanting a *manati*:

Ko te runaga ia o Te Faki,
Ma Te Manako, ma Te Tupenu, ma Te Roro!

It is the meeting place of Te Faki,
Of Te Manako, Te Tupenu, and Te Roro! . . .

Tahuka and her assisting ancestors then went to Takume, where she entered their fare heiau. The people were singing, and when she joined in their singing, her voice was noticed by those outside the house who declared that a stranger must have arrived. If this account is to be trusted, the people gathered in some fare heiau and it served as something more than a store house.

ADDITIONS TO THE RECORD ON TUAMOTUAN MARAEES

NAPUKA MARAEES

Site 1 is marae Raghioa, at the village at the west end of Napuka. (See map, figure 16.) Raghioa was located a few yards south of the present stone

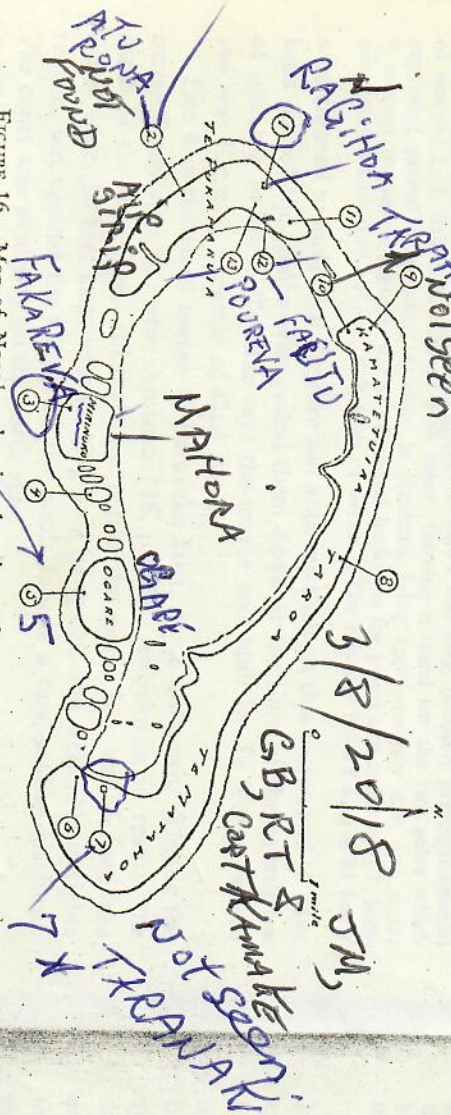


FIGURE 16.—Map of Napuka showing locations of maraees, based on bearings of a hand compass and rough estimation of distances: 1, Raghioa; 2, Aurona; 3, Fakarava; 4, marae at Paravake; 5, Marokani; 6, Fannoa; 7, Tararaki; 8, Hauragi; 9, Garutua; 10, Tararua; 11, Tarahu; 12, Fannu; 13, Poureva.

church. Every trace of the marae vanished in the hurricane of 1903. However, many of the older inhabitants remember its condition during heathen times. I asked Te Ufi, whose descriptions were clearer than the rest, to accompany me to the site and tell me exactly what he remembered. He took me over the site and then sketched in the sand the rough plan which I have given

in figure 17. The double court of the marae lay about 150 feet from the crest of the beach and at right angles to it. Te Tohitika, the court on the south, was reserved for the elders (*paki*). Te Uruo said that the *mahina* (gray heads) prayed at Te Fannui but that they ate the fat of the turtle at Te Tohitika.

Te Ufi did not tell me that a low narrow platform stood at the head of the Te Tohitika and Te Fannui courts. I was later told this by Te Uru, who located the platform of Te Fannui directly under the scaffolding supporting the miniature god houses. But Te Ufi did say that Te Tohitika was just like

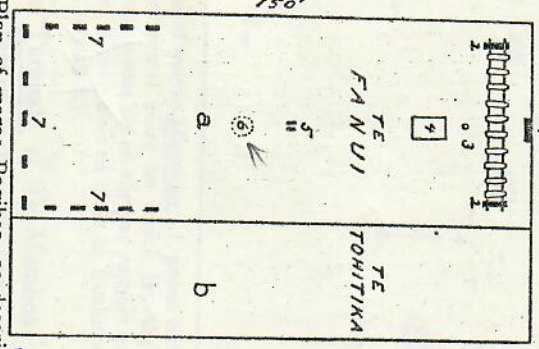


FIGURE 17.—Plan of marae Raghioa, as described by Te Ufi: a, b, Te Fannui and Te Tohitika courts, separated by low ridge of sand. c, place where carapaces and skulls of turtles were tied to trees or impaled on stakes.

1, principal upright; 2, two slabs, 3 feet high, on which rested two poles for holding sacred receptacles; 3, branching stick on which offerings were hung; 4, stone platform called *ruahutu*, 2 feet high, 3 feet wide, where prayers were said; 5, stones on which was laid sacred *tokiofo*; 6, place where turtle was laid when throat was cut; 7, upright slabs before which were placed stools for principal men; 8, bone pile between two wooden planks set on edge.

Te Fannui, only smaller. The god houses were kept at Te Fannui, and the turtle was cooked on the seaward side of the marae. Te Uruo said that there was no *ruahutu* or *raganuku* at Te Tohitika. By *raganuku* I believe he meant the frame supporting the god houses.

Site 2 is marae Aturona, at Otihare. For the description and plan of this well-preserved marae, see "Tuamotuan stone structures" (18, p. 36, fig. 25).

This marae has the same plan as Fagatau and Fakahina maraees, but differs from other Napukan maraees. According to Te Ufi it was not in use in historic times; it had been abandoned when he was a youth. The marae has a single court, a well defined *ahu* at the east end, and a perfectly preserved seat for the chief on the opposite end of the court.

Te Urupo claimed that the *ahu* of this marae was the *ruahatu*. However, he did not visit the marae with me and it may have been so many years since he had seen what I was describing that he had forgotten details. Te Ufi, who accompanied me to the marae, seemed at a loss as to what to call the *ahu*; he, like myself, thought it corresponded to the Napukan *raganuku*, which is their term for the *ahu*, as well as for the scaffolding erected over it.

Site 3 is marae Fakarava, at Te Havini, Mirinuku Islet. This marae lies with the long axis of its unenclosed court parallel to the crest of the beach and about 75 yards from it. A perspective of it made from the plan (18, fig. 26) is shown in figure 18. The features were identified on the spot by Te Mae,

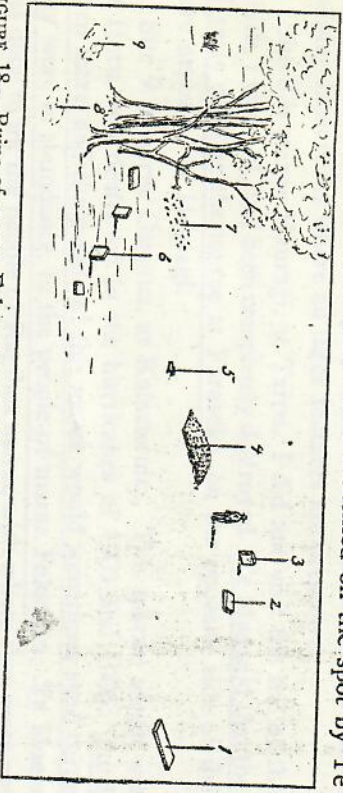


FIGURE 18.—Ruins of marae Fakarava: 1, slab 7 feet long, probably principal upright of marae; 2, 3, slabs which faced each other, forming a stand for the two poles which supported sacred receptacles; 4, altar to Ruahatu, lying approximately east and west; 5, support for sacred *tokiofa*; 6, one of several backrests for priest and assistants; 7, bone pile, littered with turtle bones; 8, 9, sites of ovens. (The distance from 2 to 6 is 82 feet.)

who claimed to have seen the *fare tini ahu* installed on this marae and to have been one of the youths who pulled them down at the time of the overthrow of idolatry, in 1879. Te Mae says the marae was built by Te Vaega, whose son was Ragiuru, ancestor of Gati Arai.

Site 4 is the small marae at Faraveke Islet, name unknown. This is the marae I reported as marae Aturoka (18, p. 37). Aturoka is, in reality, the name of the next islet. All that now marks the marae is a well-defined *ahu* 5 feet wide, 13 feet long, with its long axis lying east and west. No uprights remain, but against the middle of the north face is a tiny boxlike platform. The court was evidently on the north side.

This marae, according to Te Ufi, Kararo, and Te Mae, was a marae for seals (*humi* or *torotoro*). In ancient times seals were tracked to their sleeping place, surrounded, and killed. Te Ufi himself had never seen one. The young chief, Maono, told me this was a marae *pukete*, as distinguished from a marae *tifai*. However, Te Mae and the other older men said they had never heard of a marae *pukete*.

Site 5 is marae Marokau, at Ogare Islet. Like that of Fakarava, the unenclosed court of this marae lies parallel to the ocean and some 25 yards

from the crest of the beach. The view of the ruins (fig. 19) is based on a plan made on the spot (18, fig. 28). The identification of features is based on the known features of marae Fakarava.

Site 6 is marae Faunua, at Te Matahoa. This marae has been destroyed, except for a few curbs in line along one of its boundaries. The court, says Te Mae, lay at right angles to the lagoon, with the god houses at the lagoon end and the ovens at the opposite end.

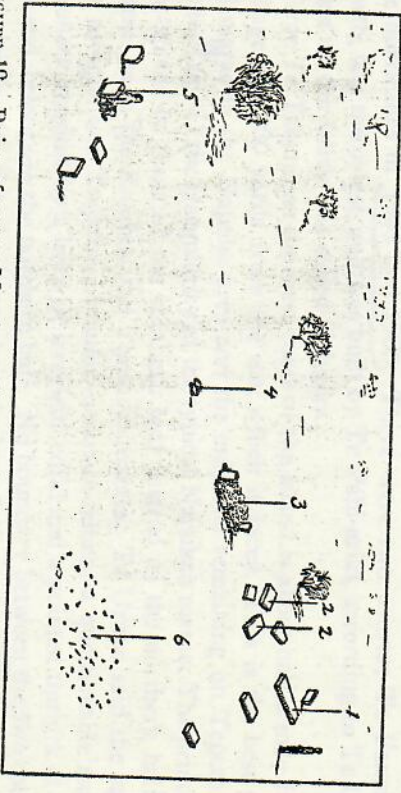


FIGURE 19.—Ruins of marae Marokau: 1, prone slab 7 feet long; 2, slabs which probably supported the horizontal poles on which lay the sacred receptacles; 3, altar for Ruahatu; 4, pair of small stones set on edge as support for *tokiofa*; 5, one of three standing backrests; 6, bone pile. (Long axis of altar to Ruahatu lies 12 degrees south of east. It is 100 feet from slab 1 to slab 5.)

Site 7 is marae Taranaki at Te Matahoa, on the eastern shore of the lagoon. This marae served in historic times as the principal marae for the whole eastern half of Napuka. The removal of stones from the marae for the building of wells and house foundations, as well as willful destruction of uprights, has all but obliterated the marae. It was necessary to make three trips there to obtain the details we have. (See figure 2.) This is the marae at which Te Mae ate turtle in heathen times. It was only with the greatest difficulty that I finally got him to accompany me onto the site of the marae, and the few minutes he was willing to talk about it were insufficient to gain more than a fraction of what I wished to know. Te Urupo joined us for a moment and, though he was more willing to talk than Te Mae, seemed hazy about details of the former appearance of the marae. I am not sure whether he had eaten turtle there in olden times. Certain outstanding features were clear: the location of the principal upright stone named Pehu-ragi (fig. 1, 1); the site of the scaffolding supporting the miniature god houses (the *raganuku* at the head of court A); the tree marking the division between the two parts of the marae known as Te Fanui and Te Tohitika (fig. 2, 7); and the two great mounds of bones at the lagoon shore, now covered over with sand and humus, except for protruding ends of bones.

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The courts (*tehua*) lie with their long axis nearly at right angles to the lagoon shore where are located the house bone piles shaded by lofty *gatae* trees. The skulls and carapaces of turtles were tied to the branches of these *gatae* trees back of the courts. Te Mae applied the terms Te Fannu and Te Tohitika to the ground under the trees, and in his first description of maraes in general he put this division behind (*ki mui*) the marae. It must be remembered, however, that it is only this part of the marae with which he would have come in contact in heathen times. I am doubtful, therefore, of the position he gives for the seat of the priest and his assistants and for the resting place of the *tokiofa*. These should, in my opinion, be much closer to the altar Ruahatu, judging from ruins where all three features are preserved.

Site 8 is marae Hauragi, at Taroa. I did not visit the site of this marae, which, I was told, had been completely destroyed. Te Mae said that the remains of seals eaten at the marae at Faraveke, on the opposite side of the lagoon, were deposited at Hauragi.

Site 9 is marae Garutia, at Kamatetuira. This marae, which was owned by Horu, was destroyed in the hurricanes of 1903 and 1906. Turtles were eaten there, and the people of this marae would sometimes send turtles, when they were in abundance, to the people of marae Fakarava. Te Mae says this was done to ink the people of Raghioa marae with whom they were not always on friendly terms. The smell of turtle cooking at Fakarava drifted on the tradewind to the village at Raghioa marae.

Site 10 is marae Tararua, a turtle marae at Kamatetuira. Like Garutia, this marae was destroyed by the hurricanes.

Site 11 is marae Tarahu or Tararu, on the northern outskirts of the village. This marae is completely destroyed, its location being marked by a struggling grove of *gatae* tree.

Site 12 is marae Fautu, on land called Muavake, in the village. The base of one *hofatu* remains, the rest of the stones having been removed for building purposes. The court lay at right angles to the lagoon, its outer end 25 yards from the lagoon beach. The *ruahatu* stood on the inner end. Te Mae, Te Ufi, and Te Uruo said that this marae was not in use in historic times. I was told by one of the old men that the marae belonged to a chief named Karere-ariki.

Site 13 is marae Poureva, in the village. This marae was for fish taken from the lagoon, such as the large *tapiro*, known elsewhere as *maru*. These fish come into the weirs in the shallow pass at the north end of the village islet, in schools of 100 to 200. One large *tapiro* is enough for 20 to 30 people. The marae was marked simply by the ovens in which the fish were cooked. Only *kamaitika*, males who had been incised, could eat at the marae. At the end of the turtle season, if they were in great abundance, turtle also could be eaten at this place.

OTHER SITES

No confirmation of a marae named Pakere, a name given me in 1929 by the chief Maono, could be found. Maono said it was located at Mirinku.

TEPOTO MARAES

Marae Havana, the principal marae of Tepoto, which stood 300 yards north of the present village and 50 yards from the beach, was completely destroyed by the hurricanes of 1903 and 1906. There were two courts; Te Fannu on the north, was the oldest, and was built by Te Pahi-ariki, according to Te Uru. The one on the south was called Tohitika.

Marae Te Tahata, on the west coast of the island is about half a mile from the village and 200 yards from the sea, which it faces. This is the best preserved *mae* in the Napuka area and the only one remaining on Tepoto. It illustrates (fig. 3) the irregularity of the typical Napukan marae. The principal upright stands in front of the southern half instead of the northern half of the marae, as in the Raghioa and Taranaki maraes. Te Uruo said the name of this upright was Tugarie-a-maunui-henua-te-tahata, a questionable name. The *ruahatu*, marked by a heap of irregular coral and a pointed upright at the farther end, belongs to the northern half. No boundary between the two courts is now visible, nor are the outer boundaries of the marae distinguishable. Te Uru said that turtles were eaten at this marae, that it was built by one Mau-te-tea, and that Mahuta-uri was the chief. No miniature god houses were installed on the marae when he was a child, as the people who owned it were dead and the marae had been abandoned.

I was told that there had been another abandoned marae, at a place called Ogon, before the hurricanes.

Pannu, son of Kamake, said that Tagihau-aroro was the name of a recent marae in front of the place called Pekue. This was probably a marae without uprights, established since Christian times as a feasting place when turtles supposed to have been sent by ancestors were eaten. Maono, the present chief, has set aside the grounds adjacent to his residence, called Te Puna, for this purpose.

TATAKOTO MARAES

During our prolonged visit to Tatakoto in 1934, I had the opportunity to correct and add to our knowledge of its maraes, as recorded in "Tannotian stone structures" (18, p. 63).

Pouihii, I learned, was not another name for marae Ahutu, but a marae along the north shore near the west end, traces of which, it is said, may still be seen. The following is a chant for it:

Ka noho au e,
 ki ruga te kireho (kire) te marae,
 Poiroi poiue toku marae,
 Noku iho toku marae ia Pouihii.

I sit upon
 the pebbles of the marae,
 ... my marae,
 For me alone is my marae Pouihii.

Marae Amuona was located at the site of the present graveyard in the village. Marae Ruakakara, inland at the eastern extremity of the island, was the marae *huna* of that end. It was a burial marae, hence the large number of human bones which are to be seen there. The marae which I described as site 5 (18, p. 65), was named Hitinga, according to Te Mahu, the oldest male inhabitant of Tatakoto. At the present village of Tatakoto, along the seaward shore, was the marae of Te Fatae, which seems to have been named Apataki. The site is marked by a grove of *gatae* trees. I was told that this marae had eight upright slabs (*keho*). Totara-mai-hiti is a marae at Tuatea, the division between the east and west end of the island.

Concerning marae Apatai, we recorded this chant in 1930:

E pupuni ana ra Nukutere,
E hiki ake hoki Te Magi-tuoro
ki ruga e Apatai.
Reta uehe te koikoi ore.
E vaiho te ariki ki ora aku tana.

Nukutere land is shrouded in darkness.
Te Magi-tuoro leaps
upon marae Apatai.
Surrounded, indeed, by raw flesh cut up,
The chief leaves [this] that my children live.

NUKUTAVAKE AND VAHITTAHI MARAES

Marae Maruofa, or Maruoha, which was located on the site of the present church at Vahitahi, was standing almost intact when Montition stayed on the island for a month in 1871. He says (34, pp. 371-372):

The chapel having been completed, I solemnly opened it, after having arranged a sort of sanctuary. To finish this little sanctuary, our Catholics went and took some flags from a neighboring marae which remained almost intact, with its great stone idols. On this occasion a Mormon minister sought to provoke a quarrel with them and threatened them with the shark's tooth for daring to profane the marae.

During the construction of the Nukutavake church in 1923-1924, Bishop Mazé saw in a manuscript book of Te Poa two crude drawings attempting to give details of marae Maruofa at Vahitahi and marae Kurakakea at Nukutavake (fig. 20). In 1934, Mazé sought to locate the manuscript, but it was not until the end of 1938 that it was found in the hands of one of Te Poa's heirs (Te Poa died in 1927), who willingly allowed Mazé to make a copy of it. This copy Mazé turned over to Bishop Museum. As Te Poa wrote his information for his own family, without having been questioned by a European, his manuscript is a valuable document for the new information which it supplies, for what it reveals of the break-down of native knowledge, and for a check on what we were told six and 10 years later.

Te Poa precedes the plans of the maraes by a brief account of the ancient worship. He starts by giving the ancient equivalents for present-day features of the church and church ceremonies. He says that the church (*fare pure*) in their ancient language was called *fare heiau*; that the school house (*fare haapiraa*) was called *fare ta[h]uga*; and that the *mainu* (image of the god) was originally kept in the *fare ta[h]uga* and later transported to the *fare heiau*,

where their god was supposed to reside. The altar was called *fata*, as it is in present-day speech. The ark of the covenant (*arua*) was called a *tapenu* (literally, offering) in the old language. The cross (*tatauro*) was called an *amu* (a decorated slab of wood or stone). The *ea tatauro* (?) was called *tahata*

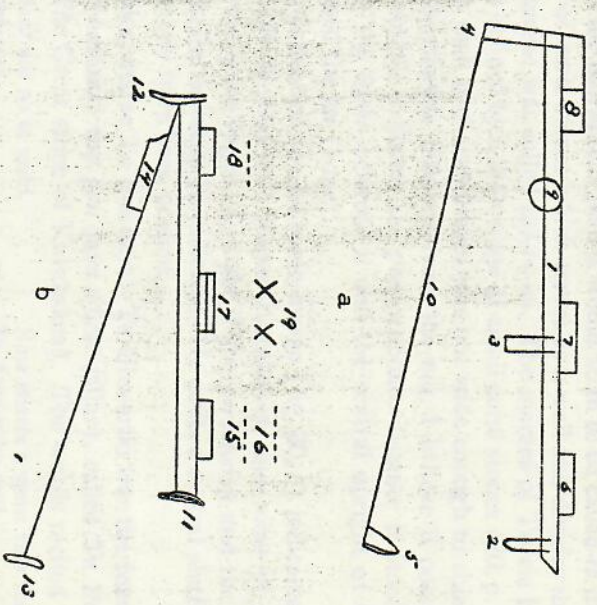


FIGURE 20.—Plans of maraes in Vahitahi area, as drawn by Te Poa: a, marae Kurakakea at Nukutavake; b, marae Maruofa at Vahitahi. (Te Poa's written designations on the plan are replaced by numbers in this figure, with his information reproduced in the legend.)

1, the platform of Kakea (*o te niu teie o Kakea*); 2, the first pillar (*pou unua*) of Kakea, Te Potatu-nui (The Mighty-pillar) was its name; 3, the middle pillar, Mata-uru was its name; 4, the last pillar, Tutaki was its name; 5, the *kurua* birds alighted here (*i topa te kurua monu to nei*), it was Te Hakeau; 6, the resting place of offered food (*maga parangi*), Taputapu-atea was the name; 7, the place of the god (*mainu*); 8, Ran-miri was the name; 9, this was the house for heads (*te fare upoo teie*); 10, this was the *tu'i* (literally, bone, or ridge of sand) of Kurakakea; 11, Kiri-a-tai was this stone (*po'fatu*), Hinau-roa set it up; 12, Kiri-a-uta was this stone set up by Hinau-roa; 13, Miri-nui was this stone set up by Tu-heariki; 14, Kohu was the name of this place for spreading out the loin-cloth (*maro*) of Tu-heariki, before Te Rau-o-Maruofa; 15, written in this space was the information that this was the priests' house (*fare ta[h]uga*); 16, written in this space was the information that Rou-piri (Thick-leaves) was the name; 17, this is the resting place of the offered food, Ata-miri was its name; 18, Meretai was this house, its name was Rare Heiau; 19, these were the two *hikai* of the *keka* (path) that the *tupua* (evil spirits) would not come onto the marae for the offered food.

rua, *tahata raro* (upper and lower tie-beam). The *penitencia* (?) was called the *hikai*; the *komunio* (communion feast) was called the *nahan*, the *tuniamia* (incense) was called the *kauuati* (magic fire) which was set before the front of the altar.

The above list ends with the statement that the *uhau* (communion feast) was held after the offering to the god in heaven (*te pupu i te atua i te rera, i te paparagi*). In that region in ancient times the god was called *Te Atua-rere-pehu*, *Te Atua-noho-ragi*, *Te Atua-haga-i-ragi*. "Three gods, and those three were one, *Te Atua-rere-pehu* in the ancient speech." The people prayed to him, and offered feasts.

In addition to the god *Tane*, the name *Te Atua-rere-pehu* was given to us by *Tuhiragi* in a list of gods; and, in a garbled account of creation, he gave *Tane* as saying to *Te Atua-rere-pehu*, "Who will make the flying mist?" *Te Atua-rere-pehu* (*The God-in-the-flying-mist*) replies that he will. When he has done so, *Tane* "looks and sees that it is good." *Te Atua-noho-ragi* (*The God-dwelling-in-the-sky*) is generally recognized by the *Vahitahi* natives as an epithet for *Tane*. *Te Atua-haga-i-ragi* (*The God-creating-the-skies*) would also be descriptive of *Tane*, who had many names. It is obvious that in *Te Poa's* manuscript three names which bring *Vahitahi* concepts into closest line with the Biblical conception of a Trinity have been selected. In this connection, it is noteworthy that in 1934 *Tama a Tama*, at *Nukutavake*, gave, as the names of their gods, *Te Atua-haga-i-ragi*, whom he said equaled *Tagaroa-i-te-ata-rere*; *Te Atua-rere-pehu*, who equaled *Tagaroa-i-te-ua*; and *Te Atua-noho-ragi*, who was *Tane*. He called these all *kura atua* and said they were the equivalent of the *kura manu*.

After the above account of *Te Poa*, he gives a prayer for the sacrificed food (*katiga paragi*), a turtle offered (*pupu hia*) "to their god" (p. 80). The god named in the prayer is *Te Atua-makakino*. Then he gives as two prayers following the above, the prayers of *Rua*, recited by the priests, which I have presented on pages 82, 83.

I have published a plan of the ruins of *Kurakakea* (or *Kakea*) marae which I made on the spot in 1930 (18, p. 60). Only some of the facing slabs of the main platform and of some side platforms remain in place, showing the main platform to have been 58 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 1.5 feet high. In *Te Poa's* plan (fig. 20, a), this platform is called the *niu* of *Kurakakea*. There is no reason to doubt that the three *niu* uprights he gives are correctly placed and named. The three small platforms in this marae plan and the plan of *Maruofa* should, however, be on the opposite side, if the single upright (out from the *niu* uprights) is the chief's seat on the court, as I believe it would be, and if these marae conformed in plan to *Tuanotuan* marae in general and to marae in the *Vahitahi* area in particular as exemplified by ruins which we studied (18, pp. 58-63), especially the nearly intact ruins on *Tureia* atoll (20, pp. 62-64).

Te Poa calls one of the small platforms at *Kurakakea* marae "the place of the offered food" and designates it as *Taputapuata* (*Far-extending-sacredness*). One or both of the other two small platforms at this marae are called

"the place of the *mainu* (god)." It is probable that all three served as places where special offerings were laid for whichever god occupied the opposite slab as a backrest. It is difficult to interpret the line (on the plans) extending to the single upright named *Hakatu* at *Kurakakea* marae and *Miri-nui* at *Maruofa* marae. In the *Kurakakea* plan it would seem to be called *te ivi*. We know that the ridge of coral stones which serves as a wall and divides the two courts of a *Napuka* marae was called *tua-ta-ivi*. The marae of *Tureia* had the sides of their courts defined by a little ridge of small coral stones (20, p. 63). As the page on which each plan was drawn was not wide enough to show the chief's seat at its proportionate distance from the *niu*, I believe it possible that the diagonal line simply indicates the proportionate distance it stood out on the court and that the space between it and the central upright of the *niu* may have been termed the *ivi* (bone).

Te Poa's information for *Maruofa* marae (fig. 20, b) indicates that he was less familiar with it than with marae *Kurakakea*, and some of the features given by him are quite vague. I doubt if the *fare heian* and the *fare tabuga* stood as close to the marae as he indicates. He omits a central platform-upright which would surely have been present.

Of *Kurakakea* marae *Te Poa* says: *Te Uho-ariki* was the founder (*fatu*), he fashioned (*hamani*) the *pou mua* (first pillar), called *Te Poafatu nui* i *Kurakakea* (*The Great stone of Kurakakea*). The words recited for it were:

Ka tu e pofatu nui no te ariki,
Te Atua-noho-ragi
Ei vanaga putaki,
Ei faoga i te kai nei,
Faraha laji te auroa.
Ei taraga i te oka
a te Hiva nei.

Now stands a stone slab for the chief,
Te Atua-noho-ragi
As a joining together of wisdom,
As a mast [?] over the food here,

...
A resting place for the spear
of the Migrant here.

Te Poa gave also the following chant (*huakuku*) for the stone slab, *Te Pofatu nui*:

Pofatu nui e kave
ki te tua o te ragi e,
Ko taku tokotoke unu.
Kia ei Mohoti [= moiti] ai au e!

Mighty stone [whose fame] extends
to the ends of the skies,
It is the prop for my decoration.
Hol! [The prayer] is terminated!

Words (*parau*) for *Mata-uru*, the *pou roto* or central pillar:
Mata-uru, *Mata-vai*,
titako [titoko ?] ragi;
Pou-roto no *Te Hakatu*,

Mata-uru, *Mata-vai*,
propping the skies;
Central pillar for [opposite ?] the
stone *Te Hakatu*,
The [back]bone of *Kakea*.

Words for *Tutaki*, the *pou muri*, or back pillar:

Pofatu ra *Tutaki*,
E opai e,
Tutaki ke henna.
E ka toe te ipo e,
Kua oti, e e.

O stone *Tutaki*,
A youngster,
Uniting the land,
The beloved one is left behind,
It is finished, e.

Chant for Te Hakaatu, where the *kura manu* was supposed to alight:

A tu ra e pofatu,
[K]o Te Hakaatu
Ei taupega no te kura tagi
nui ki te matagi Toga-nui
Set up a pillar,
The Upright
As a landing place for the
kura singing on the South-wind.

Chant for Taputapu-atea, where the food offerings were placed:

Taputapu-atea,
E papa nui, e papa iti,
E papa rito,
E koutou no te maga meitaki,
Paragi nui no Te Atua-rere-pehu.
Far-extending sacredness,
A great foundation, a little foundation,
A budding foundation,
A platform for the good food,
Bountiful sacrificial food for Te Atua-
rere-pehu (The God-who-flies-in-the-
cloud).

Chant for the *niu*, the platform of the marae:

Niu kura, niu taupe, niu toro,
Ka toro ra e niu no Kurakakea.
Sacred platform, platform for alighting,
extending platform,
Extend as a platform for Kurakakea.

Chant for Rau-mere, where the *matiu* stayed:

Rau-mere, rau-miri,
E fare heiau no te ariki
noho ragi.
E vahaga kopu tai no Te Matoto-i-
ragi.
Rau-mere, Rau-miri,
A *heiau* house for the chief residing in
the sky.
A residing place of learning for Te
Matoto-i-ragi.

Chant for Rau-miri:

Rau-miri, Rau-mere, Rau-rau,
E nohoga no na tahuga,
E huriga no te aro Kopu-a-ragi.
Rau-miri, Rau-mere, Rau-rau,
A seat for the priests,
A turning about to the face of
Kopu-a-ragi.

Chant for *te fare upoko*, the head house:

Kerikeria te hakono ha roa,
Moemoe a faitai rere hau,
E fare upoko na te ariki Te Uho-ariki.
Dig the long sacred cavern.
Lay out . . ."
A head house for the chief Te Uho-ariki.

Te Poa also says that the back pillar (*hou mui*) and the platform (*niu*) of Kurakakea were erected by Hinan-roa's father, and that the chant for this marae was the following:

Te tuaiti nei taku kura ki te
tua o te ragi!
Ke tu taive te niu kura o Kakea.
E ivi-tia Tutaki.
My *kura* abides everywhere in the remote
sides!
Stands . . . the sacred platform of
Kakea marae.
The pillar backrest for the chief is
the back-bone.
The chief is Te Iho-ariki the *kura*
[sacred red bird] here.
Behold! A *kura*!

MAKAE OF THE SOUTHEASTERN TUAMOTUS

In "Archaeology of Mangareva and neighboring atolls" (20, pp. 53-74), I presented such records as were available for the maraes of those islands. Later, there appeared a record of a visit made by Caillet (9, pp. 224-233) to Tenalagi in the year 1858. He came across a marae on the south part of the atoll near the southwest corner (9, p. 231), perhaps marae Te Ihoaga described to me by natives at Pinaki (20, p. 66), and another marae on one side of the northeast pass (9, p. 232).

For the island of Vanavana, I listed (20, p. 64) a marae seen by Stimson, stating that I thought it to be on the north side of the island. John L. Volz, U.S.N.R., who spent three days on Vanavana subsequent to 1940, writes me that the marae is on the southeast side of the island.

HEREHERETU

We now have a description of a marae on Hereheretu which Mr. Volz sent to Bishop Museum. He was on the island for three days early in April 1941, and finally persuaded the oldest resident to take him across the lagoon to the marae, of which the natives are very proud. The marae is called Haka-panana and is located at Maaoketahara on the southeast corner of the atoll about 100 feet from the sea. Volz' informant said that the marae was built by Naputeretere and was presided over by Tane-maurie, and that the natives came here to pray for favorable winds to carry them to the various islands to which they wished to journey for fishing.

The marae, as revealed by Volz' plan and photographs, consisted of a well-built *ahu* platform 5 feet wide, 35 feet long, a foot high, faced with lime-stone slabs 3 to 5 feet long and set on edge. Along the back stood three upright slabs, averaging a height of 5 feet above the ground. One stood midway between the ends of the platform, each of the others stood just within the ends. The platform lay northeast and southwest. Along each side of the court, which is on the east side, and almost touching the inner ends of the *ahu*, is a long, low, rough pile of coral, some of it branch coral, 20 feet long and up to 3 feet in width. The marae platform and three platform uprights are typical of those we found in the western Tuamotus. The piles of rough coral along each side of the court appear to be boundary walls.

The natives seen at Hereheretu on January 12, 1941, by Ringgold of the Wilkes Expedition, looked to him like Fijians, they were so dark and had such "crispy" hair (49, vol. 4, p. 285). He was the first one to leave any mention of Hereheretu's inhabitants and he tells only of an old and savage-looking chief with a silvery beard who forbade them to land, and of seeing three men, five women, and a number of children. Inset stopped at the island three years later, February 18, 1844, but was unable to land because of rough weather. He saw no people but suspected that they were keeping themselves

out of sight. However, a few months later his agent landed on Hereheretue, found inhabitants, and, according to Lucett, removed them all to Anaa (32, vol. 2, pp. 39-40). The inhabitants consisted of an old man, his son and three daughters, and the children of the son with his three sisters. Lucett said that the old man, with his son and daughters, had been blown off his course while traveling from one island to another in the vicinity of Anaa and had finally landed at Hereheretue and settled there. The pearl divers who were being transported on the agent's boat made advances to the three sisters once they were aboard, with the result that father and son attempted to capture the boat. After they had been overpowered, they refused to eat and both died before they could be put ashore at Anaa (32, vol. 2, pp. 40-41).

It would seem that Lucett's agent had not removed all the inhabitants of the island, because Ringgold mentions seeing a larger number of men and women only three years earlier and the French Annual of Tahiti for 1863 gives the population as 25.

Lucett is the first printed source for the name Hereheretue, spelled in this way. But on Wilkes' map (49, vol. 1, p. 316) Heretua is applied to Anuanuraro. This name, obviously a variant of Hereheretue, must have been supplied Wilkes by some native informant of the western Tuamotus (there were no inhabitants on Anuanuraro) and erroneously applied.

Hereheretue was certainly seen before Ringgold's visit in 1841, because it appears on a map by Moerenhout, dated 1834 (photograph copy in Bishop Museum), and labeled "Briemart, prob. San Pablo." Wilkes called the island San Pablo, thinking it the island which Quiros discovered. However, the San Pablo of Quiros was Anaa (Markham, 33, pp. 197-204). Lucett says the master of a French vessel fell in with an island answering to the description of Hereheretue, in 1835, and that his agent had a chart on which this island is called Surry Island (32, vol. 2, p. 39).

CAROLINE ISLAND

Caroline Island, 450 miles to the northwest of Matahiva, the westernmost island of the Tuamotuan Archipelago, was uninhabited in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, and probably uninhabited when discovered by Broughton in 1795, but marae ruins and basalt adzes found on the island prove it was occupied in pre-European times. As the record we have of one of its maraes shows a marae closely related to the Tuamotuan maraes, and as this record is in an out-of-the-way source, I have included it here.

The atoll, which is nearly six miles long and averages three-fourths of a mile in width, was taken possession of for the British in 1868 by Captain Nares, R.N. The inhabitants at that time numbered 27 (Holden, 39, p. 21). There were probably descendants of the native families carried there by Lucett, who says (32, vol. 2, p. 233): "Late in the afternoon [July 4, 1848]

sighted Caroline I., formerly uninhabited; but we carried several native families there with pigs, fowls, turkeys, etc., to form an establishment for

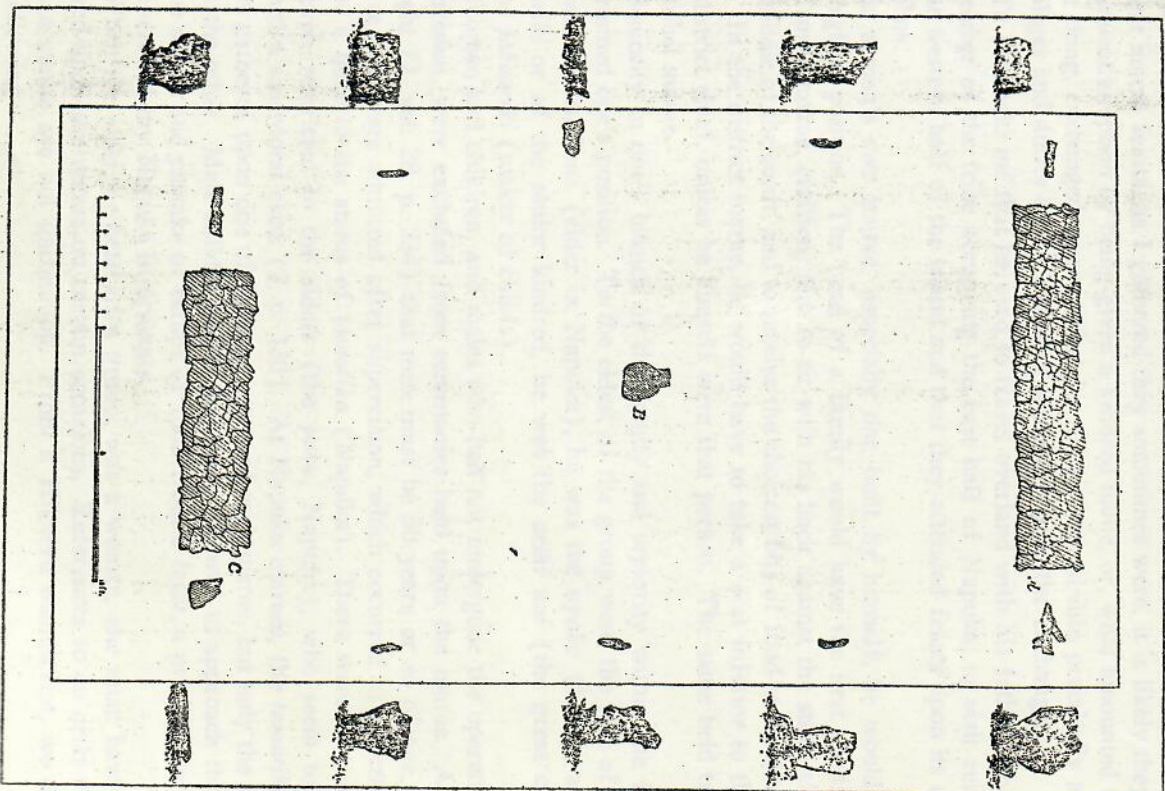


FIGURE 21.—Marae on Caroline atoll, based on plan published by American Eclipse Expedition of 1883; figures in margins show side views of the 10 smaller blocks on the borders of enclosure in the plan. (The two walls at the ends are represented in side view, according to Arundell's explanation as understood by Holden, but I believe they are represented in ground plan or they would not have been given with cross-hatching.)

rearing stock." About 1878, Ruano was exported from the island (Holden, 39, p. 21). It was first leased by Brown and Brothers and then by Mr. Arundell of the firm of Eouldler Brothers and Company. Mr. Arundell, in a letter dated August 6, 1883, wrote to Mr. Holden (39, p. 21) as follows:

We became Crown tenants in 1872, and have remained in possession ever since, carrying on guano operations there; and in 1881 I took the affair up individually and apart from my firm, and commenced the planting of coconuts there, as also on the neighboring Flint Island. . . . There are some curious old marae, i.e., burying or sacrificial places. Probably my natives did not show them to you. Of these I have photographs and plans, and should you care about them, I would forward them also.

Presumably, Mr. Arundell sent the plans and the plan presented in the report of the American Eclipse Expedition of 1883 (Holden, 39, fig. 3) is one of them. (See figure 21.) The report says, however, that the plan was made by George W. Robertson of Liverpool "and is accurate" (39, p. 22). The report also says (39, p. 22) that

Mr. Arundell describes it very briefly in a letter of January 1st, 1884. The plan gives the disposition of the various masses about the central space. [See figure 22.] The figures in the margins are the elevations of the ten smaller blocks shown in the plan on the borders of the inclosure. The two walls at the ends are *not* represented in plan, but are revolved 90° so as to appear in elevation. With this explanation the figure can be understood.

The material of the blocks and walls is coral and coral conglomerate. Mr. Arundell opened cairn C without finding any trace of bones, ashes, or of any human remains. They are situated on the western side of the most northern islet, and there are a few smaller ones on the south point of the longest islet on the east side.

MARAE CEREMONIES PARTICIPANTS IN CEREMONIES

Before going into the question of who participated in rites upon a marae, it is necessary to determine why a Tuamotuan calls himself a member of a certain kindred (*gahi*) and speaks of a certain marae as being his. Names are considered the private property of a kindred, and if one examines Tuamotuan genealogies, he will find that some of the children had names from the mother's ancestors, others, names from the father's ancestors. The first-born, if a son, was usually given the name of one of his father's kindred. Hence, he belonged to the kindred on his father's side, and one of their maraes was his marae when he came of age. He had a right to sit on the other maraes of the kindred, or on any marae of any kindred, if he could trace blood relationship to it through either his father or mother. But the position he occupied on the others might be inferior.

A reason for still preserving genealogies of an ancestor of a distant island is that one might some day wish to visit or settle upon that island. His blood relationship would give him the privilege of joining with the descendants of of this ancestor, sharing in their land as long as he remained with them.

The right to sit at another's marae was undoubtedly contingent to some extent upon the willingness of the kindred whose marae it was. If husbands of the women of a kindred and visitors who had no blood tie were admitted to their marae feasts, as I gathered they sometimes were, it is likely they first underwent adoption by being given a kindred name, or, what amounted to the same thing, exchanged names, whereby a man entered into practically all the privileges and duties of the one with whom he made the exchange.

Te Mae told me that he used to travel overland with his father, who was a member of the tribe occupying the east half of Napuka, to visit relatives in the western half of the island and that they attended feasts upon its marae Ragihoa.

In a man's own marae, especially one built by himself, he would have the highest position. The head of a family would have the first position in the family marae, entitling him to sit with his back against the stone slab on the middle of the court, and to receive the choicest bits of food at the distribution. In the district marae, he would have to take a seat inferior to that of the district chief, unless he himself were that person. The same held true of the tribal marae.

Seniority in one's branch of the family and seniority within the family determined one's position. To the eldest of the group went the title of head. He was the *tuakana* (elder in Napuka), he was the *upoko* (head), and, if an *ariki* or of the senior kindred, he was the *ariki nui* (the great chief), or the *fakariki* (maker of chiefs).

Women and children, and males who had not undergone the operation of supercision, were excluded from ceremonies held upon the marae. Andran thought (1, vol. 28, p. 234) that men must be 30 years or so of age, but I believe they were admitted after supercision, which occurred at puberty and raised a male to the status of *tamaitika* (Napuka). There were ceremonies, however, restricted to the elders (the *paku*, Napuka), who seem to have formed a sacerdotal class (2, p. 130). At Napuka maraes, the *tamaitika* and elders gathered upon one of the two courts of each marae, but only the elders upon the other. Male children were sometimes allowed to approach the rear of the marae and partake of scraps of food from a feast, a privilege enjoyed by several of my Napuka informants.

When the *ariki*, or head of a group, was a woman, she must have been allowed upon the marae on certain occasions. References to an *ariki vahine* upon a marae are not uncommon. From a Hikueru manuscript, we copied the following:

Ko vanu teie ko Tapahi-ro-ro-ariki,
Te vahine i noho hia i te kaiga,
I tika hia ai i te marae.

I here am Tapahi-ro-ro-ariki,
The woman who was established on the land,
Who was set up on the marae.

Women were taught marae prayers and chants, but purely as repositories of this lore.

The head of a family or kindred was entitled to be the priest of the marae, but in the case of tribal maraes, some other member of the chief's family might hold the office. According to Montiton (35, p. 379), the high priest had an assistant (*huhuki*), who stood on his right, and two assistants (*fakatau* and *hakari*), who were on his left. Andran speaks of only two lesser priests, also of royal blood and called *huhuki* (1, vol. 28, p. 234); and my informant at Napuka, Te Uru, said the priest or chief was assisted by two men whose designation he could not remember.

Montiton's information, which he said was gathered from the eastern Tuamotus, is from Tatakoto, Fagatau, or Fakahina, for at no other eastern islands did he stay long enough to gather his knowledge of maraes. Prior to the publication of his article on Tuamotuan religion, he had remained for nearly six months, just before October 16, 1870, at Fagatau (34, p. 284) and from November 5, 1870, to July 16, 1871, or a little over nine months, at Tatakoto, where he was much occupied building a church and a calvary (34, p. 286). At Fakahina he stayed four months prior to 1872 (34, p. 376).

Andran (1, vol. 28, p. 234), drawing on information from Fakahina, says of the high priest:

In the Tuamotu Group the chief officiating priest, who conducted, so to speak, divine worship, and represented the archpriest in our cathedrals, was known as the *kanuku*. He was a great personage and very holy. Further, he enjoyed the highest privileges. He was exempt from ordinary work and from that forced labor, at times so troublesome, such as cooking and the preparation of the turtle, for which the common people were liable. The smoke from the ovens was not to come near him or to touch him. Throughout the whole island there was but one authority (that of the king) superior to his, while at times his influence was as powerful as even that of the king. He alone was responsible for the ordering and carrying out of everything that concerned the celebration of the annual festival and the performance of the religious ceremonies on the marae. All these were under his sole jurisdiction. It was the *kanuku* whose duty it was to regulate them as he thought fit, providing that he preserve the ancient usage.

At Fagatau, *tu-kgu* was the term used for the high priest.

OCCASIONS FOR CEREMONIES

The capture of turtle, porpoise, or large fish of the sacred class was the most frequent occasion for the use of the marae. The importance of turtle feasts upon the marae is obvious, for far more detail is remembered about them than about any other marae ritual. During the off-season for turtle, most maraes at Napuka lay idle.

About July, at the approach of the time when female turtles came ashore to lay their eggs and both male and female turtles appeared around the island, the principal maraes of a tribe were meticulously weeded and cleared of all rubbish (*paraparua*). This was done at Napuka by the *taki haga karava*

(suckers of bits of coconut fiber), who were gray-headed men. After clearing, the maraes were decorated for the rites, the purpose of which was to insure a large catch of turtle during the season, July to December or January. The first turtles captured at the beginning of the season were offered to the gods with the most elaborate ritual (2, p. 130).

Cannibal feasts no doubt furnished occasions for the use of maraes reserved for that purpose. In a legend we collected from the Vahitahi area, marae ceremonies were held before setting out on a voyage, to insure protection against a god named Rua. Upon the safe arrival at land, the chief immediately repaired to the marae to acknowledge the protection given by his gods (44, p. 189). Fannies called forth special marae ceremonies. At the first pregnancy of a woman of the *ariki* family, prayers were said at the marae (35, p. 491). The navel cord of the chief's son might be buried at the marae with some ritual. In the chant of the Hao chief Te Hau-o-Rogo, occurs: "[K]a koti te pito ko [==o] Tagihia, ka tanu ki roto ki Maruata" (Sever the navel cord of Tagihia, bury it at marae Maruata).

The succession of a chief to the position of *ariki* called for a very important ceremonial, about which we have no details except that it sometimes took place upon the founding of a new marae for this chief. Upon the death of a chief, his body was carried to the marae before final disposition of the remains on the land or in the sea. If he were to receive the honor of apotheosis, some of the ceremonies involved took place upon the marae.

Terms for other important ceremonies have been remembered, such as *pohe* at Tatakoto, *te ahū pohe*, and *te unu tapihopiko*, a three-day ceremony, at Fagatau.

THE TURTLE FEAST

CATCHING THE TURTLE

The eve and day of the sacrifice of a turtle at the marae, the men who were to partake of the flesh observed continence, says Montiton (35, p. 367), whose information is from Fagatau, Fakahina, or Tatakoto. "They ordinarily slept near their canoes, to launch them as soon as day appeared, for turtle hunting, for bonito trolling or for fishing for other large fish. The man who caught the victim detached the brightest scale and offered it to the god whose image was on the bow of the canoe, designating and consecrating the victim by this chant." (The native text of the chant is Montiton's, but for the translation I have substituted one of Stimson's, which I regard as more accurate.)

Ka [k]ohiti mai te tai,

Tupa ruga,

Tupa raro,

Tupa uta,

Tupa tai.

E pana i mua,

E pana i roto,

E pana i muri,

Now the tide rises,

It sweeps to the east,

It sweeps to the west,

It swerves toward the land,

It swings out to sea.

It rises before,

It rises between,

It rises behind.

