

TUAMOTUAN RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES AND
CEREMONIES

by

Kenneth P. Emory

103p.

GEORGE BALAZS
1947

TUAMOTUAN STONE STRUCTURES

by

Kenneth P. Emory

1934

GEORGE BALAZS
78p.

term for the bed of a fire plough. I mention this because in the sacred box from Negonego 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

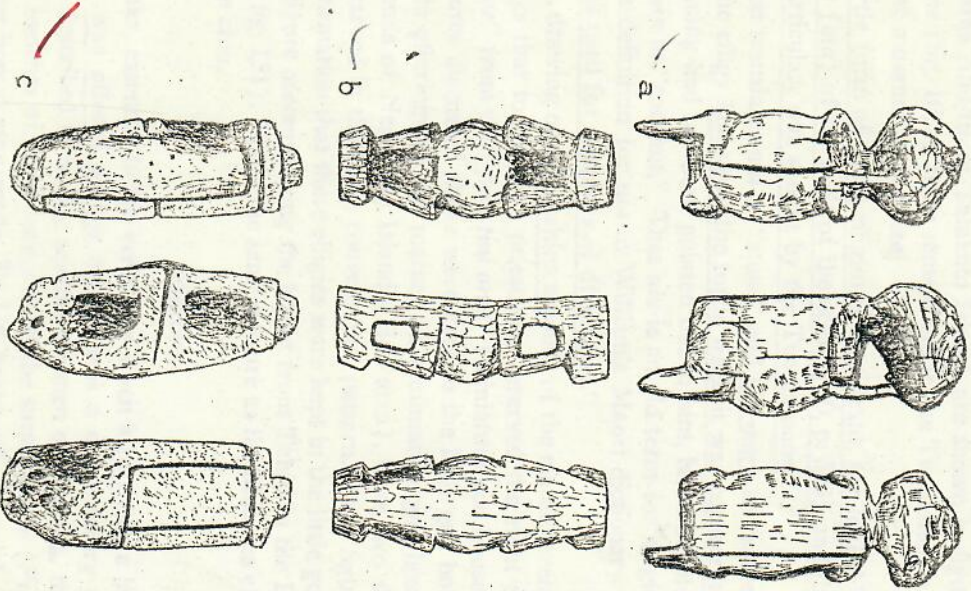


FIGURE 10.—Front, side, and back view of images: a, wooden image from Makatea Island, height 8 inches (Bishop Museum, 6175); b, wooden image in British Museum (Tab. 128), height 6.2 inches; c, coral image 10 to 12 inches high, labeled "Turtle divinity from 'Tuamotus'" (Papete Museum, 6).

Tahiti (fig. 10, b). W. O. Oldman has a similar, coral figure (fig. 11, a) which was collected in Tahiti by Krajevski 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 Paganau collected by Montiton (fig. 12, a, b).

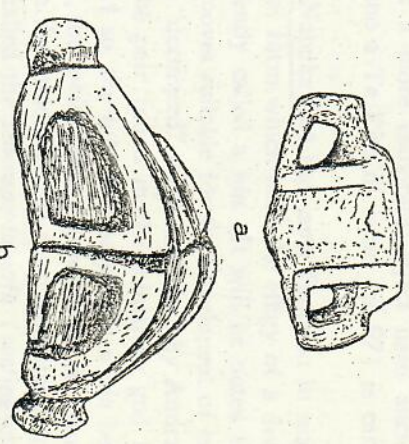


FIGURE 11.—a, coral image, probably from Tuamotus, of fine-grained coral and much weathered: height 5 inches, width 2.5 inches, thickness 2.75 inches (Oldman collection, sketched from a photograph); b, turtle figure of coral, 5.5 inches long, 2 inches wide, and 2 inches high, from court of marae Ahu-tu,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

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

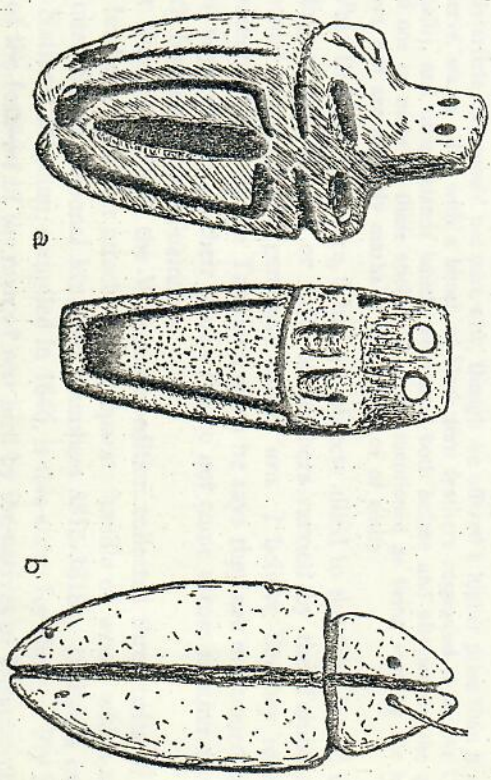


FIGURE 12.—Two images of coral from Paganau, about 3 inches tall: a, two views of image in Catholic Mission Museum, Lyon (after photograph); b, an image figured by Montiton.

and which was placed on the stomach of the turtle. The two small coral effigies which Montton 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. Montton." Montton's figure of the other image, together with a sketch of a similar stone which I picked up from the court floor of marae A-Mutu, 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 (*ata*) of the gods of the ocean (30, p. 384) and the favor of these gods, in particular, was sought by the Tuamotians.

Montton translates *niu* as "stone" and *niu mara* 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 tini 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 *tou* 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 Montton, 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-raga-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 Vairaia 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 kura* of Gati Malaga, at Takakoto, and snatching the *kuru alua* 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 (*huga huga mana miki*), chanting a *nanati*:

Ko te runaga ia o Te Faki,
Ma Te Mamako, ma Te Tupenu, ma Te Roro . . .

It is the meeting place of Te Faki,
Of Te Mamako, 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 MARAEs

NAPUKA MARAEs

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

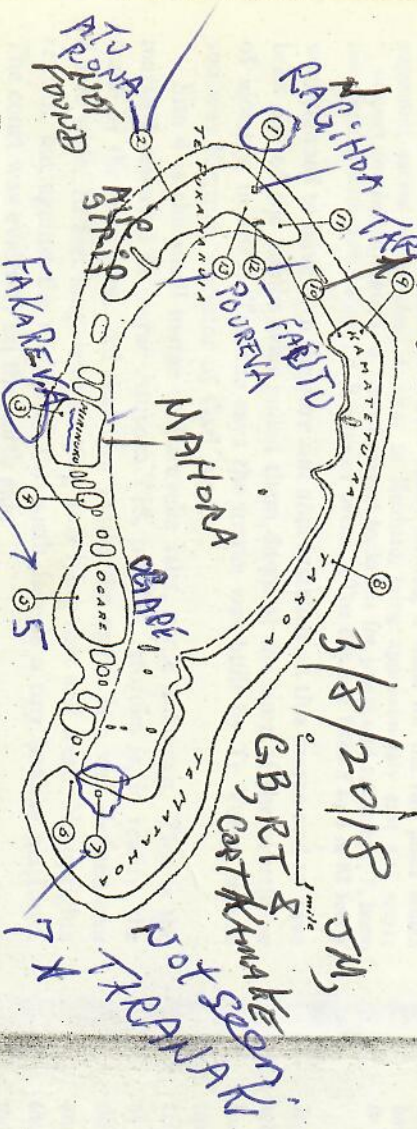


FIGURE 16.—Map of Napuka showing locations of marae, based on bearings of a hand compass and rough estimation of distances: 1, Raghioa; 2, Aturoga; 3, Fakarava; 4, marae at Paraveke; 5, Marokani; 6, Faunua; 7, Taranaki; 8, Haurangi; 9, Garutua; 10, Tararua; 11, Taranu; 12, Paniu; 13, Poueva.

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 (*paku*). Te Uruupo said that the *mahina* (gray heads) prayed at Te Fannu 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 Fannu courts. I was later told this by Te Uru, who located the platform of Te Fannu directly under the scaffolding supporting the miniature god houses. But Te Ufi did say that Te Tohitika was just like

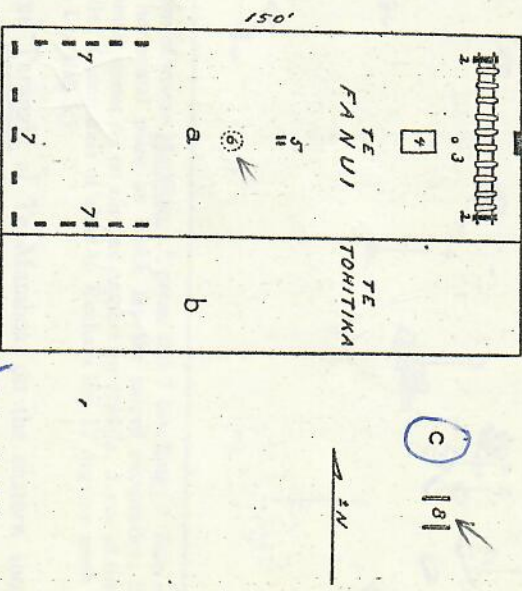


FIGURE 17.—Plan of marae Raghioa, as described by Te Ufi: a, b, Te Fannu and Te Tohitika courts, separated by low ridge of sand. c, place where carapaces and skulls of turtles were tied to trees or impaled on stakes.

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 *ruahatu*, 2 feet high, 3 feet wide, 6 feet long, where prayers were said; 5, stones on which was laid sacred *tohitofa*; 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 Fannu, only smaller. The god houses were kept at Te Fannu, and the turtle was cooked on the seaward side of the marae. Te Uruupo said that there was no *ruahatu* or *raganuku* at Te Tohitika. By *raganuku* I believe he meant the frame supporting the god houses.

Site 2 is marae Aturoga, at Oritare. 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 marae, but differs from other Napukan marae. 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 Uruipo 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 Havihi, Mirimuku 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,

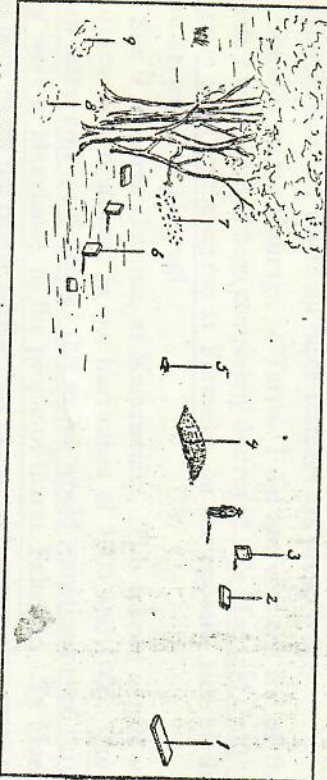


Figure 18.—Ruins of marae Fakarava: 1, slab 7 feet long, probably principal upright of marae; 2, 3, slabs which faced each other, forming a stand for the two poles which supported sacred receptacles; 4, altar to Ruahatu, lying approximately east and west; 5, support for sacred *tokiofa*; 6, one of several 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 ini atua* 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 *hiai*. 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.

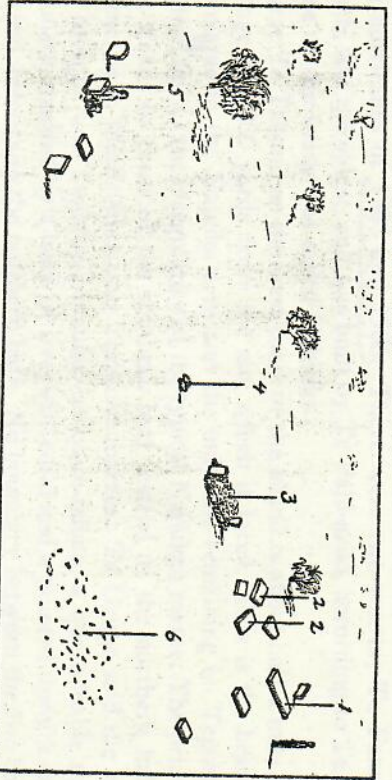


Figure 19.—Ruins of marae Marokau: 1, prone slab 7 feet long; 2, slabs which probably supported the horizontal poles on which lay the sacred receptacles; 3, altar for Ruahatu; 4, pair of small stones set on edge as support for *tokiofa*; 5, one of three standing backrests; 6, bone pile. (Long axis of 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 Uruipo 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 Fanni 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.

The courts (*tahua*) 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. The Mae applied the terms Te Fanni and Te Tohika to the ground under the trees, and in his first description of marae in general he put this division behind (*ki muri*) 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 *tohiota*. 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 Tarua. I did not visit the site of this marae, which, I was told, had been completely destroyed. The 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 Garutua, 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. The 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 Garutua, 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 *po'ofatu* 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 *kanarika*, 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 Mirinuku.

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 Fanni on the north, was the oldest, and was built by Te Pahi-ariki, according to Te Uru. The one on the south was called Tohika.

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 marae 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 Tugarua-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-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 Orou, 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 "Tuamotuan stone structures" (18, p. 63).

Pouhii, 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.
 Poipoi poiue toku marae,
 Noku iho toku marae ia Pouhii.

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

Marae Auruona 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 *tumu* 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 Hitiaga, 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 (*ke'eho*). Totara-mai-hiri is a marae at Tuata, 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.
Te Magi-tuoro leaps upon marae Apatai.
Reia uehe te kotikoti ore.
Surrounded, indeed, by raw flesh cut up.
E vaho te arki ki ora aku tama.
The chief leaves [this] that my children live.

NUKUTAVAKE AND VAHTAHI MARAE

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 Kurakaka 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 *maitu* (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 (*aruaa*) 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*

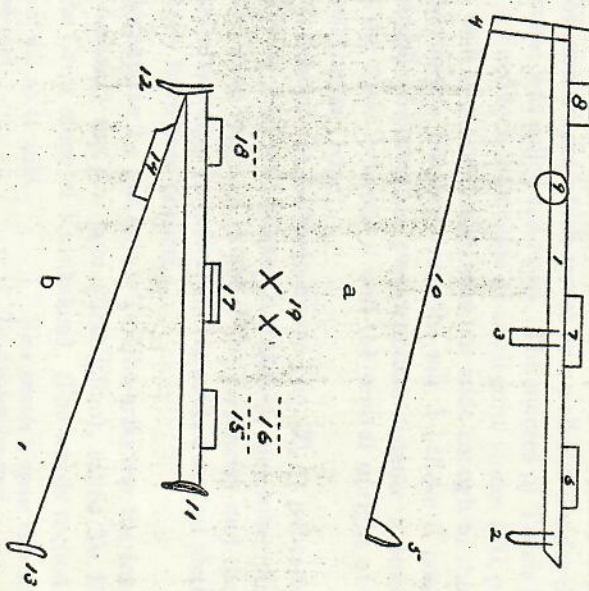


FIGURE 20.—Plans of maraes in Vahitahi area, as drawn by Te Poa: a, marae Kurakaka at Nukutavake; b, marae Maruofa at Vahitahi. (Te Poa's written designations on the plan are replaced by numbers in this figure, with his information reproduced in the legend.)

1, the platform of Kakea (*o te niu teie o Kakea*); 2, the first pillar (*pou muu*) of Kakea, Te Pofatu-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 *kura* birds alighted here (*i toha te kura muu to nei*), it was Te Hakatu; 6, the resting place of offered food (*uaga parangi*), Taputapu-atea was the name; 7, the place of the god (*maitu*); 8, Rau-miri was the name; 9, this was the house for heads (*te fare upoo teie*); 10, this was the *ivi* (literally, bone, or ridge of sand) of Kurakaka; 11, Kiri-a-tai was this stone (*po'atu*), Hinan-roa set it up; 12, Kiri-a-uta was this stone set up by Hinan-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 Rau-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 *beka* (path) that the *tupua* (evil spirits) would not come onto the marae for the offered food.

ruqa, *tahata raro* (upper and lower tie-beam). The *penitencia* (?) was called the *hikai*; the *koumuio* (communion feast) was called the *nahan*, the *tumtania* (incense) was called the *hannati* (angle fire) which was set before the front of the altar.

The above list ends with the statement that the *nahan* (communion feast) was held after the offering to the god in heaven (*te pupu i te atua i te rerua, i te paburagi*). 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-na; 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 (*kutiaga paragi*), a turtle offered (*pupu hia*) "to their god" (p. 80). The god named in the prayer is 'Te Atua-makai-kino. 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, *d*), 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 maraes conformed in plan to Tuanothan maraes in general and to maraes 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 'Taputapuatea (Far-extending-sacredness). One or both of the other two small platforms at this marae are called

"the place of the *manu* (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 *tau-ta-ivi*. The maraes 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 heiau* and the *fare tahuaga* 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 (*hanani*) the *pou maa* (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,	Now stands a stone slab for the chief,
'Te Atua-noho-ragi	'Te Atua-noho-ragi
Ei vanaga putaki,	As a joining together of wisdom,
Ei faoga i te kai nei,	As a mast [?] over the food here,
Farahia laji te auroa.	..
Ei taraga i te oka	A resting place for the spear
ai te Hirva nei.	of the Migrant here.

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

Pofatu nui e kave	Mighty stone [whose fame] extends
Ki te taa o te rahi e,	to the ends of the skies,
Ko taku tokotoko unu.	It is the prop for my decoration.
Kia ei Mohoi [= moiti ai au e]	Hoi! [The prayer] is terminated!

Words (*parau*) for Mata-uru, the *pou roto* or central pillar:

Mata-uru, Mata-vai,	Mata-uru, Mata-vai,
ihako [ihoko ?] rahi;	proping the skies;
Pou-roto no 'Te Hakatu,	Central pillar for [opposite ?] the
	stone 'Te Hakatu,
	The [back]bone of Kakea.

O te ivi o Kakea.

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

Pofatu ra Tutaki,	O stone Tutaki,
E opai e,	A youngster,
Tutaki ke henua.	Uniting the land.
E ka toe te ipo e,	The beloved one is left behind,
Kua ofi, e e.	It is finished, e.

Chant for Te Haka tu, where the *kurā manu* was supposed to alight:

A tu ra e pofatu,
[K]o Te Haka tu
Ei tanpega no te kura tagi
nui ki te mata'angi Toga-nui.
Set up a pillar,
The Upright
As a landing place for the
kurā 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 kōkōu no te mēga me'iaiki,
Paragi nui no Te Atua-rere-pehu.
Par-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 *nui*, the platform of the marae:

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

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

Rau-mere, rau-miri,
E fare heiau no te ariki
noho rāgi.
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-rāgi.

Chant for Rau-miri:

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

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

Kerikeria te hakono ha roa.
Moemoe a faifai 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.

The Poa also says that the back pillar (*ponu mui*) and the platform (*nui*) of Kurakaka were erected by Hinanu-roa's father, and that the chant for this marae was the following:

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

MARAE 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 Cailliet (9, pp. 224-233) to Tenangi 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 Ihoga 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 Simson, 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.

HEHERETUE

We now have a description of a marae on Heheretue 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-pauna and is located at Maoketaharoa on the southeast corner of the atoll about 100 feet from the sea. Volz' informant said that the marae was built by Maputeretere 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 limestone 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 Heheretue on January 12, 1841, 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 Heheretue'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. Lucett 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 Luccett, 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. Luccett 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 Luccett'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.

Luccett 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 "Britemart, 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). Luccett 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 Luccett, 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

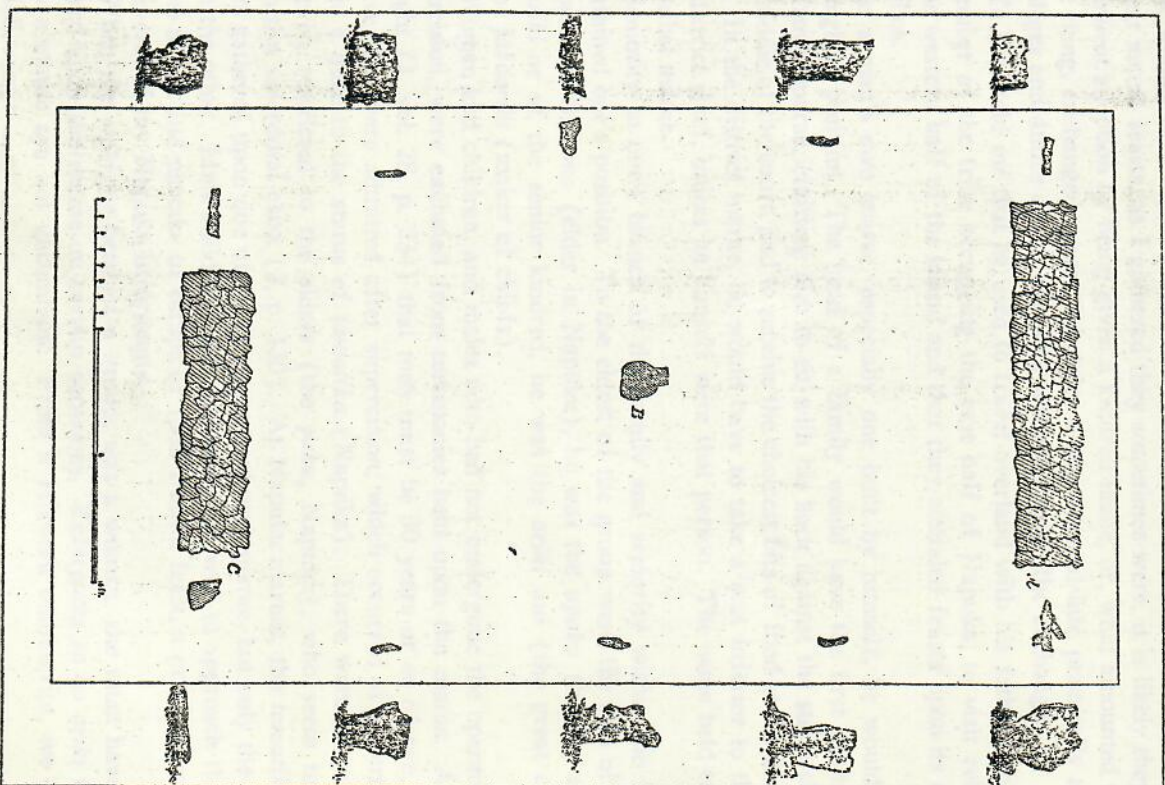


FIGURE 21.—Marae on Caroline atoll, based on plan published by American Eclipse Expedition of 1883; figures in margins show side views of the 10 smaller blocks on the borders of enclosure in the plan. (The two walls at the ends are represented in side view, according to Arundell's explanation as understood 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, guano 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 Houlder 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 marais, 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 (*gati*) 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 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.

The 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 Raghoo.

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 *tuakama* (elder in Napuka), he was the *wpoko* (head), and, if an *ariki* or of the senior kindred, he was the *ariki nui* (the great chief), or the *fakaariki* (maker of chiefs).

Women and children, and males who had not undergone the operation of supercision, were excluded from ceremonies held upon the marae. Audran 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 *tamathika* (Napuka). There were ceremonies, however, restricted to the elders (the *paki*, Napuka), who seem to have formed a sacerdotal class (2, p. 130). At Napuka maraes, the *tamathika* 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 van teie ko Tapahi-roto-ariki,
Te vahine i noho hia i te kaiga,
I tika hia ai i te marae.

I here am Tapahi-roto-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. Audran 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).

Audran (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 *kamuku*. 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 *kamuku* whose duty it was to regulate them as he thought fit, providing that he preserve the ancient usage.

At Fagatau, *tu-kyu* 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 (*parapara*). This was done at Napuka by the *taki haga kavava*

(seekers 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). Famines 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] 'Yagihia, ka tanu ki roto ki Maruata" (Sever the navel cord of Yagihia, 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 papure*, and *te unu tapikopiko*, 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 ufa,

Tupa tai.

E pana i muna,

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.

ʻŌgaroa—

Kai ki ruga!
Kai ki raro!
Ko i to pito,
Ko i to unu,
ʻO pito ka moe,
ʻE pito no te vai,
Ka moe.

Partake [of this offering] above!
Partake below!
[The tide] has risen to your navel,
It has reached your sinews,
Now your navel is submerged,
It is a navel of the waters,
It becomes submerged.

O ʻŌgaroa—

In another place (35, p. 503), Montton says that the most brilliant part of the turtle's covering was placed "in the front or rear of the canoe, in a beautiful little tabernacle made to receive that part which the Oceanian never fails to give his idol each time he goes fishing."

After one or a number of turtles were procured, the news was spread to watchers on shore by arm signals, *taunu* (Napuka). The right arm was extended full length upward, starting from between the legs, to signify one turtle caught, then brought down and extended again, to signify another. If the turtle counted was female, the extended arm was curved inward before being brought down. Were the arm stretched full length to the side, it was (at Napuka) the sign of the capture of a great turtle of the kind called *pukira*. I understood that this particular signal was called a *ragi-hau* at Napuka, though a *ragi-hau* at Fakahina is the name of one species of turtle.

Ashore, says Montton (35, p. 378), a messenger clad in his pandanus girdle (*hune*), his black belt (*tatua*), and ornamented with a necklace (*puve*) of small pearl shells, and a feather cap (*kahu*), and with spear (*komore*) in hand, set out to announce the news.

The chant which this herald used at Hao is now known by most of the older natives of the eastern Tuamotus. It is called a *toinoio*, and was introduced by three shouts (*he he he*). I present the version given at Hao by Pou a Ganahoa, which is almost identical with that in the manuscript of Te Aku a Puga of Hao.

Toinoio e!	It is the intoning of the chant announcing a catch!
Tiriri, tiriri,	Tiriri, tiriri,
Tarara, tarara!	Tarara, tarara!
Ei maro piri, ei maro reva,*	Let [it] be a clinging girdle, a hanging girdle,
Takai, takai ki te maro no Tu!	Wrap round, wrap round the girdle of Tu!
(Ko te maro tena.) ^b huakia	That is the girdle through which was uncovered,
mai ai, takina mai ai,	brought to view,
Te papa o Tongareva.	The foundation of Tongareva.
Ei puga-nui, ei paia, ei	As a large coral, a shelf of soft coral, a
oro-reva,	hard limestone rock.
Ka kapara taana manu i ruga nei,	That bird above flaps [its wings],
E torera huru kore.	A plover without feathers [a human bearer of news].
Ko mea ra te tagata i rave	So-and-so is the person by whom this fish
ai i tauna ika nei.	was taken
E ika nui, e ika rau,	A great fish, a fish taken on the grapple,

* From a version given by Te Tuumu of Paite.

^b From Te Aku's manuscript and in a version from Te Mae of Napuka.

Kau ki tuku matau nui na

Ruahatu.

Grappled by my mighty hook presided over by

Ruahatu.

Huchuelaj atu pera hoki,

Fatia te pekau o Matariki.

Thus indeed flung down,
The broken flapper of Matariki [if a female turtle].

ʻThe foundation of Tongareva,

a term applied to the bottom of the sea, mentioned near the beginning of the chant, has reference to the place where the turtle sinks and hides when pursued.

Matariki, which stands for a female turtle, is the name of the Pleiades; and Takeru, which stands for a male turtle, is the Belt of Orion. Their connection with the turtle is revealed in the traditions of Belt of Orion and the Pleiades, given below.

Myth of the Belt of Orion and the turtle

At Vahitahi, Honu (Turtle) was the child of Takeru (Belt of Orion) and Matariki (Pleiades). In hunger, Matariki killed and cooked their child and offered the flesh to Takeru. When he had taken a bite, she informed him that it was the flesh of their child, then fled, chased by Takeru.

According to the Anaa tradition given by Paea, Takeru was living as a husband with Matariki within the abdomen of Atea-man-tagata (*ki te kopu o Atea-man-tagata*). They were dwelling in the shades of Havaiki (*ki te maru o Havaiki*). Takeru slipped off alone to the land of Nuku-man-tagata (Land-holding-people), and when he returned, Matariki was furious that he had not taken her along. Matariki told him he must leave her: "For you is the first division of the night (*po tahi*), for me, the second (*po rua*)." Then Takeru began his relentless pursuit of her, proclaiming, "I am Takeru of the long phallus reaching to the mountain Vaiga-tagata (Place-where-people-dwell)." He called to Matariki to face him, but she would not. Takeru said he would not give up the chase until he caught her in the many-domed sky of Atea (*ki te ragi kapukapu o Atea*). Matariki boasted:

Kua hakatanu Matariki-te-uru-rega

ki tana iho ariki,

I kohna ai te ragi kapukapu o Atea.

Kaore e hokiga.

Matariki-of-the-flaming-brow . . . harkens
to her ancestors,
Who clouded the many-domed sky of Atea.
There will be no returning.

After this event, according to Paea, Takeru asked the fish if they would follow him. Each replied, "We will not follow you" (*kaore maten e peke iau*), until he came to the turtle. The turtle answered, "I indeed will follow you."

Takeru replied:

Kia tiki kia koe,

Kia taka hoki [i] tan marae,

Ka tiraga hoki koe

ki mau i te marae o ʻŌgaroa,

Kia fakateni hi,

Kia raka hoki [i] tou marae.

Let [the people] be well fed by you,
Let [them] be filled till their bellies
are rounded on your marae.
You will indeed lie on your back upon the
fore part of the marae of ʻŌgaroa,
That you be enlarged,
That you be sanctified upon your marae.

Henceforth, male turtle followed after Takeru, the female turtle, after Matariki.

After coming across the above legend, I understood a remark once made by Te Mae, "When the star sign (*haveriga*) appears, the turtles appear." It is not difficult to understand how the appearance of the Pleiades, preceding the coming of turtles, gave rise to a connection between the two.

Myth of turtle and fowl

In Anaa tradition, the turtle and the fowl were born in Havaiki-te-araro of the same parents, and would have shared equally the honor of being offered up on the marae had not the fowl demanded the sole right. The turtle said of the fowl, "Kia ariki maua, kua taka ia to maua marae, kua tiraga ia [mana] ki maua ki te marae o Tagaroa" (We will be chiefs, our marae will be set apart, we will be laid upon the marae of Tagaroa). But the fowl would not agree to sharing the privilege.

In Vahitahi, where the fowl is absent, the frigate bird takes its place in a variant myth:

Kariki the elder and Karihi the younger leaped into the fire to provide food. That part of them which was not consumed by the flames turned into maggots. Those from Karihi the elder became turtle and bonito; those from the younger became *pitara* fish and frigate birds. When they met, Turtle and Bonito said to Pitara and Frigate Bird: "They shall all become sacred to Te Fatunoua, a trumpet will sound for them, a drum shall loudly beat, a feast mat shall be spread, a prayer recited, and their bones shall be neatly piled" (*Ei hua ratou ki te Fatu-noua, e pu to ratou e tagi, e tamere e tamere hia, e lapukan e mahora, e pure e oli, e pahata hia to ratou ite*). But Pitara and Frigate Bird demanded for themselves these privileges. Thereupon Turtle and Bonito prophesied that no conch would blow for them, no drum would sound, no mat be spread, and their bones would not be gathered up.

In Tahiti, the turtle says to the fowl (30, p. 381), when one contends for prestige above the other, "You are common, you will be eaten by women and children, but I shall be sacred to the gods, I shall leap into the god's house."

An old Reao native recounted to Seurat (43, vol. 21, p. 125) the following tale of the cock and the turtle:

The turtle said to the cock, "Come out here, come out here." The cock replied, "Come inland here, come inland here." The turtle answered, "I will not go inland lest I have to eat excrement." The cock retorted, "I will not go out there, lest I have to eat seaweed." Then the turtle said, "Fie on you! You will never be famous. As for me, I will die at Manaha-o-Tagaroa, I will be famous" (*O van ra e higa ia van ki Manaha-o-Tagaroa, e ro[gi]o toku*).

Paea of Anaa gives a somewhat different version of the chant heralding the catch of a turtle, saying that not only the name of the person catching it and the gender of the turtle is made known, but also the means by which the turtle was caught: by a hook (*taketa*), by seizure under water (*tago*), by spearing (*oka*), or by grabbing the turtle on shore (*neke noa*).

Tahiti, taratai
E haroga mai ai tana ika nei,
He ika nui, he ika iti;
Ko mea ra te tagata i roaka ai tana
ika oka nei,
He ika paku, he ika tavake, he
ika heko.

He ika paraparau-e-ra;

Takai, takai, takai,
Takai ko te hume no 'Tu ma,
Nau e [te igoa o te tagata].

Hoi oi hatia te pekau o {Takerou
Matariki.

At Vahitahi we were told that *tonoino* meant to drag along by means of a rope and that the *tonoino* chant could be used for the *maratea*, the *puhi* (ecl), the *kakahi* (tuna), and the *kautea* (bonito) as well as the turtle, because all these belonged to the same tribe (*tagata anake*). The other names could be substituted for *honi* in the chant.

In the book of Te Akiu a Puraga at Hao occurs the *tonoino*, announcing chant, for the *pitika*, a species of parrot fish with a sharp beak (*Scarus* sp., called *puhoro* in Tahiti).

Toinoino ei
E rahi te tupu i ruga nei,
E ika te i raro nei.
Ko nihoiho, akia, makere hoki,
Tana ika te pitika hoki, te pitara.
Hoi, hoi, tuene, tuene e.
Ka tanu reporepo hia
na hua, na kohaga,
na ruahine.
Ka tanu reporepo hia!

CARRYING TURTLE TO MARAE

The turtle, slung to one or two poles, was carried from the reef to the marae by two or four men. Says Montion (35, p. 503), "The other fishermen followed, gamboling, dancing, and giving forth piercing cries. The whole population came to meet them, joining their dancing and answering their vociferations." The same scene was described to me by the old men of Napuka, who said that the turtle was surrounded by men and women chanting and prancing about. The chant, called a *puhaohao*, follows:

Haroa ki toga,
Haroa ki tokerau;
Ka piri, ka pokipoki,
LEADER
Encircled in the south,
Encircled in the north;
Closed-in, covered over,

It is the heralding of a catch!
Tahiti, taratai
That fish has been rounded up,
A great fish, a little fish;
So and so is the person who discovered the
speared victim here.
It is a turtle of the kind called *pekau*, of the
kind called *tavake*, of the kind called
heko.

It is a turtle of the kind called
paraparau-e-ra.

Bind on, bind on, bind on,
It is the girdle of Tu and his clan,
It is for you [the person who caught the
turtle].

Hoi oi Broken is the flipper of {Takerou
Matariki.

A chant announcing a catch!
It is a heaven which spreads above,
It is a fish which lies below.

...
That fish is a *pitika* indeed, a *pitara*.

...
Bury smeared with dirt...

Bury all smeared with dirt!

A mau tena pu!¹
Hio! hi ho!²

PEOPLE
Let [the note of] that trumpet be prolonged!
Hio! hi ho!

¹ For some reason, now apparently lost, this name Raurua, or Raurua, is connected with the turtle. In distant Vahitahi, the boasting chant of the turtle, in the legend of the turtle and the frigate bird, makes reference to it:

Uese mai i raga Te Raurua,
Poi mai i aha takeke,
Kitega te piripiri o taku manawa,
E aha ota takaki.
² As the *m* in *pu* is extremely short, the translation may be wrong; the line may be actually "a mau te napa."
³ This calling out by the people is termed *hi* (*kua hi te tagata*).

Pannu of Napuka demonstrated the manner of dancing which accompanies this chant. In time to the chant, the hands, pointing down, were clapped flat together while the elbows were turned outward. At the same time the knees kept rhythm by being turned outward and then inward, alternately. While going through these movements, the dancers hopped clear off the ground a few inches, both feet together.

The turtle was whipped (*takiri*) with a sapling *Pisonia* tree (*toatua*) with leaves attached (a *van toatua*). This whipping was kept up until the turtle arrived at the marae. Then, says Pannu, the whips were struck in the ground at the marae. The whipping was to insure that the marae would be crowded (*ruru*) with turtle shells procured during the season.

When the voice of the messenger reciting the *tonono* chant was heard in the village, all the warriors donned the same garb as the messenger and proceeded in silence to the marae. These men, Montiton remarks (35, p. 367), must not have partaken of food prior to the ceremony.

ARRIVAL OF TURTLE AT MARAE

At the marae, the turtle was placed at the rear of the court (fig. 1) on its back to prevent its escape before the time of sacrifice. According to Montiton (35, p. 378), it lay on a coconut leaf surrounded by coconuts and "other food." From what we learned at Vahitahi, the turtle rested on a coconut-leaf mat called a *tapakan*.

At Napuka, the priest tied *takakai*, entwined strips of pandanus or coconut leaf (fig. 13) to the neck or flippers of the turtle. The *takakai* was consecrated by being held high before the face of the priest, with one end in the left hand and the other in the right hand, while he chanted.

Io kere roa,
Io kere poto,
Io kere tatutua,
A hiri, ka ru a!
Io te ho [= uho ?].

TE MAE'S VERSION
There in the darkness stretching out,
There in the darkness restricted,
There in the darkness bound round,
Arise, stir!
There where is the divine essence.

la kere roa,
la kere poto,
la kere tatutua,
A hiri a.
Te tere te ao.
TE URU'S VERSION
[In] that land [of darkness] of far extent,
[In] that restricted land,
[In] that land bound round,
Turn [hither].
[The gods] voyage to the realm of light.

¹ Considering the possibility that *io* might here be a name, I sounded out Te Mae on the subject. He knew of no god named *Io*.
² Toward the last of my stay at Napuka, in 1934, I acquainted Te Mae with the unverified account of *Kiho* written by Fariua of Paagan (46). He remarked, "This teaching is not here."

At the end of the chant, the *takakai* was dipped to the right as far as the hip, then tied to the turtle.

INVESTIGATE OF CHIEF

Montiton (35, p. 378) writes that the chief took up his position "with his back to the marae" (*adossé au marae*), that is, with his back to the *ahu* platform of the marae, for Te Uru and others at Napuka mention this as being the first position taken by the chief or presiding priest. Furthermore, Montiton says that the chief faced the *tuturi* kneeling at the back of the marae while the warriors, seated to the right and left on stools, formed two parallel lines.

Montiton speaks of the *tuturi* in the singular number, but this, I believe, may not be a term for some officer, but a descriptive term applying to those exclusive of the warriors who sat or knelt directly on the ground at the far end of the court.

According to Montiton (35, p. 379), to the chief's right was the spearer (*huhuki*) charged with giving him his headdress (called a *fa*) and putting into his hands a staff² surmounted by a little image. To his left was the *fakatau* and the *hakari*. Montiton described the *hakari* as the bringer of the "sacred stone . . ." but he says nothing about the *fakatau*. However, *katau* means right, and the *hakari* was stationed at the right of the *ariki*, as viewed by those attending the ceremony; *fa* probably refers to *tobio-fa*, which at Napuka is the name of the object fetched by the *hakari*. Hence, I believe *ka-katau* (sacred-object-on-the-right) was simply another name for the *hakari*.

At Napuka the term *fa-katau* for one officiating at the marae recalled nothing, but the *hakari* was remembered by Te Uru as the man who went the length of the island chanting a charm to induce turtle to come.

Te Uru said that the priest was assisted by two men, but he did not remember by what term they were designated. Audran (1, vol. 28, p. 234) in his sketch of Fakahina, speaks of the *huhuki* as a term for the two lesser

² The staff of Mahinu, high chief of Paagan, was called a *turururu*, and was named *Tora-tio*.

priests of royal blood who assisted the *kau-muku* (generally known as *tu-kau*), the highest priest of the marae.

The old people of Fagatau said the *huhuki* was the assistant to the chief, who, when he invested the chief with his ceremonial attire, chanted:

Tagarora iau, ka (a)kei Tagarora there with you, alight!
Ka mahua iau! Fly out to you!
Ko te ahu e! It is the gathering together!
Te huru, huru te vaka! The tribe appears!

When the chief had been invested with his *faui* and staff, according to Montion (35, p. 379), the *huhuki* took a bunch of leaves (probably one of the whips, *va lotoa*) and struck the "pavement" to awaken and call the gods.

The chief then turned toward the *ahu* and, with "grand contortions and deafening yells" (Montion, 35, p. 379), invoked all the gods. Montion gives the following list, in which most of the names are recognizable on our Fagatau genealogies, and many occur in genealogies from Fakahina (Audran, 3, p. 234): Tauruhua, Kai-nuku, Punihava, Ruannuku, Tu-te-ao-tea, Tu-nakino-kinu, Tohuhika, Rua-fatoga, Tu, *te ahi* Tu (the clan of Tu), *te ahi* Rogo (the clan of Rogo), *te ahi* Tane (the clan of Tane), Tama-tu-hau, Tama-ariki-tahi, Tavake, Ruafatu, Mahini, Te Moana-tai-hia, Tama-tea, Hoga, Marerokogakoga, Rua-kai-ata, Mutitai-uta, Mapu, Mahaga, Koarora, Okea, Tahuka.

Following the above list, says Montion (35, p. 379), came the long list of family gods (immediate ancestors). And these invocations were repeated several times during the sacrifice.

A manner of invoking the gods at the marae, as told by Te Miro of Fagatau, was by the priest chanting the following:

Aua e,^a faharo mai i te rahi. O gods, soar hither from the heavens.
Ko te ipo e, Beloved ones,
Ka tu ia, rahire,^b Be present.
Ko Rogo-nui, faharo mai i te rahi, O Rogo-nui, come sweeping hither from
 the abode of the gods,
Ko te ipo e, Beloved one,
Ka tu ia, rahire. Grace this place with thy presence.
The verse is repeated for Toiene, Itupava, Punihava, Tohuhika.

^a It is usual to address the gods in the singular tense.
^b *Rahire* is usually *rahire*, or *reire*, a common Fagatau ending which is something like our hallelujah.

AWAKENING OF THE GODS

In Tahiti, on the evening of the day after the wedding of the marae, came the "awakening of the gods" (*fa'a ara ara va'a i te auaa*) (Henry, 30, p. 158). Tahitian chants for this are not recorded. Perhaps the calling to the gods of "ho, ho, ho," termed *ho ho auaa*, as the marae was approached (30, p. 165) was all that was necessary.

In 1931, Reva, daughter of Te Miro, gave me a chant for the awakening of the gods (*no i'e fakaa'ara auaa*), which Stimson came across three years

later in a book at Nukutavake. Farina, Reva's husband, later used the first part of this chant in a composition which he wrote for Stimson (46, p. 27) as an "esoteric" prayer and which he claimed was Tane's prayer for the awakening of the supreme god, in petitioning him for his grace. Reva's prayer, however, is addressed to a plurality of gods.

We were not informed on what occasions the chant was delivered. The concluding lines, "Matariki stands above, a *tohu* lies below," indicates that it may have been an invocation delivered on the assembly ground, although *tohu* can be applied to the court of a marae. In the invitation for the gods to partake of the offerings at the marae, from a manuscript book of Farina (p. 92), the gods called upon in the *fakaa'ara* chant reappear: Tupua, Te Iri, Te Fatu, Tahio, and others. From analogy with the preliminary invocation at Hiao, at the consecration of a chief, it would seem that this chant given by Reva and the Nukutavake manuscript served much the same purpose. I give the text as copied from the Nukutavake manuscript.

1
Fakaa'aria ki te po roa!
Ka eke ki te vaka ni[hi]ani[hi]a a Tane!
Ko vai [i] tapa i fanau ai koe e te
rakau?
Ko Tu-ruma-rakau, ko Taraga-nui-o-
mere!¹
Ka tupu ia Tane!
E taku aitu—e ara!
E ara [e] Tupua!²
E ara i [= e] Te Iri,
E ara i [= e] Te Fatu,
E are e Tane, e ara!
E ka huru ariki,
Ki tai tupu, ki tai rito, ki tai
kao!
E Rua-toka-nuku, e Rua-toka-ragi.

1
Awake in the long night!
Float forth in the handsome canoe of Tane!
Who designated [?] that you should be
born, and all plant life?
It was Tu-ruma-rakau (Gloom-of-Forest), it
was Taraga-nui-o-Mere!
Arise through Tane!
Oh my gods—awake!
Awake, Tupua,
Awake, Te Iri,
Awake, Te Fatu,
Awake, O Tane, awake!
And appear, lordly one,
At the sea developing, the sea swelling,
the sea bursting forth!
O Rua-rock-of-the-land, O Rua-rock-of-
the-sky.

2
O Hifo, your hair is untied by me;
I now cast out your words.
It was Ru by whom was uncovered the
foundations below,
Haunakamu was the man who illuminated
the road to Hiva.

2
E Hifo e, ka tara i[faui]e io rouru;
Ka haki au io korero.
Ko Ru i huakina te papa ki raro,
Ko Haunakamu te tagata i verohia[ai]
te ara i Hiva [= Hiva].^a
Ka tu ki Vai-he-nuku,
Ka takoko ki Vai-he-rari [= rahi].
Nifanitia Te Toki!^b
Ko Takurua,
O Hifo, your hair is untied by me;
I now cast out your words.
It was Ru by whom was uncovered the
foundations below,
Haunakamu was the man who illuminated
the road to Hiva.
Stand up at Vai-he-nuku [the star Castor],
Lie down at Vai-he-rari [the star Pollux].
Fierce is The Adz!
It was Takurua [Sirius].

^a According to Paeta of Ana, Taraga-nui-o-Mere is a bright star employed as a guiding star from Tausere to Kavanere, but we have not come across Tu-ruma-rakau as a star name.
^b *Tuki* is supplied from Reva's version.
^c *Adz*, from Reva's version.
^d Hiva in the text, but obviously, from Reva's text, a mistranscription for Hiva. In the chant for the chief of Kaitia, he is called a peaceful child of the land who died struck down (*pa kua*) on the "ara tai" (*Te Toki* [The Adz]). The dark sea road of Tane).
^e *Te Toki* (The Adz) is the name of a star in a list of star names from Fagatau, and next to the name Vai-he-nuku.

Takurua e tu nei,
 Ko Fakamata-tahi-a-muku,^f
 Ko Fakamata-tahi-a-ragi,
 Ruru ki Te Pua,
 Ruru ki te aro o Fanni.

Takurua abiding here,
 It was First-shaper-of-the-earth,
 It was First-shaper-of-the-sky,
 Assemble at Te Pua [the star Achernar],
 Assemble before the face of the star Fanni.

Tu tahaga i te aro o Takurua ma Takero,^g
 Matarihi ko te ruga.
 E tahua ko tei raro—

Stand bared before Sirius and Belt-of-Orion.
 It is Pleiades which is above.
 An assembly ground [the court of the
 marae] lies below—

E ara, e ara!

Awake, arise [O gods]!

^f Takurua at Paganan was called "king of the stars" (*ariki no te haga haka*), and among its epithets occur, Takurua-mata-muku (Takurua-growth-of-land), Takurua-mata-ragi (Takurua-growth-of-sky), *(fa'ara')*, in the sky and on earth. Takurua was called (30, p. 363) creator of chiefs in his most important chant at Vahitahi, beginning, "Tu ia kia raga, fan tana raga, fan here roa te fan o Takurua, ko Matahi-muku, ko Matahi-ragi, beginning, "Tu ia kia raga, fan tana raga, fan here roa te fan". In the Tahitian account (30, p. 362) of the birth of the heavenly bodies, the heavens were identified with stars to be brought into the presence of Takurua (*te aro o Takurua*), to assemble as a host (*ei hana'o*) in the presence of Takero.

The "awakening" prayer at Hao, called a chant "for the awakening" (*no te fakaara haga*), "a preliminary invocation, for the arousing of the chief" (*mata toae no te fakaara haga i te ariki*), and "a chant for the consecration of a chief" (*parau no te fakamata haga ei ariki*), was probably delivered on the marae when the chief was invested with his ceremonial attire. In it the ancestral gods are called. Here is the chant as given by Rogotama:

NO TE FAKAMATUA HAGA EI ARIKI

FOR THE CONSECRATION OF A CHIEF

Ara mai, ara marie!
 Ara mai o mata i te po,
 Ara mai o mata i te ao!

Awaken, become wide awake!
 Let your eyes open in the world of night,
 Let your eyes open in the world of light!
 Awaken, become wide awake!

Ara mai e Tupua, e Tahito;
 Ara mai e Mahiri, e Manatu;
 Ara mai e Pava, e Gagana;
 Ara mai e Tane, e Uho!

Awake, O Tupua, O Tahito;
 Awake, O Mahiri, O Manatu;
 Awake, O Pava, O Gagana;
 Awake, O Tane, O Uho!

Ara mai i te rita, ara marie!
 Tu mai i te ata,
 Oho mai i te ata,
 Matike mai i te ata,
 Haere i te ata, kia horo,
 Kia mooga tana ki te heiau e.^h

Awake in the clouds,
 Abide in the clouds,
 Come to life in the clouds,
 Arise in the clouds,
 Move in the clouds, that you hasten,
 That we two may sleep in the heiau [god house].

Ara mai, ara marie!

Awaken, become fully awake!

^g In a section of Paganan mythical genealogy, Tupua is the wife of Tahito, and Gagana is their granddaughter (21, p. 70).
^h The line is observed by the differences in the native text, one version has *kia mooga ki tona ki te heiau e*. Another has *kia mooga a tana ki te heiau e*.

Lines five to nine inclusive occur in this version only. It is probable that here might be inserted the names of any of the particular ancestral gods it was desirable to call upon.

A Reao chant for the awakening of the gods at the beginning of a ceremony upon the marae was given to us as a "chant for the turtle when eaten

upon the marae of Te Aroero" (*pehe no te homi i kai hia ki ruga i te marae i Te Aroero*). In this, the gods addressed were called *atua tagata*, immediate ancestors. The familiar figure of the canoe bringing the ancestral spirits to attend the feast reappears:

Ka tahi nei ka taea Ria e,
 No te fare i motu.
 Ruru na te tagata,
 Na Nihiu, na Tuho, na Te Hakukiri.

It is the first time Ria appears,
 For the house cut off.
 The people assemble,
 The Nihiu, the Tuho, the Hakukiri.

Te igoa te vaka, ko Te Kaha-mata-tini.
 Ka kave ki uta, ki uta te henna,
 Ki uta Te-Aroero.
 Ka tau metha, ko Te Ao,
 ko Te Tama, ko Te Ahu-o-Toga.

The name of the canoe is Te Kaha-mata-tini (The Myriad-eyed-spirits).
 It is borne ashore, up onto the land
 Upon the marae Te-Aroero.
 The parents descend, Te Ao,
 Te Tama, Te Ahu-o-Toga.

Hakaara ko te mata, te mata o te atua!
 Ko Te Taura, ko Te Miki, ko Te Piriamu,
 Ko Te Taachacia, ko Te Tai-maeva,
 ko Te Tai-rutua,
 Te Moko-inu-tai, ko Te Matahao, i i.

Cause the eyes to open, the eyes of the gods!
 Te Taura, Te Miki, Te Piriamu,
 Te Taachacia, Te Tai-maeva,
 Te Tai-rutua,
 Te Moko-inu-tai, Te Matahao, i i.

At Napuka, Te Ufi gave me this prayer used by his people when they first arrived at the marae with the turtle:

1
 Tei hea taku tira?
 Te horo mai nei taku tira.
 Tei hea taku tira?
 Te horo mai nei taku tira,
 E uini mai nei taku tira.
 E tuku atu ki te tira a Raahatu,
 Ki taea te moana,
 Ke fakaruru atu.
 Tiraitira te moana!

1
 Where is my tira?
 My tira comes running.
 Where is my tira?
 My tira gleams (?),
 My tira inquires.
 Now is loosed the procreative power of Raahatu,
 That it reach the ocean.
 That it be thronged.
 Exalt the ocean!

2
 Hanoa te moana, faia te moana,
 Kiritia te moana.
 Ka tuku atu i te tira a Raahatu,
 Ki taea te moana,
 Ke fakaruru atu.
 Tiraitira te moana.

2
 The sea is covered with great waves,
 the sea is whipped by winds,
 The sea is beaten down by the storm.
 Now is loosed the procreative power of Raahatu,
 That it reach the ocean,
 That it be thronged [with fish].
 Exalt the ocean.

* Te Ufi also chants the line, "Ke fakaruru e tu e."

The word *tira* ordinarily means a mast of a ship, but I believe that it is also used as symbolic of the phallus. If it is so used here, "my tira" could be translated, "my procreator," or even, "my god who brings increase." Another meaning of *tira* seems to be "a beam of light," or "lightning."

When the gods had been awakened and were supposed to have arrived at the marae, the chief, says Monitton (35, p. 379), chanted, in a low and cadent voice, the chant given below with my translation.

[H]u-u-u-uo!¹
Te ika no Tauruhua!

All the warriors chanted after him:

Hika te ahi a Tauruhua
Ki te rahi tatapa!
Tukua te rahi ora matoru.²
E-i-i-ia! Aue!
[H]uru kia a[k]ie!
Tukua te rahi ora matoru.
I hia e [=] Ia e ?]!
Huru-u-u-u-a-a!

Hi-u-u-uo!
The fish of Tauruhua!
Kindle the fire of Tauruhua
In the . . . sky!
The life-giving-sky of far extent is left behind.
There! At last!
Shout till he appears!
The life-giving-sky of far extent is left behind.
There now!
Thunder rolls!

¹ The call at the beginning of a prayer, as I have heard it from Te Miro and Te Mae (both participants in heathen ceremonies), is a long, drawn-out, vigorous Ho-o-o-o-o!
² Henry (30, p. 436) translates *ra i te matoru* as "lowering sky." In a Tamoituan chant we have "te rahi rahi, te rahi rahi" (the flaming sky, the lowering sky, the clanging sky).

Following this prayer, Monitton (35, p. 379) has the chief saying, "Na te utaga [utaga?, or ahutaga?] pure na Tauruhua ora tet ko na i aha tai taa." This he translates: "Now then, for Te Utaga is the prayer to Tauruhua, the living, who abides by the mouth of the sea." But as Te Utaga is not a name which we have encountered, I believe it means something else. I have thought of *le ahutaga* (French-speaking people often drop the *h* in native words) as possibly the correct form. The *ahutaga* is either the marae platform or some part of it, or the chief's seat at the marae. On the other hand, if Utaga in Monitton's text is a misprint for *utuga*, then the line would mean: "For the sacrificial prayer, Tauruhua is there by the side of the sea." In any case, the prayer making the offering (*utu*) follows.

OFFERING OF TURTLE

After having called the gods, the chief, according to Monitton (35, p. 379), pours out a libation of coconut water before the "idol." It is not clear whether Monitton means by the word idol the little image on his staff, or, as seems more probable, the representation of the divinity in stone.

At Fagatau, Te Miro spoke of the *ima raka*, sacred breast plate (entoplasmon) of the turtle, being offered up before one and then another of the upright slabs called Tauruhua, Kainuku, and Puniava, and standing to the side of the platform at Ramapohia marae (18, p. 40; fig. 29).

The libation of coconut water having been poured, the *hakari*, says Monitton (35, p. 379), takes the "sacred stone" and places it on the stomach of the turtle, while the *uhuri* chants the following prayer offering up the turtle:

E niu, e niu, e niu maru!¹
Ia [=na] [va] te ika o tai
i te moana hohonu?
[K]ia topa i te aro o Tauruhua,
[K]ia topa i te aro o Kainuku,
i te aro o Puniava.

This followed by an enumeration of all the gods.

E tui te ika [a] te niu,²
Fakahel[i] te ika i te kupega.
E haru [i] te ika i te vanaga mai!
Haru tia te ika nui noi,
[K]ia mate.

¹ It is noteworthy that the bringer of the sacred stone called a *niu*, a word ordinarily meaning coconut, is himself called a *hakari*, the common Tamoituan term for a coconut.
² Monitton translates *ta ai* as "for whom," but "for whom" is "na vai." If he has translated correctly then a mistake has been made in reproducing the text. Or this may be "[K]ia ai te ika o te moana" (May the fish of the sea copulate).
³ In Monitton's text, *fa* is grouped with *ka he* which follows. But "fa," not "fakaha," could mean sacred. Monitton's translation of the line is: "May the sacred stone on the fish." Perhaps *fa* of *fakari* should be separated as modifying *niu*. *Niu-fa* would then have more in common with *tokofo*. In Fagatau mythology, *Niu-fa* is the name of some place, thought by Faria to be a village in Varau in the heathen world.

The Napuka version of the prayer given above is particularly illuminating, for it gives further details from eye-witness accounts of the ceremony at Napuka. The full prayer was known only by Te Mae. (Te Ufi gave me the first six lines saying that this was all he could recall of the prayer.) In chanting it, Te Mae pitched his voice very low and ran it off rapidly and vigorously.

NAPUKA CHANT AT THE LAYING ON OF THE TOKIOFA

Ho . . . !¹
E niu kae,² ko niu maru ika!³
Ka tu mai [i] taku pe!⁴
Taku niu ko te rau maeva.⁵
E tira, e fakia i te tokerani!
E niu, e niu kai [=kae?]!
Mahiri,⁶ Koro, Tapakaka!⁷

O niu, o emblem of the gods, o sacred stone offering protection!

For whom is the fish from the depths of the ocean?

May it fall in the presence of Tauruhua,
May it fall in the presence of Kainuku,
in the presence of Puniava.

String up the fish of the sacred stone,
Entangle the fish in the net.
Seize the fish through the power of words!
The great fish is firmly grasped,
That it die.

Attend my chant!
My *niu*, representation of my god, is welcoming feasters.
There is thundering, appearing [of gods] in the north!
O *niu* at whose touch food is consecrated!
Mahiri, Koro, Tapakaka!

¹ A long drawn out *ho . . . o*, is the recognized method of obtaining the attention of the gods. Te Mae gave this preface only once, and that was when he enacted the ceremony for me.
² I take this *kae* to be the equivalent of *kae* in the line "maret Tagarua ki te kae o Tu" occurring in a Hao chant beginning "Matua i Haeoragi" and of *kae* in "the ika tu moana, ka mate, kia kae ki te rau rau takio ki Haeoragi" in an Auaa chant beginning "ko tiki hakoara ika."
³ Te Mae first gave "niu maru ia," but in chanting it over he gave "niu maru ika," as it is in his recording on the dictaphone. This is also "Te Ufi's rendering."
⁴ For this line Te Ufi gave, "tupu ake taku niu ko te pe," and continued with "ko te rau maeva."
⁵ Probably a reference to the bunch of leaves or feathers (*tokofo*) employed in the Napuka ceremony. However, Te Mae told me that the turtle was placed in the oven on a bed of *gatae* leaves, and these leaves were called "te rau maeva." A Fagatau chant has, "tena puhenua kofi ai ki te kolie atura, ki te rau maeva, ki te rau mahora, ki te aro (o) Puna ma" (that placenta cut off with the bamboo knife, at the welcoming leaves, the spread-out leaves, before the face of Puna and his people). Rau-maeva occurs as an ancestral god name or epithet along with Toiana, Kua-te-fatoga, Kogo, etc., in the Raro offering prayer, which follows this one.
⁶ At Napuka, the *uhuri* and several other internal organs of the turtle, were consumed on the marae itself by the chief and elders. This *uhuri*, therefore, may not be a personal name and may belong with *kae* in the preceding line. However, Mahiri does appear as a god name in a call to the gods (p. 68).
⁷ Koro certainly refers to Koro-paga, or Koro-i-napuna, and Tapakaka to Rauhutu-tapakaka, occurring in other prayers.

LIBRARY OF
GEORGE H. PAUL

[K]a pou a ika [ki] Marna[hu]-ʻAgarua.

The sacrifice shall be entirely consumed at

E aro [= haru]ʻ te ika i ti [= te] niu!

Seize the victim through the power of the gods!

E aro te ika i te vanaga-vanaga!

Seize the victim through the power of the ritual!

E aro te ni [= te ika niu]ʻ

Seize the great animal here,

Kia mate!

That it die!

E aro te ni,

Seize the great fish here,

Kia ho!

That it be consecrated!

^b From Montion's prayer it is plain that aro here should be haru.

^c Here Te Mae's version has apparently abbreviated "te ika niu nei" to "te ni."

^d This is the ending given by Te Mae in dictating the prayer to me. However, in chanting it, he

changed *kie ho* to *kie ho*. *Ho* seems to be a variant of *ha* (sacred) but it may stand for *who* or *tio*.

At "kia ho," Te Mae volunteered, the *tokiofa* was taken from the breast

of the turtle and carried back to its resting place on the marae (p. 21).

In writing of the marae ceremonies at Napuka, Audran (2, p. 130) says

of the *tokiofa* and its function:

... before the sacrifice, one of the two *tokiofa*, amulets of great importance made of two

decorated sticks and ornamented with tresses of coconut leaf, was placed on the victim

which was thereby sanctified, then taken back to its original place while the chants, gestures,

and rhythmic prayers accompanied these preliminaries.

Then, the designated executor, assisted by the *paragu*,² the man charged with the

ritual of the ceremony, cut the throat of the turtle which was finally placed on a native

fire prepared in advance. And during the long hours of its cooking, the chants and prayers

never ceased.

When the animal was taken out of the fire, the *tokiofa* was brought again, then the

division began.

In another place (1, vol. 27, p. 135), in going over the same ceremonies,

Audran gives us a clearer picture of his conception of the *tokiofa*:

In the middle of the open space [the court] were two kinds of amulets covered with

garlands. These were two little decorated sticks, *te tokiofa*. As soon as the throat of the

turtle was cut one of these little sticks was brought and laid on the victim, as if to con-

secrate it. After the sacrifice the little stick was returned to its place. The ceremony was

accompanied by songs and rhythmic prayers. During the cooking the prayers continued.

As soon as the turtle was done to a turn it was taken out of the native oven, the *tokiofa*

was again placed on it, and the turtle was divided up.

Te Mae gives the following account of the use of the *tokiofa*:

It was taken by the assistant of the priest and placed on the breast of the turtle

immediately before the chanting of the prayer commencing "E niu, e niu maru ika." The

victim was laid on its back, on the rear of the court, the priest stood behind it, facing the

aniu of the marae. On his right hand was the assistant who brought the *tokiofa*, and on

his left, the man who cut the throat of the turtle. The bringer of the *tokiofa*, in approach-

ing it, went along the right side of the marae.

A version of the offering chant, recorded at Vahitahi but possibly a Hao

chant, begins with *niu* and ends with *mate*, as does the version presented by

Montion. In Davies' Tahitian dictionary (14, p. 155), *niu-mate* is defined as

^a *Paragu* I believe is an error for *paragi*, meaning a sacrifice or to sacrifice. At Vahitahi, Tuhirangi

gave the term *maua paragi*,³ as meaning "food sacrificed with prayer." *Paragi* would here, then, be the

man who offered the sacrifice, in other words, the *hahiki*.

"the name of a ceremony and certain prayers to procure the favor of the gods." This version from Vahitahi was given by someone as the chant for the coconut (*niu*) at the *ti'para* feast. However, it is not actually concerned with the coconut but with the sacred stone in the prayer from Napuka and the prayer from Fagataa.

Our Vahitahi informant said the prayer was a chant for the *niu*, "a head of Yuna [i.e., a coconut]; a charm (*tamaha*) of Tohika." He then gave two recitations which are actually for the coconut, following with the *niu-mate* chant, which, I feel sure, is for the consecratory object.

VAHITAHĪ CHANT FOR THE NIU

Taku niu ko rau maeva,
He niu ke [= kae ?].

Rahia mataca

Ke tuku atu ki te tokeranu.

Ko Tara-poti, ko te hau o taku
niu malagi [= mata-i ?] pupua ika.^a

Tara te niu;

He niu maru ika, taku niu.

Ko i faga, ko i faga vanu atea.

Ka timu, ka tere!

Ko i te tokotoko a manga reva,

Ko i te niu a ga tiki putuputu,

Ko i te tiki fanau a te gatae.

Ko vai he tiki, tiki haha?

He tiki makoha u.

Koro-i-mapuna te fatu,
e Rua-nuku te fatu.

He hohi matau aru.

Ko i te hakamamama a te
tupua i Taur-reka.

Fara te niu;

He niu maru ika, taku niu.

Vavanu o te rahi, fakia e tupua
o rahi,

Ko Ru a Atea.

Turia takere rahi.

Kai eketu o ika maro.

Tika he ika nei,

Kia mate!

^a *Niu-mata-i-pua* appears in one of the two preceding chants which are truly for the coconut: *He tamua*

The Reao offering prayer is evidently the following one, given by Te Aka and called by him a chant for the sacred fish (*ika tapu*). He called the gods in the prayer, *ama tagata*, or ancestral gods.

He ika na Rogo, te ika tapu!

Te ika a Turu-nui nei.

E ika rau.

Mannua te ika tapu, te ika roa

[a] Ruahatu, Toiana, Kiripoo,

My *niu*, it is welcoming leaves [feathers ?],
A *niu* for sacrifices.

That it be released in the north.
Tara-poti is the realm of my
originator of turtle pounds.

The *niu* touches;

It is a charm over fish, my *niu*.

Whist I soar, soar afar.

Fading from view, speeding on!

There in the land of images crowded together,

There in the image born of the *Pisonia* tree.

What is the image, the sacred image?

An image of spirit.

Koro-i-mapuna is the possessor,
and Ruahatu is the possessor.

It is that which adds power to the god
at Taur-reka.

The *niu* touches;
A charm over fish is my charm.

Reverberation of the sky, a god from
the sky appears.

It is Ru, son of Atea.

The foundation of the sky is illumined
by rainbows.

Eat, while embarking, your dry fish.

A victim is here,
To be sacrificed!

A fish for Rogo is this sacred fish here!
The fish [captured by] Turu-nui here.

A fish grappled.

Prepare the sacred victim, the long fish
of Ruahatu, Toiana, Kiripoo,

Kokokoki, kokokoki,
Ke taparia mai kura,
Ke taparia mai noa.
Ke taparia mai.
Hapapai aku e nei e.
Haruru a, hahitiri,
Haruru a, hahitiri, gatoro a.
Hauraki matafi hara,
Hara taku vahi Te Matamuku
[= Ra-tu-nuku ?],
Matani [= matafi ?] hara.

Let the gods be called,
Just call.
Let them be called.
Now lift up.
Rumble continuously, thunder,
Rumble continuously, thunder, crash on.
The blowing wind drives [all before],
Blow where I am [at] Te Ra-tu-nuku,
Steady blowing wind.

* If I remember correctly, the chant was repeated for each of the gods in this list.

IMMOLATION OF TURTLE

After the prayer delivered at the laying on of the sacred symbol, the *hakari* cut the throat of the turtle (Montion, 35, p. 379) and collected the blood in a little vessel, while the *tuturi*, whom I take to be the general assembly, intoned the following chant (translation by Stimson) :

Kaki ta[k]a, [k]a topa—
[K]a topa i te aro o Tauruhua !
[E] atua i te [h]iku-tira,* ko
Kainuku—
[H]ao, kai mai !
E atua hiva no [= ko ?] Puniava—
[H]ao, kai mai !
[E] atua fakagagi no
Ruanuku—
[H]ao, kai mai !
Tu-mamihini no te fatitiri—
[H]ao, kai mai !
E atua hau, ko Tohuitika—
[H]ao, kai mai !
E atua [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—
[H]ao, kai mai !

The neck is severed, the head falls—
It falls before the face of Tauruhua !
A god abiding on the mast-head
ornament, thou art Kainuku—
Approach, partake of this food !
A god of remote regions, thou art Puniava—
Approach, partake of this food !
A kindly god, thou art
Ruanuku—
Approach, partake of this food !
Tu-the-hospitable, abiding in the thunder—
Approach, partake of this food !
A god of peace, thou art Tohuitika—
Approach, partake of this food !
A god of the ship's stern ornament,
thou art Tavaka—
Approach, partake of this food !

* *Hiku-tira* is defined by Davies' Tahitian dictionary (14, p. 106) as a "sort of temporary idol fixed up for a begging expedition; a small altar for a god on board a canoe."

Tavaka, the last-mentioned god in this list, is considered, at Vahitahi, to have a sorcerer's power over canoes (*e atua muki i te vaka*). On a Vahitahi genealogy, at only 12 generations from 1900, Tavaka appears as a brother of Kainuku, Puniava, and Tohuitika, mentioned also in this chant.

At Napuka, as soon as the *tokiofa* had been returned to its place, the throat of the turtle was cut with the eel-jaw knife, by order of the priest, at the first words of the following chant :

Ka ma te po, ka ma te ao.
The nether world, the upper world is freed
of restrictions.
There is Tu, there is Ragi;
Mata-iki, Mata-ho.

Hura tana pu ha i katan e,^b
Kia mate !

Sounding in the nether world, sounding in
the upper world,
Their trumpet is heard on the right,
Heralding the death of the victim.

* Mata-aho in New Zealand is a personification of lightning. Mata-iki in this line may be an abbreviation for Mata-ikino in Vahitahi prayers.

^b In *ha i katan e* I am reminded of *ja-katan*, which Montion gives for an assistant of the priest.

In Vahiti, Tu is Ta'aroa's divine assistant in the nether world (*po*), and Rai (= Ragi, in Tuamotuan), under the name Rai-tupua-nui, is associated with the upper world (*ao*) as the "growth" of the *ao*, the "unfolding" of the *ao*, and the "pudding" of the *ao* (30, p. 356).

From Hoga of Nukutavake, Maze took down the following chant recited upon cutting the throat (*farona*) of the turtle upon the marae. Hoga said it belonged to Te Nania (the people of Reao). The chant bears a resemblance to the Napuka chant. Part of it is recognized in the flesh-offering chant procured at Vahitahi (p. 80).

Ka mama ru e,
Ka mama raro,
Ka mama te hetu,
E ka mama te marama.
Ka mama te mata o te ika.
Ho ki te mata ika,
Mata honu tena.
Ho ki te ma i.
Tagi te pu, tagi te ao,
Tagi te ao Hunariki-ora.

Free from restrictions above,
Free from restrictions below,
Free the stars from restriction,
Free the moon from restriction.
Free the eyes of the fish from restriction.
Offer the eyes of the fish,
Those are eyes of a turtle.
Give the eyes.
The trumpet sounds, sounds in the day,
Sounds in the day [the trumpet]
Hunariki-ora.

Horoa tu !
Tapu, hakamotu !
Give !
Cut, sever !

Hoga said this chant was part of a long ceremony which began at the shore at the taking of the turtle; continued to the marae; then, to the first oven (*auahi pihikano*); then, after cutting up, to the second oven (*auahi koea*); and finally, to the opening of the oven.

At Vahitahi we were given a prayer which, according to Tuhiragi, came before the general feast prayer beginning *hakahauga kai*. It is obviously a chant used when, or immediately after, the throat of the turtle was cut upon the marae :

Ko koe hoki e honu !
Kua tiraga koe ki Manahoa-Tagaroa.
Kolia to farona !
Tuaikia to gakan !
Tahetahetia to toto !
Huruhia koe ki ruga i te
umu-ran-toto !
Kua mate koe !
Tokio !

It is you indeed, o turtle !
You lie on your back on marae
Manahoa-Tagaroa.
Cut is your throat !
Disembowled are your entrails !
Your blood flows away !
You are turned over upon the oven
of first cooking !
You are dead !
Tokio !

* *Tokio*, shouted *tokio*. . . . *o*, is an ending employed in a number of chants, not all religious. The people of Vahitahi maintain that it is just an ending and that they know no meaning for it. Among recorded endings are *hiko*, *hokio*, *koto*, *oto*, *to*, *o*, *ho*, and *hio*.

I was told at Napuka that the priest's assistant cut a small piece of flesh (*koeca*), called the *hake-va*, from the side of the turtle, which was to be taken up by him and tied with a string to the *hokere*, or branching tree trunk, planted before the god-houses (fig. 1, 3).

The following prayer, called *pure koeca hakara*, was delivered when the flesh was offered to the gods. At Napuka it was known by Te Mae and, partially, by Te Uru, Te Ufi, and Te Urupo, who had eaten of turtle at the marae. I give Te Mae's chant:

Te'ufai ^a te pepe,	The victim is tied,
Tuaiti te tahai.	The turtle is tied up.
Tara tih, tara mai haki [= Hiti ?]. ^b	The tern twitters, the gray-back tern from Hiti.
Mai te kura Tamaraa [?] Hiti, ^c	From the god Tamaraa of Hiti,
Poi mai te noe! ^d	Shadow of the god, carry off [the food]!
Tera mai te koeca tahai,	Here comes the flesh of turtle,
Nau te atua,	For you, gods,
Ka kai!	Partake!
Te atua e noho, te atua e haere,	Gods who stay put, gods who wander,
Na Tara, na Kaipoa, na Varoa, na Te	Tara, Kaipoa, Varoa, Te Arika-putai,
Arika-putai, na Haroa-mai-te-ragi;	Haroa-mai-te-ragi;
Na Muna-iti, Mumariki;	Muna-iti, Mumariki;
Tera mai te koeca tahai,	There is the flesh of turtle,
Nau te atua,	For you, gods,
Ka kai!	Eat!
Tihaki ti te po. ^e	It is beside you, there in the nether realm,
Ka mai!	Now it is free of restrictions!
Toki a! ^f	Take it!
Toki o ha! ^g	Toki o ha!

^a Te Ufi gave *tuaiti te pepe*.

^b Te Mae gave *tara mai haki*; Te Uru gave *tara mai* in his incomplete fragments and Te Ufi, *tara mai hi*.

^c Tamaraa, which I believe to refer to Tamara-hau, the healing god, figures in a Fagatau chant, "Tagata ra tau hia (a), i e te rima manu o Atea, Tamaraa," and also in a chant from Hao, "Tamaraa e mairi i te pori o Atea." On a genealogy from the western Tuamotus, he is represented as the son of Atea.

^d Kai mai te noe was given by Te Ufi. Te Urupo had in its place *e hake te no*.

^e Te Ufi gave, *te i te ho (= ho), te i te po* (it is there with the ancestors, there in the nether world).

^f Te Urupo and Gobe (Te Mae's wife) gave *toki e*, and Te Ufi gave *ohi e*.

^g The *o* is drawn out with emphasis. The *a* or *e* in the previous *toki* balances with the *o*, in a manner very pleasing to the Tuamotuan ear. Thus we get in a Vahitahi prayer, "tara e, tara o, matara, and in calling out to a person, "Tahaki e, Tahaki o." Te Urupo gave *toki-o-fa*.

At Hao Island, two prayers are known for the offering of the turtle flesh to the gods, a short prayer and a long one. A number of the natives can recite the short prayer; both are recorded in their manuscript books. The shorter prayer is substantially an abbreviation of the longer, but there are important differences, in the gods addressed and in the termination, which make me believe that the short prayer was used on a different occasion.

The long prayer (*pure*) is headed, "Hakamatua haka i te honu kia tuhinga hia i ruga i te marae i Poureva e i te tahi atu haka marae e vai i Hao nei"

(Consecration of the turtle when it is killed on marae Poureva, and on other maraes of Hao). The short prayer is inscribed, in the book of Rogotama, "parau no te tokioho, oia hoki, pupu ra'a ma'a na te feia tahito i nira i te marae ra i Poureva" (A chant for the *tokioho*, that is, for the feast of the ancient people on the marae Poureva). Rogotama's prayer ends with *tokioho*, whereas all the other versions of this short prayer end with *tokiofa*, as does the Napuka version of the prayer given when first offering flesh of the turtle. Te Miro of Fagatau told me that *tokiofa* was the ending of a marae prayer. The long Hao prayer ends, *hakatumu, hakamama* (stand forth, bestow power).

The short prayer, as it is written in the manuscript of Rogotama, I give below, with notes covering differences in an oral version from Te Uira and from the woman Hauata, and in the manuscript version of Te Aku a Paraga, who gives the part from *tena ra hoki*, on, and as a chant for Te Hono-kai-tana, the father of Muna-nui, the great chief of Hao who lived 14 generations before 1900.

Mikoniho tahai tena,
Ko i Noma,^a
Ko i Hao.

That here is flesh of turtle,
It is [offered] at Noma,
It is [offered] at Hao.

The above is then repeated with *toga* (south), *varo* (west), and *tokeran* (northwest) appearing in place of Hao.

Ko i Tokeran-e-rito.

It is [offered] at [the stone slab named]
Tokeran-e-rito.

Ko ia Ru-naitike, ko ia Ru-hagahaga,
[Ko ia Ru-pepe, ko ia Ru-takoto].^b
Tuki uta, tuki tai,
Mofi a rere.

Ka kai kura, ka kai rei,

It is [set before] Ru-naitike, Ru-hagahaga,
It is [set before] Ru-pepe, Ru-takoto.
Who thrust up inland, thrust up seaward,
Completely separating [sky from earth].

[Tama-putu-tua].^c

Partake, sacred one, eat, venerated one,
Tama-putu-tua.

Tena ra hoki te matahaki;^d
Te matahaki,
Ko i Noma,

That here is indeed the consecrated food.
The consecrated food,
It is [offered] at Noma,
It is [offered] at Hao.

Ko i Hao, ko i Poureva.

At Hao, at marae Poureva.

Muna-paroa, Te Hono-kai-tana,^e
Hache-toga, Te Mauri-o-keha no

Muna-paroa, Te Hono-kai-tana,
Hache-toga, Te Mauri-o-keha of

Pare-ao,^f
Te Arika-mai-hiva.^g

At Hao, at marae Poureva,
Hache-toga, Te Mauri-o-keha of

Tena ra ka tagi te kura,^h
Tagi te ao.

That is the answering call of the *kura*,
Crying in the world of light.

Hauata, who dictated the chant to me at Mangareva in 1934, gave *ko i ona mai* (before him who comes) instead of this line, and followed by *ruqa* instead of *Hao*. We did not learn of any place named Noma.

^a These names given by Hauata only.

^b This name is from Hauata; Te Uira gave *Taga-putu-tua*. Tamaraa figures in the Napuka prayer.

^c Possibly this is another name for Tama-hau, god of healing.

^d Te Uira gives *mata-haka* instead of *mata-haki*. Te Aku gives *pera hoki te mata hia, te mata kai*.

^e At Vahitahi Shinson learned that *kai mata-haka-ga* was a term for a woman who ate food consecrated to the gods.

^f Te Hono-kai-tana, father of Muna-nui, high chief of Hao 14 generations before 1900.

^g Pare-ao, the skull house at marae Poureva at Hao. Te Mauri-o-keha was Muna-nui's great-grandson.

^h Te Aku and Hauata give *ruqa* in place of *kura* and following *ruqa* Hauata has *Vahu-ariki*, as if it were the name of the *ruqa* (pigskin).

Meitaki te keigai kai.
Kia o ra to kava
horo i te rahi,^k
Mamahia ma te rau e.
Tokioho!^m

Maahu-arkiki,
Excellent is the feast.
May your kava to be swallowed in the skies
be presented,
Purified by the laying on of leaves.
Tokioho!

^l Maahu-arkiki is from Te Aku's manuscript. Haunata gave Vahu-arkiki in her dictated version, and Te Uira gave Maahu-arkiki.
^j Haunata gave *kaiga*; *kaiga* is a poetic form of *kaiga*.
^k This line in Te Aku's manuscript is *hai kia o ra to kava hiki*. Haunata gave *kia o ra to kava hi*.
^l Te Uira omits the line.
^m Te Aku has *manua-hiki* in place of *manua-hiti*; Haunata had *manua-hiti*; and Te Uira, *manua oa*.
ⁿ Te Aku, Haunata, and Te Uira end the chant with *tokioho*. Haunata, when I asked her the meaning of *tokioho* replied, "It means that the food was to be withheld from the people."

The longer prayer from Hao is from Te Aku and was checked against an identical version in a Hao book at Vahitahi. The book at Vahitahi (obviously a copy) has a note that the chants contained therein were written down in 1842. This prayer begins with what is evidently a summons (*korero*) to the people to come to the marae for the ceremony in which the turtle is to be offered in sacrifice.

HAKA MAVUA HAKA I TE HONU I TE
MARAE I POUREVA
CONSECRATION OF THE TURTLE AT THE
MARAE POUREVA

He utu e! He utu, he utu!
Tu mai! Tu mai! Tu mai!
Haere mai! Haere mai ki te pure!
Ea, hau pure!
E pure, e pane-kiri,
E rogo maga hau i mate ai honu e
No te atua i te riri.

An offering! A sacrifice, a payment!
Arise! Arise! Approach! Approach!
Come hither! Come along to the prayer!
Now then, pray together!
It is a prayer service, a *pane-kiri*,
An announcement of finest food for which
a turtle is killed
For the gods in anger.

Mikoe, mikoe tahai tena,
Ko i ana mai,
Ko i ruga.
Ko i ruga, ko i raro,
Ko i uta, ko i tai.
Ko i te kava,
E mitro,^e e fau, e mahora.
E mata iku, e mata hai tena,
Ko i ana mai.
Mikoe na koromatua^e hoki,
Mata i uta—na Uehono, na Irakau,
Mata i tai—na Hau, na Mahora,
Koropaga-(i)-te-moana,^e
Na Tuhea, na Tavaha, na Tari-topa-pahae.

Flesh, flesh of turtle is that there,
For him who comes,
It is [offered] above.
It is [offered] above, below,
Inland, seaward.
It is [offered] with the kava,
[With] leaves of *mitro*, of *fau*, spread out.
Consecrated food, offered food is that there,
For him who comes.
Flesh for the spirits,
The spirits inland—Uehono, Irakau,
The spirits seaward—Hau, Mahora,
Koropaga-i-te-moana.
For Tuhea, Tavaha, and Tari-topa-pahae.

^a The divisions of this prayer are mine; the chant, as given, has none.
^b *Aifo* leaves were substituted for *kava* leaves in marae ceremonies at Tahiti (30, p. 161).
^c I have translated *koromatua* as spirits, following the Tahitian meaning of *oromatua* (ghosts of the dead supposed to be transformed into inferior gods who were much feared).
^d The word *matia* ordinarily means to consecrate, but here I think it is simply an abbreviation for *koromatua*, as in Tahiti (30, p. 173).
^e Koropaga-i-te-moana would seem to be equivalent to 'O-ro-pa in Tahiti, called lord of the ocean (*tata moana*) and powerful spirit of the ocean (*varua mana i te moana*) (30, pp. 165, 344).

Tagarua-tu-tiri,^f
Mikoe, mikoe, mikoe tahai tena,
Ko i ana mai.
Ko i raro, ko i raro,
Ko ia Kama, ko ia Pohé,
Ko ia Kuumukuu-maroro.
Pera hoki te mata iku, te mata hai
tena,
Ko i ana mai.
Ko i ruga, ko i ruga,
Ko ia Te Tuki, ko ia Te Honu.

Tagarua-in-the-thunder,
Flesh, flesh, flesh of turtle is that there,
For him who comes,
It is [offered] below, below,
It is [offered] before Kama, before Pohé,
It is [offered] before Kuumukuu-maroro.
Thus it is with the consecrated food,
the proffered food is that there,
For him who comes.
It is [offered] above, above,
It is [offered] before Te Tuki, before
Te Honu.

Tagarua-niua,
Pera hoki te mata iku, te mata
hai tena.
Ko i ana mai.
Ko i te paepae,
Paepae nui, paepae honu.
Ka raga to mata,
Ka raga [= rogo] to fai tariga.

Tagarua-niua,
Thus it is with the consecrated food,
the proffered food is that there.
It is [offered] before him who comes.
It is at the platform,
The great platform, the platform supporting
the turtle.
Lift up your eyes,
Listen with your ears.

Pera hoki te mata iku, te mata
hai tena,
Ko i ana mai.
Ko i te tara i tokerau,
Ko i tokerau.
Ko i Tokerau-o-rito.
Ko ia Ru-matike, ko ia Ru-takoto.
Ko ia Ru-pepeke-te-uru, koi a
Ru-hagahaga.
Tuki uta, tukia tai,
Mati a rere.
Ka kai kura, ka kai honu.

Thus it is with the consecrated food,
the proffered food is that there,
Placed before him who comes.
It is before the stone upright standing on the
south end of the platform,
It is before the south wind, the strong
south wind, the cold south wind,
It is before the stone slab in the south,
called Toga-haro-pito.
Thus it is with the consecrated food,
the proffered food, is that there,
For him who comes.
It is before the sacred stone slab in the north.
It is before the north wind.
It is before the stone upright Tokerau-o-rito.
It is before Ru-matike, it is before Ru-takoto.
It is before Ru-pepeke-te-uru, it is before
Ru-hagahaga.
Thrusting up inland, thrusting up seaward,
That [land and sky] be completely severed.
The gods eat, partake of the turtle.

Pera hoki te mata iku, te mata
hai tena,
Ko i ana mai,
Ko i Hao, ko i Poureva.
Tane-te-nui, Tane-ma-Ruanuku e,
Kia hatai tuma, ka nanna.

Thus it is with the sacred food, the
proffered food is that there,
For him who comes,
It is at Hao, at marae Poureva,
Tane-te-nui, Tane-ma-Ruanuku,
That darkness be dispelled, the tapu is lifted.

^f Tagarua-tu-tiri is an ancestral name occurring far back on the royal genealogy of Hao, but here the reference is undoubtedly to the god Tagarua.

Kia hatai tana, ka muna.

That darkness be dispelled, the restrictions are lifted.

Ka ma ruga, ka ma roro,

Free from restrictions above, below,

ka ma uta, ka ma tai,

inland, seaward,

ka ma te po ma te ao.

the world below and the world above.

[Mahu-ariki] hakatana

Mahu-ariki [gods of the mist?], stand forth!

Tupere, hikihiki, tupere

Eat [fill the belly be] distended, eat till

takataka.

the belly be rounded.

Hakatana, hakamana!

Establish, bestow power!

^e This name is omitted in a Reo-tonga's manuscript, but Moa-ariki occurs in the chant copied at Vahitahi. This is evidently a mis-transcription for Manu-ariki given by 'Te Uira in the short Hao chant, in which 'Te Aka's manuscript has Manu-ariki. Huare, in her dictated version, gives Vahu-ariki.

In the Nukutavake manuscript of 'Te Poa is a chant which is evidently the Vahitahi equivalent of the *koia hakara*, or offering of raw flesh prayer at Napuka. It is headed: "No te katiga paragi, e honu tana ma'a ia pupu hia i to ratou atua; te parau i ma iho" (Concerning the food offering, a turtle was that food offered to their god; the chant for it was):

I, tapena, e tapena, e tapena ika,

A sacrifice, a sacrifice, a fish sacrifice,

E tapena honu.

A turtle sacrifice.

E tapena, e tapena, e tapena,

A sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice,

Tona hoki te mata ika,

That indeed is the eye of the victim,

Mata honu tena,

Eye of a turtle is that,

Mai te mai!

Bring what is to be brought!

Parona honu tena,

Throat of a turtle is that,

Ka kai koutou,

Now all of you eat,

Ki mua i te marae nei e,

In the forefront of the marae here,

No te atua Makai-kino.

For the god Makai-kino.

'Tena hoki te mata ika,

That is the eye of the victim,

'Te mata honu.

The eye of the turtle.

Ko i uta, ko i tai,

Inland, seaward,

Ko i te ihu vaka na Tapakia ia.

There at the prow of the canoe reserved for Tapakia.

Ia e, fano!

Now then, hasten!

'Tena hoki te mata ika.

That indeed is the eye of the fish,

'Te mata honu tena.

The eye of the turtle is that.

Mai te mai!

Bring what is to be brought!

'Tagi te po, tagi te ao,

Sound in the night, sound in the day,

'Tahuna tu roa,

[?] The food lies spread out like a] long extending sand bank,

'Tere te keiga kai,

The tribal feast proceeds,

Mamahu te rua e;

The oven steams;

'Tokio!

Drag the victim [to the oven]!

Tanatoa of Vahitahi dictated to Mazé, in 1937, a version of this prayer which he said he had learned from his father 'Tenuaku, of Gati 'Tenania (a family from Reao).

'Tagi te pu, tagi te ao.

The trumpet resounds, resounds in the world

Ga ariki ora,

of light.

Horoa [a]tu i taku fakamoe,

Lords of life,

Horoa [a]tu i taku fakamoe,

Grant my . . .

^a I believe this may refer to the two priests, Tuamua and 'Te Awhitu-ama mentioned in the Vahitahi feast prayer (p. 89).
^b Stimson's version gives "horoga fahu" and then omits the next three lines, the last two of which, however, are given in the earlier part of his version. Stimson translates *taku fakamoe* as "my sleeping god."

'Tagi te pu, tagi te ao.

The trumpet resounds, resounds in the

Hei! world.

'Tahuna tu ai te tereiga kai.

The food offerings pile up like coral heads

Horo ki te marae,

in the lagoon.

Mamahu i te rua.

Prepare to the marae.

Koia otaota tena,

That is uncooked flesh.

Ka kai ki mua i te marae,

Partake of it in the fore-part of the marae,

Na te atua Mata-i-kino.

For the god Mata-i-kino.

^e Stimson's version has "tahuga tu ai, te terega ga kai" in place of this line.

^d For this line one may substitute "koia honu tena."

^f Stimson's version has "ka kai ana koe ki mua i te marae."

^g 'Tuenua, 'Tahi, 'Tuhiragi, Kuea, and 'Takaon give Makai-kino as the name of the god; but Huare and a Nukutavake informant of mine, 'Tapani, gave Mata-i-kino.

In the legend of the turtle and the frigate bird, as given by chief 'Takaon at Vahitahi and by Rueta and her sister, Huare, it is said that when the bonito was carried before the marae, this was its offering prayer (*teia tonu pure*):

Koia iroiro tena,

That here is bonito flesh,

Ka kai ana koe i mua i te marae

Partake [of it] in the fore-part of the marae

No 'Te Atua-ma-kai-kino.

For 'Te Atua-ma-kai-kino.

Ho ki te mata e, mata hoki tena!

Give the eye, that indeed is the eye!

Hakakite mai e!

Make known!

Ma te po, ma te ao!

Make free of restriction the nether world and the upper world!

Ka hano, tu atu,

Fly, stand up,

'Tereere te reiga kai,

The feast-company gets under way,

Horo ki te marae,

Hasten to the marae,

Mamahu i te rua.

Steam the oven.

The above is obviously an abbreviation of the preceding prayer and indicates that the procedure for the bonito was about the same as for the turtle, but, of course, two cookings would not be required for the bonito.

At Nukutavake I had occasion to speak with 'Tapani, the oldest inhabitant of the Vahitahi area, concerning the marae. His young wife stated in his presence that a single slab stood at the far end of the court for the god of the marae. Asked who the god of the marae was she replied instantly, 'Te Atua-ma-tai-kino. In the prayer which Mazé copied from 'Te Poa's manuscript, the name of the god addressed was 'Te Atua-ma-kai-kino. In a list of gods given at Vahitahi by 'Tuhiragi in 1930, following a long list of 'Tangaroa names with various epithets, are the names 'Te Atua-rere-pehu and 'Te Atua-ma-kai-kino. I have shown that in the chant given by Tanatoa, the name is 'Te Atua-ma-tai-kino, but 'Turega and 'Tagi gave the names of the god to Mazé as 'Te Atua-ma-kai-kino, and this rendering, which is so recorded in 'Te Poa's manuscript, is more likely to be the original one.

When Mazé asked 'Tanatoa who this god was, he replied "my father did not tell me" (letter dated Reao, March 1, 1938). 'Tagi, so Mazé reports in the same letter, said that 'Te Atua-ma-kai-kino referred to 'Tano, and a note opposite the names 'Te Atua-rere-pehu, 'Te Atua-ma-kai-kino, given by

Tuhiragi or Kuea also refers the name to Tane. I do not think we can accept this identification as reliable, for the same person who added this note to Tuhiragi's list said that Tagarua, Tu, and Rogo referred to Atea. The name Te Atua-ma-kai-kino is as likely to refer to Tagarua, or to the specific god of the marae, bearing the name Te Atua-na-kai-kino.

Following the above prayer to Te Atua-na-kai-kino, the Vahitahi manuscript states, "Then was intoned by the priests, that is, by the ones possessed of sacred power, the prayer of Rua" (*Ua pure i reira i na pure o Rua te feia tanra, oia hoi te feia mana*):

Nou e Rua,
E Rua i te tuki,
E Rua i te homo
E Rua i te arai.^a
Arai [i] te moana,
Te moana tahī [= tahia], te moana
tagia,^e

For you Rua,
Rua the striker,
Rua the joiner,
Rua the wander-off,
Warding off the ocean,
The swept seas, the moaning seas,

Taki tai, e kurite tai,^a
E kare fanau a pi,
Fanau a rogo.

...
A wave born of the rising sea,
Born of fame.

Titi maragai,
Maragai kokoka,
Ke tu a kokoka!
Ke hiki ana.^e

Land-plotter of the stormy wind,
The stormy wind blowing fiercely,
Let it blow!

Ke rene a manu
Ke reirei a takeake,
Ke puke [= peke?] to hukā.^f
Ke ataka te korigo,^g
Ke ka temtenu^h o kamea.ⁱ

Flying as a bird flies,
Flying like the white tern,
Let your white foam fly.
Let the pupil of the eye . . .
Let the gills open and shut.

^a Versions of Tuhiragi and of Tahiri a Pura begin with this line.
^b This is *taua* in Tuhiragi's version; *tohia* in Tahiri's; Te Uira's, and Te Ragi's versions.
^c This phrase is omitted by Tuhiragi but is given as *te moana tagia* by Tahiri, Te Ragi, and Tuhiragi.

^d In place of this line the other versions have *e toi a pu, e toi a rogo*.
^e Tuhiragi has *ke hiki au*; Tahiri and Te Ragi have *ke hiki ana*; and Te Uira, *ke hiki ana*.
^f Tuhiragi has *ke puke*; and Tahiri and Te Ragi have *ke puke*.
^g This line omitted by others.
^h In place of this line, Tuhiragi has *ke mahanepunui*; Tahiri has *ke timutimu*, and Te Ragi has *ke ka temtenu*.
ⁱ Tahiri has *o ka meamea*, and Te Ragi has *te ka meamea*.

Different versions of this chant were given in 1930 by Tuhiragi, Tahiri, and Te Ragi, all of whom called it a *taki* (chant) for Erua, or Erua-i-te-arai. Tuhiragi, in trying to imply that this was a eulogy of Erua for Kio, added *To Kio* (= *tokio*) in going over it with Stimson (45, p. 52), but this ending was not in his earlier version, in Tahiri's version, or in the manuscript version given above. Te Uira of Tatakoto, in line with his substitution of the name of Kio in a great many chants furnished Stimson, gave a version of the chant in which Kio appears in place of Rua, thus yielding E, Kio-i-te-arai in place of E Rua-i-te-arai, and so giving rise to Stimson's belief that Rua is an exoteric name for Kio. It is noteworthy that Tuhiragi, who also pretended to have been taught the esoteric cult of Kio, did not consider Rua-i-te-arai as a name for Kio, for he has the former addressing the latter. Te Ragi said simply that Rua

was an *atua kino*, an evil god. In my opinion this Rua is Rua-tuputupa of Vahitahi, whose presence meant disaster to voyagers and who, therefore, had to be exorcized from a ship before it undertook a voyage. We have this *fagu* (song) from Te Uira, in which the Rua mentioned may be the same:

'Tipa horo te vaka o Rua na,
Ho tui, ho noi te tare a
Tagarua.
Ko te vaka e! E pu!

The canoe of Rua there keels on its side,
Tagarua voyages dipping out of sight,
rising.
What a canoe! E pu!

Or this Rua may be Rua-toka-nuku (Rua-coral-of-the-land), Rua-tokaragi (Rua-coral-of-the-sky) of the Hao chant for the awakening of the gods, beginning *fakaaralia ki te poroa* (p. 67). If so, he is comparable to Rua of Tahiti inhabiting the nether world, and also called "Rua-to-a-nu'u, Rua-to'a-rai."

I believe this Rua "prayer" given by Te Poa is merely a chant for Rua, aimed to placate him or gain his favor. It was probably recited on the marae on certain occasions. Te Poa's second Rua chant is obviously in praise of Tane and Ruannuku.

Nou e Tane,
Tane-tuke, Tane-rere,
Mahuta i te tuki,
Tuki o Tane.
Tane-paku, Tane-haruru,
Tane-i-te-hihiri, Tane-i-te-rarama,
Koe i ranararama,
Koe a i te fa ki te rahi
no Tane-na-Ruannuku.

For you, Tane,
Tane-kicking, Tane-flying,
Fleeing after the pounding,
Pounding [out of the earth] of Tane.
Tane-striking, Tane-thundering,
Tane-in-the-hickering, Tane-in-the-flashing,
You who lighted up [the skies],
You in the sacred domain of the sky of
Tane-with-Ruannuku.

THE FIRST OVEN

Montion says at this stage of the ceremony (35, p. 379): "The immolation (*tapenu*) and the last offering of the victim (*rapi*) are finished. All that remains is the mundification or Communion."

According to Montion (35, p. 379), the *hakari* disemboweled the turtle before it was placed in the oven, and the entrails were cooked on a different fire. "The entrails are taken off first. The chief takes a morsel which he divides and eats with his officers. The rest, deposited at the foot of the captor, is distributed by him to the whole assembly."

The turtle which I saw taken onto the site of a marae at Akiaki Island and killed had only the intestines and the egg sack removed through the incision made in the throat, before its first cooking. The intestines were cleaned and broiled over a little fire. The blood, caught in a coconut cup, was warmed before drinking.

It is doubtful if any food was consumed on the marae court itself, except by the chief and his officers. The turtle was taken off the court and placed in the first of the two ovens prepared in advance for its cooking, and called

rotika linua at Napuka; unu rau loto, at Anaa and Takarua; and unu pirikana, at Vahitahi.

It would seem that the oven was made by the priest in ancient times, for in a chant of the warrior Moeava occurs this line: "haga te tahuga ki te unu-rau-loto" (the priests laid the oven-of-first-cooking). At Vahitahi, the chant (*pehe*) for the ovens was as follows:

A o hia, a o hia, A o hia te rema, Te rena tiriti-take rari e. Turehu ia i mate. Eaha taka na hagra ka ho atu kau- tara, moana; Tiritiri-take rari e, Turehu ia i mate.	Dig out, dig out, Dig up a ridge, The ridge [of earth] thrown out. Scrape out [the oven] that [the turtle] die. Let not my labors give . . . ; Throw out [the earth], Scrape out [the oven] that [the turtle] die.
--	--

Songs sung while turtle was cooking

While the turtle was cooking, the men began their *fagu*, or slow, solemn songs. I was able to learn a fragment of one Napukan song:

Tatara ti atu kaveiga, e pu ana ke, e,
Tatara to gaega, e pu ana ke, e,
Tatara to gaega, e pu ana ke.

This was in the nature of a charm over turtles, and the *kaveiga* (star) is undoubtedly Matariki or Takero, for Te Mae said at this point that when the *kaveiga* rose, the turtle came.

Even today, at Napuka, when a turtle is believed to have been led ashore by an ancestral spirit, it is taken onto the chief's court. If it is late in the day, it is kept for the following day. The old people then gather around and sing *fagu* throughout the night. They believe that if they do not do this, the ancestral spirit responsible for guiding the turtle to shore will turn the turtle over and allow it to escape.

Monrion (35, p. 379) gives a specimen of a *fagu* (solemn song) sung on the marae, which is a kava drinking chant, although kava does not grow in the Tuamotus.

E no Tohutika ariki, Pa[k]lainu to kava; Rakakua to kava i to Maragai-tu. A tu[k]ju re, E kava, te kava o Tohutika; E tu[k]ju kia Yawo [= Yavan], kia Havaiki.	Come chief, Tohutika, Drink your kava; Drink to satiation your kava of your people the Maragai-tu. Grant victory, A kava, the kava of Tohutika; Give it to Yavan, to Havaiki.
---	--

Given below is a Hao kava chant, undoubtedly sung on the marae, as copied from the manuscript of Te Varigo, son of Tino-mana, with notes referring to some differences in a fragmentary version in an Amanu manuscript copied

by Paea of Anaa, and a deleted version from Hurei of Vahitahi, and another from her sister, Ruca. Seurat (42, p. 439) gives a part of the chant. The chant evidently refers to Maui's offering of kava for Raka-man-rere, presumably his tutelary god. Maui's magic adz, Naia, by which Havaiki was chopped free and pulled to the surface of the sea, is mentioned, as well as his victims Iel (Tuna), Pearl-shell (Uhi), and Clann (Korora).

PEHE NO TE HAGA KAVA

Pepenu

Te kava!
Na Raka-man-rere te kava.
Na Raka-man-rere te kava mate e.

CHANT OF THE KAVA [OFFERINGS] OF MAUI

Introduction

The kava drink!
For Raka-man-rere is the kava.
For Raka-man-rere is the death [soliciting]
kava.

For Raka-man-rere is the kava, ere ni i.

Chorus

The kava drink!
For Raka-man-rere is the kava,
For Raka-man-rere is the kava [bringing]
death;

For Raka-man-rere is the kava.
It is the adz Naia, by which
the foundations of Havaiki were severed.
Expiring, stretching out at Hau-mauru-hia,
Floating to Fatu-marigirigi (Flashing-
surface-of-the-sea).

The victim of Maui dies,
Tuna-the-eel-spirit.
For Maui, indeed, is this.
For Raka-man-rere is the kava,
For Raka-man-rere is the death kava;
For Raka-man-rere is the kava!

Verse

The fire which burns in the zenith of the sky
Kills the sacrificial victim at the
blood-oven [oven of first cooking].
Fire glowing brightly there,
For Hoa-ragi, indeed, is this.
For Raka-man-rere is the kava, etc.

Verse

The Pearl-shell which lies across the
chosen way,
Clam traveling where?
Te Pata-oi (The Sharp-prick) is this.
For Tu, indeed, is this.
For Raka-man-rere is the kava, etc.

[Ko] Te Uhi[-te-aro] e
e tu i te ara au hia ra,
Korua turei, ea [= korora tere ihea] e?
Ko Te Pata-oi [or, Patau] e? ea.
Na Tu hoki, ea.
Na Raka-man-rere te kava, . . .

Removal from first oven

Andran says (2, p. 130) that, "When the animal was taken out of the fire, the *tokiofa* was brought again, then the division began." This may be the

* According to Hurei, Naia was the name of the adz of Maui, and so the name is spelled in her version and that of her sister.

^b The words in brackets are from Hurei and Ruca's versions.

^c In place of *te pehe*, the other manuscript version has *ki kava*.

^d The versions of Hurei and Ruca have in place of this line, *wai ai kakana te ananga*.

second of the two *tokio* of which he speaks, or he may have been mistaken in thinking there were two. Montion (35, p. 379) also says that when the turtle was taken out of its first fire it was carried again onto the marae, placed on its back and the sacred symbol (in this case, of stone) put on it. It was then cut up to the accompaniment of "defeating cries from the warriors," after which it was cooked again.

At Valitahi—according to an account received from Ruea, Huarai, and Takaoa, the former chief of the island—after the turtle had had the entoplaston (*umahi o te unia*) removed, the breath (*aho*) from its throat (*faroa*) put into a basket (*kete*) and carried before the marae, and after it had been baked (*ken*), "the priests went to the side of the cooking fire (*hua haere te pupu tarua ki te pae o te rega*) to *tokio* the turtle seaward or by the side of the sea (*e tokio te honu ki tai*). Here, *tokio* may mean "to consecrate" or it may be equivalent to *tokioro* in the Valitahi *huhuhu* dance (*Ko te marae ko tokioro*), in one version of which *tokioro* was abbreviated to *tokio* and *okio*. This, Ruea told Mazé, meant "the dragging of a turtle" (*kunuega tifa*). This was the chant (*teia tonu korero*), delivered when the turtle was "tokio-ed":

Haere, haere te vahine Tii-
fakahakakaka;
Tii te haere,
Haroga noc;
E ka toloro te kioro^a ki roto i te horau.
Pipiki o vaevae, vaevae kikiriri!
Tokio!
Tuitui tahaga tako takere,
Puta te gahaki,
Tokio!

The woman Land-plover-sneaking-along goes, goes along;
Like the hand plover is her going,
It is the breaking of dawn;
The rat creeps into the canoe shed.
Draw up your legs, legs like the black tern!
Tokio!
Piercing and piercing again . . .
The coconut shell is pierced,
Tokio!

^a Kioro (rat) frequently refers, metaphorically, to the phallus, hence it would seem that the act of copulation is the theme of this chant. But why this should be brought in here is not clear.

The version given jointly by Tuteina, Tamatoa a Makehu, Takaoa, and Tupuhoe, to Mazé, on April 23, 1936, in the presence of the French administrator Marcel Sénac, follows:

Ko te marae, ko tokioro [repeated],
Koia te i taku fagogo [repeated],
Ho ake te tahi kia kai taku matakeinaga.
Ho ho ho ho ho!

It is the marae, it is the dragging [repeated],
It is for my child [repeated],
Give something that my people eat.
Ho ho ho ho ho!

The version given by Ruea a Raka, on the same day, is as follows:

Ko te marae, ko tokioro [repeated],
Ee aha? Koia te i taku fagogo.
Ho ake tehi tari na taku fagogo.
Ho ho ho ho ho!

It is the marae, it is the dragging [repeated],
What? It is for my child.
Give some bit for my child.
Ho ho ho ho ho!

In dancing the above, the hands of the dancers point toward the marae at the first line, toward the turtle victim being dragged to the marae, at the repetition of the line. At the third line, the hands of the dancers point toward the child. The last line changes according to the person for whom the food is designated (*fagogo*, child; *matakeinaga*, people; *tokeke*, brothers; and so forth). A well-known parody on the above facilitates its understanding:

Ko te purururu, ko te vaere [repeated],
Kua te i taku Tavana [repeated],
Ho ake te tahi kia kai taku matakeinaga.

It is the road, it is the sweeping [repeated],
It is for my Governor [repeated],
Give some [nourishment] that my people may eat.

These versions, when compared with Ruea's version given to Stimson (45, p. 41), reveal that Ruea substituted the name Kio. Stimson claims (45, p. 5 and p. 125, note 49) that earlier he was given a version identical with the Kio version of Ruea by several leading informants of Valitahi, but the only version recorded in the notes of the Bishop Museum Tuamotuan Expedition was typewritten by Stimson after he had worked with Ruea on the so-called Kio cult, and it is presented as having been given by Huarai (sister of Ruea), Tamakehu, Arimata, and Tupuhoe. Note that Tupuhoe, the last named, is one of those who gave the version recorded by Mazé, and that Ruea's version given Mazé independently is substantially the same. Ruea patently modified the chant to supply Stimson with a version which would fit into his esoteric cult of Kio.

THE SECOND OVEN

At Napuka, the second oven, to which the pieces of turtle were next carried, is called the *rotika korereka* (fire for small pieces), whereas at Valitahi, it is called the *unu koea* (flesh oven). The division into small pieces is an easy matter after the first cooking, because the fat has been partly melted making it possible to pull the flesh and organs apart with little if any use of the knife. While this second cooking proceeded, the time was again passed in singing *fagu*.

When the small pieces were cooked, they were carried onto the marae, and the chief, after inviting by name all the gods and the ancestors to the feast, took the head and ate it (Montion, 35, p. 379). The captor of the turtle, he adds, distributed the rest among those present, who were considered sacred for the remainder of the day.

At Napuka, according to Te Uru, the heart of the turtle (*upoupo*) was placed at the upright slab marking the place of the heart (*po'ofatu vai raga upoupo*). Te Uru and Te Ufi said that only the head of the turtle (*pa guta*) and the internal organs—the heart, the *nahiri* (small intestines), and the *konokomo* (?)—were eaten on the court of the marae and only by the chief and the old men (*pakis*).

The morsel of food first eaten by the chief was called the *fakanoa*, according to Te Ufi. When it was ready for him, the chief called out, "Poi mai te fakanoa." When he had eaten of it, he lifted the leaf on which the food was brought, circled his head once with it, and said, "Mai te noe." The leaf was then deposited at a *fofatu* (stone) on the marae. The others might then eat the food served them on leaves of the *Pisonia* tree.

At Hao, the first tasting of food by one man before the others could eat was called *paore*. In a Hao chant for Moeara, this act, in connection with the head of Tagihia-ariki, his nephew, who was killed and eaten at Takara, is referred to in the line: "Paorea ki te pepenu o Tagihia-ariki" (Sample the head of Tagihia-ariki).

The captor's distribution of food (*vele o te katiga*) to those present, says Te Ufi, was done just behind the marae court, where the turtle was eaten. Andran (2, p. 131) learned that each one received his part "on leaves of the gatae [*Pisonia*], chosen and prepared for the occasion."

Te Ufi told me that when the men had eaten their fill, the unconsumed food was placed on a rack at the back of the court. He also said that it could not be removed from the vicinity of the marae and that the men kept returning until it was entirely consumed. During abundance of turtle meat, boys as young as nine or ten years were sometimes allowed to come to where the men were eating and to share in the scraps. Te Ufi, Te Mae, Te Uripo, Te Uru, and Mokiio, all of Napuka and all of whom were my informants, had thus eaten turtle at the marae. While the introduction of Christianity at Napuka dates from 1878 (Fierens, 23, p. 434), 56 years before I worked with these men in 1934, Te Mae told me that after the introduction of Christianity there was a reversion to heathenism; and there is every reason to believe that in an abbreviated form the rituals pertaining to the turtle feast have been kept going secretly until the past few years.

VARIOUS FEAST PRAYERS

In the manuscript of Te Poa it is stated that the food laid on the food mat (*tapakau*) was called *hauhanga kai* and was dedicated by means of the recitation below. We have seven records of this chant. I am presenting the one dictated at Nukutavake by Tama a Tama, for he, like Te Heega a Tu of Nukutavake, gives three stanzas, whereas the others give only the first two stanzas. The chant was used to dedicate the food in the feast of the *tihara* ceremony which we witnessed at Vaititahi in 1930, and was presented as a *tapakau* (mat) chant preceding the *tapakau* chant for Tane, Toga, and others. It is probable that Te Poa's manuscript, in giving the chant after the *tapakau* chants for Tane, Toga, and others, gives the order followed in ancient times.

Fakahahanga kai!¹
Garu te tunu o te fema!
Tane i hoia ki² te Atu-papa-roroa!
Ko taha i noho hia ai te nohoga
o ga tahuga.³
Ke turia te kai nei,
Kia mahaki,
Kia aga hia mai e Te Ariki-tu-a-mea.
Ka nana ia rana hono.⁴
Tu-metua,⁵
Haha ki te tua!
Haha kha [=kia].⁶
[Ke ui e].⁷
O! Fakahahanga kai!

Fakahahanga kai!
I kaha mai i te hihiga o te ra,
te tohaga o te rai
Kia hapaia ki ruga,
Kia tukua ki raro.
Ka tu ko te haga nei!
Ka nana ia rana hono.
Tu-metua,
Haha ki te tua!
Haha kha [=kia].
Ka rau kai maa!
Tokio!⁸

Fakahahanga kai!
Ko naitira,¹ ko maofaola,
ko tukikiaki.
Ko pehe vaka a uta,
ko pehe vaka a tai,
Kia tu-patiki te horo o tena vaka.

Fakahahanga kai!
I kaha mai i te hitiga, etc.
Fac!⁹

1
Give forth savory odors of food!
The foundation of the land trembles!
[Land of] Tane crying out in a loud voice
at [The-furthestmost-long-foundation]
The place where is located the abode of
those two priests.
Let the food be set out here,
Let it be free of restrictions,
[That [the priest] Te Ariki-tu-a-mea accept it.
It will be freed of restrictions by those
two representatives.
Tu-the-parent,
Shout to the god!
The shouting is done.
Let there be questioning.
Ho! The feast!

2
Savory odors of food!
Partaken of from the rising of the sun,
to the setting of the sun!
Carried on high,
Let down below.
Attend to the rite here!
Those two attendants lift the restrictions.
Tu-the-parent,
Pray to the god!
The praying is done.
Bring out the food-tray, taste!
Tokio!

3
Savory odors of food!
The [canoe bringing the gods] tilts, sways,
the waves slap against it.
Prop the canoe inland, prop the canoe
seaward,
That the traveling of that canoe be like
that of the *patiki* fish.
The feast!
Partaken of from the rising, etc.
Fac!

¹ Te Heega gives the introductory line as *Ia ei Hauhanga kai* Fakarogo, of Nukutavake, as O . . .
² *Fakahanga kai*.
³ Stimson (45, p. 58) drops the *ki* before *te* *Atu-papa-roroa*, but this is present in the Tagi version, which he used, and in all our versions.
⁴ In a manuscript of Tama, *nohono* appears in place of *noho hia ai*. Te Heega gives *ka tahi noho* *te nohoga o ga tahuga*. As given by Tagi the line is: *tahi noho te nohoga o ga tahuga*. Fakarogo gives *tagata i nohoha ai na tahuga*.
⁵ Fakarogo of Nukutavake has *ka nana ia rana hono*.
⁶ Stimson interpolated *ei* before *Tu-metua* in presenting Tagi's version (Stimson, 45, p. 59).
⁷ Tagi gave the line as *fakahanga kai*, obviously adding a *u* after *fakaha* and *kha*. In a manuscript of Tama, and in Te Poa's manuscript the line is rendered *kahaki*.
⁸ Te Poa's manuscript has *ke ui e*. Fakarogo and Te Kura of Nukutavake have *ki ui e*. Tagi has *ke ui e*.
⁹ The inhabitants of Vaititahi are unanimous in explaining *tahia* as "simply the ending (*fakahanga* *feh*)" Tagi thought that *toki* in *tahia*, meant to fetch. Ruce thought that *tahia* was short for *tahiro*, to drag a turtle to the marae. Stimson's interpretation of the ending as *to Kio* (all is Kio's) was based on the assumption that there was a god named Kio who was addressed in this prayer (45, pp. 59, 118).
¹⁰ *Motiro* is rendered *matiro* by Te Heega.
¹¹ Te Heega ends the chant with *ka rau kai maa*. O . . . *toki . . . ei*

An important prayer at Vahitahi was that for the food mat of Tane. In his manuscript Te Poa says the most important object (*te fa tinane*) was the food mat, *tapakau*, which was the receptacle (*toriki*) for the food when it was laid out (*tia*). When the food mat was spread out (*hona hia*), the chant was recited. We have the chant from six different sources. The one presented here, which was given by Te Hegea at Nukutavake in 1934, follows Te Poa's version closely. Variations in others are pointed out in the notes.

PURE TAPAKAU NO TANE^a

PRAYER FOR THE FOOD MAT FOR TANE

Haha tapakau hamania!
Haha tapakau hamania!
Tapakau a Tane!^b
Tukia hau noa,
Niri^c pae a nuku,
Niru pae a ragi,
Ma te rau^d mahaha.
Ke mo toki e Tane^e
te tua o Atea.

Gloriously aloud the smoothed-out mat!
Glorify the smoothed-out food mat!
Food mat of Tane!
Smoothen of the free realm,
Support of the land,
Support of the sky,
With [consecratory] leaves spread out.
May your adz be free of restrictions, O Tane
the god of Atea.

[K]ia]a] tutia ai to tapakau [ma ta]!^f
Tagarora-i-te-ua, [Tagarora-i-te-tai],^g

That your freed food-mat be lifted up for
Tagarora-in-the-rain, [Tagarora-in-
the-sea],

Tagarora-i-te-a-tarere:
Ko i te matau i fatia i ravea,^h
Ko i te nuku nau [k]i roto,
Ko i te hoe tara mai ki hea,
Te nei i rauⁱ ai to tapakau,
Kia haki ai to tapakau,
Ka raka i mua. Fae!^j

Tagarora-in-the-flying-cloud;
That where the hook is broken, is taken,
There where the hosts are confined within,
There where . . .
Now your mat is presented,
That it be consecrated,
There is sacredness before. The prayer is
ended!

^a In a manuscript of Tama a Tama, the chant is headed *te kohora i te ragi* (the spreading out of the skies).
^b Some versions have *o* in place of *a*. As first dictated to us by Tagi at Vahitahi in 1930, there followed between this line and the next, "Eheli Tapakau Tapakau o Tane." The Te Poa manuscript, as well as one other version, omits the first two lines of this chant.

^c In a version from Tahiti this is *Tane pae a nuku*.
^d In the version of Tahiti-a-tura, and in one other version, *ragi* appears in place of *rau*.
^e The Te Poa manuscript has *ke mo toki e Tane*. Tagi's version has *ke mo toki o Tane*, or *ia Tane*. *Moto* in Tahiti means "to give a present or bribe to gain an end" (14, p. 147). This may be the meaning here of *mo toki*.
^f The Te Poa manuscript has: *ke tukia [a]i to tapakau matava a. Tagi gave the line: ke tutia [a]i to tapakau ma to*.
^g The Poa's manuscript alone gives this name.
^h The hook may be a reference to the famous hook instrumental in Tagarora's rescue of Hina-a-rau-riki, wife of his son Turi, in the Nukutavake tradition of Turi.
ⁱ The Poa's manuscript has *ke i te hoe ketao manui ma*; Tagi has *ko i te hono tara manuia*, Kuea giving *hoe* in place of *hono*; and Tama has *ko te hono tara maui*.
^j Some informants thought that *rua* here meant to double, or to duplicate. I believe the mat was given to Tane to present to Tagarora.
^k The Poa's manuscript has *ka rau kai moa, haea*. Another version has *ka raka kai moa, haea*. Tama's manuscript has *ka rau kai moa, fae*. Tukero a Mahaga gave the same chant as Te Hegea but ended *ka raka i mua, fae*.

At Vahitahi, Tagi gave a second stanza to the above prayer, which is the same as the first stanza except that in place of the lines from *kia tutia ai* to the beginning of the line *te nei i rua ai*, it has:

I tutia [a]i tapakau,
Te Tua-i-te-riri, Te Tui-i-te-hoe,
Te Tui-tata-i-Hiti,
E hiri i te po ma te ao.
Ka hiru riki.

Your mat is consecrated,
God-of-anger, God-of-growth,
God-who-bailed-at-Hiti,
Reeking day and night.

Tane, in another Vahitahi chant for him, is called Tane-riri. In Tahiti, a name for Tane is Tane-te-hoe, and at Vahitahi, it is Tane-i-te-hoe. In Tahiti, also, Tane is referred to as "a bailer at sea" (*ei chu-no te tai o Tane*) (30, p. 368).

Tagi and his daughter, in chanting the food mat prayer of Tane for the dictaphone, gave two verses, the first of which is similar to the above except that it omits the lines from "Tagarora-i-te-ua" to "mai ki hea." In the second verse, the above chant is followed except that from "ko i te matau" to "mai ki hea," one hears, "kan tuna, kau hoki, ko te hana, ka mate." After "haehae tapakau, hamani ai" of the first verse, Tagi shouts, "O . . . o, he tapakau!" before chanting "tapakau o Tane"; and the second verse omits the first two lines of the first verse and is introduced by, "O . . . o, he tapakau." Both first and second verses end with an abrupt *haea*. Takaou, in chanting this prayer for the dictaphone, ended with *faea*. *Haea, faea*, and *fae* are interchangeable endings in the Vahitahi area.

Toga was evidently an important god to the natives of the Vahitahi area, for a food offering was dedicated to him. He was described as having domain over the woods assisted by lesser gods (*tupitupua*), who were insects, crabs, flies, rats, and so forth. He would seem, therefore, to equal the Tahitian god To'a-hiti-o-te-vaio (30, p. 379). Translated, this is To'a-border-of-the-forest. The dedication chant for his food mat was dictated to us by Tagi a Tanehoia in 1930; a version was taken down from Tama a Tama at Nukutavake in 1934; and in 1939 we discovered a version in the manuscript of Te Poa which was written before 1924. The version of Tagi follows:

FAKICA TAPAKAU RA TOGA

Kia e! He tapakau!
Tapakau ra Toga.
Ko te ahu ra Toga, te roki na Toga.
Tuahivi atu, tuahivi mai,
Manava'i atu, manava'i mai,
Ka heto atu, ka heto mai,
Ka hetoto,
Ko i te ara hetoto,
Ko i te manui rereva [a]i na Toga.^a
I te nei^b i rua ai to tapakau,
Ke faki ai to tapakau.
Ka raka i mua. Haea!^c

Behold! A feast mat!
Feast mat for Toga.
It is the platform for Toga, the bed of Toga.
Heap up that way, heap up this way,
Watch over that way, watch over this way,
Swing outward, swing inward,
Swing.
There where [the pandanus fruit ?] swings,
There where the spirits fly for Toga.
Now your [food] mat is presented,
That it be consecrated.
There is sacredness before. It is finished!

^a The Te Poa manuscript begins with "ia e"; Tama's version begins with "haha tapakau hamania."
^b Both Te Poa and Tama have *manui* in place of *manui* in this line, and Te Poa ends the chant with this line. Another version has "ko i te manui rere faana".
^c Tama has *nihihihi* in place of *i tene*, another version has *fini*.
^d Tama has "ka rau kai moa, fae," in place of this line.

PURE NO FAKAHOTU

Ka raraga Fakahotu ki tana tapakau,
Mathe rige.
Toro e, toro e.

FAKALOTO HAS PLATED HER FEASTING MAT,
With corners firmly tied.
Stretching, stretching.

Peka e, peka e,
Na Tu e.^a
Hio!^b

Crossing over, crossing over,
For Tu.
Hio!

^a As given at Vahitahi, this line was "naka e" (for me). The version here is from Tama of Nukunavake.
^b Tama of Nukunavake gives "ka ranga ra" in place of "hio." Hio is a common ending of Tuamotuan chants.

The same chant was repeated in a slow drawl, rising from a low to a high pitch and then falling away, for Tahunui and Kunitoga, also supernatural female beings. At Vahitahi, these women were said to be "ancestral chiefesses possessed of supernatural power who had become deified as goddesses of food and the feasting mat," (*ga vahine ariki manamana ko lei riro ei atua no te nuqa e no te tapakan*). All three are represented as daughters of Tane on the Vahitahi genealogies.

In a manuscript book of Fariua of Fagatau, occurs this invitation to the gods to partake of the food at the marae feast:

1
A sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice for the gods!
Eat!
It is for Tupua, Tahito,
Te Iri, Te Fata, Te Tumu,
Te Toro, Te Aka, Te Agi,
Te Reva.
Eat you chiefs there!
Eat . . .
That your sacrificed offerings be consumed.

2
A sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice for the gods!
Partake of the sacrifice!
Partake of the sacrificed dog,
The sacrificed pig,
The sacrificed fowl,
The human sacrifice!
May there be more sacrifices,
There where are your friends, your people,
There where are your guests!
The ancestral gods appear!
My people gather 'round!

Tapena, tapena, tapena!
Kai tapena!
Kai tapena kuirio,
Tapena pataka,
Tapena moa,
Tapena tagata!
Kia tapena atu,
I o koutou hoa, i o koutou tagata,
I o koutou maririni!
[K]a hura ana maitu!
[K]ae taku ragatira!

^a I am assuming that *ragi* is here used in the Hawaiian sense of "heavenly one," "chief." But Montion (35, p. 379) gives *ragi* as a term for "victim" or "last offering of a victim."

The turtle is not mentioned in this prayer and perhaps the prayer was intended for offerings of dog, pig, fowl, and man.
A Hao manuscript book contained the following food blessing (*pire no te kai haga katiga*):

Mata-aea, ko maitu roro,
Te, tu mai, mai te haga ana,
E noho ana na rathine, ko Atanna,
ko Te Kopu-hei-ariki,^a

Opening-eyes, O . . . god,
Arise, stand . . .
The old women, Atanna,
Te Kopu-hei-ariki,

^a Atanna stands at 12 generations from 1900, on Hao genealogies; Te Kopu-hei-ariki is her daughter.

Ko roto ihu, ko roto ake,
Horahia te keiga,
Kai tutura Te Moko-hei-tara.
Ka takanini,
Fakatu Te Pare-ariki,^b
Yakere ragi no Hao.
Meitake te keiga kai!

Dwell within, without,
Spread out the feast,
Te Moko-hei-tara eats . . .
Gather around.
Let the Pare-ariki clan assemble,
The royal foundation of Hao.
Excellent is the feast!

^b The royal clan of Hao.
CANNIBAL FEASTS, HUMAN SACRIFICE

Father Fierens wrote in 1871 (22, p. 130) that "In some islands these cannibals have made around their maraes wreathes of skulls and bones of human victims sacrificed principally in their wars." His statement implies that in some of the islands cannibal feasts took place upon maraes and that human beings were sacrificed on the marae. However, Seurat was told that the only marae on Fakahina where human sacrifices were offered was the large marae named Katipa or Oromea, on the west end. He states (42, p. 3), "The victims were strangers who landed on the island. The heads of the victims were carried to a large hole situated near a marae established in the vicinity, on the lagoon side. The bodies were buried in the large marae." At Fakahina, I was informed (18, p. 49) that the enclosure for skulls was at Oromea, on the lagoon side of the west end of the atoll. Audran (1, vol. 28, p. 236) says that the crew of the Tuamotuan ship commanded by Manava-rere, which came to Fakahina from the west, were massacred and that "The bodies were buried in the marae Katipa, situated beside the open sea, while the heads were hidden in the marae of Oromea, close by the lagoon."

The heads or skulls of enemies killed at Takapoto or Takarua were sent to marae Hitiaga at the northern extremity of Takarua. South of the marae was a pit called Ruapou, where the skulls were buried (18, p. 34). According to a Hao manuscript copied by us, Poureva, the principal marae of the great island of Hao, had a "place for heads" (*vai ra'a upo'o*), named Fare-ao. The manuscript of Te Poa mentions for marae Kura-kakea, their principal marae, a "head house" (*fare upoko*).

It would seem that cannibal feasts were restricted to a few maraes, and these, the principal ones. While all skulls were sent to one spot in the Takapoto-Takarua area, according to current legend, the traditional site of the oven where the body of Yagihia-ariki, nephew of the great warrior Moeava, was baked is a large hollow some 50 yards from the marae at Raghua, at Matihimaruaru on Takarua Island (18, p. 30). The people of Takakoto were avowed cannibals, but several questioned by me denied that human flesh was eaten upon the marae. When Te Hina, an ancestor of theirs, was killed by Gati Kararu, they cooked him in an oven, the site of which is pointed out in the present village and called Te Nahenabe o Te Hina (The Oven of Te Hina). The natives of Hao were among the most notorious cannibals in the Tu-

motus, yet Beeche y, who was there for some days in 1826 and who made quite a few inquiries, says (5, vol. 1, p. 244), "I did not hear of any human sacrifices being offered." It is probable that human sacrifices were not a prerequisite in marae ceremonies, as they were in many Tahitian rites, but that skulls of enemies killed in fighting were deposited at certain marae and that their bodies were sometimes, perhaps always, offered on a marae, or with marae ritual, before the flesh was eaten.

In Tahiti, human beings were not killed on the marae, and there is no evidence that they were in the Tuamotus. But Caillot (10, pp. 81-83) purports to give in detail the ritual offering up a human victim, in which his throat is cut on the marae exactly as is that of a turtle. A comparison of his account with that given by Montiton in 1874 for the sacrifice of a turtle, shows, I think, beyond question that Caillot drew his account from Montiton, substituting *tagata* (man) for *ika* (fish, victim) and making a few other alterations. Caillot even carries over errors of spelling in Montiton's text. Montiton has "ika te ahi a Tauruhua" (35, p. 379) which he has translated "au feu le poisson de Tauruhua"; Caillot has "tagata te ahi a Varuga," substituting *tagata* for *ika* and Varuga for Tauruhua, and translating the new line "au feu l'homme de Varuga." He says of Varuga that some other god may be mentioned in place of him. Now, *ika* is a verb and should be *hika*, to cause fire by rubbing, so that the original line really means, "kindle the fire of Tauruhua." I have never come across Varuga as the name of a god or of a person. It seems to be a corruption of *varua*, spirit.

Brown, whose reliability I am not in a position to vouch for, but who was at Anaa in 1855, in speaking of the wars on that island (7, p. 220), says of the skulls at the marae:

When the war is over and the victorious party returns home, each family has a place for the captured heads, where they are put in rows, being six or eight inches below the surface of the ground, and easy of access. This was done so that when any question arose as to the bravest family, or the member of a family to take first place as dictator or chief, the *mori* [marae], or place of skulls may be visited and a tally made, when the one with the highest number of skulls or heads is given the coveted position. In these contests they count the heads taken by their ancestors. . . .

EEL FEASTS

Montiton records (35, p. 366) that when a woman died at Tatakoto, several locks of her hair might be taken and tied to a long staff ornamented with bird feathers. He continues:

These staves were placed in the vicinity of the hut of the native, in the middle of a path, before a trunk of the Pandanus tree fixed in the earth as a little altar. It is there that they went to pray and offer sacrifices of food whenever they captured some eels or when they proposed to fish for eels. But, as there was a sort of intimacy between a woman and these serpents of the sea, they took pains to keep them apart. When they had taken eels, they stretched them out at a distance, they surrounded them with green leaves, before

and after being cooked, then each one took a piece of leaf and deposited it, with coconuts or any other food, on the altar set up in sight of the female relic. To distinguish it from the marae, this place was called a *ruahine*. . . . The sacrifices of the marae were much more solemn than those of the *ruahine*.

Ruahine were not confined to Tatakoto, for in a Hao manuscript two *marae ruahine* are listed, one at Pahunaru, belonging to Te Pori, named Taikanapa; another at Ohoro, named Akuaku.

That the aid of a deified woman should be sought in procuring eels is not surprising, in view of their supposed attraction for eels. In the myth of Haumea, she became the wife of Tagaroa after he had enticed the eels out of her body.

OFFERINGS AT THE RUAHATU

The *ruahatu* or rough pile made up mostly of branch coral, which lay on the court of the maraes of Napuka, Fakahina, Fagatau, Hao, and islands of the Vahitahi area, was regarded by Te Ufi, as the sacred part (*vahi moa*) of the marae. Farua, of Fagatau, in pointing out this feature at marae Ramapohia said it was erected for the god Ruahatu, and that fishing expeditions, upon their return, brought a piece of fresh branch coral (*puhakana*) which was added to the pile. Audran does not explain his remark (1, vol. 27, p. 134) that the maraes of Napuka were "formed from Ruahatu." Ruahatu was an important god of the ocean, and branch coral probably was regarded as his bodily form. It is significant that the feature is not called a platform for Ruahatu, but simply *ruahatu*, which I interpret as meaning Ruahatu himself. No images were placed upon it, nor did any one ever sit upon it, according to Te Ufi.

Te Uruupo said that offerings of young coconut in the stage called *rehu* were left on the *ruahatu* to insure the coming of turtle. Such an offering was called a *putu kai*. The *komata* or stem end of the coconut was broken open, the soft flesh (called *kano kana*) was scraped (*puoru*) and left inside with the water. Such an offering might also be left at the shore, in a little stone shelter called a *karuru mana*.

Te Mae gave me a similar description of the coconut left on the *ruahatu* and added that with the coconut was left a piece of branch coral, called *puhakaiana* at Napuka, and the entoplastron from the breast of the turtle. The entoplastron and piece of coral, he declared, were later carried up and deposited in a *fare tini atua*. Te Uruupo said a prayer was offered when the coconut was left, but Te Mae contradicted this statement.

Tama a Tama, of Nukutavake, whose knowledge of the marae is not too trustworthy, spoke of a "flat rock" on the court of the marae called "te moe o Ruahatu" (the sleep of Ruahatu). He said this rock marked the limit to which the people could advance toward the *ahu*, which he called the *ahu-taga*.

like another flat rock called "Te moe o Paka-aho" and said that I like Ralahatu, was an important god. In a list of marae features given by Ranea four years previously, mention is made only of the fact that *pukakama* (branch coral) as well as *pakama tororo* (small Tridacna shells) were to be seen at the marae. At the best preserved marae ruin of the area, marae Atrona, Vairaatea Island (18, fig. 51) I saw a pile of branch coral along one side of the court, exactly like the *ruahatu* of Fagatau.

At a marae on Temu'agi atoll, in 1857, Cailliet (9, p. 232) saw "a pile formed of stones which the Pomotuan throws down in passing the place." This pile corresponds, in form and function, to the *ruahatu* seen at Fagatau and elsewhere.

BURIAL RITES

Before burial in the sea or on land, the body of a chief was carried by means of a stretcher (*ivaga*) onto the marae, according to our Vahitahi informants, and the following chant (*fagu*) delivered by the high priest (translation by Stimson).

Tikaro, tikarohu!
Ka mohora ki mua i Maruofa, rite.
Piua, ka garo, rite!
Piua, ka garo, ka tukua,
Ka tukua ki uta i te henua.
Kau mai i te tai o Pekahi, rite.
Piua, ka garo, rite!
Piua, ka garo, ka tukua!

Let him be wrapped up [in his burial mat]!
Let him be laid upon Maruofa [his marae].
Shrouded, lost, alas!
Shrouded, lost, set down,
Set down inland [upon his burial platform].
The flooding seas of Pekahi flow hither.
Rolled up in his shroud, lost, alas!
Shrouded, lost to view, let down [into the grave]!

If the body was to be kept for the apotheosis of the chief, it was left on a raised wooden platform, probably on the marae, or at least in its vicinity.

In the Vahitahi area at Nukutavake, Wallis' men saw, in 1768, "several repositories for the dead, in which the body was left to putrefy under a canopy, and not put in the ground" (29, vol. 1, p. 428).

Te Pano, of Reao, who claimed to be the *matahiapo* of his generation, in direct descent from the last high chief, gave a fairly detailed account of the ceremony performed on a Reao marae when the people returned from burying a chief at sea. He himself could not have participated in this ceremony, for he was born after the introduction of Christianity, but his account may be truthful as far as it goes. I give it from Stimson's recording.

When coming back from the burial, the cortege (about 60 to 100 persons) all dive at the very edge of the reef, each taking two stones from the bottom, one in each hand. They then all come up out of the sea upon the reef. They are now in open or deployed formation.

The principal *tahuga* now shouts, "Commence the prayer."

All now advance in open formation, the stone in the palm of the left hand being struck rhythmically with the stone held in the right hand; the advance is inland in the general direction of the marae. While advancing they pray:

Tereere tau, e koihiki tagata.
He tereere tau, he koihiki tagata.

This is repeated in a single file. The priest now commands, "E roro!" (Advance strictly in single file, is continued until they approach the marae. The priest commands, "Ka tu! Ka hovi!" (Stand up! Deploy!). All now form in a semicircle, the priest enters and leads in a prayer (not recalled). The people respond, "Hovi! Hovi! Pupu . . . pu!"

All now proceed to the right, around the marae to the entrance, while repeating continuously the above response. When they are all assembled before the entrance, the priest chants:

Kura poi! Kura poi!
Mati a'e, mati a'e!
Here hia! Here hia!
Fupu! Pupu!

They now enter the marae in two files, the priest leading. One file takes up its position along the right wall, headed by the second priest; the other file takes its stand on the left.

Prior to the ceremony a number of torches (*vaeva*) have been prepared and deposited in the *ama*. The number of these torches must be sufficient for each member of the cortege to have one. They resemble somewhat a broom, the handle being made of *tatoua*. Around one end is attached a cluster of dry twigs of *kokuru*. The *ama* is a four-walled repository which contains sacred ceremonial objects.

There is also a small circular stone construction (called a *henua*) in which the sacred fire is kindled. This is placed just in front of the *ahu taga* and is lower than it. The priest now takes the torches from the *ama*, handing one to each member of the cortege. He now addresses them as follows, "Ka ka te ahi! Ko i roto henua!"

The right-hand rank now advances single file to the *henua*, each lighting his torch and then marching down the center of the marae, forming a rank near the center toward the right.

The *tahuga* now repeats the command, and the left rank proceeds as the right, taking up its final position opposite the other rank. The priest then gives the command, "Ka hikai i te vaeva katau!" (Advance the right foot!). The two ranks then advance toward each other, inclining their torches forward so that the flames of opposite torches are close together but not actually touching. The priest now chants,

Ka ka i te ahi, ka i rugai!
Hikaina ma vetevete,
Taurakaha.
Tagege! Tagege!

The people respond by repeating the same chant. The priest says, "Koputu ki mua henua" (Face the *henua*). The people face the *henua* while the priest repeats the chant, "Hikaina ma vetevete. . . ." After this the priest, with the command "Ka huri," has the people turn completely around and face the entrance; then he has them face the south, and then the north. After each facing, he repeats the chant, "Hikaina ma vetevete. . . ." Then he has them facing each other again, saying, "Ka ka te ahi ko roto henua" (Let the flame burn against the earth).

The torches are now held down against the ground until extinguished. The priest chants again, "Hikaina ma vetevete. . . ." This is taken up by the people who repeat the chant until all the torches are extinguished. The priest now gathers up the dead torches, beginning at the right, and carries them to the *ama* where they are deposited. He now shouts to all those assembled within and without the marae: "Those without, file into the marae, whether of noble blood, or commoners" (*ka roro mai to vaho ki roto; fare a'iki noa [ai]tu, te i kiro noa [ai]tu*).

Next, the priest takes the *kaifara*,⁴ which had been properly sanctified, out of the

⁴ This *kaifara* was supposed to contain the *vaeva* of the dead chief. It was the soft whitish new growth from the top of a pandanus bush and was very carefully wrapped up in specially prepared white pandanus leaves. It was not bound with sennit. A Reao native told J. F. G. Stokes in 1921 that when the turtle was placed at the marae about 20 *evake* sticks were set up. These were sticks with pandanus leaves, *mau* (*Lepidium*, or scurry grass) leaves, and coconut leaves.

... is handed by the high priest to the second priest, who, holding it on the ... both hands, advances in turn to every person within the marae, to each of whom he holds it up to be *hongi* (smelled or embraced). This rite supposed to be of the utmost importance, not even a babe in arms could be passed ... After each individual had smelled or embraced the *kauifava*, the priest would pass his hand over it before holding it out to the next in turn, in order to remove the odor (*kanga*) of the preceding person. The second Priest then returned the *kauifava* to the first, who then recited a prayer, afterwards replacing the *kauifava* in the *ana*.
The first priest next conferred his mana upon the second, who then commanded the people to follow him out of the marae. He led the way over every path in the village, and past each habitati on. As each person arrived before his own dwelling, he left the cortege and entered therein. Thus all the people returned to their homes, after which the ceremony was considered over.

CEREMONY OF APOTHEOSIS

Montiton records (35, p. 491) that mourners took nails and hair from the head and beard of a body, adding to them teeth which had been lost by the defunct, and put them on a small board. After the burial ceremonies were terminated, "they proceeded to the ceremony of apotheosis." The package, made of the objects taken from the body, was tied with coconut fiber and "covered with" bird feathers, and deposited in the coffer to be placed on the marae "where the dead took their place among the gods and venerated ancestors of the country" (35, pp. 366, 492).

Te Miro, of Fagatau, recounted how the people of his island went to Raroia for the bones of Varoa, a famous chief and ancestor of both the Raroia and Fagatau people, who lived about 12 generations ago. They wished to bring them to Fagatau to be worshiped as a god. The people of Raroia agreed to the transference of the bones because Fagatau had not been successfully attacked by enemy warriors. The remains of Varoa, wrapped in semiti, were deposited in a casket on a Fagatau marae.

When it was desired to know the whereabouts of Reitere, a woman supposed to have been kidnapped by the long-haired demon, Tane-mata-tinao, Te Fau, who was a *tagata mana* (man possessed of supernatural powers), performed his incantations before the coffer which contained the bones of Varoa. The ghost of Varoa appeared, giving him explicit directions for finding Reitere.

In notes of A. Hervé, administrator of the Tuamotus at the time of our expeditions, it is recorded that at Raroia the body of their king Varoa (Vara-na-upoo-elaa) was dried on his marae Paetaha, also called Te pa [a] Varoa (The Enclosure of Varoa), and later transported to Fagatau where the burial marae of all the kings of Raroia, marae Apapa-te-ragi, is located.

The apotheosis of an important person, as described to us at Vahitahi, was recorded by Stimson as follows:

Sometimes a chief or leading warrior, etc., would be asked by his descendants to permit his being made into a *maini* (ancestor-god), or he might himself decide as to the

... as successful in all his undertakings. ... great mana, and, as a family- or ancestor ... he would supposedly be particularly able to bring success in their undertakings to his descendants who should call upon him for help.

If the chief or leading warrior was to be converted into a *maini*, the body was left on the scaffold support (*puhata*) to dry and desiccate (*tu'ata*) in the sun. A *fare heian* or *fare maini* was then built to receive the corpse. The house was small and contained an *ana* or four-walled stone inclosure for the corpse (*iti mate*); this inclosure [cist or vault ?] could not be entered by the common people or even by the relatives of the defunct unless of *tahinga* or *tanu* rank.

When the body was sufficiently desiccated a funeral cortege was formed, led by the *tahinga*, which proceeded to the marae. There, prior to removing the corpse from its *puhata* the high priest recited the following *pu'are* (given by Tagi a Tanchoaia).

He Kura Takara, He Kura Manu
Te tu ai nei taku kura
i te tua o te rahi!
Ke haave, ke makarekave,
ke rotona!
Kia topa te hahai,
Kia topa te manao,
Hakutu te atua Te Uho-ariki e.
Te kura, i nua nei.
Kiaei! He kura!

AN ANCESTOR GOD, A KURA MANU
My *hura* abides everywhere
in the remote skies!
Let the gloom gather, threatening clouds,
stormy clouds!
That the rain fall,
that it clear.
The god Te Uho-ariki stands forth in splendor.
Behold! A *hura*!

The *iti mate* (corpse) was then transported upon a specially prepared *tiroga* (stretcher), or *au-ihoko*, to the *fare heian* where it was deposited upon a scaffold-like shelf in the *ana*. The position of the corpse was horizontal—extended with arms lying on the stomach, palms down. It was wrapped up with semiti.

After placing the corpse in its final position the high priest pronounced the following chant, concluding the ceremony, after which the *iti mate* became a full-fledged *maini*.

Tomu atu ra ha ki roto e!
Ki roto i te fare koe,
Ki roto i te ana koe,
Vai atu ra ha ki roto,
ki roto o te fare koe.
E mahate [= mate] iei!

Enter within!
Enter thou within the house,
Enter thou into the groto,
Remain thou there within,
within the house.
Thou, the dead!

Those seeking the support of the *maini* through the power of his mana had to enter the *fare heian* backward until just before him, when they might face about toward him. The body was said to be *rakehia* or *ratahia* (decorated).

The honor of apotheosis, says Montiton (35, p. 366) could be received only by men, with the exception of those women whose spirits were brought into service at the eel marae (*marae maine*).

SHORTENING A MARAE CEREMONY

When an enemy ship was seen or reported approaching while a service was being held at the marae, the prayer and service could be shortened, according to Te Miro of Fagatau, by the recitation of the following lines:

Iriau e, nuku mau tori,
Tapa'e i te rahi o Tu,
Ko Rogo, Te Iri, ko Te Fatu,
Tupu'a, ko Tohika,
Mama iau i e!

At Vahitahi, we were told that if a bird cried during a sacred ceremony, it must be done over again. We have recorded as one meaning of *kopu*, "to cut short a prayer on the marae."

⁶This chant was called at Nukutavake a "pure raka o te kura manu" (sacred prayer of the *hura* manu).

LITERATURE CITED

1. AUDRAN, HÉRVÉ, Traditions of and notes on the Paumotu or Tuamotu Islands: *Polynesian Soc., Jour.*, vol. 27, pp. 26-35, 90-92, 132-136, 1917; vol. 28, pp. 31-38, 161-167, 232-239, 1918.
2. AUDRAN, HÉRVÉ, Napuka et ses habitants: *Soc. Études Océaniques*, Bull. 3, pp. 126-136, 1918.
3. AUDRAN, HÉRVÉ, Fakahina: *Soc. Études Océaniques*, Bull. 19, pp. 227-235, 1927.
4. BANKS, JOSEPH, *Journal of the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks* (Joseph D. Hooker, editor), London, 1896.
5. BECHTOLD, F. W., Narrative of a voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait (1825-28), 2 vols., London, 1831.
6. BIGH, WILLIAM, A voyage to the south seas, London, 1792.
7. BROWN, JAMES S., Life of a pioneer, autobiography of James S. Brown, 1900.
8. BYRON, JOHN, A voyage around the world in the Dolphin, London, 1767.
9. CAILLET, FRANÇOIS-XAVIER, La tragédie de la goélette Sarah Ann: *Soc. Études Océaniques*, Bull. 67, pp. 222-233, 1939.
10. CAILLOT, A. C. E., Histoire des Religions de l'Archipel Paumotu, Paris, 1932.
11. Catalogue des reliques et collections de l'Oeuvre de la propagation de la foi, Lyon, no date.
12. COOK, JAMES, A voyage to the Pacific Ocean... 1776-1780, 3 vols., London, 1785.
13. CORNEY, BOLTON G., The quest and occupation of Tahiti by emissaries of Spain... 1772-1776, 3 vols., London, 1915.
14. DAVIES, JOHN, A Tahitian and English dictionary. Tahiti, 1851.
15. DELMAS, SIMON, La religion ou le paganisme des Marquisiens, Paris, 1927.
16. EMORY, K. P., The Tuamotuan survey, in Report of the Director for 1931: *B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull.* 94, pp. 40-50, 1932.
17. EMORY, K. P., Stone remains in the Society Islands: *B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull.* 116, 1933.
18. EMORY, K. P., Tuamotuan stone structures: *B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull.* 118, 1934.
19. EMORY, K. P., The Tuamotuan creation charts by Païote: *Polynesian Soc., Jour.*, vol. 48, pp. 1-29, 1939.
20. EMORY, K. P., Archaeology of Mangareva and neighboring atolls: *B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull.* 163, 1939.
21. EMORY, K. P., Tuamotuan concepts of creation: *Polynesian Soc., Jour.*, vol. 49, no. 193, pp. 69-136, 1940.
22. FIERENS, GERMAIN, Lettre au R. P. Clair Fouque, dated Anna, June 28, 1871: *Annales de la propagation de la foi*, vol. 44, pp. 124-136, Lyon, 1872.
23. FIERENS, GERMAIN, Lettre of... , Napuka, August 28, 1878: *Annales des Sacres-Coeurs*, pp. 434-440, Paris, 1879.
24. FIERENS, GERMAIN, Lettre du... au T. R. P. Bousquet, supérieur général de la Congrégation, written at Napuka, September 1, 1878: *Annales de la propagation de la foi*, vol. 51, pp. 460-462, Lyon, 1879.
25. GASSER, CLIFFORD, Road my body goes, New York, 1937.
26. GREGORY, H. E., Report of the Director for 1934: *B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull.* 133 (Mangarevan Expedition, pp. 33-67), 1935.
27. Handbook to the ethnographical collections, British Museum, 2d ed., London, 1925.
28. HANBY, E. S. C., The native culture in the Marquesas: *B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull.* 9, 1923.
29. HAWKSWORTH, JOHN, An account of the voyages performed by Byron, Wallis, Carteret, and Cook, vol. 1, pp. 92-113, 423-429, London, 1773.
30. HENRY, TEURAI, Ancient Tahiti: *B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull.* 48, 1928.
31. LARSEN, HELGE, Some ancient specimens from western and central Polynesia: *Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Ethnografisk Raekke*, no. 1, 1941.
32. LUCHT, EDWARD, Rovings in the Pacific by a merchant, 2 vols., London, 1851.
33. MARKHAM, CLEMENTS, The voyages of Quiros, 1595-1606: *Hakluyt Soc.*, 2d ser., vol. 14, 1904.
34. MONTYON, ALBERT, Lettre du... au R. P. Bousquet, supérieur général de la même Congrégation Anna, September 4, 1872: *Annales de la propagation de la foi*, vol. 45, pp. 275-295, 371-385, Lyon, 1873.
35. MONTYON, ALBERT, Les Missions Catholiques, vol. 6, pp. 339, 342-344, 354-356, 366-367, 378-379, 491-492, 498-499, 502-504, Lyon, 1874.
36. OLDMAN, W. O., Oldman collection of Polynesian artifacts: *Polynesian Soc., Jour.* (Mem. 15, section on Tahiti, pp. 10-16), vol. 47, 1938.
37. PARKINSON, SYDNEY, Journal of a voyage to the south seas, London, 1873.
38. POMARE, Genealogical book of the Pomare Dynasty... , manuscript copy in Bishop Museum.
39. Report of the operations of American Expedition to observe the total eclipse, 1883, May 6, at Caroline Island, South Pacific Ocean: *National Acad. Sci., Mem.* 2, Washington, 1884.
40. ROYER, ANDRÉ, Une visite au Musée Missionnaire des Pères des Sacres-Coeurs de Picpus à Braine-le-Comte, Belgique: *Soc. Études Océaniques*, Bull. 55, vol. 4, no. 14, 1936.
41. SEAROOK, F. ALAN, Rurutuan culture, manuscript in Bishop Museum.
42. SEURAT, L. G., Les marées des îles orientales de l'Archipel des Tuamotu: *L'Anthropologie*, vol. 16, pp. 475-484, 1905.
43. SEURAT, L. G., Legends des Paumotu: *Revue des traditions populaires*, vol. 20, nos. 11 and 12, pp. 433-440, 481-488, 1905; vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 125-131, Paris, 1906.
44. STRIMSON, J. F., Songs of the Polynesian voyagers: *Polynesian Soc., Jour.* 41, no. 163, pp. 181-201, 1932.
45. STRIMSON, J. F., Tuamotuan religion: *B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull.* 103, 1933.
46. STRIMSON, J. F., Cult of Kihō Tumu: *B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull.* 111, 1933.
47. TE RANGI HIROA (PETER H. BUCK), The material culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki): Board of Maori Ethnol. Research, Mem., vol. 1, 1927.
48. TURNBULL, JOHN, A voyage around the world in the years 1800-1804... , London, 1813.
49. WILKES, CHARLES, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842 (5 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 316, 319-359; vol. 4, pp. 282-290; vol. 9, pp. 58-59, Philadelphia, 1844-1848.
50. WILLIAMS, H. W., A dictionary of the Maori language, Wellington, 1921.
51. WILSON, JAMES, A missionary voyage to the southern Pacific Ocean, 1796-1798, in the ship Duff... , London, 1799.

LITERATURE CITED

1. AUDRAN, HENRI, Les découvertes de Cook et notes on the Paumotu or Tuamotu Islands: Polynesian Soc. Jour., vol. 1, 27, pp. 26-35, 90-92, 132-136, 1917; vol. 28, pp. 31-38, 161-167, 232-239, 1918.
2. AUDRAN, HENRI, Napi Ta et ses habitants: Soc. Etudes Océaniques, Bull. 3, pp. 126-136, 1918.
3. AUDRAN, HENRI, Faka Hinia: Soc. Etudes Océaniques, Bull. 19, pp. 227-235, 1927.
4. BANKS, JOSEPH, Journal of the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks (Joseph D. Hooker, editor), London, 1890.
5. BECHNEY, F. W., Narrative of a voyage to the Pacific and Bering's Strait (1825-28), 2 vols., London, 1831.
6. BLIGH, WILLIAM, A voyage to the south seas, London, 1792.
7. BROWN, JAMES S., Life of a pioneer, autobiography of James S. Brown, 1900.
8. BYRON, JOHN, A voyage around the world in the Dolphin, London, 1767.
9. CHILLEY, FRANÇOIS-XAVIER, La tragédie de la goélette Sarah Ann: Soc. Etudes Océaniques, Bull. 67, pp. 222-233, 1939.
10. CAILLOT, A. C. E., Histoire des Religions de l'Archipel Paumotu, Paris, 1932.
11. Catalogue des reliques et collections de l'Oeuvre de la propagation de la foi, Lyon, no date.
12. COOK, JAMES, A voyage to the Pacific Ocean... 1776-1780, 3 vols., London, 1785.
13. CORNEY, BORTON G., The quest and occupation of Tahiti by emissaries of Spain... 1772-1776, 3 vols., London, 1915.
14. DAVIES, JOHN, A Tahitian and English dictionary, Tahiti, 1851.
15. DELMAS, SIMON, La religion ou le paganisme des Marquisiens, Paris, 1927.
16. EMORY, K. P., The Tuamotu survey, in Report of the Director for 1931: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 94, pp. 40-50, 1932.
17. EMORY, K. P., Stone remains in the Society Islands: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 116, 1933.
18. EMORY, K. P., Tuamotu stone structures: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 118, 1934.
19. EMORY, K. P., The Tuamotu creation charts by Paiofo: Polynesian Soc., Jour., vol. 48, pp. 1-29, 1939.
20. EMORY, K. P., Archaeology of Mangareva and neighboring atolls: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 163, 1939.
21. EMORY, K. P., Tuamotu concepts of creation: Polynesian Soc., Jour., vol. 49, no. 193, pp. 69-136, 1940.
22. FERRANS, GERMAIN, Lettre au R. P. Clair Fouque, dated Anaa, June 28, 1871: Annales de la propagation de la foi, vol. 44, pp. 124-136, Lyon, 1872.
23. FERRANS, GERMAIN, Letter of... Napuka, August 28, 1878: Annales des Sacres-Coeurs, pp. 434-440, Paris, 1879.
24. FERRANS, GERMAIN, Lettre du... au T. R. P. Bousquet, supérieur général de la Congrégation, written at Napuka, September 1, 1878: Annales de la propagation de la foi, vol. 51, pp. 460-462, Lyon, 1879.
25. GASSLER, CLIFFORD, Road my body goes, New York, 1937.
26. GREGORY, H. E., Report of the Director for 1934: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 133 (Mangarevan Expedition, pp. 33-67), 1935.
27. Handbook to the ethnographical collections, British Museum, 2d ed., London, 1925-1923.
28. HANBY, E. S. C., The native culture in the Marquesas: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 9, 1923.
29. HANBY, E. S. C., An account of the voyages performed by L. von Wallis, Carteret and Cook, vol. 1, pp. 92-113, 423-429, London, 1773.
30. HENRY, TEURUA, Ancient Tahiti: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 48, 1928.
31. LARSEN, HERLD, Some ancient specimens from western and central Polynesia: Nationalmuseets Skrift, Ethnografisk Raekke, no. 1, 1941.
32. LUCERT, EDWARD, Roivings in the Pacific by a merchant, 2 vols., London, 1851.
33. MARKHAM, CLEMENTS, The voyages of Quiros, 1595-1606: Hakluyt Soc., 2d ser., vol. 14, 1904.
34. MONTTON, ALBERT, Lettre du... au R. P. Bousquet, supérieur général de la même Congrégation Anaa, September 4, 1872: Annales de la propagation de la foi, vol. 45, pp. 275-295, 371-385, Lyon, 1873.
35. MONTTON, ALBERT, Les Paumotous, Les Mission Catholiques, vol. 6, pp. 339, 342-344, 354-356, 366-367, 378-379, 491-492, 498-499, 502-504, Lyon, 1874.
36. OLDMAN, W. O., Oldman collection of Polynesian artifacts: Polynesian Soc., Jour. (Mem. 15, section on Tahiti, pp. 10-16), vol. 47, 1938.
37. PARKINSON, SYDNEY, Journal of a voyage to the south seas, London, 1873.
38. POMARE, Genealogical book of the Pomare Dynasty... , manuscript copy in Bishop Museum.
39. Report of the operations of American Expedition to observe the total eclipse, 1883, May 6, at Caroline Island, South Pacific Ocean: National Acad. Sci., Mem. 2, Washington, 1884.
40. RORTREAU, ANDRÉ, Une visite au Musée Missionnaire des Pères des Sacres-Coeurs de Picpus à Braine-le-Comte, Belgique: Soc. Etudes Océaniques, Bull. 55, vol. 4, no. 14, 1936.
41. SEABROOK, F. ALAN, Rurutuan culture, manuscript in Bishop Museum.
42. SEURAT, L. G., Les marées des îles orientales de l'Archipel des Tuamotu: L'Anthropologie, vol. 16, pp. 475-484, 1905.
43. SEURAT, L. G., Legends des Paumotu: Revue des traditions populaires, vol. 20, nos. 11 and 12, pp. 433-440, 481-488, 1905; vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 125-131, Paris, 1906.
44. STIMSON, J. F., Songs of the Polynesian voyagers: Polynesian Soc., Jour. 41, no. 163, pp. 181-201, 1932.
45. STIMSON, J. F., Tuamotu religion: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 103, 1933.
46. STIMSON, J. F., Cult of Kiho Tumui: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 111, 1933.
47. Te Rangī Hinona (Peter H. Buck), The material culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki): Board of Maori Ethnol. Research, Mem., vol. 1, 1927.
48. TURNBULL, JOHN, A voyage around the world in the years 1800-1804... , London, 1813.
49. WILKES, CHARLES, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842 (5 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 316, 319-359; vol. 4, pp. 282-290; vol. 9, pp. 58-59, Philadelphia, 1844-1848.
50. WILLIAMS, H. W., A dictionary of the Maori language, Wellington, 1921.
51. WILSON, JAMES, A missionary voyage to the southern Pacific Ocean, 1796-1798, in the ship Duff... , London, 1799.

