

THE VOYAGE

of
CAPTAIN BELLINGSHAUSEN

to the
ANTARCTIC SEAS

1819-1821

Translated from the Russian

Edited by

FRANK DEBENHAM, O.B.E., M.A.

Director of the Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge

EXCERPTS

VOLUME II

474p.

LONDON

PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

MCMXLV



MIKHAIL LAZAREV

(From an engraving done when he became an Admiral)

G161
H2

2d Ser, No. 92

hoven Island, marked on the Arrowsmith chart in Lat. $10^{\circ} 13' 16''$ S., Long. $156^{\circ} 56'$ W. according to M. Fleury.

5th. There were no indications of land at all and we met only a few tropic and frigate birds, despite the fact that the *Mirnyi* had been steering all the time abreast of us at a distance of 4 or 5 miles. In this way we were able together to keep a look-out over a much greater expanse, but even then nothing was observed. We had arranged a code of signals in case the distance between us increased: dipping the fore top-gallant sails indicated land to port, dipping the main top-gallant sails, land to starboard. We had a fresh wind throughout the day, with clouds. Wind and rain blew up from both sides and the horizon was misty. This day we completed the caulking of the deck where the crew slept. I occupied the men with this and a good deal of other work, done whilst under sail, so as to have less to do at Port Jackson.

At 7.0 p.m. the wind freshened; we took in two reefs and proceeded by moonlight until 10.0 p.m., when we again turned into the wind on the starboard tack.

6th. At 2.0 a.m. we turned off the wind in order to return to the position which had been within sight from the look-out on the previous evening. By this measure we could not miss land, should there be any in the vicinity.

At daybreak there was nothing to be seen from the look-out and I therefore proceeded again westward with a steady fresh trade wind and a heavy swell from the north-east. No large islands could lie to the northward as there was a continuous swell from this direction during our further journey. I have already mentioned that I intended to have the yards reduced during our navigation in warm climates. This was now done and all strops¹ surrounding blocks were renewed as the existing ones were too large. A full suit of sails was also prepared for our arrival at Port Jackson.

At noon we were in Lat. $10^{\circ} 08' 23''$ S., Long. $158^{\circ} 18' 35''$ W. The variation was $7^{\circ} 54'$ E. In the afternoon the wind dropped and we continued by moonlight on the same course until 2.0 a.m.

7th. We then turned northward but at daybreak again proceeded along the parallel. Until afternoon nothing of note was observed except a great number of flying fish.

¹ The rope or wire cable which fits round the side of the block and by which it is suspended from the yard.

At noon we were in Lat. $10^{\circ} 05' 09''$ S., Long. $160^{\circ} 39' 19''$ W. The variation was $8^{\circ} 26'$ E., the weather was beautiful and the day clear. The *Mirnyi* held on her course 4 miles to south of us. As I had not sighted either Tienhoven or Groningen Islands, I had now quite lost hope of sighting any land, all the more as Mendana sailed once on that same parallel and also found nothing. We were, however, more fortunate in the end. At 2.30 p.m. the fore top-gallant sails on the *Mirnyi* were dipped and we heard a shot, which according to the agreed signal meant land sighted to port. Then also from our own look-out land was sighted a little to port of our track. I steered a course S.W. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. towards the southern extremity of the island we had sighted. Approaching it, we could see that it belonged to the coral island type and was thickly covered with cocoa-nut palms and had a lagoon in the centre. On the windward side the shore was broken in places and formed small islands with foam-covered silvery walls against the surf, breaking over the coral reef. On approaching the southern extremity we observed on the shore a great number of natives, who were naked except for the usual loin-cloth common to all the South Sea islanders. They were all armed with spears and clubs. When we coasted along the shore they ran in the same direction, keeping abreast of the ship. Rounding the southern extremity and passing along the south-western side we observed a village in the shade of a dense clump of cocoa-nut palms and some canoes, drawn up on the beach and carefully covered with leaves so that they should not be warped by the heat of the sun. We also noted a great number of men and women, all armed with spears. The women wore either strips of material or mats from the waist to the knees. The reef extended south-east from the cape, as was evident from the surf. We hoisted the ensign.

We were very glad to see a number of canoes soon start out towards us. We hove to under the shelter of the island. On sounding we found 105 fathoms and still no bottom. For this reason, and also because the time was drawing near when we ought to return to Port Jackson to refit before proceeding to higher latitudes, I did not intend to anchor and only hove to in order to have some intercourse with the natives. They were meanwhile hastening towards us but did not come within half a cable of the ship. Their canoes were of various sizes with outriggers on one side, and were better than any we had yet seen; the nose and stern were very pointed and well finished, so that they

"Lazarev Island", in honour of the Captain of the *Mirnyi*, and added it to the number of Russian Islands.¹

We proceeded northward from Lazarev Island, keeping to the east of Captain Vancouver's route, with a fresh trade wind from east by north and east by south. From time to time we encountered squalls accompanied by rain. The night was dark, the stars were shining, from time to time clouds sailed across the sky and there was a strong swell from north-east; all this confirmed my belief that there was no land in this direction. For safety during the night I kept well into the wind and proceeded under very little sail.

1st. We continued in this direction until daybreak on August 1st, when we were in Lat. $12^{\circ} 59' 5''$ S., Long. $148^{\circ} 59' W.$; seeing from the look-out all along the horizon, which was still dark, no sign of land, I altered course to N.W. by N. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.; there was a fresh wind and our speed was 8 knots. Before noon we observed some flying fish, a cormorant and a tropic bird.

At 5.0 p.m. we were in Lat. $11^{\circ} 53' S.$, Long. $149^{\circ} 51' W.$; the variation was $6^{\circ} 49' E.$ At 8.0 p.m. we reefed all sails and turned into the wind, under a single reefed topsail. This precaution was necessary in these dangerous places, where it is very easy in the darkness to strike a low-lying and still unknown coral island. Our course led us to parts to which no known navigator had so far extended his voyages. At daybreak we again directed our course N.W. by $\frac{1}{4}$ W. I intended to proceed as far as latitude $10^{\circ} S.$ and then continue westward on this parallel, in order to determine if the islands of Groningen and Tienhoven sighted by Roggewein actually existed. M. Fleury has placed them on his chart in Lat. $10^{\circ} S.$, Long. $159^{\circ} W.$ and $162^{\circ} W.$ from Paris, or $156^{\circ} W.$ and $159^{\circ} 40' W.$ from Greenwich.

There was a fresh trade wind from the east, which drove the clouds across the sky, without, however, preventing us from taking observations. There was a thick mist all along the horizon, and a heavy swell from the east-north-east.

At 9.0 a.m. I altered course a little more towards the parallel, to approach Captain Vancouver's route, but without keeping to that course for long. At noon we were in Lat. $10^{\circ} 53' 46'' S.$, Long. $150^{\circ} 46' 25'' W.$ At 2.0 p.m. we again altered course and proceeded due west along the parallel. It was a moonlight night and we did not

¹ Now known by its native name of *Matuhiwa*. It is a well-wooded island but is uninhabited. It is visited by the islanders of *Tikebau* to collect copra.

turn northward into the wind until 9.0 p.m., when we shortened sail. At daybreak, on looking towards the horizon, we found it closed in by a thick mist and continued on our course, N.W. by $\frac{1}{4}$ W. In the morning we noticed cormorants and frigate birds, increasing in numbers from hour to hour. We were interested in the gliding motion of the frigate birds, great numbers of them keeping up with us and watching the ship. Their huge wings seemed perfectly motionless; they had brownish, heart-shaped patches on the breast. At 9.0 a.m. I altered course to westward, reckoning that I was now near latitude $10^{\circ} S.$ I believed that we were not far from land but was doubtful as to the side on which it lay, until there was a cry from the look-out: "Land ahead!" Messrs Torson and Lyeskov verified it from the look-out with their telescopes.

Even before noon we had made the circuit of the island very close inshore. It appeared overgrown with thick low trees; the white shore seemed to consist of coral, rising gradually up to the woods. Its greatest length was a little more than half a mile in a north-west by north direction, and in width it was less than half a mile. I called this island "Vostok" after our own ship. According to observations at noon we fixed the position of Vostok Island as Lat. $10^{\circ} 05' 50'' S.$, Long. $152^{\circ} 16' 50'' W.$ Numberless frigate birds, cormorants and sea-swallows circled over the island, as well as a peculiar species of black sea bird, as yet unknown to me, no larger than a pigeon. As the island was so far undiscovered, it probably had never as yet been trodden by human feet, and therefore nothing prevented these birds from nesting there. Owing to the heavy surf on the shore I did not send ashore to obtain bird's eggs, or any other curiosities. Nature, the mother of all, with watchful care for all creation, had provided a safe spot for these birds to multiply undisturbed, and this island seemed specially set apart for them.¹

The survey of Vostok Island concluded, we continued our route westward; throughout the night we observed birds, which however became rarer, the farther we proceeded from the island. The moon accompanied us on our journey until 8.0 p.m., when we turned into the wind.

4th. We lay to for the night and made more sail in the morning. Continuing our course only during day-time, we did not see Tien-

¹ The island has retained its name of Vostok and remains uninhabited, though attempts have been made to work it for guano.

Kotzebue called Palliser is as a matter of fact not Palliser but a new island discovered by him, I call it "Rurik Island", to preserve a record of his discovery.¹

In his *Voyage* Kotzebue says: "These islands which we could see clearly to port of us" (very likely they were only one island); and later he says: "My reckoning of the longitude of the Palliser Islands differs from Cook's by 3 minutes only" (he does not mention east or west) "and we did not find the slightest difference in latitude." Probably Kotzebue compared the latitude and longitude of the 1st Palliser Island, as fixed by Captain Cook, and not that of all the islands, and concluded therefore that Rurik Island lies to the eastward of the 1st Palliser, in Lat. $15^{\circ} 26' S.$, Long. $145^{\circ} 32' W.$

On the Arrowsmith chart two other islands are marked Holts and Philip Islands—the direction and size of which are not indicated—but the latitudes and longitudes do not correspond with the position of any coral islands. It is possible that these islands are the same, but for the reasons above mentioned I did not accept their names.

Having completed my survey of Kruzenstern Island, I steered westward, so as to make good headway before night and to see whether there were any other islands in this direction. Within an hour there was a call from the look-out that they sighted land to the north-west by west, and I altered course to pass to the northward of it. At 6.0 p.m., having approached the north-east extremity, we steered along the northern side parallel to the shore.

At 6.30 p.m., when it was already dark, we finished our survey of the island. I then altered course to the northward and stood off under shortened sail.

There was a lagoon within this island as in all the other coral islands we had seen. The shore on the northern side was higher than on the other islands. The whole island was overgrown with trees and appeared to be a mountain ridge rising out of the sea. The entire archipelago of coral islands lies on such summits, as I have already described. This island is separated from Kruzenstern Island by a strait to the westward, 22 miles wide, in Lat. $14^{\circ} 56' 20'' S.$, Long. $148^{\circ} 38' 30'' W.$ It extends west by north and east by south, and is $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and 2 miles wide. We did not see any inhabitants. I called our discovery

¹ This confusion of names has now been settled, as far as the British Admiralty charts are concerned, by adopting the native names.

H 011

Natives of Grand Duke Alexander Nikolaievich Island

[JAN. 1820]

aforementioned headland and, approaching it about 11.0 a.m., we therefore turned on another tack so as to pass along the eastern side of the Cape, as Captain Cook had not surveyed it from that side. After three tacks we rounded the eastern cape on the fourth and observed that the coast, which runs in a north-west by west to south-east by east direction with a circumference of 17 miles, is uneven in height. At the southern extremity there is a pointed mountain completely covered with snow and ice, except a few particularly steep dark patches.¹ Proceeding on a S. 14° W. course for 4½ hours, we observed the land extending S. 54° W., called Southern Thule by Captain Cook. At 6.0 p.m. we found ourselves in Lat. 59° 13' S., Long. 26° 13' W. and observed to port and ahead of us a great deal of pack ice, which we passed through in a direction S. 54° 30' W. At 10.30 p.m., as the ice was becoming much more frequent, we turned on another tack to pass the night under shortened sail.

3rd. At midnight the thermometer stood at 30.2° F. At 2.0 a.m. we passed one iceberg to starboard and one to port. At 3.0 a.m., at dawn, we turned again S. 40° W. with an east-south-east wind, going 6 knots; in the morning we proceeded under all sail to make the most of the clear weather. We passed through layers of broken ice, not unlike river ice, except that it was much thicker. The officer of the watch was stationed forward and guided the ship by ordering port or starboard helm to avoid the ice; on the port side the ice was quite impenetrable; from the top and the look-out nothing was to be seen but an endless icefield and in the middle of it here and there were icebergs of different shapes and sizes.

The Thule group consists of one high rock and three small islands, of which one is smaller than the other two. These islands are high and inaccessible and lie in Lat. 59° 26' S., Long. 27° 13' 30' W. The middle one, the largest, is about 6 miles long. I called it Cook Island in honour of the great explorer who had been the first to see this shore and who regarded it as the most southern land on the globe. The most westerly island is about 3 miles long and the smallest is about two-

¹ Captain Bellingshausen is very brief about this island, but nevertheless he manages to mention most of the characteristics which have now been investigated by *Discovery II*. The island rises to 3600 feet in Mount Darnley, which appears to be part of a large extinct crater. The whole of the island is covered with glaciers, including the "pointed mountain" in the south, which is 1900 feet high. This high dome and the large isolated rock of Freezeland Peak (900 feet) are the most striking features of the group.

JAN. 1820]

107

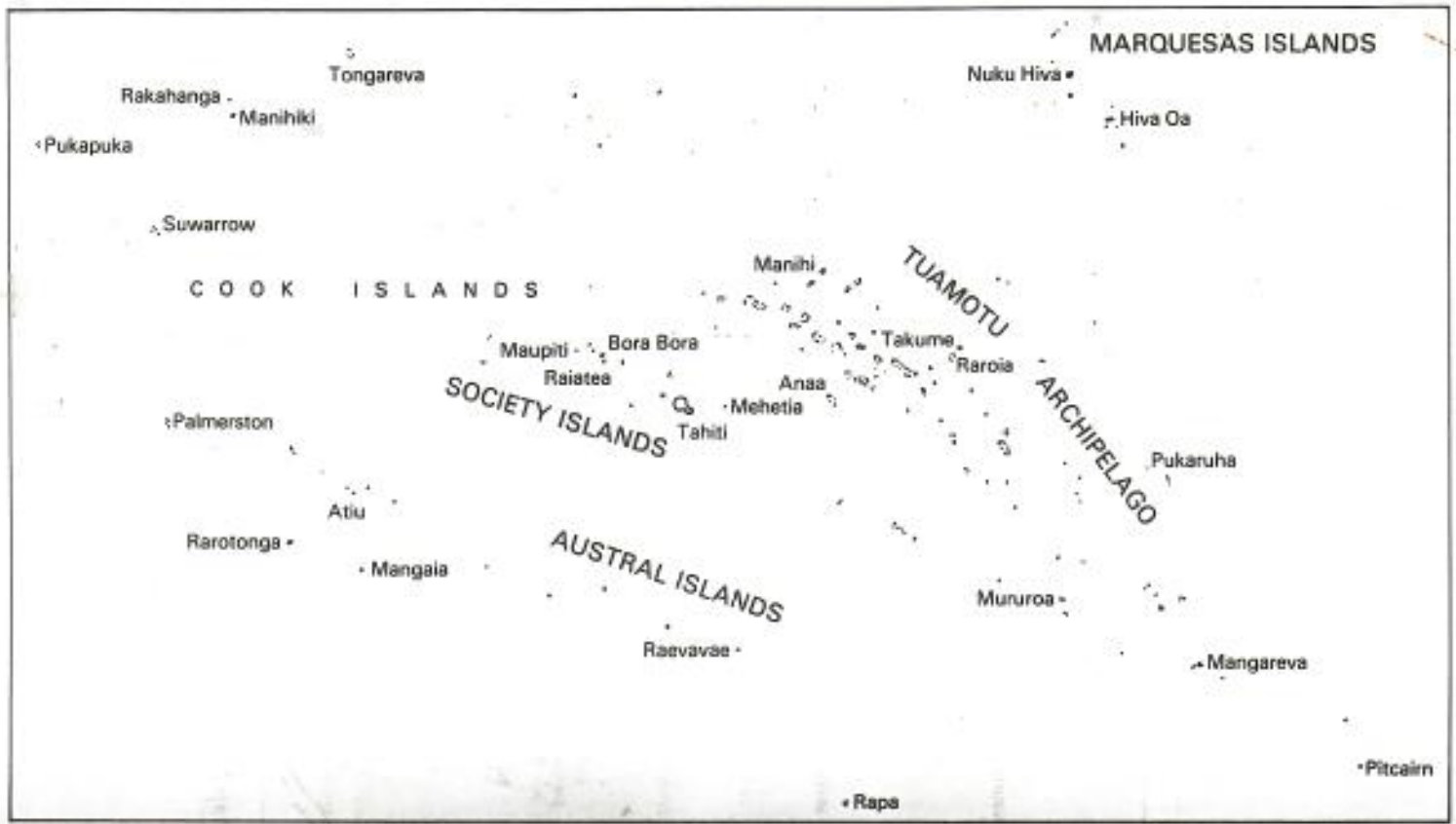
thirds of a mile in length. Between the two largest islands lies a rock; all three are covered with snow and ice. Captain Cook, in consequence of the stormy weather, did not approach Thule and Montagu Islands, and therefore the ice between them appeared to him to be land, which he named in honour of the then First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Sandwich.² Captain Cook saw these islands first, and therefore the names given by him must remain unchanged that the memory of this daring explorer may be handed on to posterity. Consequently I also call them the Sandwich Islands.³

We continued on our course S. 40° W., always amidst very thick pack ice, and at 10.0 a.m. we proceeded along the edge of an iceberg about 3 miles square. Its surface was quite level, the sides perpendicular and on the left, that is to the east, of a height of about 30 feet. We saw everywhere uninterrupted ice, formed of flat blocks piled one upon another in different directions; here and there in the middle of the field large icebergs of various forms stood out. Some of these were of a light blue colour; in my opinion, because the iceberg, having lost its balance, had turned upside down and had not yet had time to be bleached by the air.³ To starboard to the west there appeared to be less broken ice but a great many icebergs. Proceeding from early morning through this ice, we could not avoid several times colliding

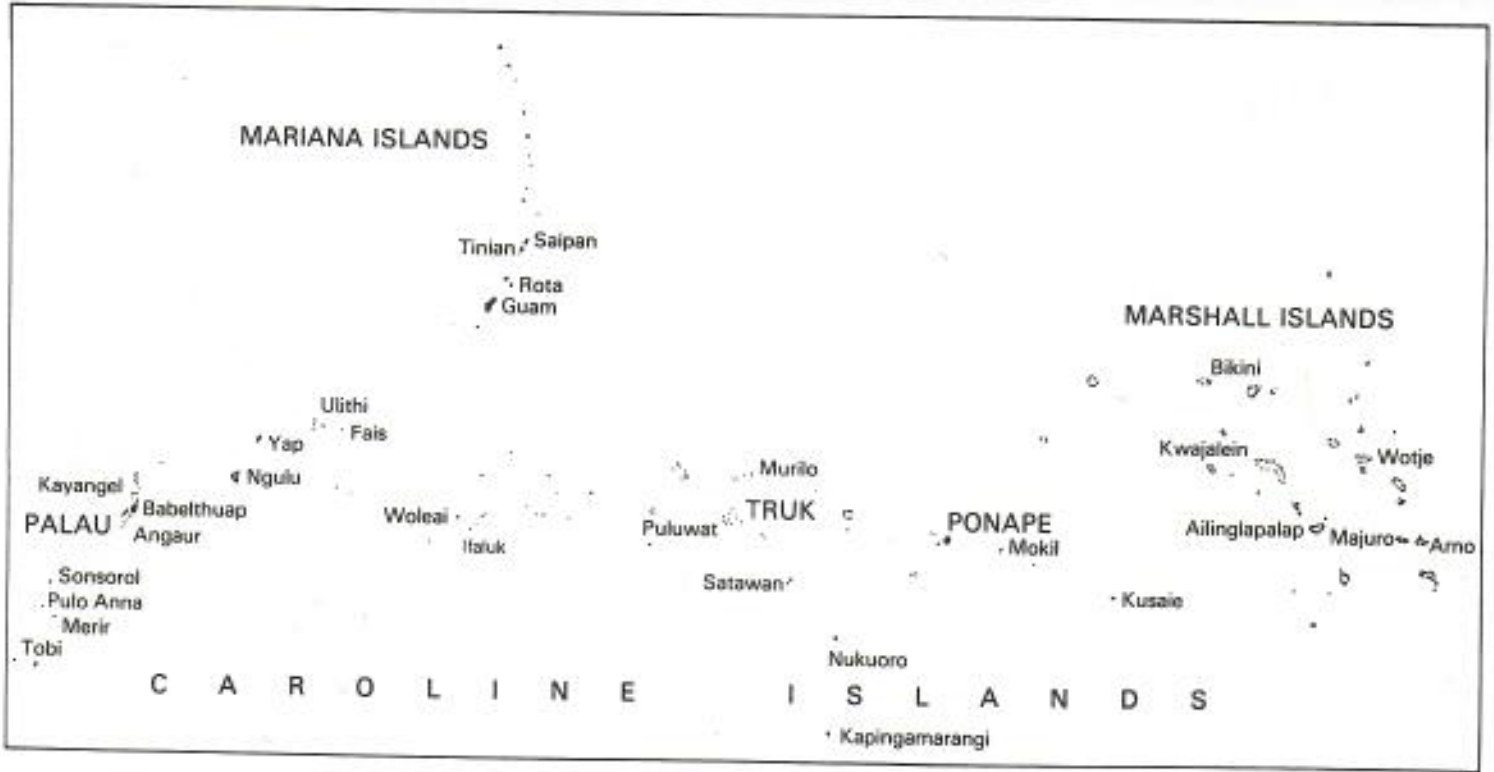
² John Montagu, fourth Earl of Sandwich, was born in 1718. Though a man of great talent and activity, he was unprincipled and prodigal. On three occasions during his public career he was made First Lord of the Admiralty and once dismissed from that office in disgrace. At this time the British Navy had reached its lowest depths of corruption. Lord Sandwich retired into private life on the fall of the North Administration in 1782.

³ These three islands, about which Bellingshausen is tantalizingly brief, are perhaps the most interesting in the whole Sandwich group. They have been fully investigated by *Discovery II*, and Dr Kemp very appropriately gave the name "Bellingshausen" to the most easterly of the three. This island, though described in the text and figured in the "Atlas", is not shown on the Russian chart, which is additional evidence that the charts were constructed by some one who was not on the expedition and who had not had access to the artist's drawings. As shown in the sketches in the *Discovery* report, the island has a large crater which is in the solfataric stage, but it is only 500 feet high at the highest point. The sketch by the Russian artist is very similar to the modern one from the same point of view, though this can hardly be taken as evidence of no change since that time. The two larger islands, Cook and Thule, were shown by the soundings taken between them to be the remnants of the rim of a very large crater, the cauldron of which now forms a deep basin.

³ This ingenious explanation cannot be accepted unfortunately, the true reason being that, in the normal Antarctic iceberg, the upper layers are compressed snow, rather than ice, while towards the bottom the lack of air inclusions gives it the true ice-blue reflection.



Map 4. Eastern Oceania



Map 5. Northwestern Oceania

Sinclair
DU
870.4
.056

557p.
1981

TWO TAHITIAN VILLAGES

A Study in Comparisons

EXCERPT

Douglas Oliver

Two Tahitian Villages: A Study in Comparisons

Published by The Institute for Polynesian Studies
and sponsored by the
Polynesian Cultural Center

Brigham Young University—Hawaii Campus

This work was set in 10/12 Baskerville on a Harris Fototronic
lithotype setter

Copyright © 1981 by Douglas Oliver

Rights Reserved
Manufactured in the United States of America

Printed by Brigham Young University Press, Provo, Utah

ISBN 0-939154-22-6 (hard cover)
ISBN 0-939154-25-0 (paperback)

TUPAI

PORAPORA

MAUPIITI

TAHAA

HUAHINE

RAIATEA

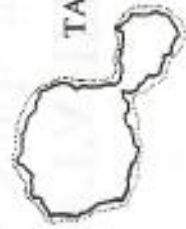
MAIAO



TETIAROA



MOOREA



TAHITI



MEETIA

SOCIETY ISLANDS

50 STATUTE MILES

50 KM



1881

1881

1881

1881

the sport, the flesh of the wild animals having been considered less succulent than domestic pork and hardly worth hunting just for food. In most cases, however, a hunt took place in order to kill some wild pig that had damaged the hunter's crops.

The conventional hunting weapon was a spear, although a few individuals hunted with guns. Dogs were nearly always taken along to hunt out the animals and help run them down.

It was generally asserted that the successful hunter was expected to give some of the flesh to the owner of the land on which the pig was killed, but it was also generally conceded that hunters avoided doing this except when the place of the kill was publicly known. In any case, the issue did not often arise, for during my entire visits to Te Piti only four wild pigs were actually killed.

The only difference I could discern between the two villages with respect to hunting wild pigs was that the "experts" in hunting were singled out more in Fatata than in Atea, quite possibly because it was regarded more as a sport in the former. Some Te Pitians spoke of having shot wild ducks in the past, but no one did so during my visits.

Summary of Differences

In these summaries, which will be added to each section or subsection of the descriptive chapters of this book, only those differences between Atea and Fatata will be recapitulated that appeared to be prominent and relate to the economic focus of the study.

1. While there were no discernible differences between Atea and Fatata in terms of stated food preferences, there were some major differences between them with respect to the kinds and sources of foods actually eaten. In general, Fatatans ate more store-bought foods than Ateans, e.g., rice, canned vegetables, and meats, and more self-caught fresh fish. In comparison, Ateans ate more starchy root vegetables (which they themselves grew) and more money-bought fish.
2. In line with those differences, Ateans devoted much more land and labor, including females' labor, to the growing of root crops, and much more interest in gardening expertise, as manifested in the annual vegetable-growing contest. Conversely, Fatatans devoted much more labor to fishing, and, although most of that was aimed at export money earning, it had the spillover effect of yielding more fish for domestic consumption.
3. Per capita consumption of fresh pork and beef (nearly all of it produced by the consumers' own households) was almost the same in both places, the difference between them having been that the Fatatans produced, in addition, more for sale. (Fatatans also produced and consumed more

eggs, but the economic significance of the differences, both in terms of consumption patterns and earned money incomes, was small.)

4. It could perhaps be asserted that dogs had more positive economic value in Atea (where they were more frequently eaten) than in Fatata (where they were more often kept as pets). Conversely, Fatatan horses might be said to have been more economically valuable than those of Atea, inasmuch as they were more often used for transport. However, neither of these differences merits any emphasis in comparison with the major ones listed in paragraphs one and two.

5. Although of minor economic significance in itself, the contrasting attitudes held by Ateans and Fatatans towards hunting may have derived in part from more economic bases. That is to say, the Ateans' more serious-minded, less recreational engagement in pig-hunting may have been related to their larger acreages of root crops against which unfettered pigs were a costly menace.

6. Finally, the Fatatans' somewhat larger consumption of alcoholic beverages, in general, and of money-bought ones, in particular, was undoubtedly of economic importance; but the extent of that importance will have to be measured, in a later chapter, in relation to money incomes.

Clothing and Body Care

Cleanliness. Most Te Pitians bathed all over at least once a day and sometimes as many as three or four times. They did not attempt to avoid activities that resulted in becoming dirty, but, as soon thereafter as possible, they bathed. Most adults appear to have considered it desirable after immersion in salt water, however dirt-free they were. In fact, cleanliness was regarded not only as requisite for physical comfort but as a mark of social worth as well; that is, while cleanliness itself in a person evoked no particular comment, individuals who were chronically dirty, mainly certain middle-aged and elderly males, were typically described as being "disgusting" (*au'au*).

Cleanliness itself was probably not the only satisfaction gained from bathing. For many Te Pitians, the daily bath appeared to provide the kind of pleasure that is derived from a ritual regularly expected and regularly performed. And in addition, watching some of them at their daily bath, soaping, rinsing, soaping, rinsing, etc., convinced me that they were experiencing a large measure of sensual enjoyment in this simple routine.

Soap was nearly always used when available (except perhaps to remove saltiness from an otherwise clean body) and thus was a regular item of purchase from the local stores. In both Atea and Fatata, some individuals used laundry soap for bathing, while others used more expensive toilet soap, the latter having been used more commonly in Fatata.

by means of knife and hot water; the head cut off and entrails removed; and the body washed, quartered, and cut into long strips, each one containing some of the animal's prized fat.

All of the killing and butchering of pigs that I witnessed was done by men, as was the cooking of pork destined for a feast. In fact, pigs were, in general, usually identified with men; women and children often shared in feeding them if the men were otherwise employed, but "pig work was man's work" (*te 'ohiipa pua'a ta te 'ohiipa iāne*), as Te Pitians liked to assert.

Cattle. Altogether, there were 108 head of cattle in Te Piti when I carried out a property census there in 1955. In neither place were the beasts milked or killed by their owners for their own household consumption. Only two or three Atean cattle owners sold any of their animals; the other cattle in this community were used to keep the vegetation cropped in their owners' coconut groves. In Fatata, on the other hand, cattle were regularly sold, almost all of them to buyers in Pape'ete. In both places those cattle dying of sickness or old age were either left where they fell to rot or, if near the lagoon, were dragged into it and allowed to float away. (In Fatata, the tides and currents conspired to deposit these carcasses immediately in front of my house; in Atea, they providentially drifted out to sea.)

Starting a herd of cattle was like starting pig-raising, i.e., a man borrowed a cow from a kinsman or friend, fed her until she had calved twice, then returned her and one of the calves to the original owner.

Keeping cattle required access to and usually ownership of enough land for grazing and enough cash for barbed wire to fence in that land. Several Te Pitians kept herds of two or three animals without having to spend much time in their feeding or care. But those keeping larger herds (which occurred only in Fatata) had to spend much time in moving them about from lot to lot to keep them well fed. Leaves from acacias were regarded as good cattle food, and careful owners spent much time in making this food available to their cattle (including cutting down branches and transporting them.)

Of the 108 cattle kept in the two communities during my 1954-55 visits, the thirty in Atea were distributed among ten of its forty-one households, and Fatata's seventy-eight among nine of its sixty-two households.

Other Domestic Animals. Many Te Pitians kept dogs, partly as pets and partly for rat catching. And although they did not deliberately raise them for eating, many often were all too pleased to eat dog flesh when an animal happened to die. The treatment of dogs varied from pampering with food and attention, to total neglect—or what might appear to a tender-hearted

"European" in their attitudes to dogs, but even in Fatata, the average canine was more skin and bones than flesh.

Cats were also to be found in both communities and were subjected to the same range of neglect. Most cat owners questioned said they kept them for rat catching; it did not appear that they were valued as pets, and, to the best of my knowledge, cats were never eaten.

In the case of both dogs and cats, when litters arrived they were usually all allowed to live until their lives would, in most cases, eventually be ended by starvation and neglect.

One Fatata household kept a herd of goats, the legacy of a European once resident there. I was told that occasionally one of these animals was killed and eaten and that the flesh was considered good; but during my visits the only thing these animals did was graze peacefully, and destructively, on the hill behind their owners' house.

Horses were also present in both Atea and Fatata, where they were used for transport and sport. In Fatata, especially, their owners used them for transport, mainly for carrying coconuts, copra, and breadfruit. In Atea, where road distances were shorter and distant gardens and groves more accessible by canoe, horses were left to graze out their lives unfettered or were occasionally raced by daredevil youths along the muddy shoreline.

As for differences between Atea and Fatata in this respect, a somewhat larger proportion of Fatata's households kept horses, but the average number per horse-owning household were about the same, i.e., 1.2 in Fatata and 1.1 in Atea.

Finally, a few words may be said about Te Piti's chickens, a very athletic breed. Although they seemed to spend most of their days chasing large insects or pecking over the ground, some of them were occasionally fed, most typically with grated coconut. Some Fatata owners went even further and kept a score or more each, feeding them carefully with table leavings and collecting their eggs for home consumption or local sale. In such cases, the chickens were also occasionally sold locally, thereby providing a small but useful income for their feeders, who were invariably female. For, as pigs were "the work of men," chickens were considered to be "the work of women."

Comparatively, about an equal proportion of each village's households "kept" chickens, i.e., about two-thirds of them. Otherwise the numbers of fowls per household were considerably larger in Fatata, having averaged about twenty per household to Atea's six.

Hunting. Wild pigs roamed over the mountainous terrain surrounding both Atea and Fatata, and Te Pitians evidently found high excitement and pleasure in hunting them. In fact, some males went pig hunting mainly for

the sport, the flesh of the wild animals having been considered less succulent than domestic pork and hardly worth hunting just for food. In most cases, however, a hunt took place in order to kill some wild pig that had damaged the hunter's crops.

The conventional hunting weapon was a spear, although a few individuals hunted with guns. Dogs were nearly always taken along to hunt out the animals and help run them down.

It was generally asserted that the successful hunter was expected to give some of the flesh to the owner of the land on which the pig was killed, but it was also generally conceded that hunters avoided doing this except when the place of the kill was publicly known. In any case, the issue did not often arise, for during my entire visits to Te Piti only four wild pigs were actually killed.

The only difference I could discern between the two villages with respect to hunting wild pigs was that the "experts" in hunting were singled out more in Fatata than in Atea, quite possibly because it was regarded more as a sport in the former. Some Te Pitians spoke of having shot wild ducks in the past, but no one did so during my visits.

Summary of Differences

In these summaries, which will be added to each section or subsection of the descriptive chapters of this book, only those differences between Atea and Fatata will be recapitulated that appeared to be prominent and relate to the economic focus of the study.

1. While there were no discernible differences between Atea and Fatata in terms of stated food preferences, there were some major differences between them with respect to the kinds and sources of foods actually eaten. In general, Fatatans ate more store-bought foods than Ateans, e.g., rice, canned vegetables, and meats, and more self-caught fresh fish. In comparison, Ateans ate more starchy root vegetables (which they themselves grew) and more money-bought fish.

2. In line with those differences, Ateans devoted much more land and labor, including females' labor, to the growing of root crops, and much more interest in gardening expertise, as manifested in the annual vegetable-growing contest. Conversely, Fatatans devoted much more labor to fishing, and, although most of that was aimed at export money earning, it had the spillover effect of yielding more fish for domestic consumption.

3. Per capita consumption of fresh pork and beef (nearly all of it produced by the consumers' own households) was almost the same in both places, the difference between them having been that the Fatatans produced, in addition, more for sale. (Fatatans also produced and consumed more

eggs, but the economic significance of the differences, both in terms of consumption patterns and earned money incomes, was small.)

4. It could perhaps be asserted that dogs had more positive economic value in Atea (where they were more frequently eaten) than in Fatata (where they were more often kept as pets). Conversely, Fatatan horses might be said to have been more economically valuable than those of Atea, inasmuch as they were more often used for transport. However, neither of these differences merits any emphasis in comparison with the major ones listed in paragraphs one and two.

5. Although of minor economic significance in itself, the contrasting attitudes held by Ateans and Fatatans towards hunting may have derived in part from more economic bases. That is to say, the Ateans' more serious-minded, less recreational engagement in pig-hunting may have been related to their larger acreages of root crops against which unfettered pigs were a costly menace.

6. Finally, the Fatatans' somewhat larger consumption of alcoholic beverages, in general, and of money-bought ones, in particular, was undoubtedly of economic importance; but the extent of that importance will have to be measured, in a later chapter, in relation to money incomes.

Clothing and Body Care

Cleanliness. Most Te Pitians bathed all over at least once a day and sometimes as many as three or four times. They did not attempt to avoid activities that resulted in becoming dirty, but, as soon thereafter as possible, they bathed. Most adults appear to have considered it desirable after immersion in salt water, however dirt-free they were. In fact, cleanliness was regarded not only as requisite for physical comfort but as a mark of social worth as well; that is, while cleanliness itself in a person evoked no particular comment, individuals who were chronically dirty, mainly certain middle-aged and elderly males, were typically described as being "disgusting" (*ang'au*).

Cleanliness itself was probably not the only satisfaction gained from bathing. For many Te Pitians, the daily bath appeared to provide the kind of pleasure that is derived from a ritual regularly expected and regularly performed. And in addition, watching some of them at their daily bath, soaping, rinsing, soaping, rinsing, etc., convinced me that they were experiencing a large measure of sensual enjoyment in this simple routine.

Soap was nearly always used when available (except perhaps to remove saltiness from an otherwise clean body) and thus was a regular item of purchase from the local stores. In both Atea and Fatata, some individuals used laundry soap for bathing, while others used more expensive toilet soap, the latter having been used more commonly in Fatata.

supplement of, say, *tamū* or breadfruit or manioc, which meant that an owner had to produce or acquire more food than usually appeared on his own table if he wished to feed any pigs.

Most pigs were kept within fenced areas outside the residential parts of the villages. Those few kept in the settlement itself were by law required to be corralled or tied up and hence had to be fed all the food they ate, whereas the ones kept outside the settlement were able to supplement their daily feed by foraging in what were larger enclosures or runs.

But keeping one's pigs outside the village settlement involved difficulties of other kinds. First, there was the daily chore of carrying heavy loads of food to them; in Atea, this meant for most people a long trip by canoe, in Fatata, a shorter, but nonetheless burdensome one, overland. Pigs kept outside the village were troublesome in still another way: if they were not fed with sufficient quantities and regularity, they could be counted on to escape their enclosures or leashes and either become feral, which represented a total loss, or break into someone's garden, which invariably led to troubles and fines.¹⁰ Pigs kept in the village also occasionally moved about at will, either by breaking their leashes or through their owners' carelessness, and also became the source of troubles, but they at least did not escape into the wilds.

Burdensome and troublesome as they were, nearly every household owned at least one or two pigs, and some of these animals were evidently treated as pets. (A poignant sight, in Atea, occurred daily when an elderly man visited the pig he had had to sell to a neighbor because of a critical need for cash. Sometimes he actually wept when he parted and talked to his former pet, and the latter clearly recognized its old friend.) I recorded two instances, and heard of others, of owners exchanging one of their pigs for another to avoid killing and eating their own animal on an occasion that required festive food. Also, some pig owners out of sympathy for their pigs used cordage made out of hibiscus bark for leashing them, in place of the stronger but harder and more abrasive sennit.

On the other hand, Te Pitians displayed a large measure of callousness to pigs in general (other than a treasured pet) as exemplified by the way they transported them or left them immovably bound up for hours in the blazing sun awaiting transport.

The usual method of killing a pig was by piercing the throat with a sharp short knife, which seemed to be quickly effective and which tended to reduce external bleeding. The outer skin and bristles were then scraped away

¹⁰In Fatata, such fines were levied by a circuiting judge and (I was told by a Fatatan, but cannot otherwise confirm) amounted to 100-200 francs plus a prorated percentage of the judge's travel costs. Several such fines were levied in Fatata during my visits there, but no parallel cases occurred during my visits to Atea.

Again, fish constituted a "gift" exchange between households more characteristically in Atea than it did in Fatata despite, or perhaps because of, its larger and more widely obtained supply in Fatata. Also, the better supplied Fatatans were less given than Ateans to comment about exceptional catches; there was nothing in Fatata comparable to the triumphant march of an Atean carrying an especially large fish along the village street. Nor was there anything in Atea even remotely similar to the kind of unspoken, but perceptible, social distinction that obtained in Fatata with respect to fishing and farming as differently focused styles of life.

Finally, it was my observation that despite Fatatans' greater preoccupation with fishing, females engaged in fishing more widely and more frequently in Atea than they did in Fatata as, it will be recalled, was also the case with subsistence gardening and, as will be shown, with vanilla production.

Pigs. Te Pitians raised scores of pigs. Of these, some were destined to be eaten in the owners' own households on special occasions and the others were intended for sale, locally or elsewhere. I was told repeatedly that pig-raising was a profitable enterprise because the animals "cost nothing" to raise, being fed on food leavings that would otherwise have been thrown away. I will question the accuracy of this proposition below, but it appeared to me at the time that Te Pitians did, in fact, view pig-raising mainly in those terms.

This view of theirs was sharpened by the conventional manner in which they obtained pigs for raising, again, "without cost." When someone (more often a young man) wished to embark on pig-raising, he usually obtained the loan of a sow from a kinsman or friend and fed the sow until she littered. (Only a sow not clearly pregnant would be lent out in this way.) Then, after the litter was judged old enough to survive without nursing, the borrower returned half of it and the sow to its owner.¹¹ Instances were also reported to me of individuals purchasing a young shoat in order to raise it, but the method just described, labelled *fo'a'amu te'ōfa* (i.e., *feeding* [in return for] *half*) was far more common.

Pig-raising was an onerous undertaking and was regarded by most Te Pitians as such. The animals had to be fed daily, and with considerable amounts of food. Some of the food did, indeed, consist of a household's inevitable leftovers, but even one mature animal usually required a

¹¹If the sow failed after a long time to reproduce, I was told that it was sold and the receipts split evenly between owner and borrower. However, I was unable to confirm this with respect to any specified case and suspect that in actual life the original owner would demand a larger share.

Returning to the technology of fishing, much—and perhaps most—of the catch was cooked and eaten within hours of catching, but there were ways of preserving some of it for later eating or marketing. Some fish left over from one day's meal was simply recooked and eaten the following day. In the case of one very large fish I came to know all too well, it was recooked and eaten at for three days after catching before consignment to the household's dogs and cats. In a few other cases, the fishermen kept some of their extra fish in kerosene-powered refrigerators, either their own or those belonging to the local Chinese storekeeper. A third way was provided by the bamboo basket-cages already alluded to. These cages were practical only for fish not badly wounded, i.e., for those caught by netting. Judging by actual practice, fish kept alive in this manner remained fit for consumption for no longer than about three days after catching.⁸ Finally, many fishermen made a practice of preserving fish in excess of their immediate household requirements, or ability to sell, by presenting it to other households. This transaction was invariably phrased as a "gift" (*hōm'a*), although some such donors revealed that they did so in expectation of eventual return. (One Pape'ete-wise sophisticate described it as being "like putting your fish in a savings bank"⁹.)

There remain to be listed certain less "practical" beliefs and actions associated with Te Pitian fishing. First of all, before embarking on a fishing expedition involving the coordinated efforts of several individuals, it was the usual practice for one of them to utter a (Christian) prayer for their success and safety. (I failed to observe or inquire whether a prayer was also said after a successful catch.) Also, some fishermen told me that they, individually, uttered silent prayers even before going out alone, especially before engaging in nighttime, spear-gun fishing beyond the barrier reef. It was also the practice of some of the more devout seine-net owners to have a new net "blessed" by the pastor or deacon prior to its initial use.

After a good deal of probing, I elicited statements from some individuals to the effect that a fisherman would be unsuccessful if he went out soon after quarrelling with a close relative or if his wife were sexually unfaithful while he fished. However, I never heard of any specific fishing failure directly attributed to such causes and suspect that the elicited statements may have been speculative; and in any case, such beliefs, if in fact they were such, evidently were not very compelling.

To all this must be added the value attached to fishing as a diversion and a basis for prestige. I have already mentioned the evident pleasure many spear fishermen derived from their labors. Something of the same attitude

⁸Basis for this judgment was my observation that the owners usually tried to dispose of such fish within that time by eating, selling, or even giving it away.

was evident in other forms of fishing as well, especially when it involved numerous participants and fast movement, as in a bonito drive, or when it held out promise of large rewards, as during some seining operations. Even lone anglers fishing from the shore or going out in their canoes appeared to be enjoying themselves; this included males and females, old and young. Indeed, some individuals readily stated that to be their prime reason for fishing on some occasions.

The prestige attached to fishing was exemplified by the admiration many Te Pitians displayed towards the fisherman after a successful catch. This was especially true of the individual angler or spear fisherman; and the admiration was directed more towards size of individual fish than towards total quantity and weight of catch—another example of the "dis-economy" that prevailed in fishing, should the reader insist on defining "economizing" in the narrow sense. News of the landing of a very large fish was sure to become widespread—helped along, in some instances, by the fisherman taking his prize to the store to be weighed.

In contrast to this positive attitude towards fishing as a pleasurable pastime was the negative one voiced by other individuals, who disparaged it as "time-wasting play" except in the case of the few net-owners who earned regular and substantial incomes from it. But even in reference to the latter, some of the older and more affluent copra and vanilla producers compared fishing unfavorably with farming, calling it a source of "quick profits" (*mon'i'oi'*) in contrast to the slower but longer-range and allegedly more dependable rewards of cash-crop farming. It was of course recognized, and usually with sympathy, that some men, lacking land for cash cropping, must rely on fishing or other quick-profit sources of cash income, but something approaching contempt was occasionally expressed by the more solid farmers for men who neglected their coconut groves for fishing.

Differences between Atea and Fatata in terms of fishing had to do mainly with the far greater importance in the latter of fishing for an external market, but a few differences between the two communities obtained also in the domain of fishing for self-consumption and for local exchange.

Compared with Fatata, Atea was more consistently a sellers' market. I learned of no instance in Atea where a successful fisherman was unable to sell his surplus fish, if he wished to do so, but recorded several episodes in Fatata in which a fisherman was obliged, for lack of local buyers, to give or throw away fish. (This usually occurred when a catch was deemed too small to send to Pape'ete, or when Pape'ete prices were believed to be too low.) In Atea, when someone not going fishing wanted fish for the day's main meal, he nearly always put in his order in advance with someone known to be going fishing. This kind of procedure was also followed by some Fatatans, but most prospective buyers there did not have to rely on that kind of foresight.

possessed (Oliver 1974, p. 303ff). Many Te Pitians were aware of the former existence of such guides; and one individual owned a copy of one of them in a volume from a Mission series. However, no one attempted to obtain or follow such guides, saying—what was perhaps true—that they did not apply to conditions at Atea or Fatata. And no local fishermen troubled to systematize local knowledge into a guide for themselves or others.

Air temperature, degree of cloudiness, and force of wind exercised strong influence on Te Pitians' fishing activities. Chilly temperatures discouraged fishing of all kinds, especially diving (in which the wider difference between water and air temperatures was considered especially uncomfortable). High winds, in addition to affecting temperatures, also rendered most kinds of fishing, especially angling and seining, more difficult or even impossible. And cloudy skies tended to improve all fishing in nonturbulent waters—or so many fishermen said.

To the extent that the factors just mentioned were seasonal, so did seasons influence Te Pitians' fishing. Thus, July and August were considered by many to be "too cold" for much fishing, whereas the many calm and cloudy days occurring during the southern summer led some Te Pitians to describe this season as ideal. In addition, the more expert fishermen were aware of and guided by the seasonality of the schooling of certain fish.

Another cyclical factor that influenced fishing was the weekly round. Fridays and Saturdays nearly always saw people out spearing or angling for Sunday's big meal, while on Mondays little or no fishing was to be seen. Then, fishing for home consumption was usually renewed on Tuesdays; and if no leftovers remained, again on Wednesdays or Thursdays. This pattern obtained particularly in Atea; in Fatata, it was complicated and superseded for many fishermen by the proximity of the Pape'ete market, which provided a daily outlet for some fish and high peak demands on Fridays and Sundays. Also, Fatata's fishing for this market was influenced by weather conditions along Tahiti's western coast; when conditions there were very unfavorable for fishing, they were usually less so near Fatata, thereby reducing the market's usual supply and raising the price paid for Fatata's fish. (The converse, of course, also obtained.) Fatata's more commercially minded fishermen made it their business to be informed about Tahiti's condition, sometimes through the daily radio news but more typically through word of mouth, facilitated by the daily boat service to and from Pape'ete.

¹Volume 5 of the *Ranapa Afi* (New Light), published in 1904 by the Protestant Mission at Uturoa and under the editorship of G. Brunet. The fishermen's guide contained in this publication's list of "Nights of the Moon" closely resembles the one published in Teuira Henry's *Ancestral Tahiti*.

one-half of the (net) cash proceeds, the other half having been divided equally among all the adult or near-adult members of the crew—near-adult meaning those youths past the stage of childhood dependency.

Mention was made above of the "cost" of maintaining a seine net. This did indeed constitute a large expense to the nets' owners in terms of their own time and, in some cases, of money spent. During my visits to Fatata, a few nylon nets were in use, and even these required a great deal of work in repairing the breaks made by coral and large fish. As for the local natural fiber nets, keeping them mended and dry was a never-ending chore. Some nets were kept in repair in the owner's own households, by themselves or other members, male or female. In other cases, owners employed neighbors to do the job, there having been several men who made of this a part-time specialty. (One of these, a man crippled with elephantiasis, was engaged in making whole seine nets; and while his neighbors praised his skill and occasionally bought strips of net from him as charitable gestures, they purchased most of their netting, at less expense, from stores.)

I made no systematic effort to record the varieties of fish caught by Te Pitians with their different techniques. Such a study would have been a major undertaking and would have required a zoological knowledge I did not possess, along with a degree of attention my objectives did not warrant. I did record that Te Pitians deliberately caught and ate almost any free-swimming fish exceeding 100 or so grams in weight, except for such oddities as the long pencil-thin *ā'āvere* (*Tylosurus stongylurus*) and for fish believed to have "poisonous" flesh, either seasonally or year round. Even the grotesque scorpion fish (*Synanceia verrucosa*; *nohu pu'a*) was eaten with appreciation after removal of its poisonous spine and sac. On the other hand, sharks were not eaten and were killed only because of their threat to life, nets, and other fish. And mammalian dolphins were left to frolic unharmed, with justifications ranging from sentiments of *aroha* (sympathy, fellow-feeling) to attributions of supernaturalism.

Moon phases, weather, and longer-range seasonal changes had strong effects on Te Pitians' times, locations, and techniques of fishing; and local weather, in relation to weather conditions simultaneously prevailing on nearby Tahiti, played a large role in Fatatans' fishing for money.

Bright moonlight was considered unfavorable for nighttime fishing in general and for spear-diving in particular. Household needs or market conditions led many individuals to angle or seine for fish even on full-moon nights, and not without some success, but diving at such times was said to be fruitless. In addition, most Te Pitian fishermen possessed many bits of knowledge or opinion about where to find what varieties of fish during successive phases of the lunar cycle, but this did not add up to any explicit, comprehensive calendrical guide for fishing such as the ancient Tahitians

Others used a speargun (*pupūhi*), either a metal commercial manufacture or one made locally out of wood, tire-tube rubber, and iron bolt. The goggles used by spear fishermen were nearly all homemade. These consisted of small oblongs of glass set into hand-carved wooden frames and held in place by rubber bands. Usually, every fisherman made his own, cutting the frame to fit his own face; such goggles, according to most, provided a closer, more watertight fit than any commercial type known to them. A few spear fishermen also owned and used a flipper, only one having been worn at a time; and they were all of commercial manufacture.

Sometimes a spear fisherman went out alone, swimming all the way hour upon hour and trailing a float-attached line or a floating basket-shaped container for carrying his catch. At other times, fishermen went out in canoes and usually in pairs; then, while one of them dived for fish, his companion kept the canoe nearby and reloaded the speargun after each shot. Upon surfacing after each long dive—and some of them seemed to me to be dangerously protracted—while refilling his lungs, the fisherman would emit a curious kind of whistle, which served as a self-consciously proud symbol of this kind of expertise.

More often than not, the canoes of spear fishermen would congregate and move about in a solid fleet. In the beginning, this struck me as an un-economic maneuver, i.e., fanning out might have provided each canoe with larger harvest. Indeed, when I questioned some fishermen on this point, they readily agreed; however, they added, it was more pleasurable to fish within talking distance of friends—which highlights the enjoyment most Te Pitians seemed to derive from fishing, a matter that will be returned to later on.

Fish spearing was occasionally engaged in at night with the help of a waterproof flashlight attached to the diver's head. On the average, nighttime spearing was more productive than in daylight; but some fishermen refrained from doing it because of its discomforts: the water itself was warm enough but the night air was considered too chilling. This fact, along with the danger from sharks, served to restrict nighttime spear diving beyond the outer reef to a handful of adventurous young men. The reason usually put forward for engaging in this arduous and hazardous activity was economic—"for every dive a large fish"—but it was also clear that the men who did so derived much pleasurable excitement from it and were in addition rewarded with special esteem from other fishermen.

When individuals teamed up in the canoe of one of them for angling or fish spearing, they usually shared the catch equally. When, however, an individual or a team used the canoe of someone in another household, it was customary to "give" (*hōro'a*; not *tāraho*, "pay interest/rent") some of the catch to the owner if the catch was not too small—"too small" having

Collecting land crabs qualifies as "fishing" only because it was done to provide fishing bait. It was engaged in mainly by children, who derived lively entertainment from trying to entice these cautious animals out of their holes by means of a leaf attached to a string.

The freshwater streams around Te Piti sheltered quantities of prawns (*Malacostraca decapodes*; *ōura pape*), which Te Pitians regarded as luxury food, mainly for feasts, and which they caught at night with the help of lamps or flashlights. Certain saltwater crustaceans were also regarded by some as luxury food and caught for special occasions. These were, mainly, *langoustes* (*Pandalus penicillatus*; *ōura mata*) and squills (*Penaeus setiferus*; *ōura*). The only mollusk regularly caught and eaten, and this only for festive cuisine, was the tridacna clam (*Tridacna elongata*; *pāhāa*). Unlike some other Tahitians (especially those living on Tahiti itself), those of Atea and Fatata did not make a regular practice of collecting oysters (*tio*), mussels (*'ūū*), or cockles (*'āhi*); nor did they consider it worth the effort to collect sea urchins (*ōma*) for the tiny morsels of food thus obtained. While I heard no opinions expressed regarding the division of labor most appropriate to this activity, all collecting of crustaceans and mollusks I knew of was done by males.

Angling was practiced in several ways. Some patient souls were content to sit on a wharf or point of land and manually trail a line—for what appeared to be a usually unrewarding catch. Others went out into the lagoon in canoes, alone or in pairs, and fished either while anchored or while paddling slowly along; this was engaged in mainly by women and some elderly men. More robust and active male anglers found it more rewarding to take their canoes beyond the reef or to cast into the ocean while standing on the reef. (The type of pelagic trolling from a powered boat engaged in by Pape'ete's professional fishermen was practiced by only one Te Pitian and with such uneconomic returns that he finally gave it up.)

Some individuals set out shore-attached lines with devices for signalling when a fish was hooked, but the rewards from such arrangements were not large or frequent enough to encourage their widespread use.

When poles were used in angling, they were usually of local bamboo. As for the hooks and lines, these were nearly all manufactured imports obtained from the local Chinese stores. However, I did see an occasional fisherman—typically, a youth with no money or store credit—use hooks fashioned by himself out of nails.

Fish spearing was more physically demanding than most kinds of angling and was consequently practiced mainly by young men. It was also usually more rewarding in terms of catch and at the same time was regarded by many of its practitioners as an especially pleasurable, even exciting, sport. Some spear fishermen continued to use a homemade, manually propelled

iformity of their yam-vine poles. And except for their avoidance of planting on the sites of ancient pagan temples, they employed no magical actions or devices in gardening as far as I could discover. (Some of them did, however, state that they prayed to God for the prospering of their crops; and some were reported of crop failures having resulted from sorcery or from the gardener's social misdeeds.)

As for the relevance of gardening to social, in contrast to purely "economic" concerns, longer observation revealed to me that Te Pitians did indeed reward skillful performance in this activity. In both villages there was widespread consensus concerning the identities of the best local producers of each major food crop; and the manner in which the ranking was discussed indicated that some prestige was attached to this form of skill. In Atea, moreover, the winners received more than verbal rewards.

Atea's vegetable-growing contests (*pari ma'a*, from French *pari*) mentioned earlier were said to have been instituted by the Administration in about 1950 in order to encourage more and better homegrown food crops. They were annual events held usually in mid- to late May. The one I witnessed involved twenty-eight entrants, all of them male. In addition, most of the men of Atea's population attended in order to view the judging and prize-giving and to partake of the accompanying feast. In fact, so solid was the attendance that the more conspicuous absentees, i.e., certain male heads of households, were noted and their reasons for staying away discussed, e.g., "too old to walk," "still angry about last year's judging," "considers the customer unprofitable in money terms," "ashamed at having grown nothing worth exhibiting."

Four kinds of crops figured in the contests: watermelons, sweet potatoes, yams, and yams. The prizes went to the largest specimens produced, by weight, provided they contained no visible rot. In the case of yams, the larger specimens were usually too old and stringy for human consumption; that did not disqualify them. At the contest I witnessed, only yams and yams were actually exhibited and judged; the entrant melons and sweet potatoes had been weighed previously, then eaten at the time of their ripening because of their brief spans of edibility.

Each year's contest was initiated a year in advance, when prospective entrants would indicate which crops they would enter and how much money each of them would wager. (If, for example, ten individuals decided to enter a contest and to compete for prizes totaling 5,000 francs, each of them would be committed to contribute 500 francs.) Prizes were usually awarded to the highest winners in each crop category, and the first prize in the taro and yam categories—the most popular and widely contested—were reported to have reached as high as 15,000 francs in some years, i.e., an amount equaling the total money income of most local adult males. In the contest I

witnessed, the purse for all categories totaled 24,000 francs; and the largest first prize (for the largest single yam) was 10,000 francs.

In addition to this "official" wagering, many of the entrants in each year's contest, along with some nonentrants, waged side bets which, in some instances, produced for the winners amounts as high as 5,000 to 10,000 francs. Thus, the interest engendered by this simple contest of gardening skills was greatly intensified by the very large money gains (and the not inconsiderable money losses) that accompanied it.

The only practice in Fatata comparable to Atea's vegetable-growing contest was the annual public announcement, by the Administration, of Mo'orea's top performing gardeners, i.e., those who had taken the trouble to register their noteworthy products with Administrative officials. Some Fatatians occasionally took part in this competition;² and now and then, even won and had the satisfaction of having their neighbors know about their successes—should the latter happen to learn about them.

Finally, regularities in times of planting and harvesting some of Te Pitii's food crops served to structure the annual cycle—not as decisively as societies elsewhere that are subjected to sharper climatic variations or that are more preponderantly self-subsistent, but perceptibly and acknowledgedly so. Informants differed somewhat in their dates but agreed upon a three-season cycle: (1) *āwā'e pā wā* (months [of] dryness), June-July-September, the season of sparse rainfall when food plants die; (2) *āwā'e āhāri* (months [of] hotness), October-December, the season of heat and heavy rainfall, hence of planting; (3) *āwā'e o'otira* (months [of] cutting, i.e., harvesting time), January-May.

Fishing. Some very wide differences existed between Atea and Fatata with regard to fishing, and these had far-reaching effects upon other activities in the two communities. Some of these differences may have derived from local environmental conditions, but others resulted directly from Fatata's proximity to Pape'ete, which provided a large and generally profitable market for locally caught fish. These matters will be described later on; for the present, I shall focus on the techniques of fish-catching insofar as they were common to both communities.

From my own—doubtless ethnocentric—perspective, I envisage Te Pitii's fishing techniques under five general headings: collecting, angling, spearing, netting, and a residual "miscellaneous."³

²These annual awards, which included small money prizes, were part of a comprehensive competition involving also fishing catches, plantation improvements, etc.

³Te Pitians themselves used the word *ā* for angling, and applied the word *āpā'a* to all kinds of fish nets, large and small; otherwise, it is doubtful that they mentally classified all their fishing techniques as I have done. A systematic "cognatic" approach to this topic would doubtless be interesting but is dispensable in terms of the objectives of this study.

1274P.

1989

Oceania

The Native Cultures
of Australia and
the Pacific Islands

VOLUME 2

EXCERPTS

DOUGLAS L. OLIVER

Illustrations by Lois Johnson



UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII PRESS

Honolulu

LAWS GN 662 .042 1989

them did, they were excused from the novitiate and admitted directly into a higher grade. The cult's connection with Hui Ari'i, as already mentioned, was signified by its devotion to 'Oro, the Hui Ari'i's own tutelar; by the prominence among the chapters of the Master's office of Opoa (the ancestral *marae* of the Hui Ari'i); and by the loin-girdle worn by the Black-legs (although made of barkcloth and not of feathers, it was nevertheless dyed red).

Tahitian society also contained a number of other kinds of social units and specialized statuses—fishermen's guilds, boat builders, house builders, *marae* architects, tattoo artists, embalmers, entertainers, more or less full-time warriors, teacher-sages, shamans, and so on, and of course various types of clerics. Limitations of space prohibit description of these, but perhaps enough has already been said to indicate that, while the Tahitians resembled their Tikopian cultural "cousins" in several social-relational fundamentals, they differed markedly from them in terms of the scale, complexity, and emphasis of their social institutions. Similar sketches of other Polynesian societies would serve to reinforce the impression that, for all their basic resemblances, they also differed in several noteworthy ways. However, instead of undertaking that lengthy exercise, the rest of this chapter will be devoted to describing some differences among them with respect to only three aspects of social organization: common descent units, political units, and social class. (I say "only" but in fact a survey of these three can reveal more about intersocietal similarities and differences than treatment of a host of other aspects could do.)

Other Polynesian Societies

Descent Units

Polynesia's descent units were continually changing, sometimes branching and segmenting, sometimes fusing, and sometimes dying out. Some changes resulted from numerical increase, or decrease, in whole populations or in parts of them. Others were the direct result of particular events—for example, geographic expansion and conflict between and within the units. In no two societies, perhaps, were the changes wholly alike in manner or in rate. Also, there were differences among societies with respect to the points at which segmentation became institutionalized—that is, at which people in general recognized a branch as having a separate collective and corporate existence of its own. Size (i.e., number of members) may have been a criterion in some societies, as may have been genealogical *depth* (i.e., generational remoteness of a common ancestor) and *span* (range of collaterals), but self-achieved autonomy was perhaps the most common threshold for such recognition, along with establish-

ment of the same society—the process appears to have been so gradual and uneventful as to create ambiguities even for the participants themselves.

In speaking of levels of descent-unit segmentation I do not include the smallest segment of all—the unit made up of those members of a single household who were interrelated by ties of common descent. Nearly every household in Polynesia contained at least one such unit, a man and his children and oftentimes the children of the latter, or a (widowed) woman and the same. It was however unusual for such units to function (or be labeled, etc.) separately from the household unit as a whole. Thus, while acknowledging the ubiquity of this unit, I do not include it as a distinct level in the following survey.

As we saw, the segmentation process of Tikopian descent units was, while gradual, fairly definite and explicit, resulting in two institutionalized levels, there having been four maximal-unit *kainanga* and numerous minimal-unit *paifo*. (*Maximal* signifies that the descent unit in question was not a segment of a larger one; *minimal* signifies that it was the lowest-order segment recognized by the society as having a separate existence of its own.) The segmentation process of Tahitian descent units seems to have been even more clear-cut, having been explicitly signaled by the consecration of a new temple. However, little is known about the number and size of Tahitian maximal descent units or about the number of their levels of segmentation, except that there were more of the latter than in Tikopia. Also, despite a number of candidates, it is not clear what labels were applied to each level, nor whether in fact they had different labels.

Other Polynesian societies differed widely in number of maximal descent units and in degree of segmentation. In Mangareva, for example, all of the descent units were held to be segments of a single unit, the descendants of an "original" ancestral settler (which, however, did not restrain the segments from warring against each other, sometimes murderously). A similar myth obtained in Easter Island, and may have been current in other societies as well (as, e.g., in the Tongan archipelago, where one, but only one, of the society's nine major descent unit segments claimed descent from an immigrant i.e., one from Fiji). In some other places, such as Mangaia, the myths regarding descent-unit beginnings posited two sets of ultimate ancestors, one indigenous and the other alien-immigrant. (In some mythical versions of this view of history, the former were identified with the land and activities associated with it, the immigrants with the sea. See, for example, Sahlins 1981.) Perhaps the best known of all such native reconstructions of descent-unit beginnings—and hence interrelationships—was that of the New Zealand Maori. According to these myths (which were accepted by most European scholars to be historically authentic until archaeology and a better understanding of mythical "explanations" belied them) the Maoris' maxi-

(observers differed concerning the number), from Novice (*po'o*) to Black-leg (*avae parai*). In most cases an individual became a Novice by "application": he or she attended a cult performance, and in a state of *nevanava* (spirit-possession, presumably by 'Oro himself, who thereby selected the applicant for membership), proceeded to dance and sing along with the performing members. If the applicant's dancing and actions revealed sufficient talent, and—most crucial—if he or she was physically well-formed and unblemished, he was invited by the group's master Arioi to join. (Physical perfection was a hallmark of Arioi membership, along with such other aspects of youthfulness as skill and ardor in dancing, singing, active sex, and of course freedom from the burdens of parenthood.) At the end of the period of novitiate (how long it lasted is not specifically stated) the Novices were tested by full members (in dancing and other required skills) and either accepted or rejected by them. After that, members were promoted to higher grades according to progress revealed in Arioi skills (including, according to some sources, deepening knowledge of unspecified cult "secrets"). Advance up the grades was marked by changes in costume and by different designs and locations of body tattoos. Thus, the lowest-grade member wore a headdress of colored leaves, while the highest-grade member (the Black-leg, a status achieved by only a few) wore a red-dyed barkcloth loin-girdle and was tattooed solidly from foot to groin (in addition to all of the other torso and arm tattoo marks acquired in the intervening grades). As is to be expected, rise in grade-level was accompanied by increases in privileges, including command over the services of lower-grade members.

As previously mentioned, each local chapter of Arioi was headed by a master—and in many cases by a mistress as well, both of these having been appointed to their offices by the local chief and both having been from the chapter's membership. Moreover, the offices of Master of the separate chapters were ranked in terms of ceremonial precedence (for those not infrequent occasions on which two or more chapters were joined on tour), the highest office having been that of the Ra'iatean chapter at Opoa. As for the general membership, when they were not busy trying to kill one another as citizens of separate and frequently warring political units, *all* Arioi were supposed to behave toward one another amicably and hospitably. To behave otherwise was grounds for expulsion.

In addition to the paradox of Arioi universality and political unit separateness, there were connections between cult membership and the society's class hierarchy in general and with the Hui Ari'i in particular. Regarding the former, while membership in the cult was not limited to persons of upper-class status (even *manabunes* were admitted if they were otherwise acceptable—a remarkable sign of flexibility in this society), when young members of upper-class status joined, which many of

including mockery of the characters of their principal hosts (a remarkable license in this society where acts of lese majesty were at other times sternly punished). A week-long visit by a troupe of Arioi clearly was a drain on the host community's food supplies, and perhaps a strain on many marital relationships as well, but at the same time it seems to have been regarded by many in the host communities as a pleasurable break in ordinary routines.

Because of the emphasis upon sexuality in many of their performances, the general sexual license that attended their tours, and the promiscuous sexuality that obtained among them, the Arioi have been characterized by some writers as a fertility cult—a grandiose rite of sympathetic magic designed to encourage natural fertility, of humans and of supplies of food. Be that as it may, the cult did serve to curb warfare somewhat—fighting having been interdicted at any place where performances were taking place—and when on tour the Arioi themselves were immune to attack. While the cult's principal tutelary was the war-god 'Oro, the aspect of the latter specifically worshipped by Arioi was 'Oro-*of-the-laid-down-spear*: in other words, the war-ending, peace-making side of 'Oro. (In Tahitian as in most other Polynesian societies, every high-god spirit had several, functionally different, personalities.)

There are no credible counts of Arioi members, but during the 1770s there were certainly hundreds of them and possibly thousands, and males outnumbered females by about five to one. Nearly every political unit had its own named chapter, headed by a master, whose office was also distinctively named. Three types of members were distinguished: active, "parentaged," and "retired," along with two or three categories of persons who regularly assisted Arioi in their activities. The distinction between active and other members was based on the fundamental requirement that full participation in cult activities was dependent upon a person's not having offspring. Constraints were not placed on copulation—far from it; active Arioi were notoriously avid and promiscuous among themselves and with others. The cult's rule was against allowing a member's progeny to survive, which was accomplished by abortion and infanticide. (Whatever may have been the basic reason, or the rationale, for this rule, it had the practical effect of enabling members to carry out their cult activities free of domestic responsibilities.) If, then, an active member bore or sired a child that for some reason or other happened to survive, the guilty parent (now called "parentaged") was thereby disgraced and thenceforth forbidden full participation in cult activities. The status of "retiree" was, however, entirely honorable; it was reserved for members who had spent years in active membership and then, upon reaching middle age, had deliberately dropped out of touring, and so forth, and had married and settled down to domesticity.

Active members of the cult were divided into seven or eight grades

weak political units, and in some other cases the chiefs of powerful political units were not themselves entitled to feather-girdle Titles. But in every ceremonial situation where precedence and other privileges were involved, prime honor was accorded the feather-girdle Titleholders present. And if non-feather-girdle leaders wished to increase or consolidate their military or political conquests, they sought to do so by adopting a young feather-girdle incumbent for an heir, or by marrying one (whose child and heir would inherit his mother's Title).

A major question is, How did it come about that the members of a single kin-congregation achieved the social preeminence they were enjoying during the eighteenth century? Some writers have proposed that the Hui Ari'i had been a "wave" of newcomers, who had arrived at these islands from the west and by means of their superiority—in military prowess or organization or whatever—had conquered the earlier settlers (i.e., the *manahune*, 'commoners', according to this interpretation), imposed their rule over them, and kept themselves strong and pure by intermarriage only with the chiefs of the conquered *manahune*. Victory in warfare might indeed have accounted for some of the early successes of the Ra'i'a-teans in extending their political domains and in enhancing their social prestige elsewhere. However, migrations and military conquests are not the only processes of history. Nor, in the case of Tahitian history, is it reasonable to explain new events in terms of technological changes. In fact, in the case of a people as religious as the Tahitians, much weight must be given to inventions in religious beliefs and practices when trying to account for changes in social (including political) relationships.

In the case of the Hui Ari'i it is not unreasonable to propose that their military and social successes were linked, in mutual "feedback" manner, with their tutelary cult. Ta'aroa was credited with their founding, but Ta'aroa served as a High God for Tahitians in general and during the eighteenth century was the focus of no particular cult. Ta'aroa's son 'Oro, however, specialized in war making and was associated in a special way with the Hui Ari'i. For example, while anyone could petition 'Oro for support in warfare, the surest way to obtain it was by sacrifice of a human to him, which was the prerogative, reportedly exclusive, of the incumbents of certain feather-girdle Titles. (Thus, on one recorded occasion a powerful but nongirdled chief was obliged to obtain the ritual assistance of a hated but girdled rival to supplicate 'Oro for support in a military campaign.) As the social prestige of the Hui Ari'i increased, so did belief in the power of their tutelary, 'Oro.

The myths current in the eighteenth century ascribed great antiquity to the social preeminence of the Hui Ari'i and to the supernatural predominance of their tutelary, 'Oro, but that was not necessarily historically true. There may have been similar occurrences in the past, involving other social units and spirits. But in societies without writing history can be

preserved only orally, and oral history (even more than written history) tends to select and preserve only what seems to fit current facts and wishes. In any case, however deep or shallow its antiquity, the Hui Ari'i-'Oro movement received strong support from another one which resembled it in its wide dispersion but which, unlike the kin-based composition of the Hui Ari'i, was less exclusive in membership. I refer here to the well-known Arioi Cult: a "Satanic machine" to the early Protestant missionaries, but an intriguing step toward internationalism for the student of social evolution.

It was a characteristic feature of Tahitian society that nearly every social group of any type—kin-based, territorial, or occupational—was at the same time a religious congregation. But there were some social units made up of persons whose only, or most notable, common attribute was their homage to a particular spirit. One such cult (whose members were called Arioi) was divided into sects that were distributed throughout the archipelago, one to almost every political unit or large subunit. The principal activity of the Arioi was worship of the god 'Oro. As we have seen, 'Oro was also the primary tutelary of the Hui Ari'i, and because of his proven (?) efficacy in warfare, the focus of widespread supplication by non-Hui Ari'i chiefs as well. In fact, reverence for 'Oro became so paramount and extensive that it attained the character of monolatry—that is, belief in the existence of several gods but worship mainly of one of them. (Marae dedicated to 'Oro—those in which human sacrifice was chartered—were located on several islands and shared the name of Taputapuataea.) For its leaders the Arioi Cult was a full-time and in some cases a lifelong vocation; the facts are not clear in this matter but it seems that most other members spent several weeks of each year in cult activities and the rest of their time at home in their ordinary pursuits.

Cult activities consisted mostly in traveling about from place to place (including island to island), performing ceremonies and entertainments in exchange for lavish hospitality and within the context, mainly, of 'Oro worship. In some cases a single sect—a political unit's "chapter" of the cult—went on tour by itself; more usually the sects of several neighboring units assembled and traveled together. Before arriving at some place, usually at the host chief's residence, they dressed in their lavish cult costumes and approached their destination (most often in canoes) with great clamor, proceeded to the *marae* (one dedicated to 'Oro if nearby), paid their respects to their tutelary, and then settled down to a few days of dancing, theater-performance, feasting, and—according to some European observers—sampling the sexual wares of their hostesses and hosts (there having been female Arioi as well as male). While most types of dancing and theatrics of the Tahitians contained sexual allusion, those performed by the Arioi seem to have been especially explicit. In addition some of their plays were farcical satires containing biting social critique,

gation *marae* were limited mainly to those identified with a few families who enjoyed highly privileged social positions (and who thereby came to the attention of the Europeans). By that time most of these *marae* had become associated with political units. As for most of the hundreds of other kin-congregation *marae* whether actively utilized or abandoned, traditions about their origins had been forgotten—either through extinction or dispersal of their congregations, or political eclipse of their associated kin-Titles. In any case, by the time of European contact there had crystallized a body of tradition that attributed social preeminence and high antiquity to a number of kin-Titles associated with a set of kin-congregation *marae* first established on Ra'iatea and with branches on nearly every island in the archipelago.

As with most oral history the several versions of this one differed because of selective recall and subsequent embellishment, but the central theme of its versions was that the original *marae* was established (or consecrated) by the high god Ta'arua and/or his son 'Oro. Subsequently, the *marae* was moved and enlarged to become, first Vaitotaha, and eventually Taputapuataca (all on Ra'iatea), where worship centered on 'Oro, the most powerful of all gods of war and one of the few Tahitian spirits requiring human offerings.

In addition to the right to perform this privileged duty, a special kind of insignia became attached to the higher-graded kin-Titles of this congregation, namely, girdles (*maro*) decorated with hundreds of red feathers (*'ura*) of a very rare kind. (Red feathers were used as powerful means of attracting the attention of spirits; girdles were associated with the genitals—that is, the procreative function of the wearer.) In due course offshoots of this *marae* became established throughout the archipelago and with them some of its kin-Titles of feather-girdle grade. In the case of one offshoot, on Borabora, its founder used yellow instead of red feathers for his girdle, to signalize his conflict with and independence from the Ra'iatean home congregation; subsequently offshoots from this *marae*, and hence yellow-girdle kin-Titles, became established elsewhere. However, all persons belonging to families having either red or yellow feather-girdled kin-Titles (i.e., all of the more senior-line descendants of the original kin-congregation) became known as Hui Ari'i (The Ari'i People). (The title *ari'i* had three separate—but to some extent interconnected—meanings: Hui Ari'i as just specified; Te Ari'i, The Paramount Chief of a political unit, whether or not he was of the Hui Ari'i; and *ari'i* [used as noun or adjective], any member of the upper-class, which included all Hui Ari'i but contained other persons as well.) My guess is that there were only a dozen or so feather-girdled kin-Titles in existence during the latter half of the eighteenth century, but by including the persons whose families "owned" them, there were perhaps a hundred or so persons acknowledgedly Hui Ari'i. In addition, there must have been hundreds more

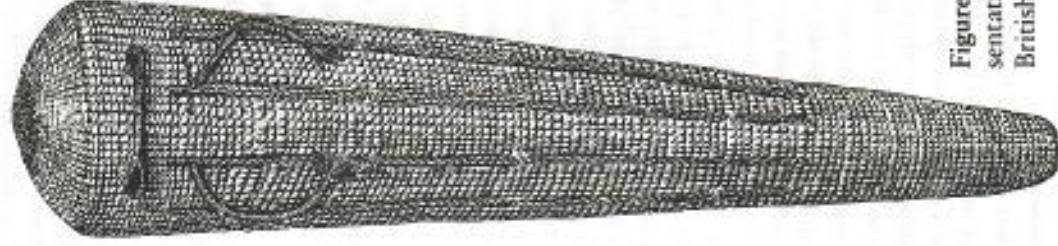


Figure 17.9. Tahiti, representation of the god 'Oro. British Museum

who were descended from members of the original Ra'iatean kin-congregation, but whose lines back to them were too "junior" to warrant mention or commitment to memory.

As mentioned earlier, by European times kin-Titles of the feather-girdle type were ranked above all others—and not only by the families owning them but (wondrous to report!) by everyone else. (The owners of them did not all agree about their grading one with another but that was a particular situation of family pride and interfamily conflict, which space does not permit me to describe.) In some cases their incumbents were members (usually but not always chiefs) of small and militarily

Tahitians such men were a scourge; because of their close connections with their chiefs, many of them appear to have led lives of unbridled depredation. Especially when accompanying their chiefs on tour, they often engaged in plunder and rape.

Another common feature of political-unit governance were the councils, which differed (from unit to unit and in each unit from time to time) in composition, in jurisdiction, and in power. In units made up of large multi-neighborhood subunits their own headmen would be sure to be included, along with some staff officers (plus some other members of the chiefly family not occupying staff positions). A council's jurisdiction depended in large part on the political strength of its members vis-à-vis their overall chief. In some cases a council served little more than a ritual role, to approve—and praise—actions already taken by the chief. In contrast, some councils proved strong enough to decide all important issues affecting their units (especially the questions of peace and war), to the point of overruling and even discharging and expelling the chief—which, however, was a measure Tahitians seldom resorted to. Most members of this society held the office of chieftainship in reverential respect and much of the same respect was extended to its incumbents and their close relatives, whatever their personal shortcomings and inequities, but only up to a point. They were praised to the skies on every public occasion, their persons and residences bowed down to, their commands obeyed—until, that is, their despotic excesses provoked universal rebellion.

Something has already been said about the most usual ways in which the Tahitians' small political units were constructed out of kin-congregations, and large political units out of small ones—mainly by coercive physical force (legitimized in some cases by marriage). In any case, once an office of chieftainship had become established, the most usual person to occupy it was the past incumbent's eldest son. There were, however, several recorded instances, legendary and historical, in which a unit's council, especially its sub-chiefs, passed over an eldest son for a younger brother, or even an uncle or cousin. (Some rejections were based on objective evaluation of the heir's shortcomings, others on personal desires for a more compliant sovereign chief.) There are also recorded instances of individuals having attained chieftainship by means of "self-election," for example, by force of arms, assassination, political maneuver, or some combination of these. Nevertheless, despite the public acceptance of these alternative ways of attaining chieftainship, there was universal agreement that the incumbent be the holder of a kin-Title of high rank. In fact, when Europeans first arrived on the scene the *sine qua non* of most of the more powerful chieftainships was possession of a kin-Title from a single (but widely ramified) kin-congregation.

During the era of Tahitian history under study—the second half of the eighteenth century—traditions about the founding of specific kin-congre-

assassination and political marriage to keep their realms intact. And in other cases, the chief was a mere figurehead while the unit's cohesion was maintained by some other individual possessing more military courage and skill.

Every political unit (and perhaps most large subunits) had a number of officers to assist the chief (or subunit headman). Some of them, who may be called line officers, were the aforementioned heads of the subunits of which the larger units were composed; others, who had specific labels describing their duties and who may be called staff officers, included administrators, messengers (both diplomats and mere message-bearers), spokesmen, war leaders, sages (i.e., repositories of "deep" knowledge, including chiefly pedigrees), executives, and of course several types of religious officials attached to the units' *marae*. In some cases persons occupying staff positions were appointed to their offices by the current chief (typically, from among his close relatives); in other cases the offices were the inalienable prerogatives of particular families. (However, the units were not all alike in which offices were filled by appointment or birthright.) An issue, which had an important bearing on the historical problem of how political systems in general have evolved, was the focus of loyalty of the staff officers: Were they concerned primarily with the welfare of the unit as a whole? Or mainly with that of its chief, and with the rest of the unit only insofar as that related to the chief's own welfare? From the available data it appears that Tahitian staff officeholders differed in this respect, from individual to individual and from unit to unit. In other words, the data on this society, such as it is, provides no unmitigable proof of how it was evolving in this regard: either in the direction of constitutional bureaucracy, or of stronger (and more arbitrary) personal regimes. However, I have the impression that the latter course was prevailing at the time when Europeans arrived to complicate the process.

Wherever staff officers may have focused their loyalties, there was another set of functionaries who were devoted deliberately and explicitly to the chief's own personal welfare (and of course to the advantages that brought to themselves). These included domestic servants, bodyguards, stewards (of chiefs' own family estates), magicians (mainly sorcerers), sex partners, and in some cases mere hangers-on. Among the domestic servants were some males whose job it was to perform the heavier work required to produce and prepare food for female members of the chief's family. (As mentioned earlier only males in a more or less permanently "profane" state were employed in that job.) Among those serving as sex partners were the homosexual *mahu* mentioned in chapter 13. As for those I call hangers-on, it appears that in some of the larger political units there were usually to be found a number of otherwise unemployed men who ate off the chief's provisions in return for keeping him entertained and flattered, and for carrying out small jobs for him. For most other

for purposes of his own—say, to accumulate food for a politically useful gift or feast. But what about the role played by chiefs in maintaining order among their subjects and in championing social justice? Surely, an official who rendered those services effectively and even-handedly would be deserving of the “taxes” he received.

To put it briefly, from the few records available on such matters, it appears that the chiefs of these islands were much more concerned with how their subjects behaved toward themselves than with how the subjects behaved toward one another. Misdeeds among their subjects were generally left to the principals themselves to handle, or to their kin-congregation headmen. In contrast, acts of lese majesty were usually punished by chiefs with ferocity—including confiscation, exile, and death. (In this respect Tahitian chiefs tended to resemble their deities, who were also much more concerned with humans’ behavior toward themselves than toward one another.) There are accounts of chiefs waging war against other political units to avenge wrongs done by members of the latter to some of their own subjects, but I suspect that in most instances of this kind the chief acted in order to defend his own chiefly pride or to bind those subjects closer to himself, or that he used the incident as an excuse for a previously intended war. (This is not to suggest that Tahitian chiefs always needed publicly acceptable excuses for their wars!)

In a word, the chiefs of Tahitian political units were inclined to be self-centered and despotic, and the social ideology of their society facilitated their having been so. Throughout the society there seems to have been not just an acceptance of but a basic belief in the rightness of inequality among humans (an inequality that had its rationale in a theory of conception). Among kinsmen, and especially among members of single-neighborhood kin-congregations, the principle of social hierarchy was tempered by another principle, one that required kinsmen to behave benevolently toward one another (which in the case of the senior members was expressed as *noblesse oblige*). Some of that sentiment seems to have characterized some political units and their chiefs as well, but in many cases the units were too large and heterogeneous and the chiefs too far removed from most of their subjects, in terms of interests and social distance, to be swayed by the ideal.

Nonetheless, there were constraints on chiefly authority that served in some well-known cases to prevent the authority having become as absolute as the chiefs may have desired. The most powerful of those constraints was inherent in the structure of all of the larger political units, which were composed of subunits whose own headmen (*iatouai*)¹³ were like Europe’s medieval barons in their relationship to their overall chief—that is, some of them were more powerful in their own subunits than was the chief over the whole. In some such circumstances the latter used

that went from subject to chief concerns their end-use: did they remain at the “top” for use only or mainly of the chief (e.g., for consumption by him and his family and staff, or for politically useful gifts to his allies), or was a large proportion of them “redistributed”—that is, were most of them transferred back to the subjects for their own use? The sources do not provide a clear-cut answer. The amount redistributed—from nil to most—varied not only with occasion, but also with the character of the individual chief. Some chiefs acted benevolently, as kin-congregation headmen were supposed to act and evidently often did, as kinsmen. A few others were consistently selfish in this regard. One thing that does however emerge from a study of actual events is that even in the case of the most selfish (and also despotic) chiefs, none of them relied entirely upon tribute—taxation—to supply all of the food needed for daily use by their own chiefly establishments, most of that having been provided by their own retainers on land owned solely by the chief and his close relatives.

Still, even in the domains of the least selfish, most “redistributive” chiefs, more food and other tangible objects, and more man-hours of services, seem to have gone “up” than came “down.” This raises a second question, What other kinds of goods, if any, were contributed by chiefs that might be seen to balance the flows?

One such good was (or could have been) the priestly service performed by a chief on behalf of his subjects—for, in the case of most political units the chief was *ex officio* its premier priest (just as was the headman of his own kin-congregation). In many cases some person other than the chief himself (say, a brother, or uncle) actually performed the religious duties of head priest, but only as a delegated office. (Although, in some political units, the office of head priest became so firmly vested in certain upper-class families that the chief himself did not have free hand in the appointment.) In any case, since a political unit’s most powerful tutelary spirits could be approached only through the chief, or someone serving as his delegate, a chief’s representative may be viewed as of crucial importance in this society, where humans depended so heavily upon the good will of their more powerful spirits. While there were occasions on which a unit’s priest acted on behalf of the members as a whole (e.g., the great annual harvest ceremonies, and rites performed to cure the unit of the “sickness” manifested by, say, defeat in battle or storm-caused famines), most of the services conducted at political-unit *marae* seem to have been in the narrower interests of the chiefs themselves.

Chiefs of large political units, like kin-congregation headmen, had the power to impose taboos (*rabaui*) on the harvest of food, including fish, and while this may have served generally useful for conservation, and may in fact on occasion have been imposed for that public purpose, there seem to have been more occasions on which a chief exercised this power

political unit contained about a thousand persons divided into two or more distinct and otherwise autonomous kin-congregations or parts of kin-congregations. (It was not unusual for the various parts of a single kin-congregation to be included within separate, and sometimes warring, political units—a circumstance that gave rise to divided loyalties, to say the least!)

Just before European influences (diseases, firearms, "advisors") reduced the population and assisted one particular political unit to extend its sway, these islands contained about eighteen more or less durable and autonomous political units, which varied in size from about one thousand to fifteen thousand subjects. Such units also varied widely in internal structure. The simplest of them consisted of a relatively small number of neighborhood-size kin-congregations united under an unchallenged line of chiefs; the most complex consisted of two or more such units whose respective leaders occasionally (and successfully) challenged the authority of the overall chief, but tended in the long run to fall into line. In addition to that kind of durable coalition of "equals," several of the autonomous units engaged in temporary military pacts with (or against) each other.

The cohesion of most of the eighteenth-century political units was based mainly on the exercise of coercive physical force by their chiefs and the latter's kinsmen. Residential proximity—or rather physical accessibility—was of course a factor in influencing which neighborhoods were brought and kept together, but not the determining factor. There were also legendary accounts of separate political units having been unified by marriage between members of their respective chiefly families; more usually however such a marriage took place after the military defeat of one of them by the other and as a deliberate measure to preserve the new unity, partly by virtue of the marriage itself but mainly through devolution of both parents' kin-Titles and subject-fealties upon their common heir.

As we saw in earlier chapters (especially in chapter 11) Oceania's political units were motivated to fight and overcome each other in different ways: for example, to capture wives or slaves or victims for sacrifice, to exact revenge, to achieve "manhood" or prestige as warriors, even (perhaps) in some cases to acquire needed land. Up to now, however, we have considered few instances in which one political unit—more specifically its chief—waged war against another not only to defeat it for some reason or another, but to maintain durable command over its members. That, however, seems to have occurred quite typically among the Tahitians. Economic reasons may have been influential in some such wars—for example, in the campaigns of the residents of arid Borabora against more fertile Ra'iatea and Taha'a—but more usually the victors left most of their adversaries' territory empty or allowed the vanquished to remain

on or eventually return to their lands. Nor were conquered territories retained mainly in order to increase, by taxation, the victors' stores of wealth. Tribute was levied regularly, in the form of food, mats, and other goods, but it served only in small degree to enhance the victorious chiefs' material well-being. In fact, one is led to conclude that the primary motive which led many Tahitian chiefs to extend and maintain their domains was a desire for power over as many persons as possible. As we saw in the case of ambitious men in some societies of Melanesia, they went to great lengths to extend their good name and influence beyond their own communities, but their institutions did not permit them to convert such attributes into authority to command the services of the people they bested in those exchanges. Ambitious Tahitian chiefs doubtless also derived satisfaction from extending their influence and heightening their prestige, but in addition many of them evidently obtained even more satisfaction from being able to control the lives of large numbers of persons. Moreover, their institutions (including the society's acceptance of and even admiration for social hierarchy) permitted them to satisfy those goals, up to the point where they were blocked by individuals of similar ambitions and of equal or greater military strength.

Like their individual kin-congregations, the Tahitians' political units also had individual names, but, as there are no unambiguous native terms for the kind of unit I am now describing, I will continue to label them "political units" and proceed to list some of their more salient characteristics.

Every eighteenth-century political unit that I know about had its own *marae*. In some cases such a *marae* was that of its chief's own kin-congregation. In other cases it was a new one built by the chief's subjects to celebrate his rule—say, the extension of his control over another political unit. And in still other cases a new *marae* was built by a chiefly couple on behalf of their firstborn heir, in whom were united the kin-Titles of both of them (see chapter 11). The existence of political-unit *marae* meant that a Tahitian owed homage to two sets of spirits, one of his own kin-congregation and the other of his chiefs. In connection with the latter all of the members of a political unit were required periodically to provide objects and services to maintain the unit's *marae* and the goodwill of its spirits—less however on behalf of the welfare of the ordinary members (as was the theory, at least, with kin-congregation offerings) than in support of some project of the chief.

The other principal things people did as members of a political unit were: to make war on another political unit; to build things (mainly for their chief, e.g., *marae*, dwellings, canoes); to provide food for distinguished persons on a visit to their chief; and to celebrate (with food, textiles, entertainment, etc.) the rites of passage of their chief and of his close relatives. One important question about the food and other objects

noteworthy distinction between father's and mother's consanguines—including the absence of any corporate unilineal descent unit (such as the Tikopian's *païto*), and the absence of any singling out for special treatment of 'father's sister' and 'mother's brother'. The Tahitians did in fact evince a bias for male succession to kin-congregation offices (including kin-Titles), but that did not lead to the formation of patrilineal descent units. In line with this difference, the Tahitians did not (as did the Tikopians) distinguish between a male's own 'children,' including all consanguines of that genealogical level (*tamaiti*, 'son'; *tamabine*, 'daughter'), and those of his 'sisters'.

There were, however, differences between Tahitians and Tikopians with respect to one important aspect of the father-son relationship that were not reflected in terminology. In Tikopia, it will be recalled, the relationship between a man and his eldest son was somewhat formal and constrained and the father retained his authority over the son until death. In Tahiti, as I mentioned earlier, if a man held a kin-Title it devolved upon his successor (usually his eldest son) soon after the latter's birth, a transfer that typically created tensions between the two, and sometimes deadly conflict. Relatively few Tahitians held kin-Titles, hence instances of this kind of succession conflict cannot have been numerous; however, the kind of behavior pattern that it betokened was reportedly characteristic of many other parent-child relationships as well. In fact, one of the several features of Tahitian society that scandalized European observers was the disrespectful attitudes of children toward older persons in general and their own parents in particular.

As for 'siblings' (including own and all collaterals), the Tahitian terminology was somewhat more complex. Both Tahitians and Tikopians had a word for 'male's sister' and for 'female's brother'; in addition, the Tahitians, unlike the Tikopians, distinguished between older (*tuā'āna*) and younger (*teina*) siblings of same sex. In Tikopia a brother and sister did indeed have different kinds of rights in their common *païto* estates, which may possibly account for their terminological usage. But since birth order was an important feature of *both* societies with respect to rights, and so forth, I am at a loss to account for Tahitians' (but not Tikopians') terminological expression of it.

Some of the ways in which Tahitians differed from Tikopians in relationships of affinity have already been mentioned: for example, the informality with which many if not most unions were entered into (in contrast to the formal interfamilial exchanges that characterized most Tikopian marriages); the bilateral aspect of Tahitian nuptial rites (when they took place), in contrast to the unilateral coercion manifested in Tikopian bride capture; the mere preference for virilocal residence in Tahiti, in comparison with the firm rule for it in Tikopia; the more or less symmetrical exchange relationship between in-law families in Tahiti, in contrast to the

asymmetrical one of Tikopia. In addition, while polygyny was favored and sometimes practiced in both societies, there appear to have been no instances in Tikopia of the "semi-polyandry" practiced by some upper-class Tahitian women (see chapter 14).

One other facet of Tahitian kinship worth mention is *adoption*—that is, the verbal distinction made between relationships by 'blood' (*toto*) and those by 'adoption' (*fa'ataavai*). In Tikopia it was fairly common practice for a child to live some of his or her life in a household other than his parents'; it was spoken of there as an 'adhering child' (*tama fakapiiki*), and the circumstances of the arrangement varied widely: to comfort a couple after the loss of their own child, to assist a childless couple in need of extra household services, and so on. The duration of the arrangement also varied considerably, as did the degree of "adherence" in terms of the sentiments of the persons involved, but the arrangement never entailed a change in the adherer's *païto* status—he (or she) did not relinquish rights in his own (his actual father's) *païto* territory or acquire heritable rights in that of his adoptive father. Young Tahitians also spent parts of their lives in households other than their parents' (probably in relatively larger numbers than did the Tikopians), and the degrees of their adherence also varied considerably. But unlike Tikopians, some Tahitian adoptions were accompanied by the acquisition of heritable rights in the kin-congregation of the adoptive parents, including, in a few reported cases, rights of succession to important kin-Titles.

Whereas Tikopian "adherence" and Tahitian "adoption" had to do mainly with parent-child relations, they were not limited to them. Thus, in Tikopia, some children came to "adhere" to a grandparent, and some pairs of older persons adhered to one another as 'brother' and 'sister'. But, again, the Tahitians carried the practice of adoptive consanguinity to much further ends; for example, not only did males make themselves 'brothers' (by means of a rite very much like nuptials), but a man could become the adoptive member of the family of someone killed by him in warfare, a recognized practice of making and keeping peace.

We now put aside discussion of kinship for a while and focus on the second important kind of relationship that obtained among Tahitians, the one comprising membership in *political units*.

At times in the past, when the population of these islands was smaller, it is likely that some of the social units I have labeled kin-congregations were autonomous political units as well, that is, in the case of some of them, the senior kinsman, who was also the unit's secular chief and priest, neither ruled over nor was ruled by the chief of any other kin-congregation. By the time of European contact no one kin-congregation, geographically concentrated or "colonially" dispersed, was politically separate in this way. In fact, even the smallest and most homogeneous

sharp line between middle and lower levels of the society, by marriage or any other criteria, would have failed. Some writers, including some fairly recent ones, have characterized the *manahune* as having been landless, in contrast to the *ra'atira*, and of course, the *arii*; but in my opinion that view is based on an incomplete understanding of Tahitian land tenure. There may have been some families who, as the result of forced expulsion from their own kin-congregation territory and before adoption or marriage into a new one, possessed no effective claims in any land, but that must have been an unusual and in any case temporary state of affairs.

I postpone treatment of the complex and ambiguous topic of other attributes of class status and return for a moment to kinship. First, a look at the way Tahitians categorized consanguines (Fig. 17.8)—in comparison with that of the Tikopians (Fig. 17.4).

Like the Tikopians, the Tahitians used one word (*tupuna*) for all 'grandparents', male and female, lineal and collateral, and one word (*mo'otua*) for all 'grandchildren'. However, unlike the Tikopians, who had separate words for 'father's sister' (*masikitanga*) and for 'mother's brother' (*tuaitina*), the Tahitians used only *metua tame* ('parent male') for father and all male consanguines of his genealogical level, and only *metua vahine* ('parent female') for mother and all female consanguines of her genealogical level. The difference reflects the absence in Tahiti of any

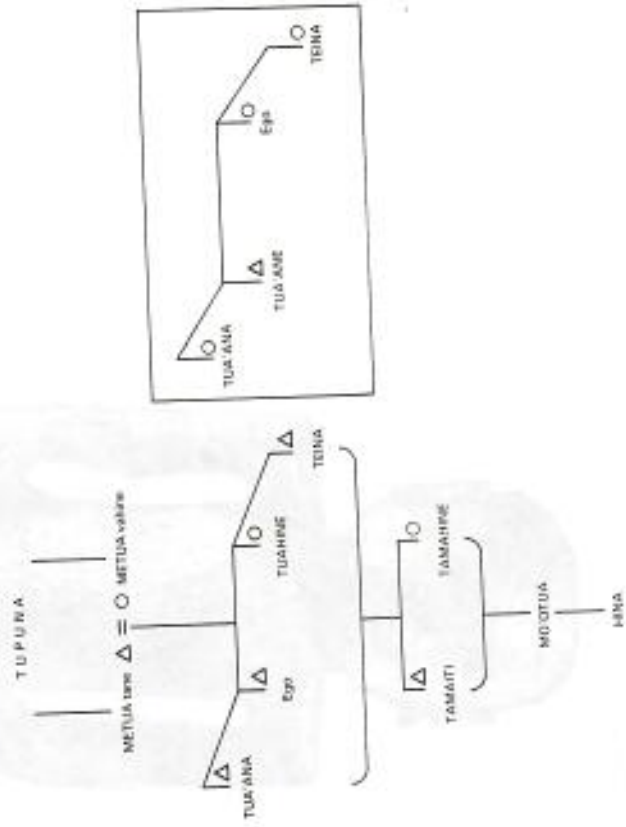


Figure 17.8. Tahitian kinship system

did subsequent offspring. Moreover, these theories led (not entirely logically, by European modes of reasoning) to two eugenical concepts of considerable social import: first, that in the case of parents of different amounts—intensity—of divinity, the offspring of their mating would contain an amount somewhere in between; and second, that in the case of parents of equal amounts, the first (at least) of their offspring would contain not necessarily the sum of the parents' respective divinity but somewhat more than that of either. However, it should be added that these two corollaries of the more basic conception theory were thought about and acted upon only in the case of individuals believed to contain a relatively large amount of divinity. As with Europeans in their concern over the breeding of animals, the Tahitians showed no interest in this aspect of matings between persons with little demonstrable divinity, which of course included most of the populace. But among those with lots of divinity great pains were taken to maintain or increase it: negatively, by interdicting copulation between persons of widely different amounts or by destroying (by abortion or infanticide) the products of such matings; and positively, by encouraging marriages between persons possessing much of it.

As just noted, the Tahitians categorized persons in three (major) social levels. And their enunciated rules for social interaction included many concerning how the members of one class should or could act toward members of the others. Regrettably (for the tidy-minded ethnographer!), individuals did not always follow those rules, and in many reported instances represented themselves to be higher in class-level than some of their contemporaries would concede. But there was one criterion of level that was operationally precise—at least for the higher levels—and that was, *who could marry whom*. Unlike Tikopians, whose upper (of two)-level individuals could and often did marry below themselves (although legend had it that that was not always so), stringent measures were taken in the Society Islands to insure that no upper-class individual would marry someone of a lower class. While most Tahitians were "married" at some time in their lives such unions tended to be formalized, by nuptial ceremonies, only in the case of upper- (and possibly middle-) class persons. In such cases the ceremonies served not only to link the bride and groom together but, perhaps more importantly, to announce acceptance by the families of both of them of the legitimacy of their subsequent offspring.

There are indications that *ra'atira* (i.e., middle-class) parents prohibited or discouraged their offspring, especially their daughters, from marrying *manahune* (i.e., lower-class) persons, but the incidence of such interclass marriages was not reported by the early European visitors (who for the most part focused their interests on persons of "the better class"!). Indeed, it is most likely that any contemporary effort to draw a

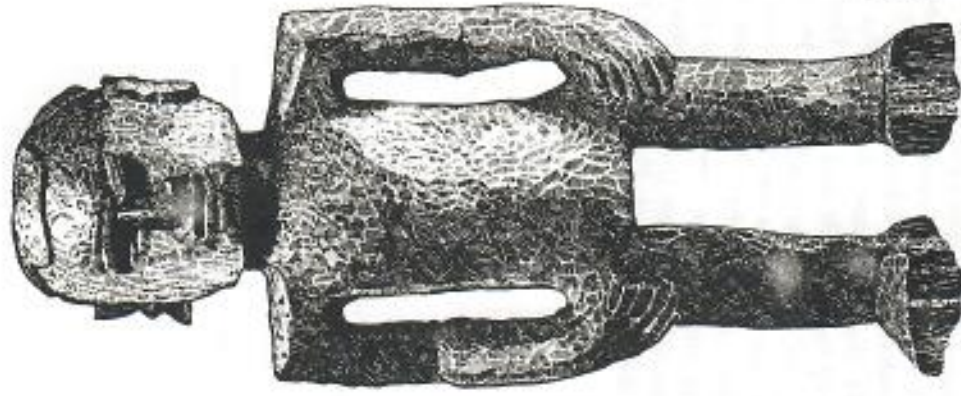


Figure 17.7. Tahiti, wood carving (after Wardwell 1967)

gregation of father, or mother, or both. (Since kin-congregations were not exogamous, it could happen that an individual's kin-Titles from both father and mother could be associated with the same kin-congregation.)

Another feature of kin-Titles was their social importance relative to each other. All of those within each kin-congregation were ranked with each other in terms of ritual rights and duties; and the highest-ranking kin-Titles of any one kin-congregation were also ranked *vis-à-vis* the highest-ranking ones of all others. The ranking within a kin-congregation tended to be agreed upon and fixed, but, needless to say, ranking of them among separate kin-congregations was subject to disagreement, even to the point of large-scale warfare.

What intrigued Europeans most about Tahitian kin-Titles was the timing of their devolution. Unlike most other Polynesian societies with offices of this kind, those of Tahitian society were ceremoniously transferred to their incumbents shortly after the latters' birth—but here a word of caution is required. While the *ritual* rights and duties associated with a kin-Title were indeed passed on at that early time, the *command* rights associated with some of the highest-ranking of them continued to be exercised by the prior incumbent until the successor approached physical maturity. In some cases, the transfer was done so tardily and reluctantly that it led to enmity and warfare between parent and child.

It was noted earlier that some individuals came to have kin-Titles associated with more than one kin-congregation. When that occurred the incumbent would usually reside most of the time in the place where his highest-ranking kin-Title was based, but he paid visits from time to time to the loci of his other kin-Titles as well (where, among other things, his office entitled him to an exclusive stone upright in the local *marae*). Even non-titled individuals were in numerous cases members, by right of birth, in two or more unrelated kin-congregations. Like their titled counterparts they usually resided in only one of them, and if they visited another of them and could prove their membership (say, by citing uncontested genealogical evidence) they would doubtless have been welcomed and permitted use-rights in the local territory. On the other hand, the rights of such individuals were of such little social or economic value that they were probably not often exercised.

And now we will consider another noteworthy feature of Tahitian society related to kin-Titles (and the lack of them) and to other aspects of filiation and descent. I refer here to the society's stratification into *social classes*, the highest of which was exclusive to the point of being a caste.

Tahitians categorized persons into three social classes: *arii*, *ra'atira*, and *manahune*. These words have been translated by many writers in many different ways (e.g., nobility, yeomen, and vassals; chiefs, gentry, and tenants), but to avoid the inappropriate connotations suggested by such words it will be safer to gloss them in more neutral, layer-like terms,

such as 'upper', 'middle', and 'lower' (or perhaps better, to use them as is).

Whether Tahitian ideas about social classes developed out of the people's theories of conception, or vice versa, is of course no longer knowable, but the two kinds of ideas were complementary. The ideas about class held that individuals differed in social value by reason of their birth, and the theory about conception provided a biological-cum-spiritual basis for such a view. That theory, it will be recalled, proposed that one element in a human embryo was a portion of divinity, something that had devolved from its "original" ancestral-spirit parents through all the intermediate ancestral links. The amount (or intensity?) of that divinity diminished somewhat with every successive generation, and in order of birth—that is, a man's (or woman's) first child received more of it than

ivation from and allegiance to the larger unit were concretely symbolized in their own *marae* by means of a "cornerstone" taken from the ancestral one.

As the result of the kinds of processes just described, all of the Society Islands came to be subdivided into a large number of kin-based or kin-centered residential units, large and small, tightly unified or highly differentiated, spatially concentrated or widely dispersed. The Tahitians themselves had no single word for this type of social unit, so I have invented one.¹² I call them *congregations* in acknowledgment of their religious characteristics: whatever else their members did with or to one another, they at least shared certain particular religious allegiances. And I call them *kin-congregations* in order to distinguish them from the society's other types of *congregations*—occupational, cult, and so forth.

It goes without saying that the degree of social coherence in each of the distinct kin-congregations into which Tahitian society was divided varied greatly, according to the size and scatter of each one's subunits, the personality of each one's current senior headman, and other factors. Some of them were solidly unified, others were divided into feuding factions or were parts of larger and antagonistic political units. But before turning to the latter we must take a closer look at one of the special features of several kin-congregations whose members came to dominate the political life of the Society Islands during the era when Europeans arrived there.

A *kin-Title* was a highly valued social asset, conferring prestige and privilege upon its incumbent and, by extension, honor upon the kin-congregation which "contained" it. Some kin-congregations had none, others one or two, still others more. The size of a kin-congregation (and hence its resources, fighting strength, level of internal organization) undoubtedly influenced the number and relative social value of its kin-Titles. Another factor was a kin-congregation's history. Thus, when Europeans first visited Tahiti they came across one kin-congregation there whose membership had nearly died out but whose several kin-Titles, and their associated *marae* (which dated from an illustrious past) were treated with immense social and ritual respect but possessed little or no political significance. Still another factor in the genesis of kin-Titles was more narrowly individual: legends contain several accounts of individuals having been singled out with kin-Titles (which eventually passed to their descendants) by virtue of outstanding qualities of their own, such as warriors, explorers, or benevolent kinsmen.

A kin-Title, once created and bestowed, ordinarily devolved upon the incumbent's firstborn—and usually but not always firstborn male—child. In instances where husband and wife each held a kin-Title (the latter as result, say, of having been an only surviving child), their firstborn would have received both of them. In other words, some individuals came to hold two or more kin-Titles, associated with either the kin-con-

To symbolize their continuing relationship, it was customary for a stone to be removed from the wall of the former and built into the latter. Moreover, the head of the branch (and perhaps other members as well) continued to attend some services at the ancestral *marae*—and to deliver food and other offerings for presenting, by the priest of the latter, to their common tutelary spirits. In addition the headman of the parental—ancestral, senior—branch of the whole expanded neighborhood unit continued to be secular headman (or chief, if the unit were autonomous) of the whole, although his authority over the filial branches was less absolute and direct. Thus, he maintained his power to taboo resources throughout the whole neighborhood territory, provided his actions served the interests of the neighborhood as a whole. And, within similar constraints and acting through "channels," he continued to levy goods and services from all neighborhood residents and may even have intervened occasionally in interbranch conflicts.

An even more significant indication of continuing unity of the whole neighborhood (at this hypothetical stage of its evolution) had to do with its territory. The longer the members of a branch continued to exploit, more or less exclusively, the land nearer their own residences, the stronger became their pre-emptive rights to its use—especially after establishment of their own *marae*. Nevertheless, some of that area's first-fruit harvest continued to be delivered to the ancestral *marae* on occasion. More revealingly, if all the members of a branch were to die out or depart, their portion of land would revert to the neighborhood as a whole and be allocated (by its headman or chief) for use by other branches.

While the developmental model just outlined was posited mainly on relationships of common (though not necessarily unilineal) descent, it must not be imagined that all Tahitian neighborhoods had developed in exactly that way. For example, some of them are likely to have done so by amalgamation of two or more households, or sets of households, that had previously shared few or no common consanguineal ties. Over the course of time, however, such ties would have been certain to arise and increase among them; and in every known case neighborhood units were composed around a core of persons of common descent.

In addition to the process of internal differentiation outlined above, some neighborhoods underwent dispersion and differentiation through "colonial" expansion. That is to say, sometimes one or more members left the home territory permanently and established a new settlement elsewhere, say, by migration into an uninhabited and unclaimed area or by successful conquest. When that occurred and if communication with the homeland could be maintained, the "colonials" typically would have continued to acknowledge their ties with the homeland by occasionally rendering first fruits to the ancestral *marae*. And when possible their der-

The Tahitian language contained generic words for certain kinds of offices—for example, fight-leaders, official-messengers, and several kinds of religious practitioners (see below). Also, some of the larger and socially more important neighborhoods contained—owned—one or more particular offices identified by a particular proper-name label, which I shall call a *kin-Title*. (The word *Title* is capitalized because of its particularity; *kin* is affixed to it because such offices were usually associated with particular family lines and because they normally passed from parent to child.) In the case of some neighborhoods certain of the "generic" offices just mentioned also passed from parent to child, and in some instances the "generic" office of a whole neighborhood—say, that of official-messenger—came to be also known by a particular *kin-Title*, say, "Swift-imparter-of-profound-words." Moreover, all *kin-Titles* seem to have carried specific privileges, and many of them specific duties as well; but it is important to keep in mind that each *kin-Title* was associated with a particular family line in a particular neighborhood and not with neighborhoods as wholes.

Now, having listed the most salient social-structural features of neighborhoods, we can return to our hypothetical example of one of them and trace how it might have changed over time.

Our model neighborhood, consisting of only four households (of father, two married sons, and one married daughter) would have been small and homogeneous in comparison with most others, but will suit our present purposes. In this, its early stage of development, its several households would have gardened and fished together and perhaps gathered breadfruit and coconuts from the same orchards. After a few generations, however, the descendants of each of the four original core families would themselves have proliferated into two or more separate households, with each of the four branches residing in and exploiting separate parts of their common territory. It would have been at about this stage of development that the neighborhood as a unit would have come to be known by a distinctive name (say, Verdant-Valley-People), and the head (or chief) of the whole neighborhood—ideally, the firstborn son of a line of firstborns leading back to the first-stage paterfamilias headman (or chief)—would have become notable enough to adjacent neighborhoods to attain a *kin-Title* (say, The-deep-thinker-of-Verdant-Valley).

If our Verdant-Valley-People had continued to proliferate, the likely next stage in their structural differentiation would have occurred when the residents of each of the separate "filial" multi-household branches built a *marae* of their own (in addition to each household's "domestic" one). In doing so, if the headman of a filial branch had "occupied" a subsidiary stone upright in what had now become the "ancestral" *marae* (*marae tūpuna*) he likely implanted it in the new branch *marae*, where it became the backrest of himself and succeeding officials there. But this did not sever relations between ancestral and branch *marae*; far from it.

As mentioned earlier neighborhood units seem to have differed widely in the kinds and amounts of the energies devoted to secular activities, but they were alike in their members' concepts and practices regarding the ownership of land. Each neighborhood unit, it will be recalled, had proprietary rights to some bounded tract of territory (land only or land and lagoon), and all full members had use-rights to any part of that territory, subject only to its temporary pre-emptive use by another member, or to some temporary prohibition on use imposed by the neighborhood's headman.¹¹ With regard to the latter, it was not only the right but the duty of a neighborhood's headman to impose a *rahui* ('taboo') on any part of its territory when in his judgment that was required for the welfare of the unit as a whole—to prohibit the harvesting of unripe (i.e., drinking) coconuts in anticipation of a food shortage or of a neighborhood-sponsored feast, to forbid fishing for fingerlings, and so forth. (Such was the ideal; it is not unlikely that neighborhood headmen occasionally used these powers for their narrowly individual interests as well.) A neighborhood headman's authority over use of the unit's territory was also manifested in the custom of first-fruit offerings. Thus, it was required of each household head to deliver to the headman, a portion of the first food harvested from his gardens, and of fishermen to do the same with the first of their seasonal catch. Such portions were ideally only token amounts and were intended mainly as offerings through the headman, as neighborhood priest, to the unit's tutelary spirits. (Again, however, it is likely that some neighborhood headmen occasionally abused this custom for selfish purposes.)

In addition it was a headman's prerogative to levy other goods and services from his neighborhood mates for purposes deemed beneficial to the unit as a whole, for example, to build a large guest house, to repair the *marae*, or to fete a visiting headman or chief. And it was within the powers ascribed to a headman that he could inflict punishment upon individuals who disobeyed his orders or who disturbed neighborhood peace. However, in exercising these and other powers it seems to have been generally expected that a headman of a neighborhood should do so with moderation. Unlike the heads or chiefs of larger political units, who were quite often despotic in their rule, those of neighborhoods were expected to treat their subjects in the manner of kinsmen (which to most of their subjects they usually were).

In many neighborhoods there were other officials to assist the headman in his secular and religious duties. In some cases these were appointed by the latter from among his close kinsmen, typically his own sons or brothers or nephews. As neighborhoods increased in size, however, some of these offices became identified with—that is, the prerogative of—family lines other than the headman's. Mention of "offices" leads us to examine the subject of Titleholding, an important structural feature of the society as a whole.

To symbolize their continuing relationship, it was customary for a stone to be removed from the wall of the former and built into the latter. Moreover, the head of the branch (and perhaps other members as well) continued to attend some services at the ancestral *marae*—and to deliver food and other offerings for presenting, by the priest of the latter, to their common tutelary spirits. In addition the headman of the parental—ancestral, senior—branch of the whole expanded neighborhood unit continued to be secular headman (or chief, if the unit were autonomous) of the whole, although his authority over the filial branches was less absolute and direct. Thus, he maintained his power to taboo resources throughout the whole neighborhood territory, provided his actions served the interests of the neighborhood as a whole. And, within similar constraints and acting through “channels,” he continued to levy goods and services from all neighborhood residents and may even have intervened occasionally in interbranch conflicts.

An even more significant indication of continuing unity of the whole neighborhood (at this hypothetical stage of its evolution) had to do with its territory. The longer the members of a branch continued to exploit, more or less exclusively, the land nearer their own residences, the stronger became their pre-emptive rights to its use—especially after establishment of their own *marae*. Nevertheless, some of that area's first-fruit harvest continued to be delivered to the ancestral *marae* on occasion. More revealingly, if all the members of a branch were to die out or depart, their portion of land would revert to the neighborhood as a whole and be allocated (by its headman or chief) for use by other branches.

While the developmental model just outlined was posited mainly on relationships of common (though not necessarily unilineal) descent, it must not be imagined that all Tahitian neighborhoods had developed in exactly that way. For example, some of them are likely to have done so by amalgamation of two or more households, or sets of households, that had previously shared few or no common consanguineal ties. Over the course of time, however, such ties would have been certain to arise and increase among them; and in every known case neighborhood units were composed around a core of persons of common descent.

In addition to the process of internal differentiation outlined above, some neighborhoods underwent dispersion and differentiation through “colonial” expansion. That is to say, sometimes one or more members left the home territory permanently and established a new settlement elsewhere, say, by migration into an uninhabited and unclaimed area or by successful conquest. When that occurred and if communication with the homeland could be maintained, the “colonials” typically would have continued to acknowledge their ties with the homeland by occasionally rendering first fruits to the ancestral *marae*. And when possible their der-

ivation from and allegiance to the larger unit were concretely symbolized in their own *marae* by means of a “cornerstone” taken from the ancestral one.

As the result of the kinds of processes just described, all of the Society Islands came to be subdivided into a large number of kin-based or kin-centered residential units, large and small, tightly unified or highly differentiated, spatially concentrated or widely dispersed. The Tahitians themselves had no single word for this type of social unit, so I have invented one.¹² I call them *congregations* in acknowledgment of their religious characteristics: whatever else their members did with or to one another, they at least shared certain particular religious allegiances. And I call them *kin-congregations* in order to distinguish them from the society's other types of *congregations*—occupational, cult, and so forth.

It goes without saying that the degree of social coherence in each of the distinct kin-congregations into which Tahitian society was divided varied greatly, according to the size and scatter of each one's subunits, the personality of each one's current senior headman, and other factors. Some of them were solidly unified, others were divided into feuding factions or were parts of larger and antagonistic political units. But before turning to the latter we must take a closer look at one of the special features of several kin-congregations whose members came to dominate the political life of the Society Islands during the era when Europeans arrived there.

A *kin-Title* was a highly valued social asset, conferring prestige and privilege upon its incumbent and, by extension, honor upon the kin-congregation which “contained” it. Some kin-congregations had none, others one or two, still others more. The size of a kin-congregation (and hence its resources, fighting strength, level of internal organization) undoubtedly influenced the number and relative social value of its *kin-Titles*. Another factor was a kin-congregation's history. Thus, when Europeans first visited Tahiti they came across one kin-congregation there whose membership had nearly died out but whose several *kin-Titles*, and their associated *marae* (which dated from an illustrious past) were treated with immense social and ritual respect but possessed little or no political significance. Still another factor in the genesis of *kin-Titles* was more narrowly individual: legends contain several accounts of individuals having been singled out with *kin-Titles* (which eventually passed to their descendants) by virtue of outstanding qualities of their own, such as warriors, explorers, or benevolent kinsmen.

A *kin-Title*, once created and bestowed, ordinarily devolved upon the incumbent's firstborn—and usually but not always firstborn male—child. In instances where husband and wife each held a *kin-Title* (the latter as result, say, of having been an only surviving child), their firstborn would have received both of them. In other words, some individuals came to hold two or more *kin-Titles*, associated with either the kin-con-

to older over younger siblings. In addition, there were many societies in Polynesia in which the legitimate authorities ascribed to, say, parents or older siblings within individual family units were extended to relationships between families and larger kin units as well. Thus, in Tikopia the head of a *paito* was usually the eldest male of the family descended from the eldest son of the *paito's* founder. A similar kind of arrangement prevailed among the several *paito* making up a *kainanga*, one having been considered senior to all others by virtue of descent, through a line of eldest sons, from the *kainanga's* putative founder. Moreover, it was the ideal (though not always the practice) for *kainanga* chieftainship to remain within that senior *paito*—specifically, for the previous chief to be succeeded by his eldest son. (By contrast, in Murrigin society, an older sibling's authority over his juniors, such as it was, did not carry over into relations among their respective families; nor were any of the various kinds of descent units of Murrigin society interrelated in a hierarchical manner.)

Tikopia's four *kainanga* were also interrelated hierarchically, but not in a thoroughgoing genealogical way. Although the chieftainship of the one called Kafika had some rights (and duties) superior to those of the other three, these had to do mainly with religious worship, and were accounted for only partly in terms of genealogical seniority.

On the other hand, while the principle of social hierarchy did not differentiate *kainanga* as whole units, it did serve to separate all of the society's *paito* units into two major social strata, or *classes*: 'chiefly' (*paito ariki*) and 'commoner' (*paito fakarota*). Differences between the two classes were based on seniority and had mainly to do with authority. Both commoner and chiefly *paito* owned estates, and their members intermarried, but, in Firth's words, "A person of a chiefly family, particularly if closely related to the chief himself, is more apt to give than to receive orders." And, ". . . if a commoner strikes a member of a chiefly family, he will probably have to expiate his offence by going off to sea; the reverse can occur with impunity" (1957: 358). As we shall see, this is far shallower than the gulfs that separated similarly based social strata in some other Polynesian societies; but it is totally different from any kind of social distinction that prevailed in Australian societies.

Society Islands

For another exemplar of Polynesian societies we turn to that of the Society Islands some 2,800 miles southeast of Tikopia and structurally dissimilar from the latter's society not only in scale and complexity but in descent-unit composition as well.

Tahiti is the largest of the chain of islands that Europeans have named the Society Islands and that are spread out for about 770 miles along a

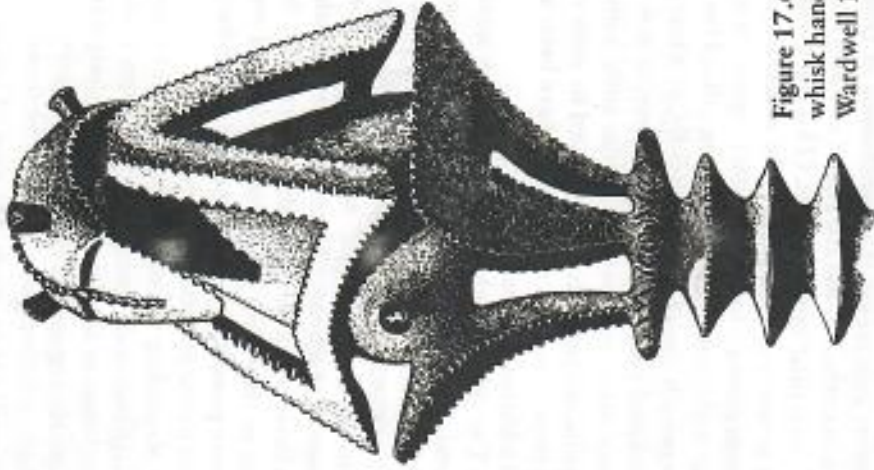


Figure 17.6. Tahiti, fly whisk handle (after Wardwell 1967)

northwest to southeast axis. At the time of their discovery by Europeans, in 1767, the 45,000 or so inhabitants of the archipelago spoke the same language and resembled one another closely in most other cultural respects as well.⁹ While the inhabitants were separated into a number of distinct (and sometimes interwarring) political units there was much coming and going among these islands, and, in the case of some upper-class families, ties of kinship extended from one end of the chain to the other. In keeping with current practice I shall refer to all the Society Islanders (and to their language and traditional culture) as Tahitian, but reserve the word *Tahiti* for the one island of that name.

The households (*utuafare*) of the Tahitians were typically large (in comparison, say, with those of Tikopia). In most cases a household's buildings included a sleeping house (where all members slept), a cook-house, a small temple (*marae*), and in some cases a canoe shed. Most such homesteads were surrounded by groves and small gardens, and were separated from each other by 50 yards or more—in many cases,

located at a considerable distance from each other they were nevertheless clustered, geographically and socially, into *neighborhoods*, of from two to about twenty households each. The composition of neighborhoods varied fairly widely in terms of the kinds of kinship and other social ties among its residents. They also varied in terms of their residents' secular collective activities—some having fished or gardened or built things as a whole neighborhood unit, others having done such things as separate households. But whatever else their residents did or did not do together, each neighborhood appears to have had its own *marae*, where certain of its members interacted with tutelar spirits on behalf of the neighborhood as a whole. Associated with each neighborhood *marae* was a bounded territory that was usable by any and all full members of the neighborhood.

"Full" membership in a neighborhood could be obtained by birth from or marriage to or formal adoption by a full member, male or female. Moreover, there are grounds for believing that persons could become members even without prior kin ties or formal adoption, provided that they were personally acceptable to a neighborhood's leaders and had indicated the intention of remaining there a long time. There is some evidence for concluding that membership was even registered symbolically, by bestowal upon each newly joined member (whether by birth or marriage or adoption) a special *marae*-name (of which each neighborhood *marae* had a large collection), which served thereafter as proof of membership, and which conferred entitlement to use of the territory associated with the *marae*.

However, along with these fairly flexible criteria of membership, each neighborhood seems to have been composed around a nucleus of persons who shared common descent. Perhaps the clearest way to epitomize Tahitian *neighborhoods* would be to present a hypothetical (but plausible) reconstruction of the developmental history of an imaginary (but credible) example of them. For our example let us consider a small and politically autonomous neighborhood consisting of an elderly man (and his wife and unmarried children) residing in one household and his two married sons and one married daughter, each residing in his (or her) own household with his (or her) spouse and children. (As noted earlier, there was a preference for virilocality but not a hard and fast rule.) Nearby their residences would have been their common *marae*, and surrounding all these would have been a tract of land (and probably the lagoon fronting it) identified exclusively with the neighborhood as a whole and exploited by all its households without regard to internal boundaries.

The *marae* of this whole neighborhood may have been an enlargement of the one originally associated with the household of the elder paterfamilias, or a new one constructed to accommodate the larger congregation it must now serve. In either case its architecture would have become

more complex than the single-household one mentioned earlier. The stone upright that served as a station for visiting spirits would have been expanded to become a small stone platform, an *ahu*, and a separate altar would have been added for food offerings to the spirits. In front of the *ahu* would have been implanted one or more stone pillars next to which the neighborhood's priestly officiant(s) stood while they conversed with the visiting spirits. In back of these there would have been a large cleared space where other members of the neighborhood sat during religious services. Some neighborhood *marae* were also circumscribed by stone walls, and/or paved throughout with flagstones or rubble, but these were merely supplementary to the ubiquitous functional features—an *ahu*, offerings' altar, priests' pillars, and ordinary members' space. The principal officiant in a congregation of this nature would have doubtless been the aforesaid paterfamilias, whose role would have included not only authority over the secular affairs of the neighborhood, especially in matters concerning the distribution of land-use-rights among the separate households, but the right (and duty) to represent the neighborhood vis-à-vis their tutelar spirits. (This right would have been his by virtue of his seniority of birth; that is, he would have been most closely akin to the congregation's tutelar ancestral spirits in terms of primogeniture filiation and descent.) When such an official became too decrepit to carry out his priestly duties single-handedly, or when a neighborhood congregation increased considerably in numbers, it was common practice for one or more other men—typically, the elder sons or younger brothers of the headman-priest—to be appointed to assist in clerical duties, and for each of these assistants there would have been added a station in the form of an additional stone upright.

The other neighborhood members attending services in a neighborhood *marae* would have included any and all post-childhood males. Unlike household *marae*, which were accessible to all members of the proprietary household, females and younger males were denied entry into the more "public" neighborhood *marae*—except perhaps on occasions of marriage. (As noted earlier, females and very young males were believed to be dangerously vulnerable to the influences emitted by spirits not of their own household circle, and men's communications with the more powerful, and hence more dangerous, spirits were rendered ineffective by the presence of females.)

Regarding the stone uprights just mentioned, in the *marae* of smaller neighborhoods there were only a few of them and they served mainly as backrests or leaning posts for the congregations' principal officials while actively engaged in their clerical duties. But in the *marae* of large neighborhoods there were often to be found stone uprights for other persons as well, for example, for men of social importance other than clerical, and for the ghosts of former neighborhood headmen.