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TABIA-NOHO-UU

(From Atuaona, Hivaona)

Te mea o te ahana, Tuapu. Hina-te-ii te mea o te vehine. Ua tupu te tama e tou matua, na se te ahana, me te tou e tou vehine hon. (Aoe he mea o te nei vehine.) Te vehine kapu tama, i fanau he moe, Tabia-noho-uua te inoa. Ua ke i te na moe. To ia tino kaka pao 'ua, to ia miori i kaka, to ia tutae kaka. Te kei tina o te nei moe, te tau toki e kamo ia ia. Te nei tau toki a kave te teao meitai no hua moe io titahi matainana. Te ono tina o te matainana i te nei tau teka meitai ma uua o hua moe, me te ono te motua, o Tuapu, ua tibe to ia maimai ia ia.

I mui 'ho ua fiti ia ia tihi i hua moe po. Oue mui te fetua, pua'ua te tau ahana ua fiti i te kai inai no te kapua-pahui, tuku; te tau kopa ua inai io te tau kava i te au ihu. E tou po te poi mei i hua o te kapua. Te fiti tina te poi oko io te kapua, ua fiti me te kui, me te tumane, o Nana, o Tikane. Te ono tina Tuapu, ua nao te kui me na tumane, ua tibe te motua io te moe. Ua ite te moe he enata te nei, aoe vivo te nei moe te motua no ia te a. Ua tute hua moe, aoe hana ke ia tibe io ia. Ua mano te motua te moe.

Ua io te fae. Te timata tina, te vahana ma uua, e tahi, e ua, ua taki. Ua piki te moe i uua, ua te mea te ahana te peau ia ia. A tahi a too te motua na na maio tu ia moe, me te haka te hana iaia. E tou hupai tina, u haka ea. U peau te moe, a piko taua. E tou papi, u haka ea. U maaka to moe, e tou hana ke te nei. No te hana e fa, peau te motua i te moe, "A tu taua". E tou papi me te haka ea. "Au hana nana", te peau te motua. U peau te moe, "Peha?" U peau te motua, "Pee nei", me te hana e tou papi, me te haka ea. Peau te motua, "Te nei, a patu hope", me te hana, e tou papi me te haka ea. Te pao tina, e fitu. Te mea te fitu, peau te motua, "A kaka-pee taua". Ua hana. A tahi a pupuhi te motua. Ua hana me te pao. Ua hee te motua.

The name of the husband was Tuapu, Hina-te-ii was the name of the woman. The child had grown in the womb three months, when the husband went away and took a new woman. (This woman is not named). The woman with child, a daughter was born to her, Tabia-noho-uua by name. That girl grew. Her body was sweet scented entirely, even her urine was sweet scented, her excrement was sweet scented. As this girl grew the boys sought her favors. These boys carried the good word concerning the girl to another tribe. When the people had heard this good word about this girl, the father, Tuapu [who did not know it was his daughter] also heard, and desire came upon him.

Afterwards he went up to look at her. There was great famine in the land, and all the men had gone up on the mountain ridges seeking food—yams and tree fern; the old men were gathering *ihu* leaves in the valleys. In three nights the people would return from the mountains. When the vigorous men went up the mountains, the girl's mother and her brothers, Nana and Tikane, went up also. When Tuapu heard this, that the mother and brothers had gone, he came to the girl's house. The girl looked at the man but she had no idea it was her father. She thought nothing unusual was going to happen to her. The father took the girl to him.

(The mother having returned is told of her daughter's intercourse with the man, whom she recognizes from the description to be the girl's father.)

Hee to te motua, na tibe te kui me na tunane. Peau te moi no te kui, "Me mai nei euaa tena o nei me io (?). Mea hui ke ta ia iha hana". Peau te kui, "Pehea?" Peau te moi, "To ana mau au, e, na papi. Peau i au, 'A piki ma ana, na piki au i ana, na hana, e, na papi. Me te peau mai, 'A piko', na hana, e, na papi. Me te peau 'A tu', na hana, e, na papi. Me te peau, 'Pau hope', na hana, e, na papi. Me te peau, 'Au hana maua', na, hana, e, na papi. Me te peau, 'Kakaapee', na hana. Me te hana pao".

A tahi a peau te kui, "Moe na, kaeu, oho tea!! Me te too te kui to ia kahui, me te hee te vai kaukau. Ua pao te vai te kaukau, tapi hua vehine to ia kahui, te kaka to te kaka, totoo pioo, me te pae kau, parahina, tahii ke ana 'tu. Ua hee hua vehine, me te hee ia ia titahi vahana too tuia. Me te taana, "Tuia, he tuia"! To ia vahana o mau na oho te eo o te vehine taana ana 'tu ia ia. E tibe io te vahana hou, a tahi u maki hua vahana o mau ia hua vehine. Me te avei ana ma hua nui, ua toi hua vahana ia hua vehine, peke te vehine, me te paba to ia vahana o mau, "Moe na, kaeu, houpan!! Umaha mau ai me ta tana moi?" Peau te motua, "Pa, pa, pa!" Me te peau te vehine, "Umoi too mai i au", me te hee ia ia, io te vahana hou. Ua kio te vahana o mau, me te too te vehine te vahana hou, me te fiti io to ana fae. Te fiti tina ana io te fae, ua ite te moi ia ana, metao te moi, na ia te vahana. Peau te kui to ia moi, "Eia to e motua." Ua hakaia te moi.

Te nu tina ana io to ana poto, ua hana to ana hana hua mau po, ua koe. Te tibe te tau-ensata, ta ana hana te momoe ana iho. I oto te fae te vehine, aoe tibe te hee i vaho. Toko ima atou i oto o te fae. E tahi hope fae te kui me te motua, titahi hope fae te moi me na tunane kui.

Hua moi, aoe he kai, he metani to ia

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The mother said to the girl, "You sleeping mat, you loin cloth, you diseased head!!" And the mother took her robe, and went to bathe. When she was finished bathing, this woman put on her robe, put a sweet smelling wreath on her neck, took her ceremonial staff, and her tortoise-shell crown, her ornament of white hair, and her fan different from all others. This woman departed, and went to her affianced husband. And she cried out loudly, "Tuia (affianced), he tuia!" Her former husband heard the voice of his woman, crying out to him. When she arrived at the house of the recent husband, he desired her. He pursued her far, and when he came up with her, he drew near to her, and she became very angry, and insulted her former husband, "You sleeping mat, you woman's loin cloth, you stench!! What do you mean by lying with our daughter?" The father said, "Tut, tut, tut!" And the woman said, "Don't talk back at me," and she went after him, after her recent husband. The husband fled before her, and the woman took after him, and she caught her recent husband, and they went back up to their house. When they came up to the house the girl saw them and was afraid for she knew this was her man. The mother said to her daughter, "Here is your father." The girl was ashamed.

They two (man and wife) went into their room. They did their work during those days, and stopped. When men would arrive at the house, their work was simply sleeping (they would find them all asleep). The woman (girl) was in the house, and never came out. One half of the house was occupied by the mother and the father the other half by the girl and her mother's brothers.

Now this girl had no food. The wind

kai. Te ono tina te kii, na moe te moe me to ia motua, haa tapu ia i te tibe te tau enata no to ia moe haka na.

Titahi po peau hua moe no Nana, "E koo, e Nana, me i nei taua." Peau Nana "Umo, tu u pahoe, toka na nana nei, eia u me tu u teina." Peau haka na hua moe, "E, hua, nana vaevae ana iho te tau ana au na ana no oe." Peau Nana, "Umo."

Titahi po na hua pe hua moe titahi motua, O Tikane, me te peau ia ia hua tau teao teao nei ia Nana. Peau Tikane haka na, "Umo, me te mea u toka oe te haa pe iho, eia au mo tu u teina." Ohia aoe fati na motua, na koe to ia hua pe ia ana.

Ia pei te aa mi no te hakaiki Tu-Tona no te hee i Nukuhiva. Te hana no na motua no hua moe, e imi vifui i Hivaona nei titahi vahana poea no ia. Aoe he mea kama, aoe he enata meitai e he tii. Peau hua moe i to ia man motua, "Mea meitai oia titahi e hee i Nukuhiva, e imi titahi vahana poea no u." Peau hua man motua, "E, e." Peau te moe i na motua "Haa pepei tu u haina kaka, faa kua, nipa, monoa kaa pu, tise maibatohi, mahopoa, te ena." Peau te moe, "Piki mai me e au ehi." Peau te moe na motua "A van mea meitai te hubun titahi ehi me te nei haina kaka." Ua tau nei na motua ia hua moe hana tia ia ia e tali haina kaka e tali hei, titahi haina kaka titahi hei ahi ana'u, e tibe te pao na hua tau kaka. Me te tau i oto titahi hua, me te tifa man tia hua hoo. Peau hua moe ia Tikane, "A haa tata mai oe. Peau oe ia Nana, a too te na ehi, te ehi aoe van a." Ua too Nana te ehi. Me te peau hua moe ia Nana, "A vahi te ehi na ana te upoko ia Tikane." Ua man Nana hua ehi, a tali, a na pehi tii na ana te upoko o Tikane, te ehi a'e poha. Manai te upoko ia Tikane. A tali peau Tikane ia Nana, "Mea meitai na u hua poha te na ehi na ana to 'e upoko." Ua io te ehi i oto he hua o Tikane, me te pehi me hua ehi ia te upoko o Nana. Me te paha te ehi. Te poha tii hua ehi, na too hua moe e tali vahana, me te haa tita me to ia kil. Ohia ua vivo ia me to ia kil me hua ehi hua maia ia ana, peau ia ia na motua, "Te vahana mehe ehi nei te maia, oia tu u vahana." Peau na motua, "E, e."

only was her food. When the mother had heard that the daughter had lain with her father, she forbade the coming of any man again to her daughter.

The chief Tu-Tona was preparing for a voyage to Nukuhiva. The business of the uncles of the girl was searching all round Hivaona for a handsome husband for her. Not a thing did they find, not a good man did they see. This girl then said to her uncles, "It would be well if you two would go to Nukuhiva and find a good looking husband for me." Her uncles replied, "Yes, Yes." The girl said to her uncles, "Prepare sweet scented things for me, red pandanus seed, phosphorescent fern (?fungus) that smells sweet, *pa* stem, gardenia, *mahutahi* and *mahopoa* leaves, wild ginger." Then she said, "Climb up and get me two coconuts." Then the girl said to the uncles, "Scrape well the meat of one coconut and put it with the sweet scented things." The uncles set themselves to obtain these sweet scented things for the girl, sweet smelling necklaces of one kind and another, until they had brought together every kind of scented thing there was. They put them inside a vessel and covered it over well. The girl then said to Tikane, "Come here. Go and tell Nana to take that coconut that is not scraped." Nana took the coconut. Then the girl said to Nana, "Split the nut on Tikane's head." So Nana seized the nut; once, two times he struck it on the head of Tikane, but the nut did not break. But Tikane's head ached! Then Tikane said to Nana, "It will be a good thing for me to break this on your head." The coconut passed into Tikane's hands, and he struck it on the head of Nana. And the nut broke. When they had broken it, the girl took one half and put it against her skin. When she observed that in whiteness her skin was like that

Ua pei te haina pao'ia. Me te hee na motua io te hakaiki Tu-Tona. Me te peau ana i te hakaiki, "Mea meitai maha titahi te hee i Nukuhiva." Peau Tu-Tona, "E, e." Peau, "Haa pepei ta ona haina." Peau Nana me Tikane "Pepei to maha haina." Me te peau, "E, aha te po ta tatou vaa nui?" Peau Tu-Tona, "O Hotu-nui te po." Ua hua na motua io te fae io te mo'i, me te peau ia ia, "Ua maimai ta maha vaa nui te hakaiki." Ua kookoa te mo'i.

Te tibe na o hua po, o Hotu-nui, ua hee Nana me Tikane io Tu-Tona. Ua kua ia ana e fitu tekau enata io hua hakaiki, te poi te a te hee me te hakaiki i Nukuhiva. Vaa nui ke to te hakaiki, vaa nui ke to Nana me Tikane. A te po o Hotu-nui ua hee te vaka, me te tau te ka moana. Te hee tina te vaka hua ahi-ahi, menimo te tai na oto. Te maha o hua mo'i, ua tike titahi metani oko, e tahi ana iho po ua tau hua vaka i Nukuhiva.

E tibe te ono i Nukuhiva, "Eia te vaka mairihi, e fitu tekau me na enata ke ma ana"; me te ono, "No te hakaiki, o Tu-Tona mei Hivaoa," kookoa to hakaiki i Nukuhiva me to ia mataimaha. Ua tau te kai, ua tau te pua, ua tau te poke, ua tau te popoi—pao 'tu na haka 'tu kai. A tahi ua hee te kece i te hakaiki me to ia mataimaha. Me te hee atou pao 'tu io te hakaiki Nukuhiva. Ua kai atou te kai io hua hakaiki.

Metao ke ana 'tu ia Nana me Tikane. Te ana hana tihi te enata kii maha. Aoe he mea i te a. Tu-Tona me te na poi e tahi iae te hiamoe, tu atou hana eeka i na kai. Te kai koina ana 'tu te a, no te mea tiai ana 'tu atou te koina nui.

of the flesh of the coconut, she said to her uncles, "The half like this coconut in whiteness, that is my half." (When you find a man with skin as white as this coconut, that is my mate). The uncles replied, "Yes, yes." (A play on the word *rahana* which means "half of a thing" and "husband".)

Everything was ready. The uncles went to the chief, Tu-Tona. They said to the chief, "It would be well if we went along with you to Nukuhiva." Tu-Tona replied, "Yes, yes." Then he said, "Make ready your things." Nana and Tikane replied, "Our things are all ready." Then they asked, "What night is it we start on this voyage?" Said Tu-Tona, "Hotu-nui [the fifteenth night of the moon] is the night." The uncles returned to the house of the girl, and said to her, "The chief wants us to go with him." The girl was pleased.

When that night came, that is Hotu-nui, Nana and Tikane went to Tu-Tona's. There gathered with them seven twenties of men at the chief's house, the people who were to accompany the chief to Nukuhiva. The chief had one reason for going on this voyage, Nana and Tikane had another. In the night of Hotu-nui the canoe set out and the mat sail was put up. As the canoe put out that evening the sea was calm. But the mana of that girl raised a strong wind, so that in a single night that canoe had arrived at Nukuhiva.

Then the report came in Nukuhiva, "Here is a strange canoe, with seven twenties of men on board"; and the report, "It belongs to the chief, Tu-Tona, from Hivaoa." The chief at Nukuhiva was pleased, and his people too. They cooked food, they cooked pig, they cooked *poke*, they cooked popoi—all kinds of food. Then the invitation went to the chief and his people. So they all went to the place of the chief at Nukuhiva. They feasted on the food at this chief's.

Nana and Tikane always had another thought on their minds. Their work was looking for a man with white skin. Not one did they see. Tu-Tona and his people were all sleeping together in one house; but some of them kept amusing themselves with the food. That was festival food, for they were making a great feast.

Te poi i Nukuhiva eeka te patu ta atou tiki. Ua Taa te poi, ua tubi po te tiki. Haa poi, tubi te tiki te poi patu a te tiki. Ua hee atou te vai kankau te tou te mou. Tu Nana me Tikane tioti ana tu to ana hana. Te poi kankau te vai, oi poku te poi kankau vai. A'e ite ana timhi nia. Ua tata te maansa, ua ono ana tilahi poku. Me te hee ana tioti. A tahi ua ite te nia, a tahi ua ite te enata poa. Peau Tikane a Nana, "A hano oe te hua me te chi." Ua hano Nana. Ua tise Nana me hua hana, me te hee ana io hua enata poa. A tahi peau hua enata poa, "O ai oua?" "Maua te nei mau enata nei Hivaoa." Peau hua poa, "No te aha oua?" Peau Nana me Tikane, "Hee mai maua tioti ia oe, a tahi nei ua ite maua te enata poa." Peau Nana ia Tikane, "Haa tata mai." A tahi ua tao Nana te chi, me te pehi ma ua te upoko o Tikane, e ua pehi na, aoe pohu te chi. Haa enata poa u tioti to ana hana, matao ia me titahi lea to ana hana, matao ia me titahi lea poehoo u pohu te chi. Mankau ia, "E na tuavae oti na enata nei." Mainsi hoi te upoko o Tikane. Me te ekata te poa. Me te peau Tikane ia Nana, "Mea meitai na u te hua pohu te na chi ma ua te oe upoko." Ua io te chi ia Tikane me te pehi me hua chi to upoko o Nana. U pohu te chi. Te tapi tina hua chi me te kai o hua poa, hua haka tu te maia.

A tahi peau te poa, "E aha te nei haka tu?" A tahi peau Nana me Tikane, "Oia nei te haka tu ta oe vehine." Ua ite hua poa, vehine poou oko. Me te peau hua poa, "Na u te nei vehine, e na koo."

A tahi pepeu Nana me Tikane te hua kakaa. Te pepeu tina hua hua, vihu Nukuhiva ua io te kakaa. Ma mau i Nukuhiva aoe he kakaa, aoe he tupu. Mei te pepeu tina hua hua e topa oti te tau kakaa kakaa, mei eia oti tupu ai te kakaa i Nukuhiva.

The Nukuhiva people were enjoying themselves being tattooed. Taa was the night for the showing of the tattoo designs. They went to bathe at the third crowing of the cock. Nana and Tikane were watching them all the time. As they bathed, the people made the sound of the *poko*. [Holding the left elbow crooked against the side, and clapping the right hand upon the cavity thus made.] But they did not see any lightning (light skinned youth). As dawn was approaching they heard another *poko*. So they went to have a look. Then they saw lightning, a handsome young man! Tikane said to Nana, "Go and get the gourd with the coconut in it." Nana got it. He came with this thing, and the two of them went to this youth's. Then said this handsome youth, "Who are you two?" "We are a couple of the men from Hivaoa." The youth then asked, "What are you after?" Nana and Tikane replied, "We came hither to look at you, and when we saw you we recognized you as a handsome youth." Then Nana said to Tikane "Come here." Nana then took the coconut, and struck it on the head of Tikane, twice he struck it, but the coconut did not break. When the youth perceived what they were doing, he thought that the nut could be broken quickly with a stone. He thought to himself, "These must be a couple of fools". Sick indeed was Tikane's head! And the youth laughed. Then Tikane said to Nana, "It will be well now if I try breaking it on your head." So the nut passed into the hands of Tikane, and he struck it on Nana's head. The nut broke. When the white meat was put next the skin of the youth, just alike were the two in whiteness.

Then the youth asked, "What of it, this similarity?" Then Nana and Tikane said, "This is the likeness of your woman." The youth perceived that this was a very beautiful woman, so he said, "That is my woman, old fellows."

Then Nana and Tikane opened the vessel filled with perfumes. As it was opened, the sweet smelling things spread all about Nukuhiva. Heretofore there had been at Nukuhiva no sweet odors, none grew there. From the opening of this vessel perhaps seeds of sweet smelling plants fell, and since that time these perfumed plants have grown in Nukuhiva.

Ua io hua hua ia hua poea. Te poi nei Hivaona nei ua honi te kakaa. Te honi tina Tu-Tona te kakaa, peau ia Tikane me Namu, "Te nei haina no Tahia-noho-ua?" Peau ana, "E, e." A tahi testao te hakaiki o Hivaona me Nukuhiva. Peau te hakaiki Nukuhiva, "A tahi nei ua ite te kakaa kaakaa. Te fae e noho nei te manihii, pa oto tia me titahi tapa enata e tahi pa oto too tahi hua enata poea, titahi pa oto te poi manihii."

Te popoui, hua poi manihii ua uhi te hami, me te hee te koina tihi, no te tohua. E tahi nei te paha, pae nei te pae, e haka nei te haka. Te hee tina te manihii tihi te poi koina, Tikane me Namu me hua enata poea noho ana 'tu io to atou pa oto, eeka ia atou tapi. Te motua me te kui no hua enata poea nei tihi io te koina te ana tama, aoe iite a, aoe tibe vave. Te tibe can a tou too tou, o Tikane me Namu me hua enata poea. U tihi te koina tihi te poi ia ia mehe ua, poea oko, kaakaa oko, to ia tapi kaakaa ana 'tu. E tibe mei i ana i ao to ia pii na i to be tohua, ua haka ea te tahi te tau paha, haka ea pao 'tu te poi koi na, ta atou hana mahao ana 'tu te nei poea. Hivanao te tau vehine te nei poea. E ua ana iho haka tina, e tahi keke tohua me titahi keke tohua o hua poea.

Peau Namu me Tikane, "A pei tatou." Te fiti tina hua poea, ua koe te ii te poi koi na: "Ua ee te poea, o ai te tihi atu?" Me te haka ea te koi na. Ua hee te matacinana kai te kai. Ohia Namu me Tikane mau enata mana ua tuu ana titahi metani oko, o Tokoa. Peau te hakaiki no Hivaona o Tu-Tona, "Te metani nei, metani metani no te hee Hivaona; ua fahi a Tia." Peau te matacinana te hakaiki Tu-Tona, "A pei tatou, metani metani." U peau te hakaiki, "A pei ana iho, ua kee pao 'tu te kai. Te popoui ua fiti atu tatou."

Eia Namu me Tikane haa pepei nei te haina no hua poea. Mankau ke te matacinana o Tutona, maakau ke to Namu me Tikane, hana ke to ana. Te po, e

The vessel was given to the handsome youth. The people from Hivaona smelt the perfume. When Tu-Tona smelt it, he asked of Namu and Tikane, "Does that thing belong to Tahia-noho-ua?" They replied, "Yes, yes." Then the chiefs of Hivaona and Nukuhiva chatted together. The Nukuhiva chief said, "Now we know what a lovely odor it is. This dwelling where the strangers are staying is to be divided by means of a piece of tapa, and one half of it is to be for the use of this youth, while the other room will be for the strangers."

In the morning the visitors put on their loin cloths and went to see the feast which was at the dance area. The drums were sounding, they were singing the *pae* chant, dancing the *haka*. When the visitors were gone to see the feast, Tikane and Namu and this handsome youth were still in their room occupied in bedecking themselves. The father and the mother of the youth had come to the feast to see their son, but he was not to be seen, he did not come right away. Then the three of them arrived, Tikane and Namu and this beau, everybody at the feast saw him, he was like lightning, very handsome, very sweetly perfumed, his dress scented throughout. They came from above and below when he came upon the dance floor, the sound of the drums ceased, all the festive folk stopped still, doing nothing but marvelling at this lovely youth. The women desired him ardently. Just two *haka* did this beau dance, one along one side of the dancing-floor, one along the other side.

Namu and Tikane said, "Let's get ready." When the youth had gone, the vim of the festive folk was gone; they said, "The beau has fled, who else is there to look at?" So the tribesmen went to eat the feast. By means of their powerful mana Namu and Tikane produced a great wind, the West Wind. The Hivaona chief, Tu-Tona, said, "This wind is a good one for our departure for Hivaona; we can bear down eastward." The tribesmen said to chief Tu-Tona, "Let us get ready, it's a good wind." The chief replied, "Then make ready, the food is all finished. In the morning we shall sail."

Namu and Tikane were making ready the things of the youth. They were always thinking of something different from the rest of the tribesmen, always

haua e hee i Hivaoa. Te ahiahi na hee Namu i vaho me te tau mehe komao. Te poi i to he tau me omo te tani te komao, me te pua atou. "E, na hea, maama. E hea, a pei atou?" Peau Tu-Tona, "Te ahiahi tina." Peau Titahi poi. "Ua tau te komao." Ua hua Namu i oti he fae, na na Tikane i vaho, e tani mehe mea i mui ho. Ua tani te mea tina tohu. Peau ana iho te matainana, "Maama ara iho. Apei." Peau Namu me Tikane ia hua enata pona, "A pae, he puana i o te vaka." Ua hee atou tau tau.

I mui 'ho na hee te matainana pao 'tu me te hakaiki. Ua pii i o' te vaka, hua poua te moe na. Me te fiti, me te koi te vaka. Tu hoo mui na fiti atou mei Nukuhiva. Hua popou noe maama eka, ua tibe te Aihou, me te koe te metani. A tahi a tapi te iu, Me te ite ma tina hua in te ena moa.

A tahi peau te hakaiki, "E Namu, e Tikane, e aha te mea i o te iu nei? Aha to oua hunona?" Peau Tikane me Namu "E, e." A tahi peke Tutona, me te peau, "Umaha hakana ai te vahana to oua mo?" Aua he eo poua Namu me Tikane. A tahi Tikane me Namu hua ite to aua hunona, me mahao oko te matainana.

A tahi a hoo te vaka. E ua feu tina, na tau te vaka na he one i Atuona. Te tibe na te vaka te Aihou, peau Tu-Tona ia hua enata pona, "Tichi te na mea maia? To e vehine te a." Hua enata pona, na valii te uia. Atii to te vehine, mei to he one i Atuona. Ua hee Tikane me Namu, me ta aua hunona, hua pona oi ana i mua. Taa na kooa ma te hope, "He tuis, he tuis. Te pona Hivaoa (?Nukuhiva) o Tahia-noho-uu." Taa ana 'tu me te fiti ana 'tu atou.

E tibe lo te fae. Te tibe na atou tata eka te fae, na ite hua pona e ua vehine, maia tau toko na, hua haka 'tu to aua haka 'tu, to aua poua. Hua pona aoe ite vehine hea ta ia vehine. Te kui no to ia vehine vevau ia ia, vevau hoi hua pona.

doing something different. That night all was ready for the departure for Hivaoa. In the evening Namu went outside and sang like a komao bird. When the folk inside the house heard the sound of the komao, they said, "Friends, it is dawn. So let us get ready to go." But Tu-Tona said, "It is evening." Others said, "The komao has sung." Namu came into the house and Tikane went outside, and then sang like a rooster. It was a real rooster's crow. Then the tribesmen said, "It is certainly dawn. Let's go." Namu and Tikane said to the handsome youth, "Come, we will hide you in the canoe." So they went, the three of them.

Later all the tribesmen came with the chief. They climbed into the canoe, and let out the mat sail. They shoved off and the canoe sped away. In the depth of the night they departed from Nukuhiva. In the morning, when it was scarcely dawn, they came to Aihou (on the northern coast of Hivaoa), and the wind dropped. Then they began to bail out the bilge water; and they saw that there was yellow stain on it.

Then the chief said, "Oh Namu, oh Tikane, what's this on the bilge water? And what of your brother-in-law?" Tikane and Namu replied, "Yes, yes." Then Tutona was angry, and he said, "What do you conceal your girl's husband for?" Not a word came from Namu and Tikane. Then Tikane and Namu revealed their son-in-law, and the tribesmen marvelled greatly.

Then they paddled the canoe. In two strokes of the paddles the canoe was on the sand at Atuona. While the canoe was off Aihou, Tu-Tona said to the handsome youth, "Do you see that white thing?" The youth revealed himself flashing like lightning. The woman did likewise, from the beach at Atuona. Tikane and Namu landed, the youth going first.

The old man went behind him crying out, "The affianced, the affianced. The handsome youth of Tahia-noho-uu from Nukuhiva." Crying thus they went all the way up to their house.

They arrived at the house. As they came close to the dwelling, the youth saw two women, both of them white, one just like the other, both of them beauties. The youth did not know which was his woman. The mother of his woman called out

Me te peau, "A mai, a mai, tu u humona." A tahi na tu te vehine na te hopapu te vahana ia ia, hohoni ana, me te au i o' te fee. "Te au tina ana i o' te fee, na toe te vehine te vahana chi tapii mea hua chi me te ite ia ia hua haka 'tu to ana maia. Hui haka 'tu me te vahana chi!

Te motua no hua tama poea, ua ini ia i Nukuhiva to ia tama. Peau te poi Nukuhiva ia ia, "U kamo a te na tama." E oia mahina ua noho hua tama poea me ta ia vehine. A tahi na tibe ta ia ue-e, to ia motua me to ia kai, me te peau ia (a) ia vehine, "Te nei, e hee au i Nukuhiva tichi tu u kai me tu u motua." Peau te vahine, "Maimai au. Ehaa, e tahi mahina hui mai oe. E tahi mahina e tahi po ke i toe, aua oe tibe mai, ua mate au." Peau te vahana, "E, e."

A tahi na hee te vahana. To ia tibe ena i Nukuhiva, koakea to ia tau hua. Hui tau huaa peau ia ia, "E aha te teao hou i Hivaoa?" Peau hua tama poea, "Koa ia 'u titahi vehine pootu. Aoe vehine haka 'tu atii i Nukuhiva nei."

U tatau te vehine te tau aa. Ua tibe telcau me te onohu aa pao, hua vahana ia ia aua e hua. A tahi ue-e ia ia. Me te peau, "Ta u vahana aoe hua mai." A tahi peau hua vehine to ia mau motua, o Nana me Tikane, "A, piki te ehi, e ua tana te tahi tana pani, e tahi tana no te hobo." Ua tibe na motua me na ehi. Peau hua moi ia aua, "A vau te hua, a vau te hua na ehi e ua." Te pao tina te vau na ehi, a kave na motua ia ia, na pani ia ia e tahi ehi. I mui 'ho ua paku te hobo titahi ehi. Me te peau na aua na motua, "Kaki au te toetoe." Popahi ia to ia mau motua, e hano te toetoe, no te mea te nao tina aua. Ohia too tahi, ia ia maimai i te fee.

Te hee tina aua e hano te toetoe, Tikane tuki a te vaevae me te kea na he vau nui. Peau Tikane ia Nana, "A pei, a hua. Ua fee to taua iamutu." Te tibe

to him, and he called back. She said, "Come, come hither my son-in-law." Then his woman rose and embraced her husband, and they pressed noses, and all went inside the house. After coming inside the house, the woman took the half coconut, and touched him with it to see if he matched it in whiteness. Exactly like the half coconut was he.

Now the father of this handsome boy had been searching in Nukuhiva for his son. The folk of Nukuhiva said to him, "Your boy has been stolen." For six moons this handsome lad lived with his woman. Then grief came upon him for his father and mother, and he said to his woman, "The time has come for me to go to Nukuhiva to see my mother and father." The woman replied, "I am willing. However, you must come back in one moon. When one night beyond one moon has elapsed and you have not returned, I shall die." The husband replied, "Yes, yes."

The husband then went. With his arrival in Nukuhiva, his family was very happy. They said to him, "What is the new word from Hivaoa?" The handsome lad replied, "I have found a beautiful woman. There is not a woman like her here in Nukuhiva."

His woman was counting the days. Came the thirty days to an end, and this husband of hers had not come back. Then she wept for him. And spoke thus, "My husband does not come back." Then said this woman to her uncles, Nana and Tikane, "Climb the coconut trees, two trees, one for *pau* (scented oil for the head), one for *hoho* (scented oil for the body)." The uncles came with the nuts. Said that girl to them, "One scrape one nut, the other scrape the other." The scraping (of the meat) finished, she made *pau* for her head with one nut. Afterwards she anointed her body with (the oil from) the other nut. Then she said to the uncles, "I crave crabs." [Kaki refers to the craving of a pregnant woman for a particular food.] She sent the uncles to get some crabs, because she wanted to get them out of the way. When she was alone, she wanted to hang herself.

As they were going to get the crabs, Tikane struck his foot against a stone on the road. Said Tikane to Nana, "Come on, let's return. Our niece has

na hua mai motua i 'to he fae, na mate te mo'i no ana. Te ite tina ta ana mo'i na mate, na piki te hua, na piki te hua ma he tuihu ehi, me te tufan ana i ao te pua, to ana maakau e mate te hua e mate te hua. Me te tufan ana, noe mate. Ua pu hakana na tuihu ehi, tufan hakana. Aoe mate!

E tou po te mate tina hua vehine, to ia kuhane na tibe io te vahana i Nukuhiva. Te tibe eua te kuhane o te vahine io te vahana, ne-e anatu te vahana. Peau te vehine i to ia vahana, "Mea ne-e oko o oe ia o, tu u vahana." A tahi na ite te vahana io ia vehine, me te hupu, me te hoi, me te ne-e. Peau te vahana te vehine, "Mahea tia oe?" Peau te vehine, "O au nei, tu u vahana, na mate." A tahi kiate te vahana, Peau te vahana, "Aoe oe mate. Melei ta 'e tina." "E hua," peau te vehine, "Ua mate au. E hua, mea meita peau oe, tu u vahana, to oe tau hua, a kahi te ehi, a oe te eua, a vau te ehi, a fiti te kaurpe, a hano te puu kokuu. Kotahi hua hana paotu. A ooi i oto o titahi toto." Te hua, te nao tina atou, e hano hua hana, peau te vehine te vahana, "Paa ta taua pa oto me te kahu enata; me te peau atu oe ia atou, e tou po pepu hua tapu enata."

Pau e tou po, te vahana e taki hua tapu enata, me te pohoe te vehine. A tahi na ite tia te hua, u pohoe haka na hua vehine. Haa tau hua te ite tina hua vehine i o te pa oto, metao atou, "Ma hea tia mai te na vehine hoo?" Peau te vahana ia atou, "Ta u hua te a, ma oto na po e tou hua tapu nei tu u pa oto ia atou." Haa tau hua mahao oko te nei vehine pootu oko, koskoa atou. A tahi haa tia pootu oko te vehine no hua tama nei Nukuhiva.

Ua noho ana. Me te vehine, e tahi mahina i toe na tupu te tama, e iva mahina fanau tama ou. Na Tahia-noho-utu maakaka te inoa Tupa. Ua kei te na

strangled herself." When the uncles arrived at the house, their girl was dead. When they saw that she was dead, each of them climbed a coconut tree, and each precipitated himself headforemost down upon the ground, for each had the idea of killing himself. But when they leapt, they did not kill themselves. They climbed the coconut trees again, flung themselves down again. They did not die!

Three nights after the woman had died, her ghost came to her husband in Nukuhiva. When the spirit of the woman came to her husband, he wept continuously. The woman said to her husband, "You are weeping mightily for me, my husband." Then the husband saw his woman, and they embraced, and pressed noses, and wailed over each other. The husband said to his woman, "How did you get here?" The woman replied, "I who am here, my husband, have died." Then the husband was seized with fear. He said "You can't be dead. Your body is good." "Nevertheless," said the woman, "I have died. However, you must say, my husband, to your family that they are to collect coconuts, to grate wild ginger, to scrape coconut meat, to go in search of *kaupe* (*Carissa grandis*) flowers, to bring some *kokuu* (Indian lilac) fruits. All these things are to be put together and the juice from them squeezed into a trough." When the members of the family had disappeared, looking for these things, the woman said to her husband, "Now shut off our room with a piece of cloth; and tell them that after three nights they are to take away this curtain of tapa."

When three nights had passed, the husband took away this piece of cloth, and the woman was alive. Then the family saw that this girl was alive again. When they had seen her in the room, they thought, "How did this new woman get here?" The husband said to them, "That is my work, during the three nights I made this room tapu to you." His relatives marveled greatly at this very beautiful woman, and they were pleased. Then they knew for a fact that the woman of this handsome man of Nukuhiva was a beauty.

They lived together. In one moon a child was growing in the woman's womb, in nine moons a boy was born. Tahia-noho-utu named it Tupa. That child

tama; na tupu titahi, fanau mo'i, Makaka te kua te inoa to ia kua, Hina-tai-ii. Ua tupu hakaanu te tama, fanau tama oa. Makaka te inoa Te-poa-Hiva-Oa. Ua tupu haka na titahi tama, fanau mo'i. Te inoa o te kua.

Te tibe ena te tama matamua e ina chun, ua hee Namu me Tikane imi te honu i to he tai. Maimai ana te na honu e haka tu te a e hano, kanea ana titahi paepae kei no te hakaanu te tino to atou mo'i mate nei kaku. Te kuhane hua vehine mate nei kaku i Hivaoa ua ite mei Nukuhiva te hana o Namu me Tikane. A tahi peau hua kuhane i to ia vahana, "Te nei tata eka tu u mate." A tahi peau te vahana, "E ala to oe ite tata eka to oe mate?" "Ua ite au, tu u vahana, ua hee Tikane me Namu imi te honu, me te kaena titahi paepae kei no te hakaanu tu u tino tupapan."

Te pao tina te hana i Hivaoa te paepae, me to kooa te honu, peau hua kuhane no hua vehine mate nei i kaku to ia vahana, "Te nei e tou po i toe ena mate au. Te nei, tu u vahana, tu u mate tina, a tuu mai ia u na tama hamua, e tuu iho ma he iima te tama hamua e tahi kava, e tahi paau; i te mo'i e ua kahu, mea hai vai mata o te aua kua." Ue te vahana, no te mea ua ite ia ia aoe hemo titahi mea mate ta ia vehine. Ua ite ana 'tu tino feo kaka to ta ia vehine. Ua imi ia ia no te ala te nei e tou poo i toe koana tia mate.

Te poo e ua te ahiahi oi to ia mate peau ia ia to ia vahana, "Haa putuputu mai atou io oe me te tau tama, toko ua tama e tahi keke, toko ua tama ma titahi keke, te vahana io te upoko." Akaapee anatu atou, moe a te vehine. Ue-e ta te vahana me te tau tama. Ua tani te o muu moa, ua koe na vaeve na hua vehine. A tahi peau ma una to ia vahana, "Te nei tata eka tu u mate, a too mai na vaeve." A too te motua me te tau tama na vaeve, aoe he vaeve. Te e ua te moa, hope kooi ua io. Ua tata te muama nai, te toe na tino ua io, te upoko te vai. Peau hua upoko te nei, "E toe, e honi

grew, another grew in the womb, and a girl was born. The mother gave it the name of her mother, Hina-tai-ii. Again a child was growing in her womb, and a boy was born. It was given the name Te-poa-Hiva-Oa (The-bean-of-Hiva-Oa). Again another child grew, a girl was born. Hers was her mother's name.

When the first-born had come to the age of five years, Namu and Tikane went in search of tortoises down in the sea. They wanted tortoises of that kind because they were making a large stone platform in which to hide away the body of their girl who had died a long time before. [Tortoises were valued as offerings to the gods.] Now the soul of this woman who had died a long time before in Hivaoa saw from Nukuhiva the work of Namu and Tikane. Then said this ghost to her husband, "Now is approaching the time of my death." Then the husband asked, "What makes you know your death is near?" "I looked, my husband, and saw Tikane and Namu in search of tortoise, and making a great paepae in which to put away my dead body."

When the work on the paepae was finished at Hivaoa, and the tortoise had been found, the ghost of this woman long since dead said to her husband, "Now after three nights I am going to die. Now, my husband, when I am dead, bring to me the first-born child and put into his hands one piece of kava root, and one pig; give to the girl two pieces of cloth, to dry their tears for their mother." The husband wept, because he knew she had taken no kind of sickness. He had seen that she had a perfectly firm body. He sought to find out from her what this was all about, her dying in three nights.

In the evening of the second day before she was to die, she said to her husband, "Gather together, all of you, with the children, and put two children on one side of me and two on the other side, and let my husband stand at my head." They all sat down and waited, and the woman lay down. The husband and the children were wailing. When the first cock crew, the feet of this woman disappeared. She then said to her husband, "Now my death is near. Take my legs." The husband and the children reached for the legs and there were no legs. At second cock's crew, half of her trunk

latau." Me te hoi hua upoko te tau tama, i mui mai to ia vahana. A tahi kavii a te vahana te onoho te upoko i o te iima. A tahi peau hua upoko, "Ua mate au, ae koana man ia ce te au onoho." Te mate tina hua upoko na pana pa umi o te koha fae me he manu kaim eroere me te taua, "Ue oe oe oe oe oe." Te iini mai o Namu me Tikane te kuhane to ana eiamutu Tahia-noho-mi mate nei. Hana tia to u hana, ce tia to u houa, haka tu tia tu u paepae, ave oa tu u tino i oto hua paepae. Tu u vahana, e, kaoha oe, mea taua tama." [This is chanted, *haa wawane*.] A tahi a pana hua manu i uia te kaava fae, me te peau ia atou, "A pae." Ue-e atou paotu. Ue-e hui ke no te mea aoe ite haka ua te tupapau.

E tou po ma hope te mate na te kui, ua hee na tama me te hai vai mata e puaka ta te houa, me te kava, mau kahu enata ta te vehine, me te fiti ana mei Nukuhiva. No Hivaos ma hea tia oti, aoe i ite a. Ta ana hee tina mei Nukuhiva titahi popou ni, hua popou aoe iho ua tibe au i Hivaos. Me te fiti ana io te hii paepae to ana kui. Te tibe na ana tata eka hua paepae, ue-e te turchine, "Tu u kui e, Tahia-noho-ua, e-e-e-e." Namu me Tikane, ana ana ma ana hua paepae i oto titahi fae. Hana tia nei ana, Ua piki na tama ma ana hua paepae. Te paepae haina tapu oko, aoe koana te pii te tau vehine. Namu me Tikane te iite tina e tahi moi ma ana hua paepae, peke oko ana, me te too ana ia ia, me te veo hia mei i ana hua paepae. E hua, titii ana mei ana hua paepae, hua mau tama nei u piki ana 'tu hua mau tama. E tou veohi tina, a tahi haka ea au. Te tama hanna, O Tuapa, peau ia Namu me Tikane, "Umaha veohi a oua ia maua, o au te nei o Tuapa, me tu u turchine o Hina-ta-i. E ave maua te kava me te puua, mea tano no to maua kui me te kahu hui vai mata." A tahi ue au.

Ua too ana hua mau tama, me te tau na ma ta ana upoko, me te ue-e. A tahi a kave ana hua mau tama io to ana tupana. Ua pao.

disappeared. When full daylight was near, the rest of her body disappeared and only the head remained. Said this head to them now, "Enough, let us press noses." And so the children pressed noses with this head and afterwards the husband did the same. Then the husband twisted the hair of the head in his fingers (to hold it). Then said the head, "I am going to die, you cannot hold that hair." When she died the head flew up on to a rafter of the house like a young green bird, and cried out, "Ue oe oe oe oe oe." The seeking father of Namu and Tikane for the soul of their niece, Tahia-noho-ua. Doing my work, going to seek my tortoise, building my paepae, carrying far my body to put it in this paepae. Oh my husband, greeting, and to our children." Then this bird flew up on to the ridge pole of the house, and said to them, "Farewell." They all weiled. They weiled especially because they would not see the ghost (or corpse) again.

Three nights after the death of the mother, the children, with the tear drying cloth, a pig's piece, with the kava, the woman's dress, departed from Nukuhiva. At Hivaos no one knew whence they had come. Leaving Nukuhiva one morning early, they arrived at Hivaos that very same morning. They went right up to the paepae of their mother. When they came near the paepae, the sister weiled, "Oh my mother, Tahia-noho-ua, e-e-e-e." Now Namu and Tikane, these two were in a house on the paepae. They were at work. The children climbed up on the paepae. This paepae was the kind that is very tapu, the kind that women should not climb up on. So when Namu and Tikane saw a girl upon this paepae, they were extremely angry, and they took her and threw her off the top. Nevertheless, though they had been thrown off the top, the children kept climbing up. After being thrown off three times they stopped. The first-born, Tuapa, then said to Namu and Tikane, "Why do you throw us off, I here am Tuapa, and this is my sister, Hina-ta-i. We are bringing the kava root and the pig, gifts for our mother, and the cloth with which to dry eyes." Then they wept.

Those two (Namu and Tikane) then took the children, and placed them on their heads and weiled. Then they carried the two children to their grandmother. It is ended. (Placing the chil-

dren on the heads is a ceremonial custom by which children were honored and consecrated. Formal histrionic wailing was a sign alike of passionate joy and grief.

TUAPOU AND HER CHILDREN

(From Atuona, Hivaoa)

Tuapou e noko me to ia vahana, faana e tou tama, toko ua tama oa, e tahi mo'i. Te tama hanga, Fifa te inoa; te tama i nui mai, Paoc; te toehina, o Hina te inoa. Tahi te kui hua tau tama e tou. Te he'i tina atou, peau te kui atou, "A hee otou te mama ini, me te keitana."

Me te hee hua tama, me te koama ta atou keitana, kete ta te hoo, kete ta te hoo, kete ta te hoo. (Hua tau kete te tau kaka chi). Ua tihē atou io te kui, me te haka aa atou te kui, "E ca! ua nui, te mama kai, te toetoe kai." Peau te kui, "A tau tu u tau tama, ma uua te fata utu." Ua tau hua tau tama ta atou tau kete i uua hua fata utu, me te hee atou hia moe.

Te ono tina te kui ua tani te ihu te tau tama ma oto ta atou hia moe, ua hee hua kui kamo hua tau kete e tou. Me te hua naunau,

"Tuapou, Tuapou,
Faeta, faeta,
A in o ia to' tua vavahi a pohā."

Me te tuku hua tau kete e tou 'to te kua, me te tita te tua. Me te hee hia moe.

Te maama tina, hua tau tama aoe i he haka ua ta atou tau kete. Me te peau atou ma uua te kui, "I hea te tau kete mei uua te fata utu?" Peau te kui, "Aoe ite aa." Hua a ua kui atou ma te inai koe.

A te ahiahi hua kui popahi haka ua ia atou. "A hee, te inai ini." Me te hee atou me te kaka haka ua atou e tou kete pi. Te hua tina atou me to atou kete pi, vavao to atou kui, me te peau, "Ilee nui

Tuapou lived with her husband and three children were born, two boys, and a girl. The first born was named Fifa; the next child was Paoc; and the sister was called Hina. The mother raised all three of these children (instead of giving some away in adoption as was common). When they were grown, the mother once said to them, "Go and get some molluscs and shell fish."

So the children went down to the sea, and gathered all kinds of shell fish, this one with his basket, that one with his basket, and the other with her basket. (These were baskets made of coconut leaf.) They came back to the mother, and woke her up, saying, "Oh old woman! Come out here, here are molluscs to eat, and crabs to eat." Said the mother, "Put them down, my children, on the food rack." When the children had put down their food baskets on this food rack, they went to have a sleep.

When the mother heard the sound of their noses (snoring) in their sleep, she went and stole the three baskets. Then she chanted a spell,

"Tuapou, Tuapou,
Faeta, faeta(?),
Here now opens wide my back."

(And her back opened up) and she put the three baskets inside, after which she again closed tight her back. Then she went and lay down to sleep.

When it was morning, the children did not see their baskets. So they said to the mother, "Where are the baskets that were on the food rack?" The mother replied "I don't know." So that day they had to eat their breadfruit paste without meat.

In the evening the mother sent them down to the sea again, "Go and seek meat," (she said). So they went and again they got three baskets full. When they returned with the three baskets full,

p. 165 Gods of Fishing and Religious Rites
 Te Fata Moana (Te Ulu; fata, waste; moana, sea)
 (the same as Tanooa) was the principal god of the sea.
 God invoked by fishers of the tortoise (Chomu) - AAMOKO

open. It was not placed on a platform, however, but rested on the ground.

Women made the cord, being summoned and directed by the master net maker (*tuhuna upena*), who was a fisherman. Twenty or thirty women would work for about ten days to make sufficient cord for one of the large deep-sea fishing nets. During this period they were consecrated to the work and remained in the *oho au* night and day, their food being supplied by the chief for whom the net was being made. The process of making the cord consisted in the preparation, first, of strips of soft, young fau bark, and, secondly, of coconut fiber. These materials were spun or rolled together to form a cord by the process called *h'o*, which means to roll on the knee or thigh.

When the cord was completed, the nets themselves were made by the meter, which served as a trap into which the fish fell as the net was pulled up. This was called the *to'o pu'u* (fig. 18, a).

The fishermen put to sea about four hours before dawn. Four canoes were required for casting the deep-sea net. For the fish there were two large single canoes (*vaka nui*) as large as a war canoe, with crews of about eight men each. There were two small canoes each containing three men, each of which carried four anchors with their cords, two anchors at bow and stern being used to secure each of the *vaka nui* from which the net was handled. Part of the duty of the small canoes was to drop these anchors properly. This use of anchors indicates that at Atu Ona such fishing as is here described was not done in very deep water. Each of the small canoes had its separate name signifying its function: the *vaka fiti* (*fiti*, to go east) went to the east side of the place designated by the *tuhuna* for the night's work; the *vaka vaho* (*vaho*, outside) went to the other side. It is probable that each small canoe put down two anchors for each of the larger canoes, at the respective ends at which they operated. The place for fishing, and all operations were designated and directed by the *tuhuna*.

Arrived at the designated spot, the *upena* was let down by its eight cords until it lay on the bottom. The *tuhuna* then plunged overboard. By using his hands like telescopes he could see the fish and—so it is said—could even hear them when they went into the net. From the water he directed the operation, ordering the men in the large canoes and in the small ones, all of whom aided in handling the net, to pull up on this or that line. When the net was full the *tuhuna* gave the order for all to pull together. Sometimes one big catch would fill all the canoes.

The first netful was reserved for the fishermen. No woman might partake of it. The second netful, called *huaha*, was reserved for the women

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who made the cord. If it was a plentiful catch, there was general distribution after the makers of the cord had received their share.

FISHING AT PUA MA'U

The following descriptions of fishing at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, were obtained by Linton (20):

The sacred place of the fishermen in Pua Ma'u was named Mahia, and stood on the site of the present leper settlement. It consisted of two or more small houses built on high platforms which are now destroyed. The god of this sacred place was named Ke'omana, but the sacred place contained no images of any sort. There was in Mata Fenua a human-shaped figure (*tiki*), which was believed to be very ancient, that assisted in the capture of turtles. A pig's head was offered to this after turtles had been caught. None of the informants questioned had heard of fish-shaped images, or of throwing images into the sea and having them return of their own accord, as in the *Atu Opa* story. Only two men, fisher-*tuhuna*, lived at Mahia constantly. These served the god Ke'omana and superintended turtle fishing and fishing for feasts. Ordinary fishing was done by all the natives when they wished.

When a chief desired to give a feast, he brought food to the fisher-*tuhuna*, and asked them to go and fish for him. The men of the village would come to the sacred place a short time afterward and say to the *tuhuna*, "Come and go fishing." All would then eat of the food sent by the chief. This food was *tapu* to women. Immediately after pushing off, the canoes would form in line while the leading fisher-*tuhuna* sang three chants with responses, said to be the same three sung on the return. The fishing place was Mata Fenua, and the fishermen went armed in case of attack, the weapons used being reserved for this and *tapu* at other times.

On arrival in Mata Fenua a large oven was dug, and each night the day's catch was cooked in this oven, the fish already cooked being left in it. The party remained in Mata Fenua eight days. On the ninth day the oven was emptied and the fish were packed in the canoes. On the tenth day the party returned.

On arrival at the village all the inhabitants, men, women and children, came down to the shore to welcome them, bringing food which was held up for them to see. Before landing the canoes formed in line, and the leading fisher-*tuhuna* sang three songs*. These songs, *Matike*, the last of the fisher-*tuhuna*, taught to my informant for the price of one pig.

After this ceremony, the canoes went ashore and all the people assisted in dragging them up on the beach and in carrying the fish up to the feast place. The first canoe to land was that containing the singer, who went at once to pay his respects to the chief and was formally thanked by him.

SPECIAL METHODS OF FISHING
TURTLE FISHING

In turtle fishing, the proceeding seems to have been much the same, except that the turtles were kept alive and the time of the stay in Mata

*The great promontory forming the eastern extremity of Hiva Oa. It was here that Pua Ma'u fishermen went to fish.

*The text of these chants will be published in another report. They are responsive chants, founded on mythological reference; the most important god addressed is Tannoa, god of the sea and fishing.

Linton, Ralph, Field notes and the manuscript on the material culture of the natives of the Marquesas Islands in preparation for publication by the B.P. Bishop Museum

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Feena depended upon the speed with which the necessary number were obtained. During the time of the absence of the turtle fishers, the young men and women of the village gathered the grass on which the turtles (*houu*) fed and carried it up to the turtle tank. The turtles were kept alive for some time, and their flesh was *tapu* to all except the chiefs and priests. Even by these it seems to have been eaten at special feasts and the *popoi* pounders used to prepare the *popoi* eaten with the turtle flesh were *tapu* for other work.

In catching fish for feasts a large, round net was used. It was handled in much the same way as the large, square net described from Atu Ona. For turtles a large net made of fiber from coconut spathes, not the husks, was used. This net, which was straight, was called *fi*. It was weighted at the bottom, and spread not far from the rocks in a place where the turtles were known to be numerous. The fisher-*tuhuna* dived overboard and drove the turtles toward it. When they had become entangled, they were tied, underwater, with cords of hibiscus bark, brought up, and put in the canoes. Ten to twenty turtles would be captured in a day.

The following notes regarding turtle fishing, also from Pua Ma'u, supplement Linton's description.

Certain professionals, *tuhuna*, devoted themselves exclusively to turtle fishing. Turtles were caught sometimes with a hook and line as well as with a net. Before putting down their net or line, a chant of the kind, called *wanta'a*,¹⁰ a spell to give power, was intoned.

After this spell the lines or net were dropped and a great catch would result. On their return, before they landed they chanted another short chant to Tana-oa, god of the wind and sea.

These turtle fishers had stone images (*tiki*) made in human form. It is said today that they would leave these in their house when they went for the fishing ground, and that when they arrived there and began operations they would see them sitting up on the hillside on the shore near them. It is a belief concerning fishermen's stone *tiki* at Atu Ona that when they used to be taken out in the canoe and thrown into the water to draw the fish they would be found, upon the return of the fishers, to have come back of their own accord to the sacred precinct.

¹⁰The text with translation is subsequently to be published. The same *wanta'a* with slight changes in the words was used also in connection with the operation of incision of the foreskin of the male child, and at the funerary festivals. It refers to certain gods, the heavens and lightning, the genitals of the chief, and ends with the words, expressed with great force, "It is the turtle, Ugh!"

KAOA FISHING

The professional fishermen devoted themselves sometimes to catching the *kaoa*, a small fish which at certain times was very plentiful in the bays. The net (*upena kaa*) used was small and could be handled by two men. It was let down on the bottom in shallow water. Then the men struck the water with their hands, driving the *kaoa* into the net.

SHARK FISHING

Catching the hammer-headed shark (*matake*) was a more elaborate undertaking. For this there was a special net called *upena fifii*. This was a large, coarse net, the cords of which were made by women in the same manner as were those for the *upena*. The cords for the *fifii* were dyed red with red earth. In the process of making them the heavy cord was rolled on a piece of wood rather than on the knee in the way that the *upena* cords were made. One margin of the net was anchored to the bottom, while the other was held up by floats on the surface. If the *tuhuna* observed *matake* passing a certain point, ten or twenty nets would be put out at this place at night, left there, and taken in with their catch next morning. The *matake* were caught and held in the meshes of the net by their gills.

Sharks were sometimes caught by the following ingenious method: (Whether or not this is a recently introduced method I am uncertain—the use of knives would suggest that it has been introduced.) A number of men would go out in a canoe, one man at the bow dragging in the water a piece of meat on a cord. The others had nooses of cord ready, being seated along the sides of the canoe. When a shark came up, swimming alongside, scenting the meat, one or two nooses were slipped over the fore and hind part of his body, the cords pulled taut, and the shark was killed with knives before it could injure the canoe.

CATCHING OCTOPUS

There were several methods of catching octopus (*feko*). One was by diving with several sticks, thrusting one of these into the octopus in its hole, waiting a moment until it had begun to occupy its arms with this, then thrusting the other into it in the same way. When all the arms of the octopus were occupied with the sticks, the body was seized with the hands and dragged out of the hole. The animal was killed by a bite on the top of the head, after which the stomach was quickly turned inside out.

Again, a line with three hooks attached to it was sometimes used. Near the hooks a white stone that could be seen under water was tied. This

the procreating power, *papa nua*, the level above, in creation. Woman embodied the *papa'ao*, the level below. A reversal of this order was the cause of evil. It would seem also that much of the fear of evil influences connected with womankind had to do with the belief of the association with women of evil spirits called *fanua*. (See Spirits.)

The following are a number of rules illustrative of restrictions relating to uncleanness. A woman could not go on a sacred place reserved for consecrated rites or activities or for *tapu* men; no woman, except a high chiefess or priestess, must ever step on anything *tapu*; a woman must not touch a canoe for fishing or war; a woman could not pass over anyone, not even his feet—nor over household utensils, an oven, a place where water was obtained, a net, or a canoe; she could not bathe her feet in a household utensil; one woman must not put her hand (which was likely to be defiled) on the head of another, nor step over another, nor over the mat of another woman; a woman's and a man's food must be cooked on a different fire or in a different oven; it must be kept in a separate container; food could not be eaten by men in company with women; a woman could not eat *popoi* pounded by her husband, and vice versa.

FOOD RESTRICTIONS

Tapu, partly arbitrary, partly of religious origin, prohibited foods to certain classes. Some foods were forbidden to women—the chicken at all times, pig at certain times, octopus at some places, bananas, coconuts, and coconut milk. One informant stated that a woman could use coconut milk if eating alone, but that if her husband ate it with her, he would be killed in battle.

Other foods were restricted particularly to the priests and gods. The fish called *u'ua* seems to have been sacred everywhere and to have been eaten only by the temple priests and their assistants. At Taiohae in addition to the *u'ua*, the turtle and the fish called *hai* were always taken to the priests at the temple and were eaten by them. The head of the pig was everywhere sacred to the gods and was presented to the priests—if a man ate a pig's head, it was believed that he would be swamped in his canoe and drowned.

A long list of particular foods forbidden to different tribes throughout the group was obtained from the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) and will subsequently be published. These *tapu* foods were fish, birds, or animals that were consecrated to the god of the tribe. It does not appear that there was any conception of a god's being embodied in the sacred object, but rather that it was consecrated to the deity as food. Particular foods were sometimes *tapu* to all except one member of a family when that

member bore the name of the food. For example, in Atu Ona a fish called *zahi* was *tapu* to all other members of the family of a man named Vahi but not to the man himself.

PUNISHMENT FOR INFRINGEMENT OF TAPU

The punishment for the breaking of *tapu* was supposed to be sickness, or sudden death in some such manner as by drowning, or by being eaten by sharks. Leprosy was caused by the breaking of the *tapu* relating to defilement. Deep ulcers (*puku*) were supposed to result from eating the fish sacred to the priests and the gods. It was also thought that the breaking of *tapu* established by the tribal priest was punished by curses directed by the priest. An insult to personal *tapu* was punished directly by physical violence, or indirectly through witchcraft.

SICKNESS

SUPPOSED CAUSES OF DISEASE

In general, in the mind of the native there were two basic causes of illness: the breaking of *tapu*, and sorcery. Evil spirits were the immediate cause of most diseases, coming to inflict punishment for broken *tapu* or being sent by some evil worker. Sickness and death resulting from the practice of sorcery (*nani kaha*) seem to have been conceived of as resulting directly in a magical way, rather than through the medium of evil spirits.

Some specific examples of the native belief as to the cause of disease, by no means a complete list, are as follows: Leprosy resulted from pollution, physical or spiritual, by the evil influences which were thought of as being associated with womankind, by contact with menstrual fluid or clothing that had touched a woman's private parts, by passing under a woman's mat or loin cloth. The father of a woman, who is insane, told me that she was so afflicted because she had eaten coconuts from a tree which had been made *tapu* for the manufacture of the oil used with *ena* in dyeing women's loin cloths. A man of Atu Ona believes that he is blind because he ate of a pig, which had been given as a present to his son, the animal being, therefore, *tapu* to the father. To break the *tapu* on sexual intercourse between the male and female students of legends at the time that the students were consecrated to the task of memorizing was supposed to cause blindness. It was believed that certain deep ulcers (*puku*) were the result of eating the fish called *u'ua*, which was *tapu* to the priests, and that other *puku* resulted from the breaking of the *koaho*, the protective spell on property. Violent colics were supposed to result from sorcery, and insanity from the breaking of *tapu*. Children's

The headdress typical of Nuku Hiva was the *pa'e ku'a* (fig. 24, e) headdress, made of green and red feathers attached to a coconut sheath and lark cloth background. It must have been very rare at all times as there is no description of it by early visitors so far as I know, and as it appears to be rare as a museum specimen. There is conflicting evidence regarding the feathers used on this ornament. Dordillon (8) speaks of its being made of feathers of the dove (*kuku*)—the green feathers are undoubtedly those of the dove. The red feathers may be those from the heads of a certain variety of the dove, but informants on Nuku Hiva claim that the red feathers came from the bird called the *manu ku'a*, which lived formerly on the high desert-land of western Nuku Hiva, but which is now extinct. On Hiva Oa it is believed that voyages were made to A'o Tona (Rarotonga) for the sake of getting feathers of the *manu ku'a*. One informant on Nuku Hiva insisted that the *pa'e ku'a* was worn on the chest and not on the head, but this seems doubtful on account of the name. This headdress seems to have been typical of Nuku Hiva, where it was worn both by chiefs and chiefesses, but it was known on Hiva Oa. Informants from Hiva Oa described the *pa'e ku'a* to me as a headdress made of red cock's plumes.

The *peue ei*, *peue taki ei*, or *peue koio* (fig. 23, b) was a crown made of porpoise-teeth attached to a band of closely woven sennit, the attachments being ornamented with beads. This headdress was the product of the island of Ua Pou, where many porpoises were caught. (See Fishing.) It was an article of trade for that island with Tahu Ata and Hiva Oa. Dordillon (8) defines *peue* as a head ornament made of feathers in the form of a vizor.

The *hei ku'a* is said to be a headdress, but its form and its name (*hei*) would suggest that it was worn on the breast. The accompanying sketch (fig. 25, d) is based on an imperfect specimen of a *hei ku'a* now in the Bishop Museum. Dordillon defines *hei ku'a* as a head ornament made of red plumes. At Pua Ma'u I was told that the inspirational priest there wore the *hei ku'a*, but another informant said that women who danced wore it. At Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, a good informant said that it was worn on the neck by *tuhuka*. Another head ornament made of long cock's plumes was the *hei mekameka*, or *hei pe'ape'a*.

The *ta'ava*, sometimes called *vitake* (9), was a headdress consisting of a semicircle of long cock's plumes surmounting a pearl-shell disk. Early writers describe these as being worn by warriors on Nuku Hiva and on Tahu Ata, and modern informants on Hiva Oa say they were also worn there. One made of the white feathers of the tropic bird was described to

Mrs. Handy on Hiiva Oa. Stewart gives an excellent description of this headdress. (See Descriptions of Dress by Early Writers and The Warrior's Dress).



a



b



c



d



e



f

FIGURE 23.—Ornaments for the head and ears: a, warrior's headpiece made of shell (*uhikana*); b, woman's porpoise-tooth headdress (*peue ei*); c, ear ornament made of whale's tooth (*hakubai*); d, ear ornament carved of human bone (*tuianu*); e, woman's tortoise shell ear ornament; f, carved ear-piercer.

The *uhi kana* was a large pearl-shell held in place over the forehead by a woven sennit head band. On the pearl-shell was an applied tortoise-shell design (fig. 23, a).

A feather headdress made by binding the neck and breast feathers of a black chicken on sennit was called *tuetue*. A braid of sennit with feathers and porpoise teeth attached to it hung down on one side, lying on the wearer's breast. Just how the *tuetue* was worn and what it looked like I do not know. What Krusenstern (16, p. 157) speaks of as a helmet in the following quotation is probably the *tuetue*. "The headdress consists either of a large helmet of black cock's feathers, or of a kind of diadem."

Aigrettes consisting of tail feathers of the tropic-bird (*tu'a*, *pa'e tu'a*) were worn above the forehead by women—according to one informant it always consisted of twelve feathers. The *pe'o* was an aigrette of the same kind, made, however, of the tail feathers of the cock.

The most common ceremonial headdress was the *pa'e kou'chi*, consisting of a part of a green coconut leaf, placed over the front of the head so that the fronds could be brought around the head and fastened behind. What is spoken of as the *pa'e hei pepe atua*, a priest's headdress the form of which is unknown to modern informants, is probably the same as *pa'e kou'chi*.

The temple assistants (*taputoho*) at Pua Ma'u wore on their heads turbans (*pa'e kohito*) of dark-colored cloth made of the bark of very old paper mulberry stalks pounded roughly. The cloth is said to have been wrapped around the head and tied with a knot in the back, leaving a piece hanging down behind. The *pa'e hiapo* was a turban of the same form made of banyan bark, also used as ceremonial dress.

Dordillon gives *pona ivi* as meaning a cloth or headband knotted on the forehead. Other terms referring to headbands and headcloths are *takika*, *unka*, and *ioba*. The *pa'e kotioho* was a band of white cloth worn around the head. Dordillon defines *tele ponu* as a head ornament made with seeds of a vine called *ponu*.

EAR ORNAMENTS

Ear ornaments, the general name for which was *okaoka*, were worn by both men and women. The more valuable types (*hakakai*, *taiana*) were among the most coveted of possessions—they were family heirlooms.

The piercing of the lobe of the ear, an operation called *oka* or *tui i te puaina*, was accomplished by means of a carved tortoise-shell or bone instrument (fig. 23, *f*). The piercing of the ears of a chief's daughter was celebrated by a great feast. (See Rites of Childhood and Youth.)

Both men and women wore *ha'akai* or *hakakai*, ear ornaments carved of whale's teeth in the form shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 23, *c*). The large end was worn in front of the ear. A band passing over the head

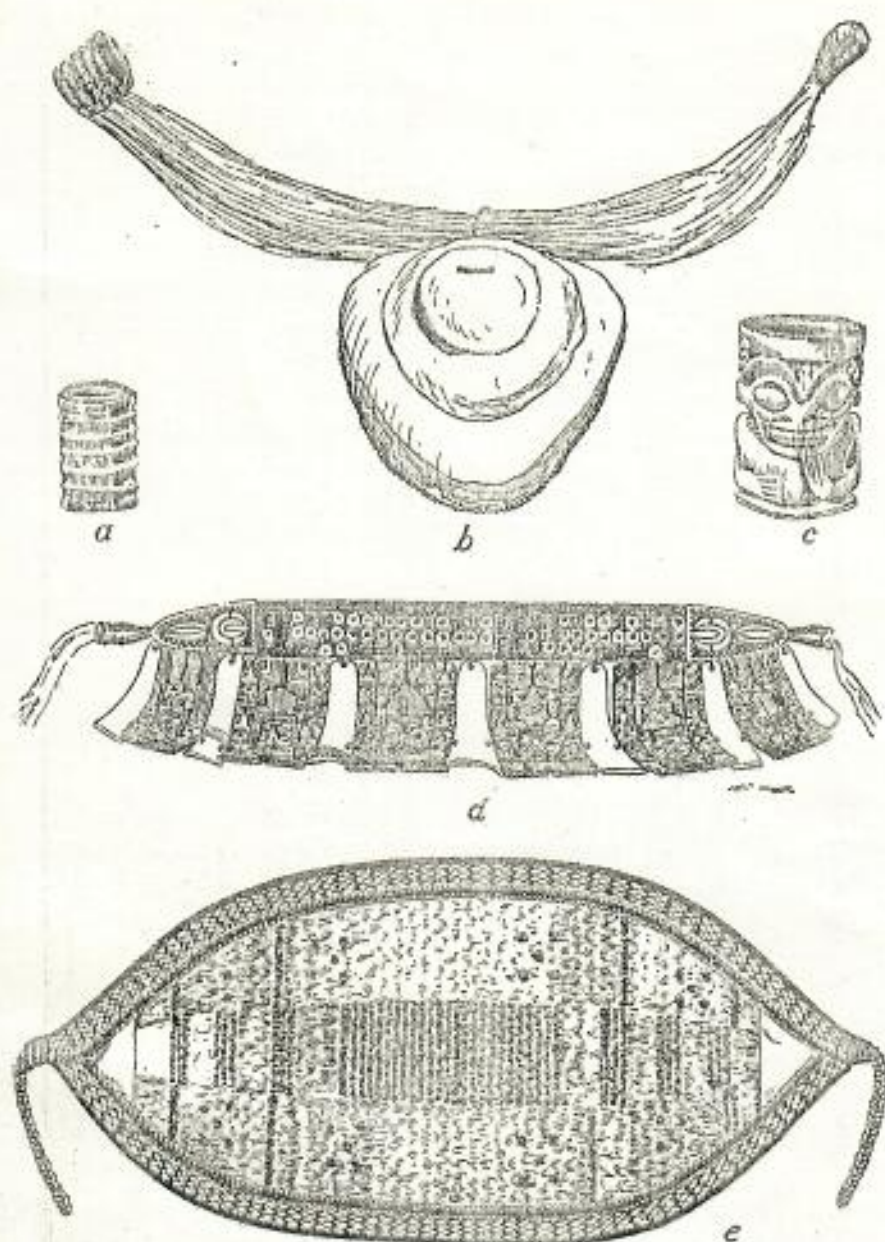


FIGURE 24.—Ornaments: *a*, bone hair ornament; *b*, pearl-shell breast piece (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series 1, 44, No. 2); *c*, bone ornament for the hair or for slings, drum cords, etc.; *d*, tortoise-shell crown from Hiva Oa (*pa'e hea*); *e*, leather head-piece from Nuku Hiva (*pa'e hu'a*).

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By

Ralph

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by a single horizontal or vertical hole. The square end has along either side two to six notches which are used to facilitate tight lashing of the bone barb. In the specimens examined there was also a short longitudinal groove in the center of the lower surface which served no practical purpose. The point of the hook is of bone, with a slight but well marked barb just behind the tip on the lower side. The modern Tahitian and Tuamotuan hooks of the same type are usually barbless. The base of the bone point is pierced with two holes. The point is attached to the strip by close lashings, formerly of coconut fiber cord. The ends of the lashings are gathered together into a single strand at the forward end of the bone point and carried along the upper surface of the strip to its pointed end, where they are again attached to it by lashings passed through the hole in the strip. The strand is continued beyond the hook and serves to attach the whole to the line. As the lashings at the inner end of the hook are loose enough to allow some play, the pull of the line comes directly at the base of the bone point. When a fish strikes, the pull is said to draw the point slightly downward and inward, making escape more difficult. This movement, if it occurs at all, is negligible, but the pull coming at this point does serve to tighten the lashings and prevent the point from slipping on the strip. The bark upon the point is of little value, and unless a tight line is kept the fish will escape.

In some hooks of this type a small bunch of pig's hair is tied transversely at the rear end of the strip as an additional lure but this is not a constant feature (Pl. LXXI, B, 1). In one specimen collected an additional strip of shell is tied to the upper side of the main strip, probably with the idea of strengthening and weighting the hook.

That sinkers were employed in line fishing is shown by two terms given by Dordillon (17); *pokau*, which is defined as a sinker, and *pokoe*, which is defined as a stone twisted with a fish hook which falls off when the hook sinks to the depths. It seems probable that such sinkers were unworked pebbles.

Dordillon also gives a term (*pe'etai*) which he translates as "to fish with a line while swimming" but this method is now obsolete and no information was obtained in regard to it.

NETS

Net fishing was probably the most important of the Marquesan methods of fishing, and a considerable variety of nets were employed. Very few of these nets have been preserved in collections, however. The only specimens studied were two imperfect fragments in the Bishop Museum. One of these fragments evidently formed part of a small net in the form of a flat pouch or envelope with square corners. (Pl. LXXI, C).

The net is woven of two-strand fau bark cord hardly more than $1/32$ of an inch in diameter with a very small mesh decreasing in size from $3/8$ of an inch at the bottom to $3/16$ of an inch at the top. The upper edge is finished with a single strand of twisted fau bark cord about three times as heavy as that forming the body of the net. Immediately below this edging a second cord of the same weight runs around the net, apparently serving as a draw-string. The second fragment is so badly torn that the original form of the net cannot be determined. It is woven of extremely fine two-strand pineapple fiber cord scarcely heavier than carpet thread, with a uniform mesh of $5/8$ of an inch. The form of knot employed in both nets may be seen from the accompanying drawing (fig. 11).

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The only large nets used in modern times are long seines woven from commercial cotton cord with needles and spacers of ordinary European form. Small circular hoop nets and flying fish nets are also made from cotton cord of

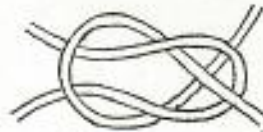


FIGURE 11.—Drawing of knot used in fish nets.

finer grade. A netting needle, similar to that used in Hawaii, is used to make these nets. The work is begun at the top and the envelope is held open, as the work progresses, by pointed strips of bamboo.

The natives of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa describe ten varieties of net formerly made and used, as follows:

(1) **Timana:** A circular bag net about three feet deep and two feet in diameter woven of either *fau* bark or coconut fiber. Three ropes were attached to the upper edge of this net at equal intervals, and were woven together into a single strand above its center. A large stone was placed in the bottom as a sinker, and the skin of a squid was attached to the juncture of the ropes as bait. The net was allowed to lie on the bottom for some time, and was then pulled up, the pull of the ropes closing the net and imprisoning any fish within it.

(2) **Maa:** A small dip net with a wooden hoop and pole, usually made of pineapple fiber.

(3) **Ho'ohē to'o:** Same as *maa*, except for the size of the net. *Ho'ohē* is the name of a small fish.

(4) **Pafio:** Same as the *ho'ohē to'o*, but of larger mesh and heavier material. This was used to catch crabs on the rocks.

(5) **Pafio Mao'o:** Net used for flying fish. There is some doubt whether this form is aboriginal, its introduction is ascribed by some to early Hawaiian missionaries and by others to certain Gilbert Island fishermen who at one time lived in the Marquesas. The modern flying fish net consists of a small bag net woven between the prongs of a forked stick, the outer edge being held taut by the tension of the sticks. Fork and net are attached to the end of a pole 10 to 15 feet in length. This form of net is used only in night fishing from canoes. A large torch is set up in the canoe and the flying fish, attracted by the light, rise to the surface and lie there. The net is slapped down over the fish, which jump upward and become entangled in it. The man using the net stands up, and as the native fishing canoes are extremely narrow and unsteady it is an exciting sport.

(6) **Pafio ihe:** A net identical with the flying fish net except for its smaller size. It is used for *ihe*, a variety of small fish.

(7) A special net was used in the Island of Ua Pou for catching parrot fish. The name of this net had been forgotten. It is said to have been about three feet square. The top was held open by crossed sticks. To the juncture of these sticks a live parrot fish was tethered by the gill. The net was then towed along the rocks where parrot fish were plentiful. According to the natives, each parrot fish has a special area from which it feeds, driving off invaders of the same species, and as soon as the tethered fish entered such a private domain the owner came out and attacked it. The net was then drawn up.

(8) *Paoa*: A long seine of *fau* bark. This form could be used at *Pua Ma'u*, where the beach shelves gradually, but was useless in most localities. One end of the seine was carried out from the beach by men wading or swimming and then brought back to the beach again at a point 75 to 100 yards away. It was then drawn in from both ends, with all the fish within the circle trapped. Such seines were provided with light wood floats along the upper edge and stone sinkers on the bottom.

(9) *Fifi*: Probably the same as the *fifi* of Dordillon's Dictionary, which he defines as a small net to catch turtles. According to native informants this was a very strong, large meshed seine made of cord twisted from the fiber of the coconut spathe. It was much wider than the *paoa* but like it was provided with floats and sinkers. The method of use was as follows: The net was set a short distance off any rocky place where the turtles were abundant, its line running more or less parallel to the shore. When in place, a number of men jumped into the water between the net and the shore and frightened the turtles, which, in their efforts to escape, became entangled in the net. As soon as it was evident from the movement of the floats that one had been caught a man dived down, disentangled the turtle, and tied it with *fau* bark cords, bringing it to the surface and giving it to the men in one of the canoes. The net was not drawn until the fishing was ended. From ten to twenty turtles were sometimes caught in this way in a single day.

(10) *Upena*: By far the most important of the Marquesan net forms. Descriptions obtained by Handy in Atu Ona and by the author in *Pua Ma'u* differ in some details. According to *Pua Ma'u* informants the cords composing it were made of *fau* bark twisted by rolling them on a smooth breadfruit log. According to informants of Atu Ona the cords were composed half of *fau* bark and half of plaited coconut fiber and were rolled upon the thigh. Both agree that at the time of rolling the cords were rubbed with a red earth called *ka'aea* which gave them a permanent color supposed to attract the fish. Ten men with coconut baskets were required to bring the earth for dyeing a single net. The net was woven by women skilled in the art under the direction of a *tuhuna upena*, the labor occupying twenty to thirty women for ten days or more. The work was carried on in a special house and was attended with various religious observances. In *Pua Ma'u* the *upena* was said to have been circular, about thirty feet across at the rim and decreasing gradually toward the bottom. The whole net was woven in one piece, the mesh being two fingers wide on the sides and somewhat less on the bottom. The upper end was held open by flexible poles or withes of *toa* wood placed about the circumference. The weight of the withes caused the net to sink. The net of Atu Ona is said to have been 30 to 36 feet square, tapering toward the bottom, which was finished by a special piece, "shaped like the crown of a hat," which was called *to'a pu'u*. Along the upper edge of each side was fastened a log of *toa* wood, to either end of which a line was attached.

The method of handling the *upena* appears to have been the same in both localities.

Four canoes set out about four hours before dawn with the net, two of these being large craft which carried eight men each, and two smaller, with a crew of three men each. When the fishing place was reached each of the large canoes put out four anchors, two at the bow and two at the stern. These anchors apparently were placed by the small canoes, one of which, called *vaca iti*, went to the east side while the other, called *vaca vaho*, went to the west. The net was then lowered between the two large canoes. When the net was submerged the *tuhuna* who supervised the fishing dived in and directed whether it was to be moved backward or forward. A skilled *tuhuna* was said to be able to see the fish under water and to hear them when they entered the net. When he considered the net full it was hauled up. The *upena* was drawn several times on a single trip.

Fishing with the *fifi* and *upena*, and probably with the *paoa*, was a community matter, and had associated with it elaborate religious observances.



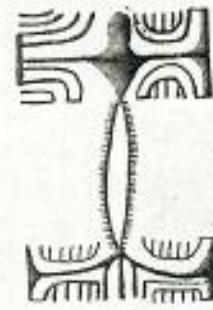
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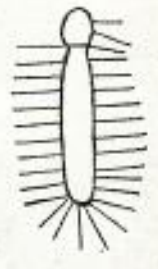
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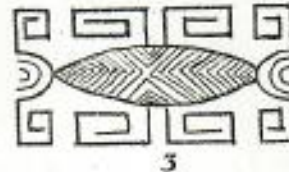
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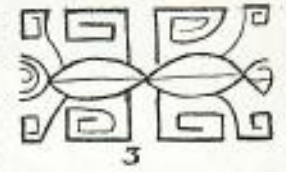
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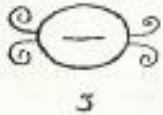
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4



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3



3



3



4

A

B

REPRESENTATIONS OF HUMAN AND ANIMAL FIGURES: A, 1-3, HUMAN FIGURES; B, 1-4, ANIMAL FIGURES.



A



E



B



C

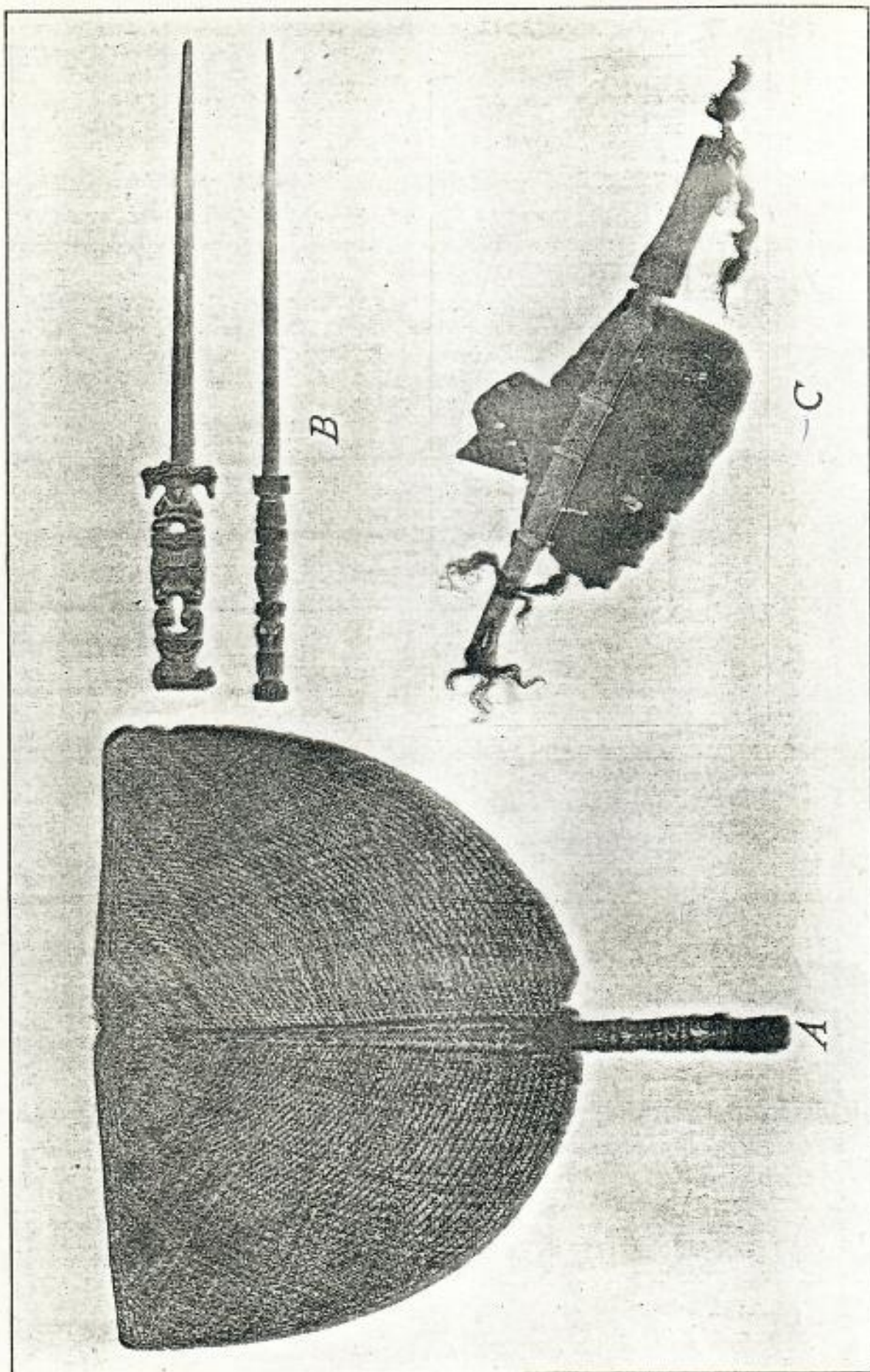


F

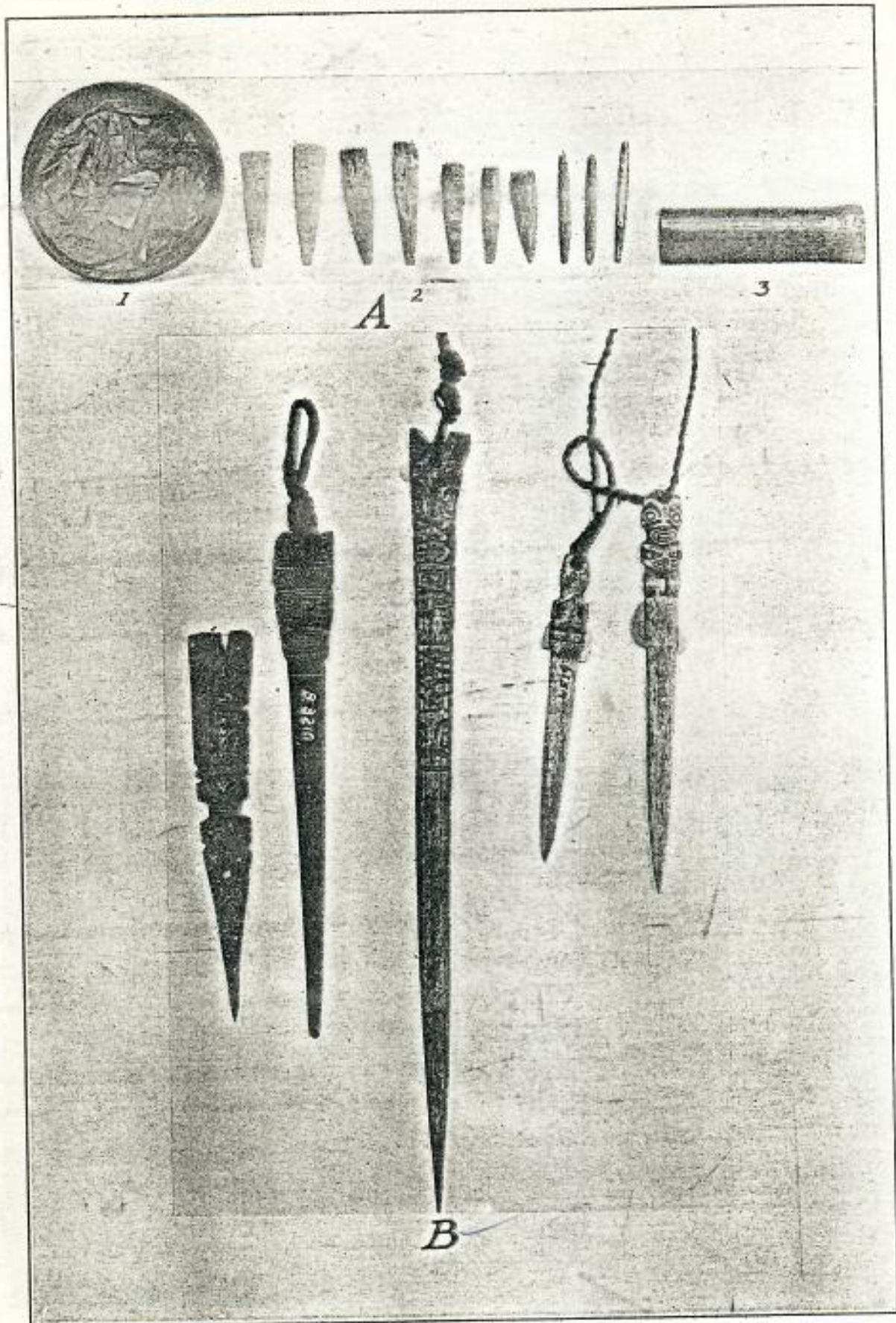


D

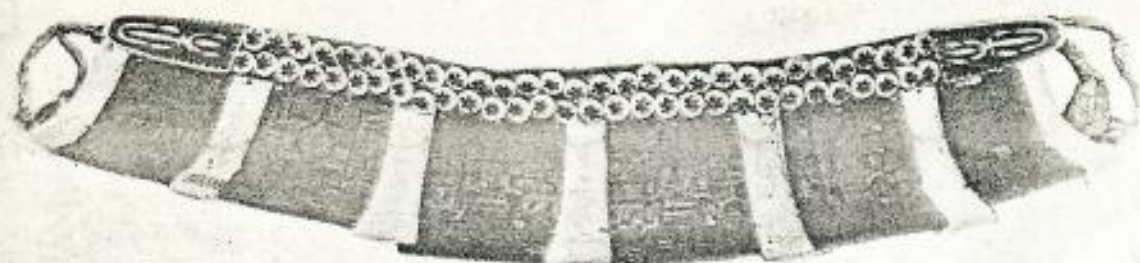
HEADDRESSES: A, PEUE EI, ORNAMENT OF PORPOISE TEETH WITH PAVAHINA (ORNAMENT OF WHITE BEARD ATTACHED), FRONT AND REAR VIEWS; B, PEUE EI MADE OF PIECES OF HUMAN BONE IN IMITATION OF TEETH; C UHIKANA, HEAD ORNAMENT OF PEARL AND TORTOISE SHELL, FRONT VIEW (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); D, HEAD-BAND OF BRAIDED COCONUT FIBER (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); E AND F, PAVAHINA, (F, PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM).



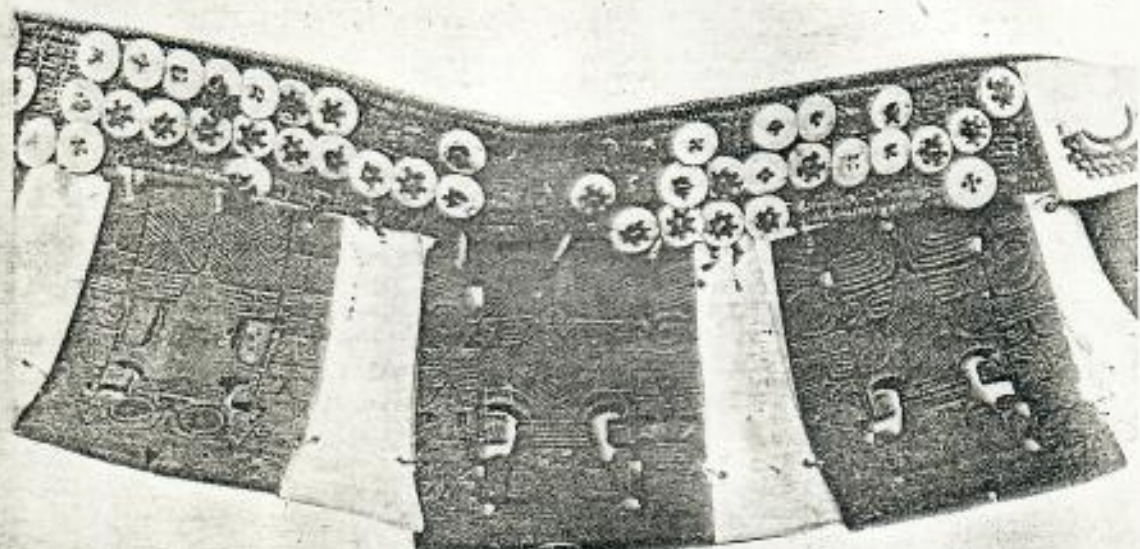
CEREMONIAL FANS: *A*, CHIEF'S FAN (PEABODY MUSEUM, SALEM); *B*, HANDLE OF CHIEF'S FAN, SIDE AND FRONT VIEWS; *C*, TORTOISE SHELL FAN USED BY FUNERALMERS.



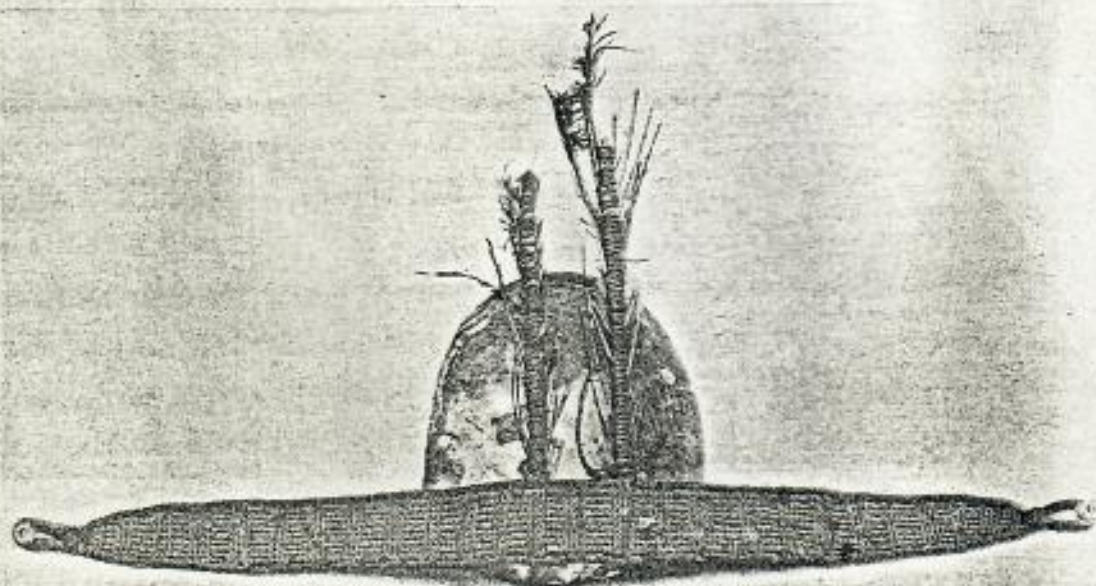
INSTRUMENTS FOR PERSONAL ORNAMENTATION: *A*, TATTOOING INSTRUMENTS—(1) COCONUT CUP CONTAINING PIGMENT, (2) COMB OF HUMAN AND BIRD BONE, (3) BAMBOO BOX IN WHICH COMBS ARE KEPT; *B*, EAR PIERCERS OF BONE AND TORTOISE SHELL.



A



B



C

HEADRESSES: *A*, PAEKAHA, CROWN OF TORTOISE SHELL AND CONCH SHELL; *B*, PAEKAHA, CLOSE VIEW OF VERY OLD SPECIMEN SHOWING CARVED TORTOISE SHELL PLAQUES; *C*, UHIKANA, ORNAMENT OF PEARL AND TORTOISE SHELL ON A PLAITED BAND, REAR VIEW.