

THE CHILD CHANGED INTO NANUE

Two women went at night to catch *tuamingo* fish. One of them had a little boy called Ahina-oioi, whom she took with her. The mother put the child to sleep and went catching *tuamingo* and crabs. While she was away, a spirit called Hiti-kapura came and took the child. He threw him into a pool of water. The child cried:

E nua e, i oti au,

I te rima o te varua o Hiti-kapura,

O mother, this is my end,

I am in the hands of the spirit Hiti-kapura,

Reflection of the moon.

O Ura uranga te mahina.

The two women heard the voice and said, "Listen, you. The child is crying over there." They went to the child. The mother took the child in her arms, but he fainted. She became afraid and put him back into the pool. The child came back to life. The mother wept for the child. The child also wept and lamented (chant repeated).

The tide rose and the place where the two women were crying was washed by the sea. A wave came and took the child away. The child was changed into a red fish. He swam to Marotiri. The two women followed him along the coast. The women arrived at Orongo and the fish at Motu-kaokao. He turned round and round the rock. The two women wept but the fish still turned round and round. The fish finally disappeared below the islet Motu-kaokao. The name of this fish, very good to eat, is *naniu-ahinaoioi*.

THE TURTLE VERI-PUPURA-VAI-A-PAKIA

A man called Vini-aika-noho-ne-ananake lived with his son in a house. They had two friends. One day Vini said to his son, "My boy, when I die, you look. A turtle called Veri-pupura-vai-a-pakia is going to land."

The man died and his son put his body on a platform, then deposited it in the alu Hanga-o-honu. The two friends took care of the child and helped him prepare the funeral of his father. They made for him the ceremonial earth oven (*takapu*).

One night the child had a dream of the turtle Veri-pupura-vai-a-pakia. He told his dream to his friends. One of them said, "Whom are you speaking to, oh boy? You are a liar." The boy said, "It is true. My turtle has landed." The other man made an earth oven in which he cooked a fowl and sweet potatoes. He gave the food to the child.

The following day the child left and went to Mahatua where he planted bananas, yams, and sweet potatoes. The turtle had really landed at Hanga-o-honu. The friend of the father who had laughed at the boy came and saw the turtle. He danced around it and made magic. He cried, "This is my turtle, Veri-pupura-vai-a-pakia." The child, Vini-a-ore-are, heard about the turtle from other people. He took a chicken, gathered sugar cane, loaded them on his back, and went to Hanga-o-honu. There he saw the man who had laughed at him singing over the turtle. Holding a white chicken, he cried, "You man, you are going to die. Do not chant over the turtle. You are going to die." The man fell down dead. Vini stepped on the turtle and cried over it. Afterwards he looked for the man who had made an earth oven for his dream. He heard that this man had made another earth oven. He had cooked a chicken and sweet potatoes which he wrapped in sugar-cane leaves. With his five sons carrying these bundles he went to Hotu-iti and gave the food to Vini-a-ore-are. Vini asked them, "Are you lost?" The man answered, "I came from my place to see the turtle." Vini-a-ore-are gave him the turtle. The man said, "Your turtle will arrive at Omohi." Vini answered, "There you will catch it." Vini-a-ore-are said to his turtle, "My father, you go to the region of Omohi." The turtle swam. The man and his sons went by land, the turtle by sea. The turtle landed at Omohi and its owner gave it as a present to his brother-in-law.

UHO AND THE TURTLE

A young girl, called Uho, went to the beach to sprinkle her bark cloth. She untied the knot of her stained belt and put it aside. After she had returned home with her

EXCERPT

calabash full of bark cloth she remembered her belt and said, "Alas, I have forgotten my stained belt." She returned to get it but a turtle had stolen it and swam off with it. Uho shouted, "Leave my stained belt." The turtle replied, "I shall leave your stained belt over there." Uho dived into the water and swam after the turtle. She cried, "Little turtle of the red penis, leave my stained belt." "Over there I shall leave your stained belt." She went on swimming after the turtle and arrived at another land. The turtle landed on the beach of this country and so did Uho. There she married a man called Mahuna-te-raa and gave birth to a girl.

Obu used to complain:

O te henua mata-po-uri ouu,
E Mahuna-te-raa kenu aaku
E tae pe uta oe tomatou.
Henua mata-macha i te uinga.
Aue, nua e, aue koro e, aue matua
E, aue nga kope.

This country of yours is dark,
O Mahuna-te-raa my husband,
It is not like our country.
On the bright side.
Alas, my mother, alas, my father,
Alas, the boys [her brothers].

Mahuna-te-raa asked, "Why are you crying?" "My eyes are sore with the smoke of the old woman. That is why they are swollen." The husband told his mother, "Decrease the smoke of your earth oven because it irritates the eyes of your daughter-in-law" who taught her child to sing:

E nua e, maea o runga ki raro koe,

Maea o raro ki runga koe,

E kara koe, e uko,
E huruhuru koe, e uko,
E ngutu koe, e uko,
E vae koe, e uko.

O child, when the stones are above,
you get below,
When the stones are below, you get
above,
You put on wings, and fly,
You put on feathers, and fly,
You put on a beak, and fly,
You put on feet, and fly.

At dawn Uho went to the beach and asked a bird that was passing by, "Come and take me on your back." The bird answered, "You are very heavy." Uho asked the turtle again, "Come, carry me on your back." The turtle said, "You are very heavy." She asked the little turtle again, "Little turtle of the red penis, come and carry me on your back." "With what are you going to pay me?" Uho called "With my vulva." The little turtle with the red penis shouted, "All right." He came to carry Uho and said, "If I dive, hold me firmly, if I go up, go up too, and if I dive, dive also." They arrived in Uho's land. The father of Uho saw her. He shouted, "Woman, do not come. It is a tapu of the girl Uho." Uho cried, "I am Uho." The father went down and asked, "Who are you?" "I am Uho." The father wept and took her to the house where her mother and brothers were. They all cried. Uho stayed with them.

Much later a feast was celebrated at Vinapu. Uho and her parents went there. The daughter of Uho flew from the land of Mahuna-te-raa, who was the husband of Uho. She arrived at Vinapu where her mother was. The people shouted, "There is a bird, there is a bird. Perhaps it belongs to Uho, the young girl." They threw stones at the bird. When the stones passed above it, the bird went down; when the stones passed under it, the bird went up. The men and the women cried to Uho, "Call the bird; it may be yours." Uho cried to the bird, "Here, here." The bird alighted. She shed her feathers. This bird was a person, the very daughter of Uho. All the men and women shouted, "She belongs perhaps to Uho." All the men, women, and children had a good laugh.

THE STORY OF THE OCTOPUS AKAVARIO OF HANGA-TEE

An urchin and a shell married. The shell became pregnant and gave birth to the octopus, Akaverio. The octopus nursed by his mother grew up.

Aio planted bananas, sugar cane, and potatoes and made heaps of soil for yams. When these plants were ripe, he prepared a big feast above the little mountain called the "Mountain of Aio". He plucked sugar cane and bananas and buried them in a big pit to hasten their ripening. He dug out yams and sweet potatoes and caught tuna, *pei* fish, and eels.

He sent a messenger to his mother in the mountain to invite her with his brothers to eat at the *koro* feast. She came with his aunts, uncles, and cousins. Not a single relative, even far apart, was forgotten. When they arrived the earth oven was opened. Aio said, "My mother and I are going to stay outside. You enter the *koro* house and eat." The uncles, aunts, the brothers, the cousins, the distant relatives entered the *koro* hut and ate. Aio cried to his people, "Put in bananas, put in sweet potatoes, put in sugar cane." "The sugar cane in the house is not finished," said the people in the house, "Stop sending more, be moderate, the house is already full." But Aio said to his men, "Press it, make it tight." They pressed the food in the house very tightly. The people in it could hardly breathe. Then Aio said to his men, "Burn the house."

After this, Aio said to his mother, "I am going to take care of you. I made a pile of sugar cane and shall put the load on your back." The mother said, "Aio, put a smaller load." He piled up more and more sugar cane until the woman succumbed under the weight and died. This was Aio's revenge.

THE REVENGE OF HERA-KEKEU-NUI

Hera-kekeu-nui had caught a turtle which he left in a big deep cave. A man admired the turtle, "Big is your turtle, oh, Hera. His body is full of water." Hera killed the man who had uttered this insult. He stayed there and killed all the people who said, "His body is full of water." The turtle was certainly big and for that reason people admired it for days and months, but Hera-kekeu-nui killed them. Finally Hera-kekeu-nui was defeated by Marama and Ureohi.

Hera-kekeu-nui and Hera-kara-kama who belonged to the defeated party took refuge in the house of a man called Hopohopo. Hera-kara-kama and the children of Hopohopo went to dig sweet potatoes, for there was a famine. Hera-kekeu-nui remained alone with the father, Hopohopo.

Hera-kara-kama and the children of Hopohopo arrived at a place where they looked for sweet potato shoots. The young sons of Hopohopo killed Hera-kara-kama and buried him in the ditch from which they had dug out the sweet potatoes. Hera-kekeu-nui looked for his cousin Hera-kara-kama from the top of Mount Kahu-rea. The young sons of Hopohopo returned to their house. The father asked, "Where is your relative, Hera-kara-kama?" The young men lied, saying that he had returned to his place. Hera-kekeu-nui heard the lies and on the next day went back to his place at Omohi. He planted bananas and went out to fish tuna. When he landed, people said that he had caught a great many tuna fish. Hera-kekeu-nui distributed them among the people. The young sons of Hopohopo heard about this. Their father Hopohopo advised them, "Beware, do not hide the things you have heard about the tuna of Hera-kekeu-nui." But the young men did not listen to him. The three went to Omohi where Hera distributed his tuna. Hera killed two of the boys and loaded the tuna on the third saying, "Carry the tuna. The people whom I killed to take revenge for the death of my cousin Hera-kara-kama have been exterminated. That is why I killed the two young sons of Hopohopo." The father Hopohopo went up to Mount Kahu-rea. He looked for the young men and saw that only one was coming down. He said to himself, "They are dead, for only one is coming."

ENGO

A warrior, named Engo, constantly looked at the bay of Hanga-roa where another man lived with his wife and two children. One night, while everybody was sleeping he entered the other house, a spear in his hands, and cut the throats of the children. The

parents awoke and saw that their children were dead. The woman said to her husband, "Who killed our children?" The parents stayed there with the hope of hearing something about the killing of the children, but they learned nothing.

One day the woman lit an earth oven to cook sweet potatoes. At night the husband said to his wife, "Go out to the earth oven, the food must be done. It is late in the evening; night is coming." The woman went out alone and opened the earth oven. Engo came just at that moment and killed her. The woman died in her earth oven. The husband, seeing that his wife did not return with the sweet potatoes, started to shiver without reason. Unable to move, he lay down. He went at dawn to the earth oven to see what had happened. He saw that his wife was dead. He wrapped her up and buried her.

The husband went in search of the murderer. He went from Hanga-roa to Vinapu, and to Hanga-tee, always listening to rumors. He finally arrived at Anakena where lived Ure-a-toro a warrior who was watching prisoners. Engo also lived at this place where one of his daughters gave birth to a child. The daughter of Engo left with her three children. She arrived at Vinapu by the bay called Hanga-te-pau. There she dug a pit among the loose stones and entered it with her three children. She covered the opening with gravel. People walked above this woman and her children causing them pain. One day two men came to catch crayfish and conger eels, entering the water in the direction of Motu-topu. When they had a full basket they returned to the shore where the woman and the three children were concealed. They left the basket containing the crayfish and the conger eels and went to drink at a place called Ite-tahc-te-vae. The daughter of Engo took the basket and hid it under the stones. The owners looked for it everywhere, but could not find it. One of them said, "Our basket of crayfish has been stolen." Then they departed.

The woman took the basket and with her two children left the place. She arrived at Hanga-parera. There she hid her children in a cave and went to Apuha where lived one of her aunts. The husband of this aunt looked at her and asked, "Where are your children?" "In a cave at Hanga-parera." The aunt said, "Go back and fetch your children. Let us all stay here." The woman returned to the cave, took her children, and went back to the house of her aunt.

The father of the murdered children saw the daughter of Engo and went to kill her. But the aunt shouted, "It is all right. If you take away the people protected by a great man, my husband will kill you." The injured man was afraid. He did not take the revenge for the murder of his children and of his wife killed in Hanga-roa.

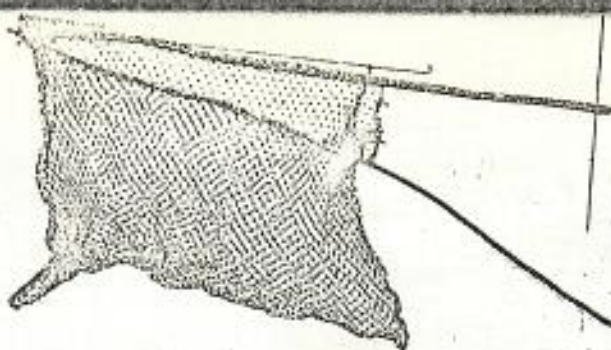
THE TWO CANNIBALS

Two men were weeding around banana trees for another man. The owner of the field went to fish shark, and left his red cape on a rock. When the two workers were sure he had left, they seized a child to cook as compensation for their labor in weeding grass around the banana trees.

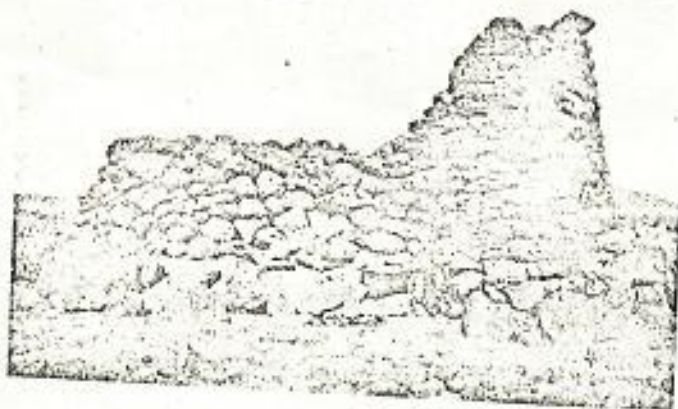
Later the owner of the land looked for his red cape which had disappeared. He finally found it in a cave where it had been pulled by a child. The owner of the field asked, "Who are you?" The child answered, "I came here to get some fire. These two men took me and put me in this cave to eat me." The owner of the field shouted to the two men, "Get out, go away from my land. I don't like cannibals on my land. Get out, leave." He untied the child and said, "Return to your parents."

THE TWO FRIENDS

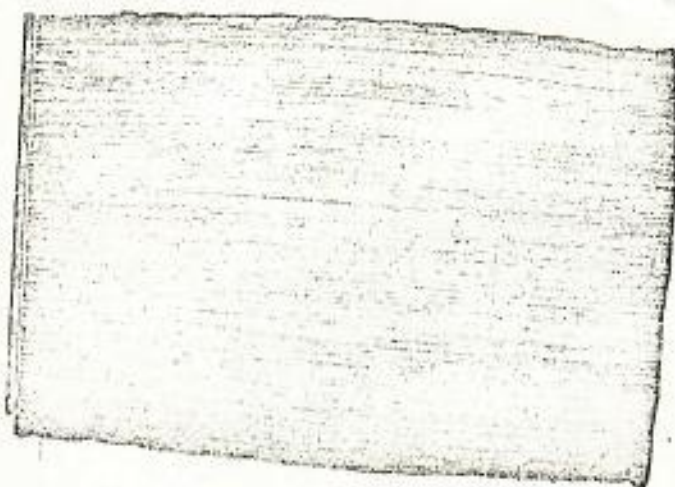
A man from Marama came to Hanga-tee. There he met Iri-a-hiva-a-te-kena. Together they made an earth oven and ate the food cooked in it. When war broke out, the young man returned to his home, but Iri-a-hiva-a-te-kena joined a war party and fought. When the war was over they met again. They were good friends and were very fond of each other. Another war started. The young man of Marama returned to Hanga-tee,



A



B

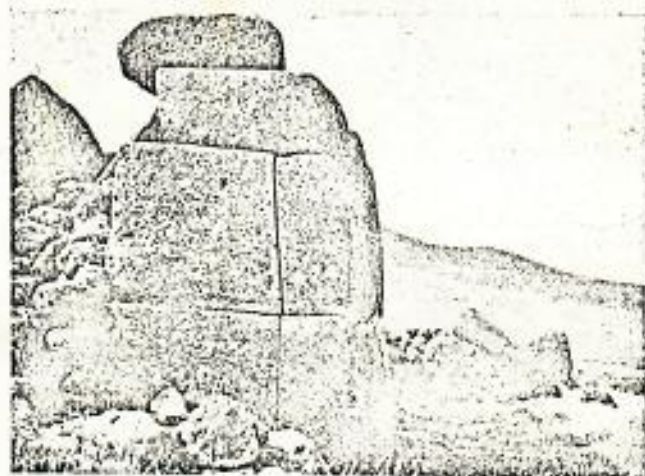


C

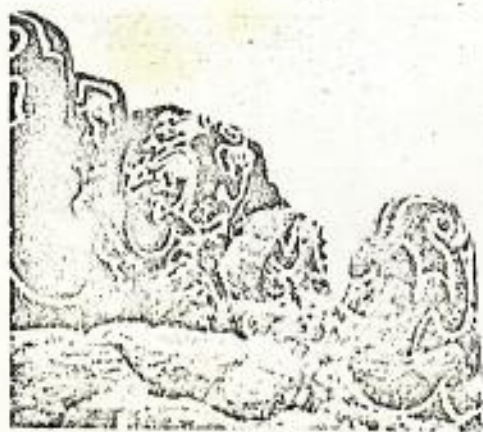
A, DOUBLE-HANDLED DIP NET, BAG 76 CM. DEEP, 140 CM. LONG, MESHES 2 CM. WIDE, POLES 140 AND 161 CM. LONG (MUS. F. VOLKERRKUNDE, BERLIN, VI.4952); B, TURTLE WATCHTOWER (TUPA) NEAR LA PÉROUSE; C, REED MAT (MUS. F. VOLKERRKUNDE, BERLIN, VI.4970).



A



B

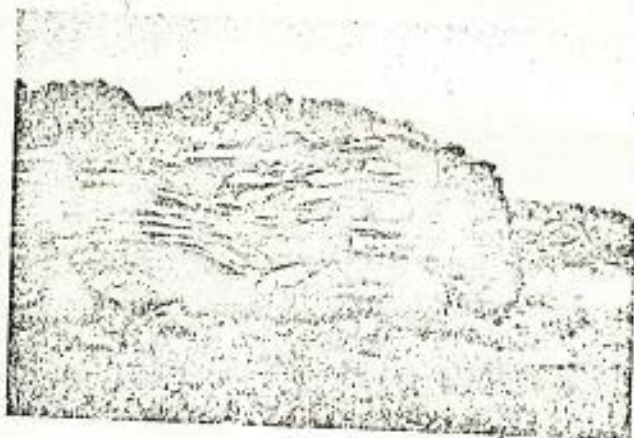


C

A, STATUE FROM AHU NEAR ANAKENA BAY; B, AHU VINAPU, CORNER; C, PETROGLYPHS AT ORONGO.



A



B



C

A, STONE FOUNDATION OF A HOUSE; B, STONE HOUSE AT ORONGO; C, TAPU
PILLAR (PIPL-HERERO) NEAR AHU TONGA-RIKI ON THE SOUTH COAST.

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is a good sense of movement and a harmonious combination of conventionalized and naturalistic elements.

The signs are made in boustrophedon arrangement, that is every other line of figures is upside down so that the sequence is continuous. Every line is read from left to right (115, p. 252; 194, p. 242) and the tablet must be turned at the end of each line or else half the lines must be read upside down. The heads of the animals generally face toward the right.

There is great need of a list of all the signs used on the tablets. I have attempted to classify the 1,000 signs which occur on the tablet Aruku-kurenga. Jaussen (115, pp. 259-270) made a general list of the signs of the so-called Easter Island script, but his list is not valuable because it is based on only five tablets, the signs are poorly copied and are repeated, and the classification is based on assumed meaning rather than on form of drawing. A study of many tablets, photographs, and casts shows that, though there are many variations and combinations of signs, the basic figures are few. Apparently the artist paid little attention to uniformity. The principal signs are of men, birds, bird-men, double-headed birds, parts of the body (vulva, hands, and feet), fish turtles, crabs, octopuses, centipedes, plants of various descriptions, implements, weapons, ornaments, ships, celestial bodies, geometrical motifs like series of triangles, lozenges, perpendicular sticks, series of circles, and so forth. These signs are sometimes combined to form strange groups. Some of the associations are casual and must be regarded as a sort of cursive writing, but other combinations may have a definite significance.

Recent informants say that there were several kinds of tablets, each named after its subject. Tablets recording feasts were *tau*; those for the dead, *kohau-o-te-tangata-mate*; those for wars, *kohau-o-te-ranga* (literally, sticks-of-the-expulsions); those for prayers, *kohau-hiri-tuku-hi-te-atua-kia-Rarai-Hova* (sticks-for-the-invocations-to-the-god-Rarai-Hova). In the native version of the legend of Hotu-matua, the first king is said to have founded schools in which pupils were taught to make the various kinds of tablets.

My informant was probably mistaken when he mentioned the *kohau-o-te-ranga* as a special category of tablets. Routledge (194, p. 249) speaks of *kohau-o-te-ranga* as the name of a single tablet, "reported to have been brought by the first immigrants; it had the notable property of securing victory to its holders, in such a manner that they were able to get hold of the enemy for the *ranga* that is, as captives or slaves for manual labour." This tablet belonged to Nga-ara, but was stolen by a man called Kaara, who gave it to an expert chanter, Arohio. The son of Arohio traded it to the French missionaries and it may be one of the tablets at Braine-le-Comte. There were undoubtedly other similar lists of wars.

The *tau* was an inferior writing to record the deeds of a man for whom a *koro* or feast was given. On this occasion a tablet was incised telling "how



(A) HANGA-O-HONU



B



C

A, FACADE OF AHU HANGA-O-HONU MADE OF FITTED, SQUARE SLABS OF BASALT; B, AHU TAVARI, SEMI-PYRAMIDAL TYPE (AHU PARPAE); C, AHU PORPOE NEAR AHU MAHATUA ON THE NORTH COAST.

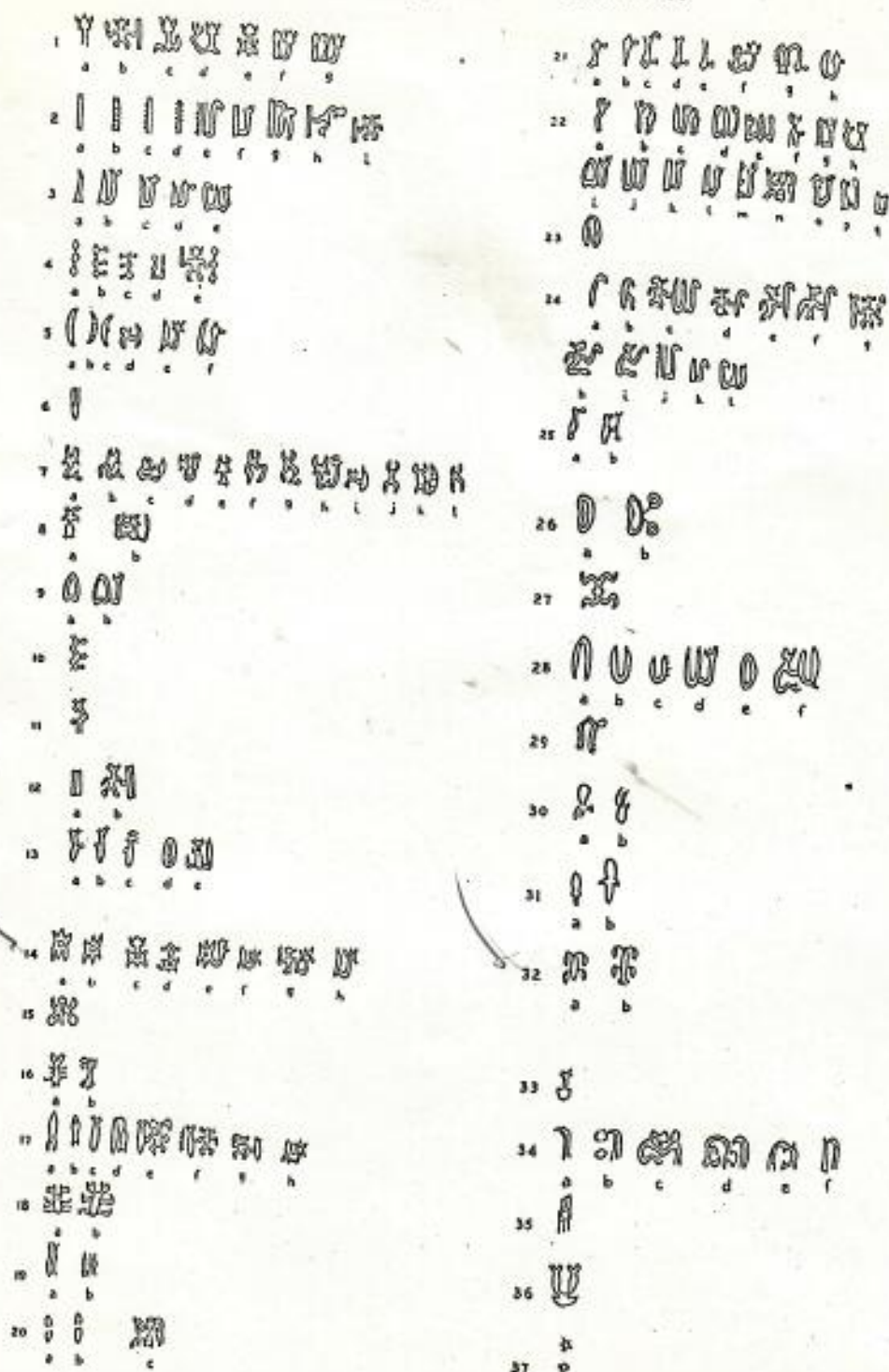


FIGURE 58.—Signs on tablet Aruku-leurenga.

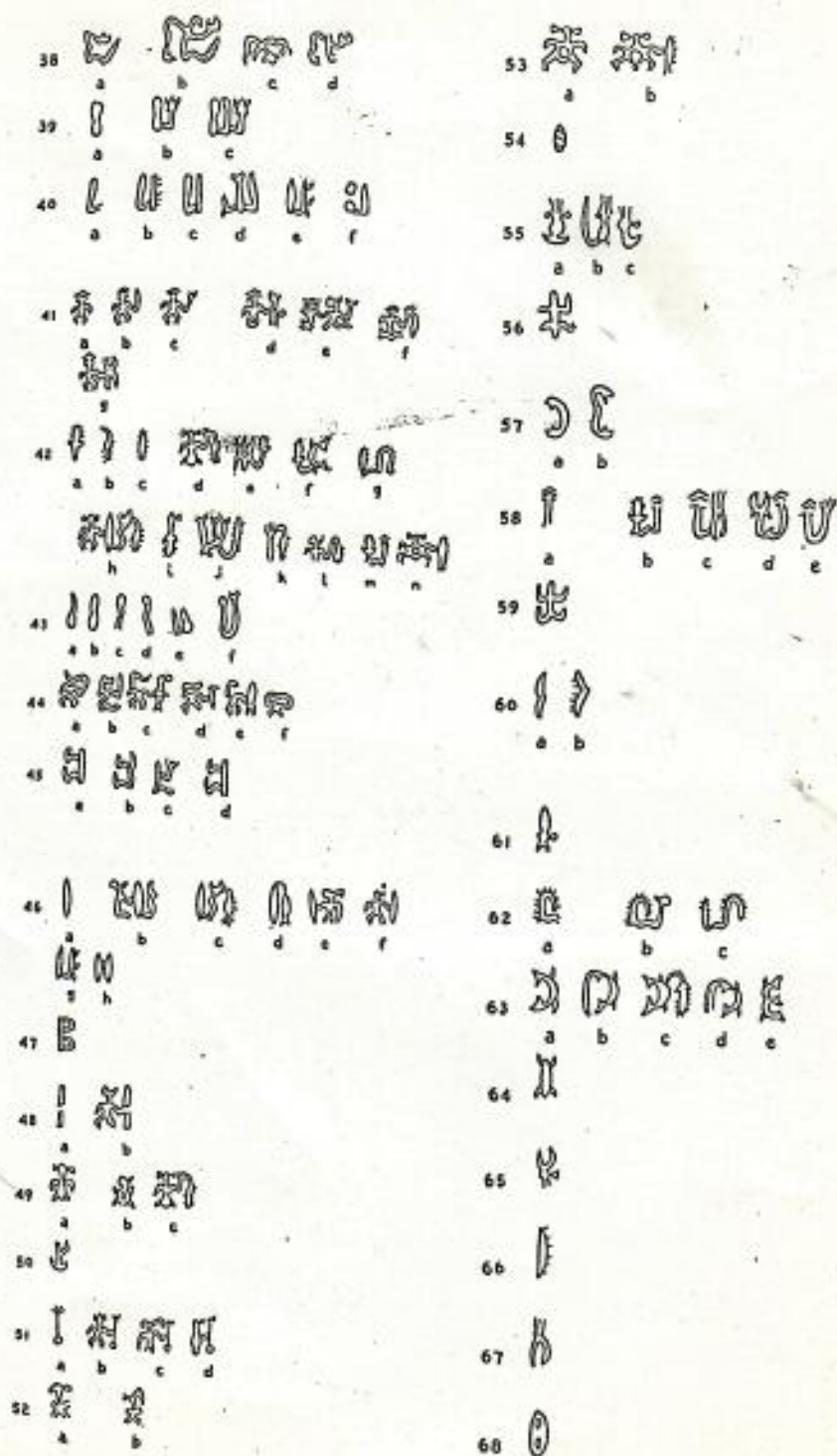


FIGURE 58.—Signs on tablet Aruku-kurenga (Continued).

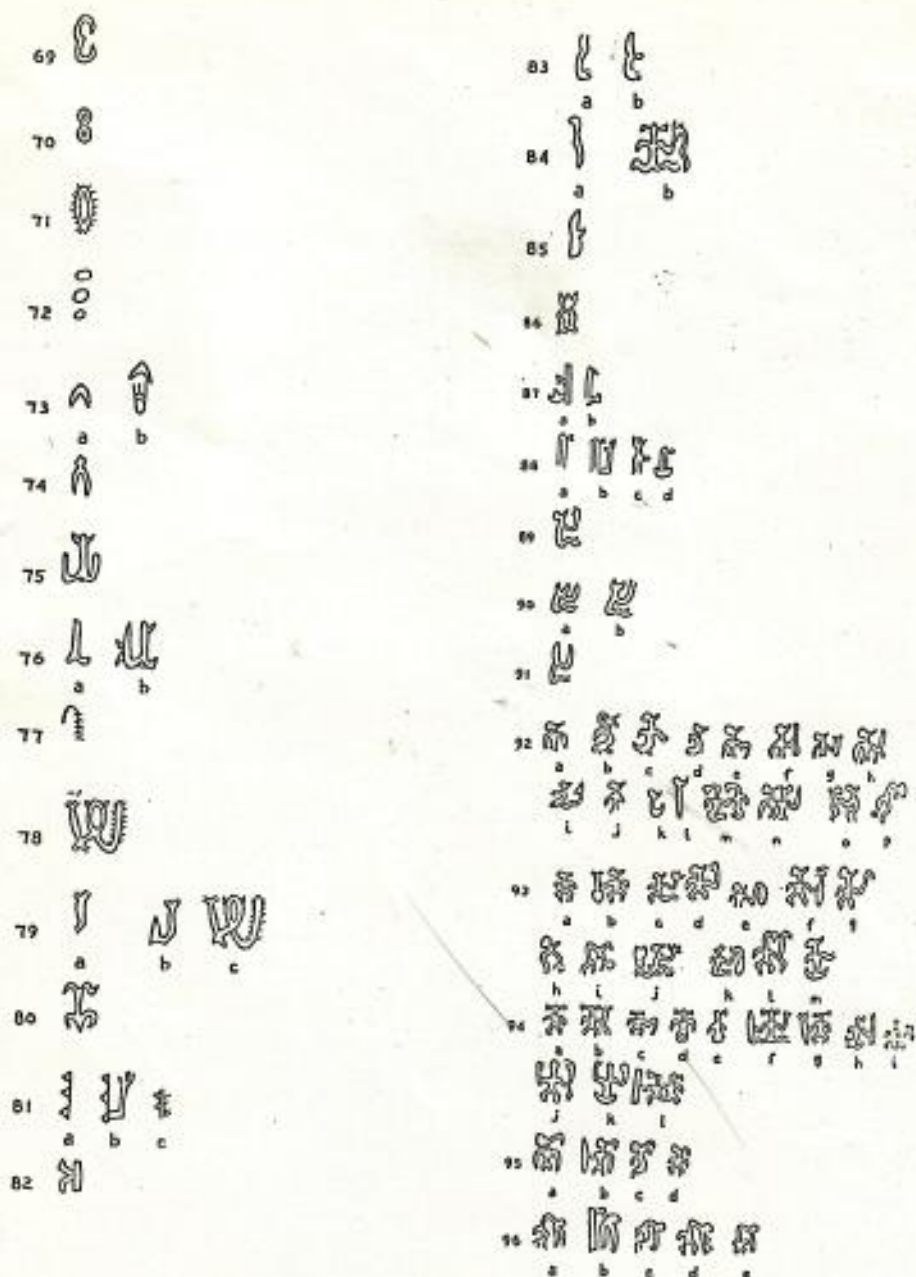


FIGURE 58.—Signs on tablet Aruku-kurenga (Continued).

A Hungarian linguist, Mr. de Hevesy, has supposedly found striking similarities between the Easter Island symbols and a script recently discovered in the Indus Valley at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. This theory, accepted by many, needs a thorough revision and an analytic study such as the one I attempted in a special article (154).

TABLE 5. SYMBOLS USED ON THE TABLET ARUKU-KURENGA:
ANALYTICAL LIST OF THE SIGNS²⁵

1. Symbol characterized by triangle with two hornlike appendages. Appears 14 times: as head of human figure (6), isolated in rows V, IX, XII (3), combined with other figures (5). Two combinations: in some symbols the triangle is part of symbol and forms a head on a body as in *b-c*; combination in others possibly accidental, or may be independent.
2. Symbol isolated, appears 23 times: in row V (5); *b-d* are variants or morphologically close to symbol; *b* in rows VII, XV, XVI (3); *c-d* in rows III, VI (2).
3. One of the most common symbols, occurs 20 times: combined as in *b* (12); as in *c* (1); as in *d* (1).
4. Occurs 17 times: most lozenges have human ear on one side; rarely combined as in *c* and *d*.
5. Symbol simple but rare, isolated (6): *b* and *c* probable variants.
6. Symbol represents vulva, not restricted to tablets but carved on rocks and boulders: occurs on tablet (10); connected with adjacent symbol (1), but as same group appears divided farther on, we may assume combination is casual in row I.
7. Numerous variants of symbol, outline of a large sea animal, probably a whale. Appears 16 times, never reproduced identically. Form *g* illustrates how signs were modified by fancy of artist; carver added a hand to one fin of *b* (3) with no apparent purpose to form *g*. Body of animal has been interpreted as human leg, distorted outline of whale's body and fins suggesting appearance of two limbs to carver. Sometimes body of whale terminates in appendage at lower limbs as in *c*; sometimes combined as in *k* and *i* (2). Forms *j-l* seem to be related to *i*, though this cannot be ascertained; occurs 5 times: combined (4); isolated in row XI (1).
8. Symbol common on other tablets, appears here only 4 times combined in row XXII (*b*).
9. Symbol appears twice in row V: isolated (1), combined with hand (1).
10. Occurs 7 times.
11. Symbol closely related morphologically to preceding one: appears 7 times, never combined.
12. Occurs twice: isolated (1), combined with bird-man (1).
13. Occurs 15 times: concentrated chiefly in row IX (8) and row XIII (4); enclosed in oval in *d* (1).
14. Symbol interpreted by Metoro as sun or fire. Occurs isolated 14 times: combined into single symbol *c-d*; connected with fish, bird, or crescent *f-h*.
15. Appears once in row VI.
16. Insect or sea animal: sign *a* occurs in line V (2); *b* isolated in row VII.
17. Isolated fish occurs 25 times: fish held by frigate bird, *e* (4), by tern (1), by human figure, *f* (12).

²⁵ Bold-faced arabic numerals correspond to numbered rows on figure 58 and italic lower-case letters refer to lettered parts on the same figure. Roman numerals correspond to order or rows as given by Janssen. Row I is at the base of the convex side and along the longest edge of the tablet. Numbers in parentheses indicate number of times a sign is found on the tablet.