PACIFIC ISLANDS

GEORGE BALAZS

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This photograph of Kapingamarangi elders was taken on the Bishop Museum's 1947 expedition.

The Polynesian Outliers

By Russ and Peg Apple

Tales of Old Hawaii

ANY ATTEMPT to bound or put a geometrical figure around Pacific islands discovered and settled by Polynesians has to ignore the Polynesian outliers.

Polynesian outliers are Polynesian islands surrounded by other Pacific culture groups and are found in Melanesia and Micronesia.

There are no Melanesian or Micronesian outliers, however, in the so-called Polynesian Triangle.

Western geographers thought up that term to describe the Pacific ocean area with the points of the "triangle" at New Zealand, Easter Island and Hawai'i. This area of Polynesia has such place names as Wallis, Futuna, Tonga, Samoa, Tokelau, Cooks, Tahiti, Bora Bora, Tuamotu and Marquesas.

MAP MAKERS MUST bulge out the western leg of the triangle to include the Ellice Island group where Polynesians live.

There are a few small islands inhabited by Polynesians in Melanesia and Micronesia, outside of the Polynesian Triangle.

Well outside the triangle are the Polynesian outliers, well to the west.

No anthropologist yet has solved the mystery of when, how and why Polynesians migrated and settled amidst other ethnic areas. It all happened, of course, long before Western ships first sailed into the Pacific.

Fans of the recent voyages of the Hawai'i-built Hoku-le'a know that discovery and settlement of far-flung Pacific islands by sailing canoes using non-instrument navigation was typical Polynesian behavior.

ONE WELL-KNOWN Polynesian outlier is Tikopia, deep in Melanesia and in the Solomon Islands.

British anthropologist Raymond Firth visited and studied Tikopia in 1928 and again in 1952. His resulting books, "We the Tikopia" and "Social Change in Tikopia" are usually required reading for anthropology students.

Rennel, Bellona, Anuta, Ontong Java and Sikaiana are other Polynesian outliers in Melanesia. All are below the equator.

IN MICRONESIA are the islands of Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro, above the equator and far to the southwest of the mountainous island of Ponape.

Isolated by vast ocean distances even from Micronesia, Kapingamarangi is an atoll with 33 islets perched on a reef.

Its islets enclose a central lagoon.

In isolation, its Polynesian culture, shaped perhaps centuries before somewhere in the Polynesian triangle, kept on being Polynesian.

KAPINGAMARANGI IS part of Micronesia politically. Micronesia's Spanish and German occupation periods brought a few European products, a few traders and but little cultural change.

A resident Japanese was storekeeper and civil administrator during the Japanese mandate (1914-1945). American naval units shelled the atoll several times during World War II.

Then, with the rest of Micronesia, Kapingamarangi became part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, administered first by the U.S. Navy and now by the Department of the Interior.

Keep Kapingamarangi high on the list of Polynesian islands that have retained their culture.

BECAUSE OF its comparatively pure culture, German anthropologists spent a week there in 1910.

Next in 1947, came an expedition from Hawai'i's Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum: Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter H. Buck) and Kenneth P. Emory, anthropologists; Samuel H. Elbert, linguist; and Carroll J. Lathrop, still and movie photographer.

Emory took a pathologist from Dartmouth Medical School, Dr. Ralph E. Miller, with him on a second visit in 1950.

Reports published by these scientists and a few others who have found their way to Kapingamarangi have turned this atoll from one of the least known Polynesian outliers to one of the best known.

B.P. Bishop Museum Photo by K. P. Emory

In the shade of tall palms stands the village well of Tepuka Maruia

CLIFFORD GESSLER

The Dangerous Islands

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9. *Leaves out of the Past*

VISITORS at Tepuka and Tepoto are received very differently now than in the time when Commodore John Byron gave them the name "Islands of Disappointment."

The green interior of Tepoto must have looked inviting to Byron and his scurvy-crippled men on that June morning—their first landfall since April. They had passed through the Strait of Magellan, halted briefly at Mas Afuero, off the South American coast; had sailed over the reputed location of "Davis Land," and on through wide empty seas.

The old-fashioned hand-set type of his record, deeply impressed into the discoloured pages, calls up as vividly to-day the picture of that landfall a hundred and seventy-odd years ago.

They tried to land on Tepoto, "which, as we drew near it, had a most beautiful appearance; it was surrounded by a beach of the finest white sand; and within, it was covered with tall trees, which extended their shade to a great distance and formed the most delightful groves that could be imagined."

They wanted badly to land, for they could see coco-nuts in abundance, and the shells of turtles on the shore indicated a supply of fresh meat. Their hardship-sharpened imaginations even conjured visions of limes, bananas and other fruits that these coral islands do not yield.

A violent surf was breaking on the red reefs. The ancestors of my Tepoto friends threatened the intruders with spears, which to the eyes of Byron and his men seemed "at least sixteen feet long," and enacted a savage pantomime, throwing themselves backward and lying as if dead, implying, the commodore surmised, that it would be

death to set foot on these shores. The Tepoto men hauled their canoes up into the forest and went out into the water to seize the strangers' landing-boat. The smoke of their signal fires on the shore was answered from Tepuka.

"They were of a deep copper colour, exceedingly stout and well limbed, and remarkably nimble and active, for" (after the commodore, by way of impressing the islanders with the power of His Majesty's Navy, had fired over their heads what was probably the first shot that ever woke the echoes of those groves) "I never saw men run so fast in my life."

Finding no anchorage, the explorers next day tried the neighbouring larger atoll, where again men came to the shore with spears.

There appeared to be no chance of a landing without an armed encounter, so—

"At half an hour after ten, we bore away and made sail to the westward, finding it impossible to procure at the islands any refreshment for our sick, whose situation was becoming more deplorable every hour, and I therefore called them the Islands of Disappointment."

Such is the account of the first white man known to have looked upon the two lands of the puka trees.

The next recorded visitors, an American naval party commanded by Charles Wilkes, seventy-four years later, found the natives much of the same disposition, but effected on both islands the first landing by white men of which any record survives.

Wilkes even exchanged presents with the chief, whom he describes as a very old man with legs enormously swelled and whitened by elephantiasis, and who pressed his face to that of the American commander, much to the latter's disgust, "making a noise like the purring of a cat."

Wilkes' Maori interpreter, incidentally, picked up "names" for the two islands, which they still bear on many charts but which natives of the islands to-day do not recognize in any of their traditions. My own guess is that he repeated here the incident of the Spaniards at Yucatan.

When asked for the name of the country, the native addressed probably replied, "Who are you?" and those words in the island language were solemnly written down, somewhat garbled, as the name.

Wilkes' memoirs of the voyage record an instance of what we could recognize as typical Tuamotuan humour. Noticing that no women or children were in sight, the visitors inquired where they were, whereupon:

"A general burst of laughter ensued, and they gave us to understand that they had penetrated our motive for visiting the island; that as we inhabited an island without any women, we wanted to have some.

"Nothing more was said to them on the subject," adds the prudent commander.

Drayton, artist of the expedition, made drawings of natives in which I can trace resemblances to men living there to-day. One of them reveals unmistakably the family traits of our acquaintance Varoa.

Catholic missionaries later entered through a local man who had been converted elsewhere and who prepared the way. Thus the islands became "tamed" for Christianity and incidentally for trade.

Perhaps we owe it to those black-robed priests of sixty years ago, that we were met with gifts of food and drink instead of spears. We should be grateful, no doubt, like that man in Hawaii who, long ago, inveighing to the king against the changes wrought by missionaries, expressed a wish that he could have been there in the pagan time.

"If you had," replied the king, "you might not have liked it so well. In the few minutes you have been in my presence, you have violated three tabus. Were this the pagan era, you would now have been dead three times."

But with the perversity of those who love Polynesians and Polynesian life, we were most glad for the shreds of ancient tradition and custom that still remain; for old men's memories of the pagan time, for the simple ways of life that linger in that wreath-shaped land, and for the chants that sound thinly, solemnly, through the haunted night.

daughter of Teuri for an egg. Then I drew on my near-white trousers which had been washed for me on Saturday, and walked across backyards, so as to be as inconspicuous as possible, toward the church.

I was not, however, to evade the keen eyes of the villagers. Temata á Maru, who, I had observed, was not altogether regular in attendance herself, and always sat outside, hailed me from her seat under a coco-nut tree.

"Where are you going?"

"To church," I replied virtuously.

"It is over," she taunted. "Bad man!" she called after me as I took refuge behind the new house that had been built for the absent missionary. I waited till the crowd had emerged, then moved out in as dignified and unconcerned a manner as possible to join the procession, but this transparent ruse did not deceive the parishioners.

After that, I gave up attendance entirely, and let Keneti uphold the devotional honour of our household.

I was unable to detect what influence, if any, religion had on daily life. Perhaps it had softened the savage ways of the islanders, as described in old accounts; though our informants in the village told us that the violence that had characterized many of the islands had never been true of Tepuka. Nor could the church be charged with having done the islanders any great harm. It had substituted a new set of ceremonies for the old, and provided a community gathering place and a reason for assembling. The singing, and participation in the service, gave them a mode of social expression to replace, in a way, the old pagan rites. Beyond that, it did not seem greatly to affect their life. For the most part, they kept, as they probably had done before they were "converted," all the commandments save, in its broad interpretation, one—and that one was so foreign to their rooted custom that it surely could have no meaning for them.

After one of these religious discussions with the serious-minded Teuri, we went out and across the street to the house of Te Uru te Po, one of the old men of the village whose memory runs back beyond the time of the church and the black-robed priests. Te Uru te Po, clad only in

a scanty loin-cloth, was squatting beside his fire of coco-nut husks, broiling a fish on hot stones.

"I am not of this age," he said. "I am of the heathen time. I have eaten the turtle on the *marae*."

"What was life like in the heathen time?"

"It was very good," he replied. "There was no fuss about going to church. One day was like another. We wore the loin-cloth and the wrap of matting; the women did not spend their time washing and ironing clothes, as they do now. If people fell ill, there was no nonsense about foreign medicines. They got well, or they died. We did not pray, except to the ancestors for food."

"Tell us, Te Uru te Po, which was better, the ancient time or the new time?"

Te Uru te Po looked out toward the sea from eyes blue with age.

"The men of Tepuka have not learned to lie," he said. "The heathen time was better. . . . We had no Sunday then!"

14. "Kawkaw"

"We shall have," said Keneti, the third week of our stay, "to ration our cigarettes."

For our position in the community at that time seemed to be first as objects of curiosity and second as a source of free tobacco.

The word for it is written, in Tuamotuan, *kavakava*, and pronounced, in the Tepuka dialect, *kawkaw*. It was the word we heard oftenest during our stay. Though the Polynesians did not know tobacco until the white man brought it, they took to it readily from the time of the first voyagers. Of the people of Tepuka, I knew only three who did not smoke.

Our American cigarettes were a novelty, and though the islanders insisted they did not like them as well as their own tongue-biting varieties, they never neglected an opportunity

you with this duty, now that I shall not be here to give these new sons of mine this teaching.

"This is enough of words. I must go now. The path is dark before me; you remain. Life be to you, my children, in God! The ship awaits. Life be to you all in God! I go."

It was another strange picture of mingled civilization and primitive life: the villagers in their best clothes; the great tricolour flapping in the wind under a sun that made a white glare on the sand; the palms behind them and the white steeple of the Sacred Heart thrusting above the trees where the ancestral stones of the temple enclosure once had stood; the dark, grave faces, and the low, slow words of Maono, in the ancient language of those ancestors who had eaten the turtle on this spot and shared it with the gods.

Keneti and I, despite the chief's reference to us, had no part in this. For the moment, we were forgotten. We stood on the outer edges of the gathering, observing the scenes of a Polynesian leave-taking.

Maono made a brief formal transfer of his authority to Teuri and, followed by the men and women of his immediate family, walked across the glaring sands to the reef where the whaleboat lay. Sailors lined up on either side to launch the boat into the waves. Men took leave of Maono and his travelling-companion, burying their faces in his neck or side, holding the pose while Maono stood stiffly, gazing over their heads.

Teingo, his wife, shrieked and lamented shrilly, and would have fallen on the ground had not two relatives supported her. They bore her, still wailing, to a place under a tree at a little distance.

Maono and Machanga the Younger stepped into the boat and were rowed away to meet their uncertain fate.

We returned sadly to the village, sharing with its citizens the grief and anxiety they felt for their chief, who in that short time had become dear to us as well. The *Ruabatu* spread sail and disappeared slowly in the horizon. The people resumed their daily tasks. Hei and Tuata no doubt began that very day composing the first of that series of

"hymns" which were to be sung almost nightly, in preparation for the chief's return.

Keneti and I were more anxious than we were willing to admit. We had liked Maono since the first sight of his friendly, open countenance. We feared he would be helpless in Papeete and become entangled in legal procedure that would bewilder him still further. That uncertainty to some extent shadowed all our days on the island. It was to be months before we were to know. Meanwhile, we returned to our task of learning more of his people and their ways.

17. *A South Sea Kulak*

THERE was flour in the village, the visiting Chinese from the *Ruabatu* having paid for copra in that commodity. With characteristic Tepuka procedure, thrifty in all things save preservation of food, a large community baking was immediately under way. Whether because wheat flour is a foreign luxury, or because of fear that, like most of their own produce, it will not keep, they must use it all at once. Probably it was for neither of these reasons, but proceeded rather from the established habit of the Tepukans, who each day catch enough fish for that day's food and do not try to keep it over for the next day. A striking instance of this disposition was furnished later by Temae, when Keneti, in return for the old man's services in guiding him to a temple ruin on the windward side of the island, gave him a bag of rice. Temae pressed into service all the pots, pans and oil cans he could find, and cooked all the rice at one time.

Earth ovens were prepared. Flour and water were mixed and wrapped in coco-nut leaves, making a small but solid loaf. Tepuka knows not the uses of yeast, or has none to use. Stones were heated and rolled into the shallow excavations; upon these were laid fragrant leaves; the bread upon these, more leaves above, and the whole covered with earth and a top layer of palm branches.

that usually placid young woman to tears. Ariki got up from his mat and separated the combatants, beseeching them to be quiet and let him and Tukua sleep. Keneti, arising also in his wrath, announced that if they did it again he would beat on a tin can all night.

But our attention to the young people's literature had its effect in wearing down the opposition of the conservative elders. Kararo stopped at our door next day.

"Come to my house at midnight," he said. "We are going to chant."

So after midnight we lay on the mats in the house of Kararo—a large house, raised high on a platform of stones. A smoky lantern cast a small circle of light in the centre, leaving the corners in shadow.

Tangia raised her weather-beaten face and began, in a low, muffled tone, slowly, syllable by syllable, each sound carrying equal weight:

"The ringoringo comes on the southern wind. . . ."

With equal deliberation and solemn intensity, the others joined in:

"O bird of death, O bird of life,
Give courage in this hour of wondering!"

It was a lament, Kararo said, "the mourning of parents for an absent child." The child, as Kararo's daughter who had gone to Fakahina, is absent; the parent in these islands where communication is so infrequent, has had no news of his dear one. The parent chants, both to soothe his own troubled spirit and to reach, in some telepathic way, the spirit of his loved one in the far land.

"The ringoringo," Kararo explained, "is a spirit, a spirit-bird out of the Great Darkness, where the ancestors dwell. We do not know what it looks like. No one has ever seen the ghost-bird, but we hear its voice at night. It is a gentle voice; one can hardly hear it above the surf and the rustling of the leaves. When we hear it, we know there is going to be some change in our lives. If it comes

from the south, the meaning may be either good or bad; if it comes from the north, it is a messenger of death."

Is the child well or ill in that far land?

"Is it the bird of death
or the bird of life that comes? . . .
The remote islands are hidden in cloud
in the search for my child.
O ghost-bird, essence of the god,
come from the south!
Give courage in this hour of wondering!"

For the first time I felt drawn to the avaricious old Kararo, as his face softened and lit up with the chanting. Kararo never seemed quite the same after that; we had had a glimpse into his deeper heart. When I think of him now, I see that dim room of leaves, the mats over the white pebbles, the earnest singers around the lantern, and Kararo's face lifted in the chant: no longer the crafty, scheming face of a banker, but that of a simple, kindly old man, grieving for his child.

Hour after hour it went on, in quavering monotone, broken by fractional intervals. Older than memory, that chant, and we were the first white men to hear it.

"It is East Indian," said the pianist Ignaz Friedman, when I reproduced for him, in a San Francisco café, a fragment of it. And no doubt in form and melodic construction it does go back to the mainland of Asia, to that mysterious Havaiki whence the Polynesians came.

One could fancy that ancestral spirits hovered around us and that the voice of the ghost-bird sounded, low and ominous, in the night. Rain pattered on Kararo's roof; and the children stirred on their mats, as they slept, in the shadows.

"'There is a murmuring within,' the old people chanted:
'the murmur, the whisper, stir toward the sea,
searching for my lost canoe,
love murmurs gently. . . .'"

Sleep pressed down upon me. I was climbing a flight of stairs, hand in hand with my little son—my own "lost

canoe," dead these eight years—and at its top stood my father, gone too, a year and more. I heard their voices speaking in the Tuamotuan tongue. Out of the blur I heard someone saying aloud: "He does not understand." I awoke to hear the slow, sombre chant still sounding through the night.

I would not willingly have missed this survival of pre-discovery culture, which has remained alive because it has still an active function. Not only do the chants comfort the spirits of the living, but, even more important, they please the spirits of the ancestral dead.

"An ancestor," said Kararo, "comes in a dream and tells us where a turtle will be caught. We go there and catch the turtle. Then, after we have brought it ashore, we must watch all night, still chanting, or the ancestor may become offended and take the turtle away."

It is clear these solemn invocations are very old.

"They were composed," Tehau told me, when he told the story of my adopted ancestor Mokio-ariki, "by no living beings, but by spirits in the Great Darkness. For that reason they are sacred and are never changed."

Some of the words have become obsolete, and the precise meaning is not always clear to the chanters themselves.

Temae, who was most likely to know, said, when pressed, that it didn't matter.

"The chants are not for us," he explained. "They are for the ancestors. What if we don't know what they mean? The ancestors know."

19. *Old Men of Tepuka*

Surf rolled high on the coral ledges, and the channel was hilled with waves. Men were fishing from their frail canoes, despite rough weather. Theirs is no soft land; hunger does not wait for calm at sea. I saw that ragged line of

battered dugouts, and the yellow pandanus hats above, as I strolled in a bright morning around the edge of the islet.

"We're going to-day," Keneti announced, "to call on Mokio."

The house of Mokio the Elder stood apart from the main group looking out through fresh young palms to the lagoon. It was small but cosy, its furnishings few and practical, even more bare in their simplicity than those of other houses we had seen.

Mokio, a handsome man of perhaps sixty-five years, in a scanty loin-cloth, was making cordage. He had beaten the green husks of coco-nuts and drawn out the fibres, laying them in neat bundles. Selecting half a dozen of the longer ones, he was rolling them on his thigh, with his right hand, into a tight cord—a practice more difficult than it sounds or looks. At his side lay larger cords made by braiding the smaller ones together.

Squatting in his doorway, Mokio held out his hand as we approached, his beardless, finely furrowed face crinkling in a friendly smile. Looking straight at us out of intelligent kindly eyes, he greeted Keneti, then turned to me, saying "A good man.

"Your name had come to me," he continued, "but not your face. I am glad you are here."

As we sat on his mats, talk turned to the old times.

"I was a young man," he said, "when the first missionaries came. I ate of the turtle, on the sacred place.

"The *marae* was thus . . ."

He drew a diagram in the fine sand before his door.

"The god-houses were here, and here a small altar, and here the standing stones.

"This part was for the men. Here sto od the priest, and he changed thus. . . .

"Here stood the chief, and he responded. . . .

"The priest laid a bunch of puka leaves, twisted so"—he illustrated with a bit of coco-nut leaf—"on the altar, and prayed. Then he laid the leaves under the neck of the turtle to catch the blood as its throat was cut.

"The men ate what they could of the turtle, and came

back the next day and the next, until it was gone. If a second turtle was caught, it was given to the boys. The turtle was kept alive on the *marae* all night, and the men chanted over it until dawn."

"What were the god-houses of which you speak?"

"They were like small boxes. When a relative died, a hair of his head was threaded through a pierced stick, and the stick was laid in the god-house. Offerings of food were placed before it regularly for a year. Then the relative became a god and was able to guide turtles to us for food. And when we caught the turtle, we called up the spirits of our ancestors; they came to the feast and leaned their backs against the standing stones. . . . And the spears of the chiefs quivered in the wind from the Great Darkness. . . ."

He told us how the roll of spirits was called, beginning with the primal gods, as this company of the dead was bidden to the feast of the living. There could be no doubt of the genuineness of his account, for it was clear that he was telling of things that he had experienced; and indeed, as later developed, it checked in every essential with those given by other old men of the island. It was an amazing experience to sit in the presence of these men whose lives reached back into a vanished world. The *marae* is down now; its very stones have disappeared. The people meet in the chapel that stands near that sacred site, and pray to the god of the black-robed priests. But Mokio, and Teufi, and Temae, and Teuru te Po remember.

Our host accepted an American cigarette of a brand which is said to "satisfy," but disapproved of it. It was, he said, "just wind." He preferred the one I rolled for him of Dutch shag which was, he said, "good and mild." Leaving him a tin of sardines, which vie with corned beef as a delicacy to the native palate, we walked out in the bright windy day to the house of Teufi. His is a larger house, with more possessions scattered about it: a wash tub, a coco-nut grater, and the only grindstone on the island. Constructed of palm midribs, and roofed with pandanus, it is airy and strong; it had stood, he said, eight years.

Teufi was a travelled man.

"I went to sea in my youth and visited many countries. On one voyage, I was in a boat that was being towed between two islands, when the boat turned over. My chest went to the bottom, and with it the copy of my genealogy."

This was a severe loss, since it is through genealogies that land rights are determined, but I fancy that Teufi, like most men of his generation, had his lineage fixed firmly in memory.

He had lost land, however, in the hurricane of 1906.

"When the storm had passed, the boundaries were gone; the face of the land had changed. Since boundaries could not be determined, and claims of different families clashed, the land was made public property."

Teufi led us on a walk around the end of the islet, pointing out, as we went, the exact site of the great *marae* Rangihoa, no stone of which remains, unless some of them repose in the foundations of the Sacred Heart, but still marked by a grove of sacred trees. This, he said, had been the principal temple, and the only one which really counted. The others had been temporary affairs.

The walk took us through a more densely forested part of the island, Teufi revealing knowledge at every step. Of this plant, he had heard that the roots were eaten, though he never had tried it himself. The root of this fern, when dried, was fragrant, and in olden times was hung in the ears of women. This plant was the "prickly leaf" mentioned in the chants, and this one was used as a laxative. He recited the names of the "lands" through which we passed, and described the sacred place of each. We came upon one of them, of which some stones still stood—a lonely monument overgrown with shrubs. It had not been used in his time, he said.

"It was customary," he explained, "to use only one *marae* in a district. But disputes arose; a chief, considering himself slighted in some way, would withdraw and build his own temple; later the quarrel would be composed, and he would abandon the new *marae* and go back to the old one."

industry has been the introduction of the profit motive, which, however, operates to a limited extent.

Animal Life

Most of the animal life, aside from fish, birds and a few insects, has been introduced. The natives keep pigs, chickens and ducks as an emergency food supply, but rely mainly upon fish, shell-fish and coco-nuts. We were told on Tepoto that the eggs of fowls were not eaten; on Napuka, that they were.

Dogs and cats are kept as pets, but we were told that they were not eaten. It was explained that the dog was a new animal in the islands, not having been known in ancient times, and thus the natives had never acquired a taste for dog meat. This is at variance with a statement in the U.S. Pilot Book, and I observed a cat being prepared for eating after it had been killed accidentally, at Tepoto.

A few pigskin belts and hat-bands were the only animal products we saw used as clothing. Feathers of ducks and chickens were sometimes made into ornamental hat-bands, but were not used for stuffing pillows. Most natives use a log of pandanus wood for a pillow; a few of the younger ones make a very hard pillow stuffed with tree-cotton (*kapok*) shipped from the Society Islands. Chicken feathers, carefully trimmed, are used for cleaning wax from the ears; the natives enjoy the tickling sensation.

Wild birds are caught at night with nets or, we were told, with a cord attached to a stone, somewhat after the fashion of the South American bolas, and eaten. Eggs of sea birds such as the sooty tern (*kaveka*), now rather scarce on the inhabited islands, are preferred to those of domestic fowl.

Turtle shells are used as containers; turtle bones for spades; other shells for various purposes, such as scrapers.

Earning a Living

The natives have no need to "earn" a living by engaging in trades or occupations, as a living is supplied by natural resources. Life is still in a primitive fishing and crudely agricultural stage, in which each family provides for itself. A native can make, from materials at hand, almost any article he needs. With the copra trade, however, some foreign articles have been introduced, for which it is necessary to have money. The islands have this one industry, copra, and a little money is earned by it; this earning, however, is collective rather than individual.

The copra "depression," though it has reduced income, has not caused suffering, since the things that could be bought with the proceeds of copra were mostly things that were not really needed, or that could be replaced by native articles.

Coco-nuts fall when ripe, are collected by hand in piles, on the ground, and chopped in half with a large knife—one foreign tool that has become practically indispensable. The nuts are then left on the ground, in the open, to dry, and after natural shrinkage separates them from the shells, the meat is dried further in the sun, being taken indoors or covered with coco-nut fronds in the rare case of rain.

It appears that the depression affected the natives but little, since they have practically no investment and their time is not otherwise very valuable.

No other sources of income appear, except occasional sale of a chicken or a pig to a visiting schooner.

When pearl diving was still profitable, some of the young men went to other islands to engage in the industry. As far as I was able to learn, pearl diving never had been conducted at Napuka, though a few pearl oysters exist in the lagoon. Probably the quantity is not sufficient. A small shell-fish (*pipi*), resembling an oyster, yields small black pearls which, however, are not very valuable.

A number of young men have gone to sea, and other young people have moved to the island of Fakahina, presumably for greater economic opportunities.

Dwellings

We observed four or five types of house constructed of local materials or largely so.

(*a*) The old type of Tuamotuan house, made of woven pandanus leaves, low, with rounded ends; not so much a house as a shelter from rain and sun, with an opening at the end away from the wind, and without flooring, resting on the bare ground. There was still one such house at Napuka, and several on Tepoto. We were told that a house of this type would withstand a hurricane.

(*b*) A transitional type of house was most common at the time of our visit. It is rectangular, larger and higher than the pandanus-leaf house, built of woven panels of coco-nut leaves bound or nailed to a frame of poles, the panels running horizontally instead of vertically as in the Hawaiian *hale*. This type of house usually has a door at each end and often a third

the somewhat offensive odour or flavour of the coral with which the ovens are covered.

Another and more palatable use of this flour is to make a flat cake, adding shredded coco-nut and shredded papaya, and roast it, wrapped in leaves, on a hot stone. Sometimes *pia*, the flour of manioc or tapioca, is similarly used, as well as for starching Sunday shirts.

The menu varies with the nature and quantity of the day's catch at sea. Probably the most frequent staple is tridacna clam, which is eaten in great quantities. Sample meals on which notes were taken were:

(*a*) Rice, papaya, mature coco-nut, drinking-coco-nut.
(*b*) Tridacna, papaya, drinking-nut.
(*c*) Tridacna, mature coco-nut, drinking-nut.
(*d*) Raw fish, roast octopus, broiled fish, papaya, mature coco-nut, drinking-nut.
(*e*) Broiled fish, drinking-nut.
(*f*) Tridacna, roasted bread, drinking-nut, mature coco-nut, pandanus fruit.

Two meals a day seem to be the average, depending on availability of food. In early morning—for people get up at dawn—there is usually a breakfast of whatever is available, most commonly little but coco-nuts and perhaps papaya. During the day, a little coco-nut may be nibbled, or anything that is handy, but there is little food until the men return from fishing, about four or five o'clock in the afternoon. Supper follows as soon as it can be prepared, and in any case before dark. People may eat again later in the evening, or get up at night for a snack, if food is available. When we asked what time was meal-time, an old native replied: "Whenever there is food." As no fishing is done on Sunday, an attempt is made to get enough food on Saturday to last over Sunday. Otherwise there is little reserve supply.

Turtle is eaten, in season, communally, probably with vestiges of ancient religious ceremonies connected with placating the ancestral spirits.

Meal-time in a Tuamotuan household is quite different from the "family board" of an American home. Eating is rather an individual affair: each takes his piece of raw or cooked fish, his drinking-nut and papaya or coco-nut, and sits on a dry coco-nut in the door-yard, somewhere near the cooking-fire. There is little conversation at these times, and a person eating often turns his back on the others. It is possible that these

manners are survivals from ancient tabus. I gathered the impression that it was tabu to eat under a roof, and there seemed to be a rule against watching others eat. We did not learn whether men and women on this island formerly had been forbidden by custom to eat together, but such is a widespread Polynesian custom, now largely abrogated, which may account for the absence of "family spirit" in a Tuamotuan meal.

Eating is with the fingers. A few plates are used, but usually food is held in the hands or laid on fresh green leaves. Large pieces, such as whole fish, are laid on turtle shells for carving.

Salt is not used.

After eating, it is customary to pour fresh water over the hands.

Clothing

Clothing, except for hats, is now of foreign materials. The *pareu* (local word *kareu*), a two-yard strip of cotton cloth, is worn wrapped around the loins, with the end tucked in like a bath-towel, or, by the men, the ends brought up (*huma*) between the legs so as to approximate a pair of trunks. The *pareu*, however, is a foreign-made substitute for the ancient *reu* which was woven of pandanus leaves. A small loin-cloth (*tibere*), shorter and scantier than the Hawaiian *malo*, is worn by children and older men; this, too, is nowadays of foreign material.

Most adults, however, have foreign clothes and commonly wear them, especially on Sunday.

Men wear short or long dungarees and white cotton singlets. Some have white shirts for Sunday, which are carefully washed, ironed and starched, and worn with the collar open and the sleeves unbuttoned and flaring.

Women wear dresses made by themselves of goods purchased at the Chinese store or aboard visiting schooners. These are of knee length, usually with short sleeves and high in front (due to missionary influence), but counteracted by the tendency of the upper part of the dress to tear or to sag open at strategic points. Sometimes these garments are made of flour sacks. Some women wear a one-piece under-garment, either with or without an over-skirt. Most of them wear a *pareu* either over or under the dress, or thrown over the shoulders like a cape. Around the house in the morning, or on Saturday afternoons while washing clothes, many women wear only the *pareu*. This garment may be tucked around the waist, leaving the upper part of the body bare, or worn high and drawn tight over the bosom, the lower edge of the cloth reaching about to mid-thigh.

"Then tell them now."

Taufatahi raised his voice. "Come here, all my sharks," he shouted. Soon the sea was covered with the black fins. "Listen. You must never, never touch the men of Moungaone. You, or your children, or your children's children. Do you hear me?" The fins bobbed up and down to show that the sharks had heard and would obey.

Taufatahi collapsed like a trodden bladder of seaweed as Fakapatu came out of his mouth.

That is why the people of Moungaone will tell you it is safe to swim outside the reef, for the sharks remember what their lord Taufatahi commanded them long ago.

THE ORIGIN OF TURTLES

THE TONGANS BELIEVED that Langi was the god of the sky land. He ruled his subjects firmly, not least of all his two beautiful, wayward daughters Lola and Fatafei. They were discontented with the lofty world in which they lived, and craved the excitement of a visit to the islands far below. On a cloudless day they could see the many islands of Tonga far below. Tongatabu the largest of them, lay on the blue sea like a polished gem. The girls pestered their father to allow them to visit just the one island. Langi was aware of the attractions it offered to two susceptible girls – golden beaches, waves to frolic in, soft winds singing through the palms music, dancing and, above all, the handsome young men of Tongatabu who had an eye for any pretty girl.

Langi's answer was always an uncompromising "no."

"It's not fitting for the daughters of the immortal gods to mingle with frail mortals," he reproved them. "Do you know there are young people down there who yearn to visit the beautiful sky land? Why can't you be content with the best of all worlds?"

If the young men are so anxious to visit the sky land, why don't you let them come here?" they asked. "It's selfish to keep everything to yourself."

"That's quite enough," Langi said firmly. "This is where you're going to stay. Tomorrow I've to see some of my friends in the spirit world. While I'm in Bulotu a guard will be left in front of the house to see you don't get into mischief."

He threw his cloak round his shoulders and strode off.

"This is the chance we've been waiting for," Lola whispered to her sister. "While father is away we'll slip down to earth. We can get back long before he returns from Bulotu."

"You forget the guard at the door," Fatafei reminded her.

"I haven't forgotten," Lola said. "Look here," and she showed her sister an opening she had made in the back wall of the house.

The two young women crept through it and made their way to earth. Who can tell how they accomplished such a difficult feat? Ah, but were they not daughters of a god and themselves imbued with god-like qualities?

But, as they appeared suddenly in the midst of an all-male kava drinking party, they were no longer goddesses, but mischievous girls, ready for any adventures the men of Nuku'alofa might have in store.

The men were all on their feet welcoming them and inviting them to sit with them. The sisters realized that this was an unprecedented honor and attributed it to their faces and figures.

If for a moment there had been pause for wonderment and even alarm at the sudden appearence of two celestial beings, it was quickly forgotten as the girls giggled and showed themselves off to the men as though they were shameless mortal hussies.

One man strove with another to possess the strangers and in a short time the quiet dignity of the kava drinking was gone. Argument gave way to physical violence. Weapons were produced, and before long heads were bloodied and bones broken. Matters became even worse when wives joined in to discipline their husbands. The sound of strife was heard throughout the island.

The two sisters were throughly enjoying themselves. The sky land was a world of peace where nothing as exciting as this ever happened. Unfortunately the uproar was heard as

far away as Buloto. Langi suspected that his wayward daughters were the cause of the trouble. Like a dark thunder cloud he rose from the spirit world and swooped low over Nuku'alofa. Spying his daughters sitting at the kava bowl, lifting the coconut shell cups to their lips, and thoroughly enjoying the tumult they had caused, he materialised in front of them. A sudden silence fell as the Tongans recognised the sky god and scampered back to their homes.

"You have brought shame on me as well as yourselves," he thundered. "Tell me, have you eaten any of the fruit of this world?"

"Yes," Lola said. "I've eaten some. It's good. It's better than what we have in our world."

"You silly, stupid girl! Don't you realise that you are no longer a goddess. You are a mortal. Now you will die."

He turned to his other daughter. "What about you, Fatafei? You are more sensible than Lola. Have you eaten any?"

"Not yet, Father."

"And what does that mean?"

"It means that I'm going to stay here. You've no idea what fun it is. It's the most wonderful experience of my life."

"Even though it means that some day you'll die?"

She tossed her head. "I don't care. I never want to go back to the dull life up there."

Langi looked at her sadly. "I thought you would have had more sense," he said. "Look. Lola is beginning to wilt already."

And indeed her cheeks had begun to wrinkle, her eyes no longer sparkled and there were grey hairs among her black tresses.

"Quick, Fatafei. Will you come with me?"

"No. I'm going to stay with Lola."

"No, you won't!" said Langi with a surge of anger. He caught her by the hair, cut off her head, and with a sweep of his arm, threw it far out to sea, where it changed into a turtle the first turtle that was ever seen off the island of Tongatabu.

* * * *

In Tonga and Samoa they tell a tale about the turtle named Sangone. It is a variant of the legend of Kae and the whale, well known to the Maoris in other islands. The story begins in Samoa, in the plantation of Lekapai, who was an industrious cultivator of bananas, breadfruit, plantains and other fruit and vegetables. For some years he had flourished. He was envied by the people of other villages; but one year a disastrous hurricane levelled all his trees and plants and he had to begin again.

No sooner had the new crops come to maturity than they were destroyed by yet another hurricane. When a third storm wrecked his work Lekapai determined to get to the bottom of the trouble and went in search of the home of the winds to make a protest to their keeper.

After a long voyage across the sea he came to a lonely rock on the edge of the world. The waves surged up the precipitous cliffs, but Lekapai rode his canoe on the top of a huge breaker, jumped out and, as the wave subsided, managed to cling to a narrow shelf. After a desperate scramble he pulled himself out of the reach of the waves and scaled the rocks. The top was windswept and bare. Presently he came to a hole from which the wind was blowing. He lowered himself into and struggled on against the wind. The rock tunnel opened out into a large, dimly lit cave. Hearing a sound behind him he turned and saw a mature, well-built, handsome woman coming towards him.

"You are a rash mortal," she said in a voice that sounded like wind in the treetops. "What have you come here for?"

"I'm looking for the home of the winds."

"Why?"

"Because they've destroyed my growing crops three times."

"This is the home of the winds, mortal. What do you hope to do now you're here?"

"Stop them blowing," he said curtly.

"That will be difficult. It's a pity your crops have been hurt, but the winds are necessary. Have you ever thought what it would be like if there were no winds?"

Lekapai stood on one leg and then the other.

"No," he said at last. "I've never thought about that. It

would be good – but I suppose we would need them sometimes to blow the clouds away, and fill the sails of our canoes, and make everything cool again in the evenings. It's the hurricanes that do the damage."

"I'm afraid I can't control them," the woman said sadly "You must take whatever comes. See for yourself."

She snapped her fingers. The winds sprang out from the cave – warm, gentle breezes, strong winds that blew steadily, and hurricanes and whirlwinds that picked Lekapai up until he fluttered round the cave like a leaf. "Stop! Stop!" he shouted. "They're killing me."

The winds ceased, and he fell to the ground.

"You're not hurt," the woman said. "The winds have gone now. Come with me and I'll give you food. I shall remember what you've told me. I can't control the winds once they have left their home, but I shall tell them to be gentle with you. Now it is time for you to return home."

"But how can I?" asked Lekapai. "My canoe was smashed to pieces at the foot of the cliffs."

"Don't worry," she said. "I'll lend you my turtle. He will take you back to Samoa much more quickly than any canoe. Here are some coconuts to take with you on your journey. If you feel thirsty, break the nuts on his back, but whatever you do, don't break them on his head."

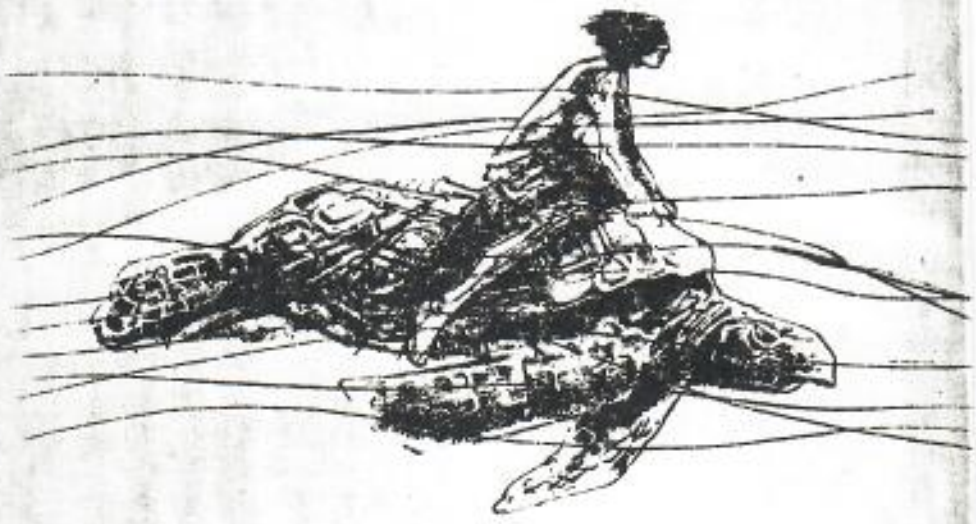
She showed Lekapai a path on the other side of the rock. They went down together.

"Sangone!" she called. A huge turtle swam to the surface and looked up expectantly.

"This is my friend Lekapai, Sangone," she said. "I want you to take him to Samoa. Take good care of him."

She turned to Lekapai. "When you arrive, you must take a piece of tapa cloth and a vessel of oil. Wrap them in a large leaf, tie it securely, and give them to Sangone. He will bring them to me. Then I will know you've arrived safely."

It was a strange sensation riding on the turtle's back. Never had Lekapai travelled so fast. The wind dried his lips and made him thirsty. Forgetting what the keeper of the winds had told him, he broke a coconut on Sangone's head and drank the refreshing liquid. Before the sun had time to sink into the ocean he saw the familiar sight of his homeland. The



turtle waded through the shallow water and lay down on the sand. Lekapai ran to his house, but instead of getting the gifts he had been asked for, he brought out a club and struck Sangone repeatedly on the head until the Turtle was dead. Turning it on its back he cut up the flesh and shared it with his relatives, after which the shell was buried under the roots of a candlenut tree.

The years passed by Lekapai and all his generation were dead – all except one man who had watched Lekapai bury the shell of Sangone. New generations of children lived and died without ever hearing what their ancestor did to the sacred turtle of the keeper of the winds; but Lafaipana, who had seen the burying of the shell still lived on – and he told no one.

In Tonga it was known that Sangone had been stolen, but not where he had been taken.

"It may be that it went to Savaii in Western Samoa," the Tui Tonga said to his young brother, Fasi'apule. Are you prepared to go there and see what you can find?"

The young man agreed.

"It will be a mission of great delicacy," his brother warned him.

Fasi assured him that he could handle such matters with diplomacy and cunning.

In due course he landed at the village where Lekapai had once lived. He made discreet inquiries, but his questions were met with blank looks.

"It all happened a long time ago," Fasi thought, "but surely someone has heard of Sangone – that is if he was ever brought here. I wonder who is the oldest person in the village."

That night, at kava drinking time, he propounded a riddle. Calling for silence he said, "Can anyone give me a clap-it-and-it-smokes?" No one except Lafaipana knew what he meant by this mysterious expression, and he had kept well out of sight.

The village masai whispered to one of his sons, "Find Lafaipana and ask him if he knows what Fasi is saying."

The young man came back with a small piece of kava root and handed it to the visitor. Fasi clapped it between his hands and a puff of dust flew out, as fine as a cloud of smoke.

On succeeding nights he asked further questions which he knew could only be answered by one who had lived a long time and had learned the wisdom that had been forgotten in Samoa but retained in Tonga.

"What is the name of the man who has solved the riddles?" he asked.

"Lafaipana"

"Bring him to me"

"What do you want of me?" asked Lafaipana, when he had hobbled to the [illegible] house.

"How old are you?"

Lafaipana looked surprised. "No one has asked me that fo fifty years he said

"Did you know Lekapai?"

The sudden question startled the old man. "Yes," he sai reluctantly. It was because of Lekapai that the curse o Sangone fell on me, You see, I watched him bury the shell.

"Can you show me where it is?"

"I dare not, Fasi. One curse for a man is enough. I a

weary of life, but the spirit of Sangone still haunts me. It will not let me sleep the long sleep I desire."

Fasi'apule took the old man firmly by the arm.

"You have kept your secret too long," he said. "I came to solve a mystery. You have given me the answer. Now I can free you for the long rest you are craving. Show me where Sangone's shell is buried."

Lafaipana led the way to the candlenut tree.

"There," he said, "under the roots. That's where Lekapai buried it."

Fasi dug carefully in the sandy soil with his hands, gradually enlarging the hole, until the complete shell was revealed.

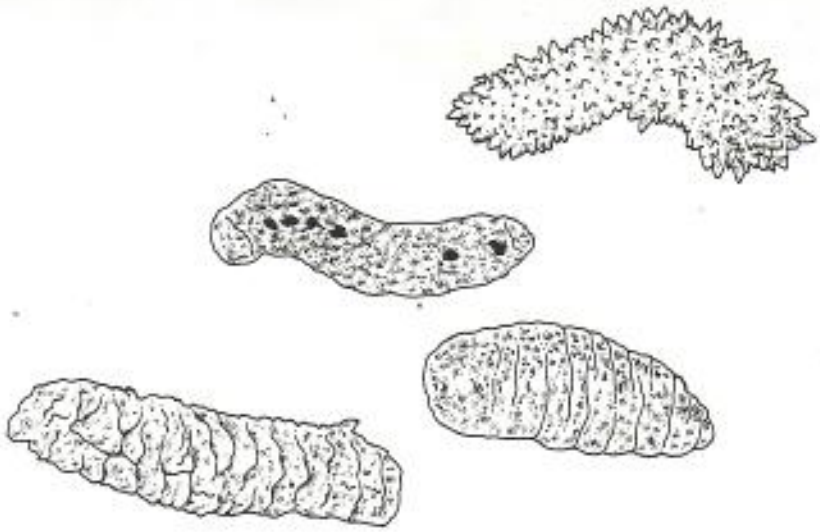
Lafaipana bent down to look at it more closely. The shell glowed with a golden light as though the sun's rays were imprisoned within it. The old man fell backwards with a beautific smile on his face. The curse of Sangone was ended and Lafaipana was at last gathered to his fathers.

WHY THE BONITO COMES TO TONGA

THE THEME OF men and women who have heard of the charms of the opposite sex who live at a distance, and who cannot resist the urge to possess them, is universal. The Tui Tonga had heard from voyagers of the beauty of Hina who lived in Samoa. He could not rest until he had seen her for himself. For this purpose he had his largest canoe provisioned and manned and set out on the voyage from Tongatabu. On the way he called at the island of Haano in the Hapai group, where he was joined by the chief Nganatatafu, who was reputed to be the most handsome man in all Tonga, and two of his attendants.

When the canoe arrived at Samoa the Tui Tonga went ashore with his warriors, and was royally entertained with dances and feasting. The Tui Tonga enjoyed the roasted bonito. He had never tasted it before, for the bonito was not

- Make a smoky fire under the meat. The fire should not be too hot.
- Leave the meat until it is evenly smoked and cooked.
- Store in a cool place away from flies. It keeps for about two days.
- Slice and serve with coconut sauce (thick coconut cream and lemon juice), or boil with coconut cream, chopped onions, tomatoes and little curry powder (if desired). Simmer till octopus is tender.



Crabs, crayfish, lobsters, prawns

- Clean and scrub thoroughly to remove dirt and mud.
- Place in a pot of slightly salted boiling water.
- Bring back to boil, and then simmer until the claws come off easily when pulled slightly. (Crabs from mangrove swamps near towns and villages need to be cooked longer to kill germs.)
- Serve with lemon juice or coconut sauce (coconut cream flavoured with lemon juice).
- Boiled crabs can be shelled. Remove the flesh without breaking the top of the shell. Clean the shell carefully. Mix the crab meat with chopped onion, salt, tomatoes, and enough thick coconut cream to moisten the mixture. Fill the shells with the mixture and either boil using thin coconut cream or bake for about 30 minutes in a drum oven or a modern oven.
- Boil crab meat with coconut cream, chopped onion and tomatoes. Serve with lemon juice and parboiled green leaves such as fern, or edible hibiscus leaves (*bele*, Fiji; *aibika*, PNG; *pele*, Tonga; *kabis aelan*, Vanuatu).
- Cook crabs or prawns in coconut cream with chopped onions and a teaspoon of curry powder. Simmer until ready (when the claws come off easily with a slight pull).

Sea cucumber

- Clean thoroughly to remove any dirt or slime.
- Drop into a saucepan of boiling water and boil for 5—15 minutes. At this stage, they will swell up and, if left too long, will burst, so watch them carefully.
- Cut open lengthwise and clean the inside.
- Clean the surface by rubbing lightly on a grater, or scrape with a shell until the sandy layer is removed.
- Boil again for 3—4 hours until tender.
- Store in plastic bags or clean plastic containers, in a refrigerator or a cool dry place, and use as required. They will keep for a long time if stored correctly.

Sea cucumber in lemon juice or coconut cream

- Arrange boiled sea cucumber in a saucepan.
- Add lemon juice or coconut cream, salt and chopped onion.
- Bring to boil and cook gently until tender.

Turtle meat

- Clean turtle meat thoroughly to remove dirt.
- Cut meat into cubes (the same size as for stewing)
- Chop onion and chilli (if desired)
- Heat oil and fry chopped onion and chilli.
- Add turtle meat and fry until all juice has dried out.
- Season with salt to taste.
- Place the fried mixture in softened banana leaves carefully so that the leaves do not tear. Add two or three tablespoons of water.
- Wrap and tie well.
- Steam for one approximately one hour.

Seaweeds

- Clean thoroughly by washing several times in clean fresh water to remove all dirt and sand.
- Leave seaweed to soak in a basin of water for about half an hour, then pour off water. This helps remove sand.
- Arrange neatly on a dish and serve with lemon juice and chopped onions, or fermented grated coconut (*kora*, Fijian), lemon juice and salt to taste. Adding a small tin of fish or the chopped flesh of cooked or raw shellfish will improve the protein content and flavour of the dish.

For more information on seafood preparation, please refer to the South Pacific Community Nutrition Training Book on: Preparation of Pacific Island Foods.

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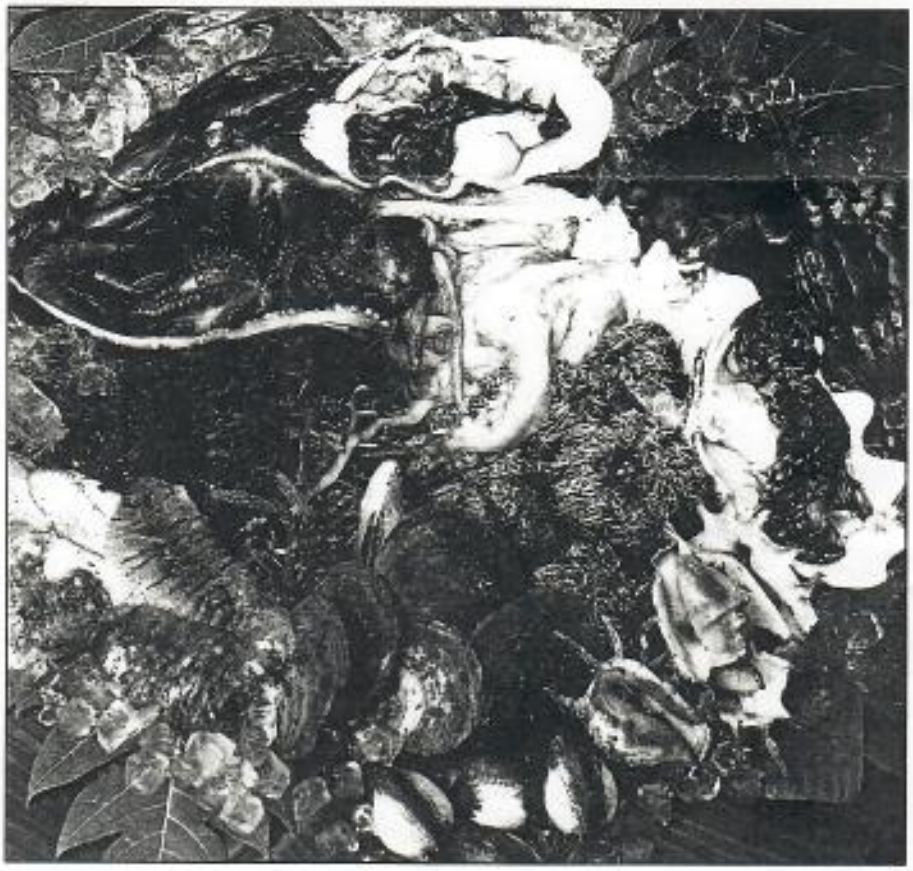
South Pacific Commission

Community Health Services

SOUTH PACIFIC FOODS

Leaflet Revised 1992 18

Seafoods



Riches from the sea

Highly prized for their delicious flavours, many seafoods are eaten daily in snacks or meals. Others are eaten mainly as a delicacy or on special occasions. They have always been a popular food for Pacific Islanders because of their availability, abundance, excellent flavours and high nutritional value.

Pacific seafoods range from huge sharks to delicious shellfish such as oysters, clams, lobsters, and the tiny edible sea-shells which can be found on sandy beaches. Whatever their size and wherever they are, seafoods offer an unforgettable meal for all the family.

Seafood variety

In this leaflet, the term 'seafoods' refers to anything edible obtained from the sea, apart from fish. It includes different types of shellfish, beche-de-mer or sea cucumbers, marine mammals, turtles and seaweeds.

Shellfish can be divided into two groups: molluscs and crustaceans. Molluscs make up the largest group of marine animals. It includes oysters, mussels, clams, octopus and squids. Some of these, such as clams, mussels and oysters, are filter feeders. This means they get their food by filtering the surrounding water and retaining any microscopic plants and animals. Crustaceans include crabs, crayfish, lobsters, shrimps and prawns. Nowadays there are many man-made wastes and rubbish in the sea, especially in lagoon areas. Therefore, shellfish must be thoroughly cleaned and kept cold or alive, or cooked, before being eaten. They should be collected from waters that are clean and free from pollution. Some shellfish (e.g. oysters and mussels) can be farmed. This ensures a high-quality, clean, safe supply throughout the year.

Sea cucumbers, also known as *beche-de-mer*, live in reef areas. They can be collected at low tide or by diving. When processed by smoke-drying, they are considered by the Chinese to be a food delicacy. They are also used in many Micronesian and Polynesian dishes.

Sea mammals include dugongs (sea-cows), porpoises and — largest of all — whales. The smaller sea mammals have traditionally been used by Pacific Islanders for food and other purposes.

Turtles used to be a popular food in the Pacific, and still are in some islands. They were often caught when they came up to the beach to lay their eggs. Like sea-mammals, turtles are becoming less common in some Pacific Island countries.

Seaweeds are the 'green leaves' of the sea. There are different edible varieties that are popular with Pacific Islanders. Some are green with tiny bubbles along their stems. Others are dark greenish-brown with long soft strands joined together. They are easily collected when the tide is low.

J. FRANK STIMSON
WITH THE COLLABORATION OF
DONALD STANLEY MARSHALL

A DICTIONARY OF SOME TUAMOTUAN DIALECTS OF THE POLYNESIAN LANGUAGE

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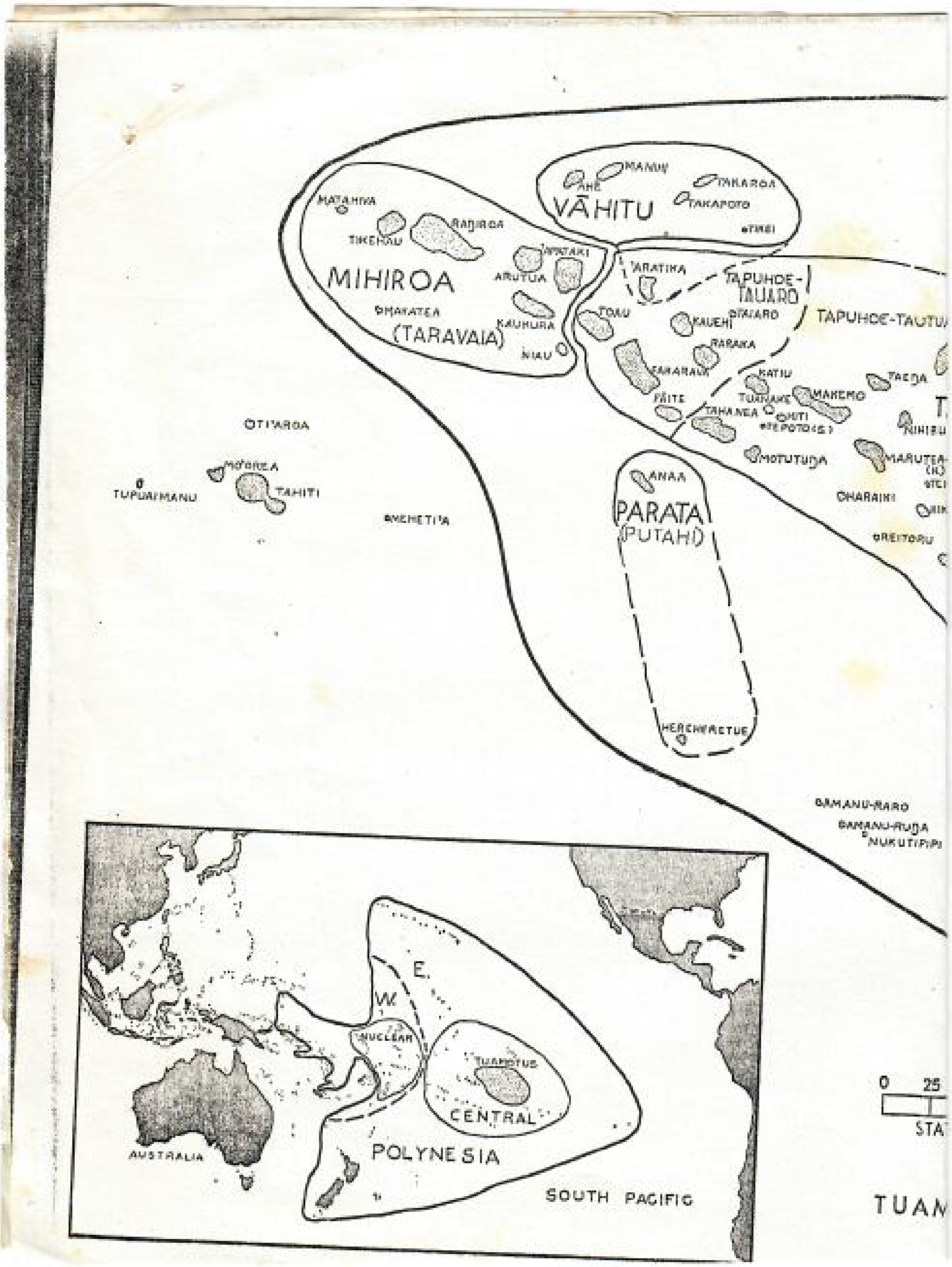
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TAKAROA
VĀHITU
TAKAPOTO
TIKEI
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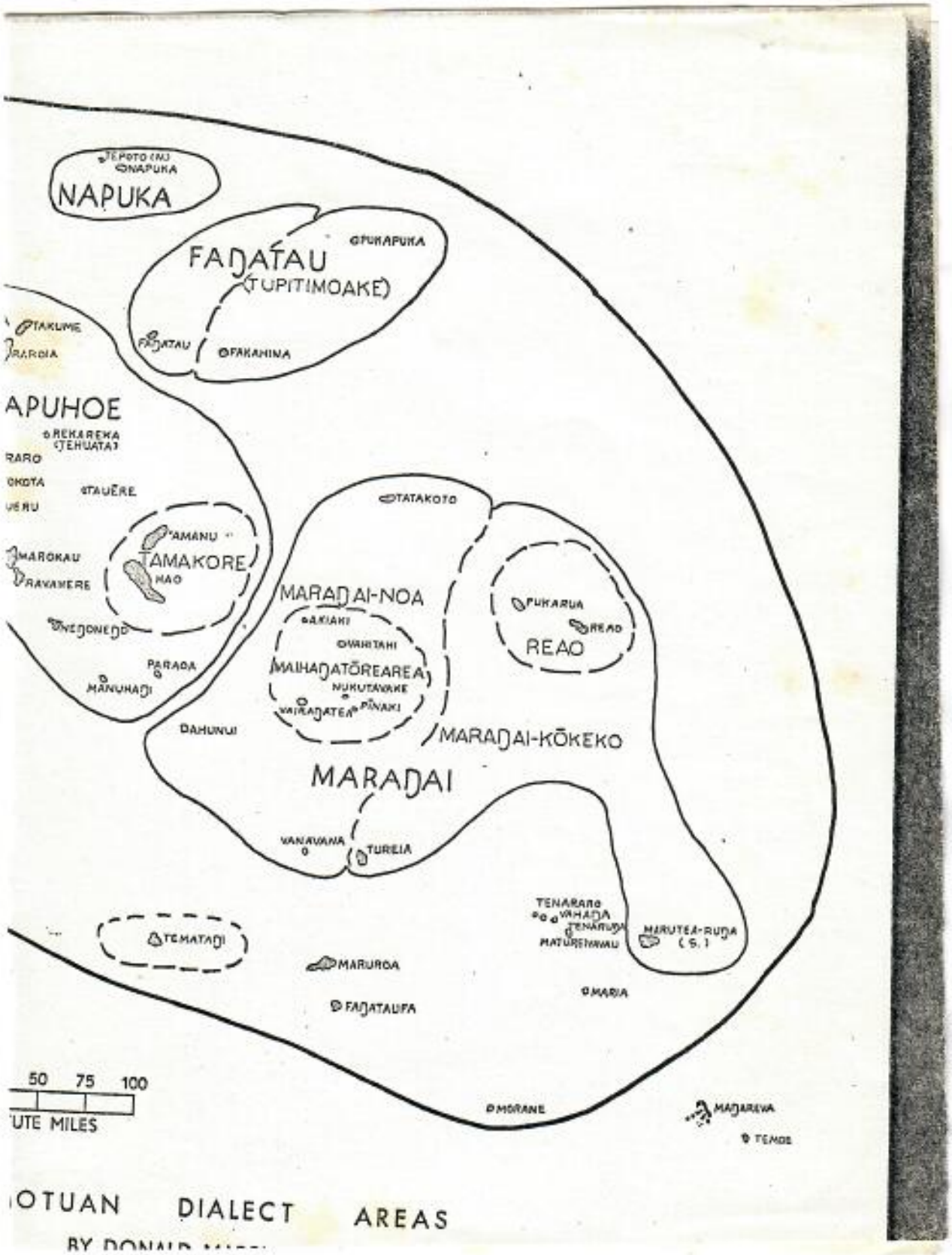

OTUAN DIALECT AREAS

BY DONALD

| pa.tī-hīa
Splashed.
| pā.tī.tī
To spurt out-, splash up- -all around, -in several directions.
| tī.ave
The inner mist-like rings seen around a fast-spinning toy top; || **avae.**
| tī.tī (ii)
Spurting.

TI (v)
S. *A variety of shrub; Cordyline terminalis.*

TI- *A PREFIX*; function not yet adequately determined.

TIA (i)
P. *To insert, stick in*; as flowers, sprigs.
S. *The phallus*; = **tia** (iii). REA
The pubes, pubic region, lower part of the hypogastric region; this is the external part of the body just under the belly and above the private parts; = **pane**; [**tia** is the male pubes, **pane** the female.] FAG,ANA
| **ma.tia**
To be adorned by inserted flowers; to be inserted; as flowers. HAO
| **mā.tia.tia**
Reg. Freq.
| **pā.tia**
To transfix, pierce, spear; to prick; to plunge a pointed object into. VHI
| **pā.tia.tia**
Reg. Freq.
To irritate, annoy, pick on.

TIA (ii) [? ← → **tia** (i)]
P. *To show-, evince- -prowess, -courage, -valiance, -stamina, -persistence*; (**Ka tia!** = **Ka rohi!**) [There is an intimate Polynesian connection between valiance and the genitalia.] VHI
S. *Valiance, zeal, persistency.*
M. *Valiant, dauntless, unfailing, bravely persistent.*
| **ma.tia**
Innately valiant, persistent.
| **ma.tia.tia**
Valiance, persistence.
Int. *Innately very -valiant, -persistent.*
| **tiā.ia** (i)
Driven vigorously-, persistently-, unflaggingly- by paddles; (**Ka pipiri ki Hiti, tiāia ki Hiti**). FAG, ANA
| **ti.tia** (i)
Reg. Plur.

TIA (iii)
P. Obs. Poet. *To await; wait for*; || **aki, tiaki.** FAG, ANA
| **tiā.ia** (ii)
Waited for, awaited.

TIA (i)
P. *To shine, gleam, glitter*; as a star; *to be bright, gleaming, glittering.* VHI, TKO
| **tia.aho, tiāho**
To -emit rays of light, -shine with radiant light; as the moon.
| **tia-hīa**
Shone upon, illumined with a bright glittering light; as bright starlight, or a rainbow.

TIA (ii)
P. Obs. *To be possible*; [the more usual form is **tia ake, tiāke**]. FAG
M. *Perhaps; possibly*; (**E heke tāua tia?** *Shall we perhaps go?*) VHI, TKO
| **tia.ake, tiāke**
Loc. *It is possible-, it may be- that. Perhaps, maybe.*

TIA (iii)
S. *The penis*; = **tia** (i). REA

-TIA (i) = var. of **-HĪA**

-TIA (ii) *SUFFIX OF INTENSITY*; **ta-kiritia**; *to be drawn away suddenly.)* VHI

TIAAHO || **tia** (i)
TIA AKE || **tia** (ii)
TIA-HĪA || **tia** (i)
TIĀHO = **tiaaho** || **tia** (i)
TIĀIA (i) || **tia** (ii)
TIĀIA (ii) || **tia** (iii)
TIĀKE || **tia** (ii)

TIAKI
P. *To await, wait for*; [usually infers a longer duration than **tāvai** (i).] GTN
To guard, keep.
To watch.
S. *A guardian, keeper, watchman.*

TIAKITAU
S. The name of a star. ANA

TIAKURA
S. The name of a person. ANA

TIANIANI || **tī** (ii)

TIAPANA
S. *A unit of measurement*; it is the distance from the tip of the little finger to the tip of the thumb with the hand fully extended; two **tiapana** equal one **marautape**; four **marautape** equal one **ketaketa** (iii). ANA

TIAPARE || **pare**

TIAPU
S. A proper name. ANA, MNH

TIARA || **tī** (ii)

TIARE [? ← **tī** (i) + **are** (i)]
S. *A flower.* MNH

TIAREPĪTAHI
S. The name of a legendary flower.

TIARI = **tīaki** || ***ari** (iv)

TIARO [? ← **tī** (iv) + **aro**]
P. *To wash out the vagina by splashing water upon it by the hand.* ANA

TIAU [? **tī** (i) + **au** (ii)]
S. *A coconut-leaf frond; a sheet of coconut-leaf thatch.* NAP
Coconut leaves laid upon the ground for people to repose on; they are not

plaited together. VHI
A sheet of -thatch, -leaves sewn-, -plaited- together. NAP
A mat-covering-, leaf-mat- of pandanus, cordyline, coconut, or other leaves; they were sewn together to protect food and diners from sand and soil; || **tivau.** VHI, ANA

TIAVE || ***tī (iv)**

TIE (i)

P. *To chisel-, gouge- out.* VTU

| **tie.tie (i)**
A canoe-making implement used for cutting out grooves; it resembled a chisel or gouge. VHI
A canoe-making implement resembling a punch; it was struck with a mallet. VTU, TAP

TIE (ii)

P. *To transport-, remove- -goods, -possessions.* ANA
Obs. ? *To go to different places; to spread.*

S. *A strip of bark peeled from the top of the midrib of the coconut-frond;* it was used as a temporary -cord, -rope. ANA
The upper central rib-like edge of the **kafakata (ii).**

| **tie.tie (ii)**
To transport-, carry. -many things, -one after another.

TIEHI || **ehi**

TIETIE (i) || **tie (i)**

TIETIE (ii) || **tie (ii)**

TIETIE (iii)

P. *To pull tight a strake lashing while the lashing is being pounded from the other side by a* **putuatua.**
To pull any cord tight by repeated jerks or yanks; = **kuekue (i).**
To jerk up a fish-line.

TIETIE (iv)

S. One of two straight -struts, -braces placed nearest together between the outrigger float and boom; || **hōtie; kei (ii).** ANA

TIFAI (i) || **fai (i)**

TIFAI (ii) [? ← **fai (i)**]

P. *To swim like a turtle; to swim with a breast-stroke.* ANA, TKO

S. *The turtle;* in certain islands the largest growth stage of turtle is **tīfai-noa,** or simply **tīfai,** the medium size is **kōpue,** the small is **tōrearea,** and the newly born are **tororiro;** || **kirea, tahūi, fōnu, honu, kōpue, tōrearea, paku (i), tōkau, tūatūa, ŋahuepara.** VTU, HAO, ANA, TAP

| **tīfai.fai (ii)**
To swim continuously with the breast-stroke.

| **tīfai-ŋahue-para** = **ŋahuepara** || **hue (i)**

| **tīfai-heka**
Any variety of turtle of a faded, light color. HAO

| **tīfai-hekaheka** = HAO **tīfai-heka.** ANA

| **tīfai-heko**
A variety of turtle having a light yellowish-brown carapace; || **tīfai-heka.** ANA

| **tīfai-kea**
The very large, long-, hawk- bill turtle; it has a slimy yellowish fat. HAO, ANA

| **tīfai-kerekere**
A variety of turtle; the upper and lower carapaces seem very compressed flatwise, and appear to contain little flesh. HAO

| **tīfai-kohero**
A variety of turtle; any turtle having distinctive red coloring around the penis. HAO

| **tīfai-kōnao**
A variety of turtle; this rare variety lifts its shell clear from the sand, as it 'walks' rather than crawls.

| **tīfai-maori**
Any of those varieties of turtle which are clearly distinguishable by color or markings, rather than species or varieties which are otherwise distinguishable; the **tīfai-maori** include certain **paku** and **honu.**

| **tīfai-mareŋa**
A very fierce variety of long-necked turtle; it has a very large head, and is found in both large and small sizes. ANA, HAO

| **tīfai-moko**
A variety of turtle; ? a hawksbill. ANA

| **tīfai-mūkō**
A variety of turtle. ANA

| **tīfai-noa**
The largest growth stage of a turtle; = **tīfai.**

| **tīfai-pakitua-hoehoe**
Myth. The legendary name of the turtle. ANA

| **tīfai-paku**
A variety of turtle.

| **tīfai-parāoa**
The soft-shelled variety of turtle; this extraordinary variety is stated to be **māini,** composed of soft fat; the bones, skull, and carapace are soft, like the shell of a crustacean just after shedding the old shell. HAO

| **tīfai-paraparāuera**
A spotted variety of turtle; any turtle of a reddish-brown ground color with four or more large irregular whitish blotches on the upper carapace. HAO

| **tīfai-rakorako**
A whitish variety of turtle. HAO

| **tīfai-raparapa**
A variety of turtle; = **tīfai-tari.** ANA

| **tīfai-rōkēa**
A variety of turtle with a rugose carapace; it resembles the **pūpaka-rōkēa** crab. HAO

| **tīfai-tari**
A variety of turtle with a hexagonal upper carapace; = **tīfai-raparapa.** ANA

| **tīfai-tavake** = **tīfai-koheno**

| **tīfai-totoro-tika**
Any variety of turtle with small white spots about the size of a small fingernail on the upper carapace. HAO

| **tīfai-tūatūa**
A variety of turtle; this legendary variety of turtle is said to have eight flippers, four around the edge of the upper carapace and four around the lower; the carapaces are much further apart than ordinary turtles; these are said to have been caught at both Tematangi and Pukapuka; = **tūatūa.** FAG, HAO

TĪFAIFAI (i) || **fai (i)**
TĪFAIFAI (ii) || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAIFAI (iii)
P. *To be nearly ripe;* as pandanus fruit. *To commence to -swell, -fill out.* FAG
TĪFAI-ŊAIAE-PARA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-HEKA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-HEKAHEKA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-HEKO || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-KEA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-KEREKERE || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-KOHERO || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-KŌNAO || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-MAORI || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-MAREŊA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-MOKO || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-MŪKO || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-NOA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-PAKITUA-HOĒHOE || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-PAKU || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-PARĀOA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-PARAPARĀUERA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-RAKORAKO || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-RAPARAPA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-RŌKĒA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-TARI || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-TAVAKE || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-TOTORO-TIKA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-TŪATŪA || **tīfai (ii)**
TIŊA (i)
P. *To be -possible, -able; can;* **(E tiŋa i āku [? a aku] kia hāere,** *It is possible that I may go).* FAG
TIŊA (ii) [? ← → tiŋa (i)]
M. *Not poisonous; wholesome, safe to eat;* said of certain fish which are sometimes poisonous. ANA
Attractive, desireable, excellent; sightly; orderly, neat, well-arranged. FAG
Proper, fitting.

| **faka.tiŋa** = **haka-tiŋa,** **haka.tiŋa** FAG
To make excellent.

| **haka.tiŋa.tiŋa**
To perfect; to make very beautiful; to put in perfect order.

| **tiŋa.tiŋa**
Pleasing, agreeable to the taste; excellent; of food or drinking water. ANA
Int. *Very attractive, excellent; perfect.* FAG
Very neat, orderly, well-arranged.
TIŊA (iii) [? ← → tiŋa (ii)]
S. *A variety of fish;* ordinarily this is poisonous. NAP
TIŊATIŊA || **tiŋa (ii)**
TIŊI
P. *To punch-, drill out- with a direct punching motion;* as with the **tietie (i);** || **kōfao.** FAG, ANA
To plug; as a hole. VHI
S. *A punching-, boring- instrument;* this was made only of whale bone; = **tiŋitiŋi.** ANA
A caulking instrument; used for plugging holes. VHI

| **tiŋi.tiŋi**
Reg. Freq.
Obs. *A punching implement;* = **tiŋi.**
TIŊIA [? ← tiŋi]
S. *A variety of fish;* it is red in color and has a pointed beak. ROI

| **tiŋia-toreureu**
The **tiŋia** *fish at its full growth.* ROI
TIŊIA-TOREUREU || **tiŋia**
TIŊITIŊI || **tiŋi**
TIŊITIŊIA
S. *A variety of fish;* it resembles the **tīkeikei (i),** but is longer and narrower; = ROI **tiŋia.** VTU, ANA
TIŊU
P. *To draw in the breath.* NAP

| **tiŋu.haŋa**
The act of drawing in the breath.

| **tiŋu.haŋa-aho**
The lungs; = **aŋoaŋo.** NAP

| **tiŋu.tiŋu**
To be revolted from breathing in an unpleasant odor; **(Kua tiŋutiŋu tāku ihu.)** ANA
TIŊUHAŊA || **tiŋu**
TIŊUHAŊA-AHO || **tiŋu**
TIŊUTIŊU || **tiŋu**
TIHA
P. *To spit at;* hence, *to insult, mock, deride;* = **tihe.** HAO, TAK
S. *A short insulting -recitation, -decla-*

nation; || **tāpeka (iv)**.
M. *Insulting, mocking, deriding.*

TIHĀ [? ← **tiha**]
P. An insulting interjection.

TĪHAE (i) || **hae (i)**
TĪHAE (ii) || **hae (ii)**
TĪHAEHAE (i) || **hae (i)**
TĪHAEHAE (ii) || **hae (ii)**
TIHAI
S. A place name. KAU
TĪHAKAHAKA || ***haka (ii)**
TĪHANA || **hana (i)**
TIHE [? ← + **tuhe, tufa**]
P. Obs. *To make a violent spitting -hiss, -explosive sound*; as an insult, mark of contempt; = **tiha.** ANA
| **mā.tihe**
To sneeze; = **mētuhe, mehetue, maŋi-tuhe.** VHI
TIHEHĒ || **hehē (i)**
TĪHEI [? ← **hei (i)**]
S. *A garment resembling a cloak or cape.* VHI
| **tihei.kura**
A red -cloak, -cape; a red-feathered cloak.
Poet. *The cunnus.*
TĪHEIKURA || **tihei**
TIHERE || **here (ii)**
TIHI (i)
P. *To dash-, splash- up*; as a breaking wave. VHI
To sough, moan; as the wind.
To drizzle and blow; as fine rain and wind. VTU, TKU
| **kā.tihi**
A violent storm accompanied by rain, wind, and high seas; || **huŋa.** VTU, TKU
| **tihi.tihi (i)**
Int. *To whistle, shriek*; as a high wind. VHI
Int. *To dash-, splash- up violently*; as breaking waves whipped by the wind.
Int. *To drive and blow strongly*; as fine rain accompanied by a high wind. VTU, TKU
TIHI (ii)
S. *A point.*
The phallus. HAO
| **tihi.tihi (ii)**
Mul. *Young shoots, spikes of new growth growing from the trunk or branches of a -tree, -bush.* ANA
TIHĪ [? **tihi**]
P. *To be wreathed, decorated with a wreath.*
? *To wreathe; decorate with a wreath.* VHI
TIHITIHI (i) || **tihi (i)**
TIHITIHI (ii) || **tihi (ii)**
TIHITIHI (iii)
S. *A variety of fish*; = NAP **tarefa**, AMN, HIK, VHI, HAO, ANA **panapana.** FAG
A variety of fish. REA
TIHO
[?]
TIHOA
S. A place name. KAU
TĪHOHORA || **hora (ii)**
TĪHORE || **hore**
TĪHOREHORE || **hore**
TĪHORO (i) || **horo (i)**
TĪHORO (ii) || **horo (ii)**
TĪHOROHORO || **horo (i)**
TIHOTA [? ← Eng.]
S. Mod. *Sugar.*
TIHUKI || **huki (i)**
TIHŪRARERARE = **hūrarerare** || **rare (ii)**
TIHERE || **iere**
TIKA (i)
P. *To stand up; to be -upright, -erect, -vertical.* GTN
To run aground. NAP
To touch bottom; of the **kānehu** in certain fishing methods. ANA
To be -willing, -agreeable; to consent; in certain constructions.
To be possible; in certain constructions. ANA, HAO
To be -just, -fair, -right.
To run before the wind; as a ship. ANA
S. *A straight -stalk, -stump*; [in compounds.]
M. *Upright, vertical, erect.*
Real; true, exact; just, honorable, lawful; = **tautika (i).**
Male; [in compounds.] ANA
Directly, straight, right; (**Hipa tika atu vau ki ana.**)
| **faka.mā.tika**
To twill two strands horizontally; in basket weaving. NAP
Twilled horizontally.
| **faka.tika**
To recount, narrate, tell.
| **faka.tika.haŋa**
The act of -recounting, -narrating.
| **haka.pā.titika**
To straighten; to cause to be -straight, -erect.
To keep on a true course; to steer a ship straight.
To steer. VTU
| **haka.ro.tika**
To cause to be -straight, -in a straight line; to set -true, -straight.
| **haka.tika**
To erect; to cause to be -erect, -upright, -vertical.
To set on one's feet.
To straighten.

| **tīfai-rakorako**
A whitish variety of turtle. HAO
| **tīfai-raparapa**
A variety of turtle; = **tīfai-tari.** ANA
| **tīfai-rōkēa**
A variety of turtle with a rugose carapace; it resembles the **pāpaka-rōkēa** crab. HAO
| **tīfai-tari**
A variety of turtle with a hexagonal upper carapace; = **tīfai-raparapa.** ANA
| **tīfai-tavake** = **tīfai-koheno**
| **tīfai-totoro-tika**
Any variety of turtle with small white spots about the size of a small fingernail on the upper carapace. HAO
| **tīfai-tūatūa**
A variety of turtle; this legendary variety of turtle is said to have eight flippers, four around the edge of the upper carapace and four around the lower; the carapaces are much further apart than ordinary turtles; these are said to have been caught at both Tematangi and Pukapuka; = **tūatūa.** FAG, HAO

TĪFAIFAI (i) || **fai (i)**
TĪFAIFAI (ii) || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAIFAI (iii)
P. *To be nearly ripe*; as pandanus fruit.
To commence to -swell, -fill out. FAG
TĪFAI-ŊAHAE-PARA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-HEKA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-HEKAHEKA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-HEKO || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-KEA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-KEREKERE || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-KOHERO || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-KŌNAO || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-MAORI || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-MAREŊA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-MOKO || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-MŪKŌ || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-NOA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-PAKITUA-HOEHOE || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-PAKU || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-PARĀOA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-PARAPARĀUERA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-RAKORAKO || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-RAPARAPA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-RŌKĒA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-TARI || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-TAVAKE || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-TOTORO-TIKA || **tīfai (ii)**
TĪFAI-TŪATŪA || **tīfai (ii)**

TIŊA (i)
P. *To be -possible, -able; can*; **(E tiŋa i āku [? a aku] kia hāere,** *It is possible that I may go*). FAG

TIŊA (ii) [? ← → tiŋa (i)]
M. *Not poisonous; wholesome, safe to eat*; said of certain fish which are sometimes poisonous. ANA
Attractive, desireable, excellent; sightly; orderly, neat, well-arranged. FAG
Proper, fitting.
| **faka.tiŋa** = **haka-tiŋa.** FAG
| **haka.tiŋa**
To make excellent.
| **haka.tiŋa.tiŋa**
To perfect; to make very beautiful; to put in perfect order.
| **tiŋa.tiŋa**
Pleasing, agreeable to the taste; excellent; of food or drinking water. ANA
Int. *Very attractive, excellent; perfect.* FAG
Very neat, orderly, well-arranged.

TIŊA (iii) [? ← → tiŋa (ii)]
S. *A variety of fish*; ordinarily this is poisonous. NAP

TIŊĀTIŊA || **tiŋa (ii)**

TIŊI
P. *To punch-, drill out- with a direct punching motion*; as with the **tietie (i)**; || **kōfao.** FAG, ANA
To plug; as a hole. VHI
S. *A punching-, boring- instrument*; this was made only of whale bone; = **tiŋitiŋi.** ANA
A caulking instrument; used for plugging holes. VHI
| **tiŋi.tiŋi**
Reg. Freq.
Obs. *A punching implement*; = **tiŋi.**

TIŊIA [? ← tiŋi]
S. *A variety of fish*; it is red in color and has a pointed beak. ROI
| **tiŋia-toreureu**
The **tiŋia** *fish at its full growth.* ROI

TIŊIA-TOREUREU || **tiŋia**
TIŊITIŊI || **tiŋi**
TIŊITIŊIA
S. *A variety of fish*; it resembles the **tikeikei (i)**, but is longer and narrower; = ROI **tiŋia.** VTU, ANA

TIŊU
P. *To draw in the breath.* NAP
| **tiŋu.haŋa**
The act of drawing in the breath.
| **tiŋu.haŋa-aho**
The lungs; = **aŋoaŋo.** NAP
| **tiŋu.tiŋu**
To be revolted from breathing in an unpleasant odor; **(Kua tiŋutiŋu tāku ihu.)** ANA

TIŊUHAŊA || **tiŋu**
TIŊUHAŊA-AHO || **tiŋu**
TIŊUTIŊU || **tiŋu**

TIHA
P. *To spit at*; hence, *to insult, mock, deride*; = **tiho.** HAO, TAK
S. *A short insulting -recitation, -decla-*

mation; || **tāpeka (iv)**.
M. *Insulting, mocking, deriding.*

TIHĀ [? ← **tiha**]
P. An insulting interjection.

TĪHAE (i) || **hae (i)**

TĪHAE (ii) || **hae (ii)**

TĪHAEHAE (i) || **hae (i)**

TĪHAEHAE (ii) || **hae (ii)**

TIHAI
S. A place name. KAU

TĪHAKAHAKA || ***haka (ii)**

TĪHANA || **hana (i)**

TIHE [? ← + **tuhe, tufa**]
P. Obs. *To make a violent spitting -hiss, -explosive sound*; as an insult, mark of contempt; = **tiha.** ANA
| **mā.tihe**
To sneeze; = **mētuhe, mehetue, maṇi-tuhe.** VHI

TĪHEHĒ || **hehē (i)**

TĪHEI [? ← **hei (i)**]
S. *A garment resembling a cloak or cape.* VHI
| **tīhei.kura**
A red -cloak, -cape; a red-feathered cloak.
Poet. *The cuckoo.*

TĪHEIKURA || **tīhei**

TĪHERE || **here (ii)**

TIHI (i)
P. *To dash-, splash- up*; as a breaking wave. VHI
To sough, moan; as the wind.
To drizzle and blow; as fine rain and wind. VTU, TKU
| **kā.tihi**
A violent storm accompanied by rain, wind, and high seas; || **huṇa.** VTU, TKU
| **tihi.tihi (i)**
Int. *To whistle, shriek*; as a high wind. VHI
Int. *To dash-, splash- up violently*; as breaking waves whipped by the wind.
Int. *To drive and blow strongly*; as fine rain accompanied by a high wind. VTU, TKU

TIHI (ii)
S. *A point.*
The phallus. HAO
| **tihi.tihi (ii)**
Mul. *Young shoots, spikes of new growth growing from the trunk or branches of a -tree, -bush.* ANA

TIHI [? **tihi**]
P. *To be wreathed, decorated with a wreath.*
? To wreathe; decorate with a wreath. VHI

TIHITIHI (i) || **tihi (i)**

TIHITIHI (ii) || **tihi (ii)**

TIHITIHI (iii)
S. *A variety of fish*; = NAP **tarefa**, AMN, HIK, VHI, HAO, ANA **pana-pana.** FAG
A variety of fish. REA

TIHO
[?]

TIHOA
S. A place name. KAU

TĪHOHORA || **hora (ii)**

TĪHORE || **hore**

TIHOREHORE || **hore**

TIHORO (i) || **horo (i)**

TIHORO (ii) || **horo (ii)**

TIHOROHORO || **horo (i)**

TIHOTA [? ← Eng.]
S. Mod. *Sugar.*

TĪHUKI || **huki (i)**

TIHŪRARERARE = **hūrarerare** || **rare (ii)**

TĪHERE || **iere**

TIKA (i)
P. *To stand up; to be -upright, -erect, -vertical.* GTN
To run aground. NAP
To touch bottom; of the **kānehu** in certain fishing methods. ANA
To be -willing, -agreeable; to consent; in certain constructions.
To be possible; in certain constructions. ANA, HAO
To be -just, -fair, -right.
To run before the wind; as a ship. ANA
S. *A straight -stalk, -stump*; [in compounds.]
M. *Upright, vertical, erect.*
Real; true, exact; just, honorable, lawful; = **tautika (i).**
Male; [in compounds.] ANA
Directly, straight, right; **(Hipa tika atu vau ki ana.)**
| **faka.mā.tika**
To twill two strands horizontally; in basket weaving. NAP
Twilled horizontally.
| **faka.tika**
To recount, narrate, tell.
| **faka.tika.haṇa**
The act of -recounting, -narrating.
| **haka.pā.titika**
To straighten; to cause to be -straight, -erect.
To keep on a true course; to steer a ship straight.
To steer. VTU
| **haka.ro.tika**
To cause to be -straight, -in a straight line; to set -true, -straight.
| **haka.tika**
To erect; to cause to be -erect, -upright, -vertical.
To set on one's feet.
To straighten.

the dead **kōnao.** ANA
Carved upright coral slabs set up in a **marae**; = **tiki (iii).** VHI, REK
M. *Firm, solid, hard.*
| **faka.toka**
To make -solid, -firm, -hard. HAO
To anchor-, make fast- to a coral rock.
| **toka.ea**
A coral head that rises high above the surface of the -sea, -lagoon. KAU
| **toka.kura**
A variety of whitish coral; it is light in weight, and pitted with the holes of the **koruri (i).** TKR
Whitish coral rock forming a shell around a mass of **koruri.** ANA
A unique sort of beautiful coral found only at **Tahanea** atoll; of variegated red, blue, and yellow, it occurs in the lagoon. ANA, FAG
| **toka.maŋa**
The small of the back. NAP
| **toka.toka (i)**
The stone platform of a **marae**; || **pae-pae.** VTU
Dim. *Small coral rocks.*
The rank smell of coral and seaweed exposed at low tide.
Having the rank smell of exposed coral. TKU
Disgusting, rank, offensive; of an odor.
Fragrant; said of the pervading odor of a grove of **kahūia** in the early morning. VHI

TOKAEA || **toka (ii)**
TŌKAHU || **kahu (ii)**
TŌKAI || **tō (i)**
TE TOKAI-A-OROHITI
S. The name of Ihitapu.
TŌKAI-ŋAHEŋAHE
S. The name of a **marae** at Te-huata; || **Rekareka.**
TOKAKURA || **toka (ii)**
TOKAMAŋA || **toka (ii)**
TŌKAPO || **kapo (ii)**
TŌKAPOKAPO || **kapo (ii)**
TŌKARIŋA || **karikari**
TOKARU [? ← toka (ii)]
M. *High, lofty.* NAP
TŌKATA || **kata (i)**
TŌKATAKATA || **kata (i)**
TŌKATI (i) [? ← kati]
M. *Green, unripe*; = **tōrupo.** AMN
TŌKATI (ii) [? ← tōkati (i)]
S. *A variety of parrot-fish*; dark blue-green in color. VHI
A variety of parrot-fish. ANA
A variety of fish, Leptoscarus vaigiensis; = ANA **pūkouo**, NAP **hekaheka.** AMN, FAG, VHI
TOKATOKA (i) || **toka (ii)**
TOKATOKA (ii)
S. *A variety of parrot-fish*; = **teŋateŋa-raepuku, tōnae (ii).** ROI
TOKAU = **toŋau**
TŌKAU
S. *A variety of turtle which grows to an immense size*; || **tīfal-maori** VHI, HAO
TŌKAVAKAVA (i) || **kava**
TŌKAVAKAVA (ii)
S. *The right whale*; = **parāoa.** HAO
| **tōkavakava-tāŋutu-kao**
A variety of whale with a pointed nose; ? *the killer whale.* ANA
TŌKAVAKAVA-TĀŋUTU-KAO || **tōkava-kava (ii)**
TOKE (i)
S. *A worm, angleworm.* ANA
Mosquito larva[e]. VHI
The lobe of the ear. ANA, FAG
Obs. *The clitoris*; = **tirotiro, kaivi, kiko.** FAG
| **tokē.a**
A small stick used to expand the hole pierced in the earlobe.
| **toke.henua**
An angleworm.
| **toke.tōau**
A variety of worm-like creature found in the sand at low tide; it is used as bait for the **vete (ii), kaveti, kūo**; = **ahūra.** TAP
TOKE (ii) = poet. var. of **toketoke.** ANA
TOKE (iii)
S. ? Mod. *Lead.*
TOKĒA || **toke (i)**
TOKEHENUA || **toke (i)**
TŌKĒKĒ || **kē (ii)**
TOKERAU (i)
S. *The north*; || **toŋa (i), kereteki (i), hitīŋa-hana, tōhaŋa-hana.** AMN
The north wind; from NNE to NNW. VTU, FAG, ANA
A northwesterly wind; from WNW to NW. NAP
| **pā.tokerau**
The northeast.
The northeast wind.
| **tokerau-ē-rittō**
The name of a north wind. FAG, HAO
| **tokerau-fakarua**
The north-northwest wind; = **fakna-rua-tokerau.**
| **tokerau-rua**
Es. The name of one of the four winds of Kiho; || **mōiho.** ANA
| **tokerau-tahi**
A violent north wind. ANA
A northwesterly wind; from NNW to NW. NAP
TOKERAU (ii)
S. *A type of love lyric sung for a loved one who has gone away.*

TOKERAU-E-RITO || tokerau (i)
TOKERAU-FAKAITE || fakaite-tokerau
TOKERAU-FAKARUA || tokerau (i)
TOKERAU-RUA || tokerau (i)
TOKERAU-TAHI || tokerau (i)
TŌKERE (i) || *kere (i)
TŌKERE (ii)
S. *The layer of edible fat under the neck of a turtle*; || **kāpā, tuetue (iv)**. HAO

TŌKERE (iii)
S. ? *A type of chant similar to the* **rutu (ii)**. FAG
TŌKETE || kete (i)
TŌKETEKETE || kete (i)
TOKETŌAU || toke (i)
TOKETOKE
P. *To be cold*; || **amanu, anu (i), makariri.**
S. *Cold, coldness*; [this is more pronounced than **makariri**, and differs from **anuanu** in that it is said of the coldness owing to rain or sea water, rather than that from the wind;] = **toke (ii)**. ANA, NAP
M. *Cold.*
| **haka.toketoke**
Reg.
| **pū.toketoke**
Cool. NAP, ANA
Cold, chilly; as in chills, fever. VTU, ANA

TOKI (i)
P. *To chop-, strike a blow- with an adze.*
S. *A stone-, shell- adze*; it is used to cut and trim sticks, branches, planks. ROI, TAE, ANA, HAO, AMN, MKM
A narrow-bladed stone-, shell- chisel. FAG
An adze blade.
| **pā.toki**
To chop with an -adze, -axe. REA
| **pā.to.toki**
Reg. Freq.
| **tā.toki**
To chop with an -adze, -axe.
| **toki.kōrapa**
Mod. *A hatchet.*
| **toki.pari**
An adze with a curved blade.

TOKI (ii)
P. *To go and get; to fetch.* FAG
To request, demand.
S. *A request, demand.*
| **tokīa (ii)**
Fetched. GTN
Drawn-, washed- back; as -rubbish, -driftwood, carried back into the sea on a receding wave; || **ranu.** ANA
| **tokī.ŋa**
A thing -fetched, -sought.
A request, demand; an errand.
| **tokī.ua** = GTN **tokīa (ii)**. VHI

TOKI (iii) [? ← → **toki (ii)**]
P. *To overstep-, pass beyond- a boundary.*
| **haka.toki**
To descend; to go-, come- down; as from a higher place. GTN
TOKĪA (i) || tō (viii)
TOKIA (ii) || toki (ii)
TOKI-A-VAKA
S. The name of a star. VHI
TOKIŋA || toki (ii)
TOKIHORO
S. A proper name.
TOKIKI
M. ? *Raw.* NAP
TŌKIKI || *ki (ii)
TŌKIKO || tō (ii)
TOKIKŌRAPA || toki (i)
TOKINA || toki (ii)
TOKIPARI || toki (i)

TOKO (i)
P. *To prop up-, support- with a pole.*
To propel with a pole; = **pīhoro, tīhoro.** GTN
To push-, force- -away, -to a distance.
To help, aid. REA
S. *A prop, pole, support*; especially with reference to ceremonial-, sacred- -rites, -objects.
A spear. VHI, REA, FAG
A royal staff; a quarter-staff.
A branch. VHI
A ray of light.
The sprit of a sail; = **tītoko.** HAO
A disease of the foot; it causes the latter to become swollen and secrete matter under the soles; = **īra, puha (ii).** ANA, HAO
| **faka.toko.toko** = **hakatokotoko**
| **haka.toko.toko**
To vaunt-, boast-, brag- about oneself. FAG
To display one's warlike prowess by brandishing a spear and making menacing gestures; = **hakatoaton.**
| **mā.toko**
To support partially-, part-way- with a -pole, -prop; frly. *to support from beneath with a -pole, -prop.* HAO
| **pa.toko**
To hold-, prop- up; as a sail. ANA
A strut-, brace- for a sail.
| **pā.toko**
To be illumined with rays of light. VHI
| **pa.toko.toko**
Reg. Freq. Plur.
| **pā.toko.toko**
Reg. Num.
| **tā.toko**
To prop-, thrust- up with a pole; to use a pole as a -prop, -support. HAO
| **tī.toko**
To stretch out-, extend- with a pole;

Haul! *Haul!*
Haul in the *first* loop of the sweep!
Haul in the *second* loop,
Haul—without a moment's rest—
until the gap be closed!

Haul, *haul!*

O Tangaroa!

Keep on—keep right on—hauling!
Haul!
Haul!

Until the circle is completely closed!

TURTLE DIVERS

[Turtle divers were accorded prestige virtually equal to that of warrior heroes. Not only was the task of catching the turtle with bare hands in deep water in the black of night a highly dangerous display of courage, strength and skill, but the rich turtle meat was generally reserved for chiefs and priests in protein-scarce Polynesia. The turtle was an important ceremonial symbol, possibly because of the connotation of its unusual sexual member.]

Overturned on the shore are the captured turtles.
Their virile organs are trophies
belonging to the clan of the diving champions,—
One portion of the catch is set aside for their tribe
called Sacred-silence-of-darkness,
And one for the tribe, Sand-filled-waters.
Our revered Princess is the mother
who brought into this Light-world these two hero-champions,
Ever cherishing her noble sons in the warmth of her maternal love.

Ho!
Unrivalled Champions!

Full twenty mighty turtles have fallen to their prowess
upon this memorable night!

A FISHING PRAYER

O thou our God!

O mighty being—
moving freely in the broken fragments of the rainbow,
Go before me upon this day!
May you become a support ever lifting our ship
high above the wind-tossed crests of the surging seas,
As we sail upon our double-hulled vessel
over the wide ways of the ocean,
So that we sink not beneath the hurrying waves.

O thou our God!

O Almighty one—
moving at will in the torn clouds washed in the rainbow's
broken light,
Bring together in milling multitudes every kind of fish
in the splashing shallows!
Thou art He whom we worship,—
Thou art He who ever bestows courage and endurance upon us;
And it is thou who makest tough and strong our nets
So that they be not broken by the charge of the mighty fish.

Through the divine power and exceeding sacredness of thy name
Guard thy fishermen from weakness and discouragement.

O thou our God!

O Almighty spirit of the glittering rainbow!
May our fishing-canoe be filled with all kinds of fish,
May they become nourishment for our children—
from the full-grown to the tiniest babe,
May they feed all to repletion,
from the aged masters and middle-aged sages
to the youngest acolytes,—
So shall it be!

O ardent and upright God!

found out the divine source of his magical powers, and learned that he was a Prince, the only son of King Dark-hero of Havaiki of the world above.

Red-cloak took the young girl, Dawn-cloud, as his wife, and they dwelt long and happily together in that land. Her two elder sisters, Cloud and Cloud-cap, lived with them as servants in the same household—they had become chore-girls of their despised and neglected younger sister.

THE TURTLE BOY

Pa'ipa'i-a-honu was born in the form of a turtle to his mother, Po-'ura, and his father, Tu-marae. Therefore his father took him to a stream and left him there; but he fed him every day until he grew to maturity. When the turtle boy would see his father approaching he would beat upon the water with his two flippers, which was the reason he was called Pa'ipa'i-a-honu ("Beating-the-water-like-a-turtle").

When the turtle had at last reached maturity he climbed out of the pool on to dry land. Then the young boy went to his two parents so that they might know that there was a human being concealed under the appearance of a turtle.

When he reached the house he knocked upon the door, and his father called out, "Who is that?" The little turtle replied, "It's I, Pa'ipa'i-a-honu!" His mother exclaimed, "O Tu-marae! That's the little turtle just outside." The father ran to open the door. He looked out and saw a human being. Tu-marae led him inside the house to a place of honor, and made him sit down.

His mother approached to have a good look at him, and all sat down together. Then his father inquired, "My friend, who are you?" The boy replied, "I am the little turtle; the child whom you brought into the world,—indeed, I am that little turtle whom you carried off and left in the stream."

The mother caught him in her arms and jounced him up and down in joy and gladness. Because they had not known he was a human being, they had supposed him to be a turtle, and not a real person. Then the father dashed to the bank of the stream to see if there were a turtle-shell beside it. Behold! there it was, lying right beside the pool. The father picked it up and carried it on his shoulders to the house.

Tu-marae and his wife were filled with joy when they realized that

there was a real person inside of this turtle-shell. They took water and warmed it to bathe their son. When that was done they gave him food, and when he had eaten they rubbed his body with perfumed oil, and put him to sleep.

After he had rested they made him sit down beside them. Pa'ipa'i-a-honu said, "When day comes I must return to the pool of water." The father exclaimed, "Oh, no. Do not go back!" The boy replied, "I must return, and you must not detain me; I do not wish to be observed by the people. Do not be troubled. I'll go back into my turtle-shell, and when night comes I'll return to this house to sleep."

And, behold! He entered his turtle-shell and went back into the pool. That evening the father and mother prepared food for them all to eat. They prepared only the best foods, as a sign of their great joy because of their son. When evening came the little turtle crawled out upon dry ground, and started off towards the house of his parents, where he knocked upon the door.

His mother ran to meet him. She opened the door, and Pa'ipa'i-a-honu entered the house. He greeted his parents with affection, assuring them that he was well; and then they all ate their meal together. When they had finished, the father and mother put him to sleep; and again, when dawn came, he returned to his dwelling-place in the pool.

Time passed. On a certain day the daughter of the King was wondering about a report she had heard that a person had been born in the form of a turtle. The princess determined to go and see this turtle, in order to find out if the report was true. Taking her personal attendants with her, she went to the house of Tu-marae. When she arrived, she inquired, "Where is the child who is said to be a turtle?" Tu-marae told her, "He is in the pool of water where he lives." The young princess said, "Let us go to the pool, so that I may see him."

They proceeded to that place. When they had reached the bank of the pool they observed the turtle-boy splashing himself with water. Then, at once, the turtle began beating the water with his flippers.

The princess gazed at that turtle,—it was most beautiful, and its shell gleamed and glistened. She inquired of the father, "Why does he beat on the water with his flippers?" Tu-marae replied, "He is greeting you affectionately, saying, 'She is indeed most beautiful.'"

Therefore, the princess greatly desired to ask the father to let her have the turtle to take to her own house, to feed and bring him up. Tu-marae said, "Don't be in a hurry; I'll speak to his mother." The princess said, "Then go at once!"

The father started off. He said to the mother on his arrival, "My

dear! The daughter of the King has asked me to let her take our turtle-boy away with her." The mother replied, "Just tell her to wait a little while. I want to think it over."

The father went back to the princess and said, "You must not be in a hurry." "Then I'll go away now," the princess said, "but I'll come back tomorrow. You really must give him to me." "We'll do so," Tu-marae assured her; so the young girl returned to her own place.

That evening the little turtle crawled up upon the dry bank and went straight to the house. When the boy reached there his parents told him what had happened. Pa'ipa'i-a-honu replied, "My friends! That's most important! But I knew what you were saying there on the bank of the pool. When she returns you must say to her, 'You must marry our turtle-boy, and when you are married, then you must take him to your house and feed him!' "

The two parents exclaimed, "So that's your idea!"

The boy replied, "She won't stay away for good. She'll come back again,—I tell you she won't stay away; and this is what you must say, 'You must make a *formal* marriage with our turtle-boy.' "

On the third day that young girl came back to the house. Tu-marae called out, "Here I am! Come right over here!" She replied, "Very well. But let's go and see Pa'ipa'i-a-honu."

They went to the border of the pool; the turtle saw them and immediately he began to beat upon the surface with his flippers. The young girl's desire to possess him was quite irresistible because of his delightful ways, and his beauty, cleanness, and glistening shell. Indeed, her desire to have that turtle as her very own grew stronger and stronger.

Then the young girl inquired of the father, "What have you two decided?" Tu-marae said, "My friend! Let's go to the house to talk, and then I'll tell you what I think. This boy is our own son, in fact, our only child." So they went to his house and when they arrived they sat down to rest. Then the princess inquired again, "What have you two decided?"

"It's like this,—you two must be married."

The princess broke into laughter at these words. However, because of the strength of her desire to have this turtle in her own house she replied, "I'll go back to my house and ask my father, and if he gives his permission I'll return." And because she so longed to possess this turtle she said, "I'm willing that we should be married."

The young girl then returned to her house. As soon as she had arrived she asked her father for his permission to be married, but added, "He's not a human being." Her father (who had previously heard of the curiosity) exclaimed, "What's that! A turtle?" He continued, "However, there's a man inside his shell; do you wish to marry him?" She replied, "Yes, I do." Her father said, "Then I give my consent."

The princess then went back with her women attendants to tell the parents of the turtle boy that her father had given his consent, and that they would be formally married.

A little later on, during the days which had been set aside for the marriage of the princess, the King made a proclamation to the people; commanding them to prepare a great feast for the marriage of his daughter. The people built a banqueting pavilion for the festival, and all the feasting-houses were decorated and adorned with wreaths and garlands. When that was done all the people came, each bringing his share of the food. When all the gifts of the land-holders had been heaped upon the recreation-field of the King, certain people were appointed to look out for the food and to superintend all other associated activities.

A house was built over that pool, and superbly beautiful mats were set by the turtle-boy as sitting-places for the King and his wife and for all the great dignitaries and nobles beside the water. His house was decorated and adorned, and even the pool where he lived was beautified, because all the children whom he would beget would belong to the royal family. (Indeed this young man was most handsome; he was possessed of great magical powers and wisdom, and it was said that he became a great warrior after the time when he discarded his turtle's shell.)

When the day came upon which this little turtle was to be married, the King stationed his men before and behind for the arrival of himself and his retinue, his daughter, and the nobles and aristocrats. It was at the house of Tu-marae where the princess was to marry her husband who lived in the pool; and when she met him he was indeed most beautiful.

The drums were beating, and all the other instruments were being played for the reception of the King; and the dancers were occupied on the field of the celebration. The head of the little turtle was tied round with sere *ti*-leaves. And his father instructed the boy, admonishing him, "When the parents of your wife reach the bank of the pool, together with the tribal nobles and dignitaries you must look at me. When I raise my arm you must beat upon the waters of the stream with your flippers, and as soon as you pause I shall begin to chant the sacred songs."

Soon afterwards they were told, "There comes the King and his retinue!" Instantly the dancers, both men and women, began to sway;

and those who sounded the musical instruments, the drums, the wooden gongs, the flutes, and all the other musical instruments,—they were to be Pa'ipa'i-a-honu's followers—began to play without pausing on the recreation-field beside the stream.

And behold! The retinue of the King arrived, and the nobles, and the dignitaries and aristocrats. They came right upon the recreation-field of Tu-marae, and they went on to the bank of that pool where Pa'ipa'i-a-honu lived, and stopped there. The young man beat upon the water. He thrust out his flipper towards his betrothed, and the young girl took hold of it. Then he thrust out the flipper towards her father, the King, and the King took hold of it; and he kept on thrusting out a flipper until he had reached his two parents.

Then Tu-marae, his father, arose, and began to recite the formal eulogy of the husband in these words:—

"I now declaim of the swelling of thy mother's belly
Through which it became known that there was
progeny in the core of the woman's body,
And when the time came that thou wast born,
behold!
There was delivered a turtle-coursing-the-ocean.
Whereupon it was placed in the pool;
And there you were nurtured and fed while day
after long day passed,
Wherefore thy name was given thee,—
It was 'Beater-upon-the-waters-like-a-turtle'
When your dwelling-place became permanent in your
pool, it was called 'Journeyings-in-clear-waters,'
But now, upon this day when you have arrived
at pubescent manhood,
You have become separated from your pool,
Which has been adorned and garlanded with all
kinds of leaves and flowers.
May you display your warlike prowess in some
foreign land,
As proof of the strength of your mother,
Until the time of your death."

The drums began to beat, and the flutes to play, and the dancers commenced to gesture and sway, and all entered joyously into countless amusements and recreations.

The royal litter which they had fashioned was brought thither to carry the little turtle to the house of his bride, according to the magic-

words-of-power counsel, "When you two are married, thou shalt take him to thy own house."

The turtle crawled upon the paved court, and he was lifted upon the shoulders of the serving-men. When he had been carried to his house he was put into his pool. Then he beat upon the water with his flippers, and spoke a farewell greeting to the people. Afterwards the people of Tu-marae, and the King and his dignitaries, partook of food.

And when night fell the young girl went into the pool to bathe, in the place where her husband dwelt. With a joyous heart she beheld her husband in the water. Her handmaidens went with her; and when her women attendants went away, they spoke to her husband in farewell. Afterwards they brought him food; and when he had eaten well his wife went away with the bearers who carried her on their shoulders.

That night his wife remained in her own sleeping place.

Pa'ipa'i-a-honu's mother came to see the turtle. He was resting on the bank of the pool; and she said, "Arise! Go! You're just delaying here in your house!" He answered, "It is true." Then the mother went back to the feast.

The husband went to the house of his wife, and knocked on the door. The young girl recalled the words of her father that it was not a turtle —it was a man—inside of the turtle's shell. Again he knocked upon the door. The young woman ran to open it, and she saw a wondrously handsome young man standing there. She had never seen anyone so handsome, so the young girl caught him in her arms and led him into her room. She said to him, "Who are you?"

Her husband said to her, "I am Pa'ipa'i-a-honu." "And where do you live?" "I live on the banks of the pool."

The princess ran to tell her handmaidens to bring water for him to bathe. She sent the maid out of her room as soon as the water was brought, and led her husband to be bathed. When he had finished, they entered their sleeping-place, and the turtle boy possessed his bride.

When it was almost day, Pa'ipa'i-a-honu arose, and spoke to his bride affectionately in farewell, and then went back into his turtle-shell. His bride said to him, "Do not return into your shell—you must discard your turtle-like form." But he would not agree. Then he crawled into the pool.

The bride returned to their sleeping-place, trying to think up some means of preventing her husband from entering into his turtle form.

However, the next day she followed and remained near him until evening, when he came out again upon a dry place. There his bride was waiting for him; and they went together to her house. She commanded

her serving-woman to prepare another feast, and to include in the feast all the known kinds of food. When she had concluded her instructions the waiting-woman went outside.

That woman was quite certain that there were two persons in the room; and the girl's mother was also observing matters. She noticed that the princess did not go to the family eating-place. She believed that there really was a man inside of the room where her daughter was sleeping. When it was night the serving-maids spied on the princess and made sure she had a lover. They previously had believed that he was staying inside the turtle-shell.

The young boy was indeed most handsome and beautiful. He slept with his bride; and when dawn came she began to plead with him again not to go back into his shell, saying, "Don't go back into your turtle-form—but go forth from my house as King of this tribe!"

In the evening the bride was still staying in her house. Pa'ipa'i-a-honu came up out of the pool as usual. The princess saw the young man standing beside his mother and his father, and she said to him, "Carry your shell on your shoulders to my house,—this day it shall be burned up!"

All the most excellent kinds of food were made ready; and all the serving-maids beheld him, and the Princess sent for her father to come and meet her husband. The King came and saw him,—his daughter's husband was indeed a most handsome man.

The next morning the conch-shell trumpet was sounded. Again the people assembled, and they were told by the King's orator to gather together at that place and to prepare a feast for the formal ceremony of ordaining the husband of the King's daughter.

The feast was prepared; and all the great families were informed by proclamation to come to the ceremony. The young man, accompanied by his father and mother, went to the feasting-place. So did the King and his daughter. The fine appearance of the youth was seen by the people at the feast. He was inspected by the nobles and dignitaries, and then made to stand before them, where he was formally ordained as King over them all.

Thus ends the story of Pa'ipa'i-a-honu, who was begotten a turtle by Tu-marae and who thus became the progenitor of one of the royal lines of descent.

THE GREY-BACKED GULL

GULL

I am the grey-backed gull!
I disappear above the clouds of the east wind.

BARD

Grey-gull is off on a quest—
He is seeking mackerel.
He will win his way over dark, gloomy seas,
He will come at last to bright, sunlit seas;
He will yearn for his wife and children.

Now Grey-gull alights upon the gnarled tree,
growing on the coral ledge of gentle breezes.
Settling down upon a tiny islet,
Flocking with his fellows upon the old pandanus,
at the cove of the long, curving shore
Where the flickering lightning dwells,
He will see the sunrise in company with the muttering thunder.

O Grey-gull!
Perhaps you will even settle down in the house-of-nobles
of the God-riding-the-lightning!
You are swept up in the gale to the dark, menacing storm clouds—
Clouds frequented by the offspring of the Bird-god,
clinging to their lofty seats rocked by the winds,
The progeny of Hina-of-the-rainbow.

GULL

I am the grey-backed gull!
I circle above the rock-ledge of the divine Goddess,
above the unformed foundations of space;
Dwelling in the tempest,
Fearless in the mounting fury of wind and waves,—
In the land of wide wastes,
In the land of the star-god Antares;
Spiralling on high to the star-god Canopus
rising in a sweeping arc,—
Leaning over as he studies the winds.

MYTHS AND TALES FROM KAPINGAMARANGI, A POLYNESIAN INHABITED ISLAND IN MICRONESIA

By KENNETH P. EMORY

DURING THE SUMMER of 1947, the Bishop Museum party at the atoll of Kapingamarangi recorded twenty different myths and tales of the kind called *puakai*. These are stories which involve the miraculous. They end with the phrase "*waranga tangata hua* (just a pastime, an idle tale of people), as if their true character might not be apparent.

Our expedition was a part of the "Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology," (CIMA), planned and carried out by the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council for the United States Navy, the administrative authority for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Kapingamarangi is the southernmost island in this Micronesian area. It is a little over a degree north of the equator and in latitude, 156° 46′ east of Greenwich. This places it about four hundred miles south-southeast of Truk in the center of the Caroline Archipelago and about three hundred miles north-northeast of Rabaul in New Britain. Thus, with its companion island of Nukuoro, 180 miles to the north, also inhabited by Polynesians, it is a Polynesian community tucked away and almost lost in the wide sea between the Micronesians to the north and Melanesians to the south with whom they stand in marked contrast in culture and particularly in physical type and language.

The atoll is a coral ring about six miles in diameter, bearing a crescent of thirty-four islets along its eastern rim. Were these islets assembled and arranged in a compact square, they would produce about six-tenths of a square mile of dry land ten feet above the ocean. Yet the atoll supports a healthy, flourishing population of five hundred and twenty natives. Their first known contact with white people occurred in 1877. In 1919, a native missionary from Nukuoro settled among them and persuaded them to renounce their old religion. They had deified Utamatua, the leader of the Polynesian party which had discovered and settled Kapingamarangi and had set up a cult house for him and his family in the principal village, Touhou. Their worship consisted mainly in appeals to these ancestors for help or expressions of gratitude for help received. These ancestor gods were supposed to have supernatural control over nature and the elements. In 1922 this cult house was taken down and a larger thatched building erected as a Protestant church. About half of the population are members of this church, a score of natives profess to be Catholics. The remainder of the people, while having given up the ancient religion, do not subscribe to any particular faith. However, all live together in harmony. They are mainly concerned with the upkeep of their sailing canoes and neatly thatched houses, with the procuring and preparation of food, and with keeping their villages and themselves neat and clean. The men do all the fishing, build the canoes and houses, climb the coconut and breadfruit trees. The women cultivate the taro fields, plait the mats, prepare and cook the food, tend the children.

Since Micronesia fell under American care, station ships have been calling rather frequently, permitting a trade in handicrafts which gives money to buy cloth, metal tools and utensils, sugar, coffee, and some food to vary their own diet of fish, coconuts, taro, breadfruit, and pandanus fruit. Pigs and chickens have been introduced and serve for feasts. During the war the Japanese had a float-plane base at one of the islets and a weather station at another, but they disturbed the life of the natives very little. To a very large extent, the Kapingamarangi people still maintain their native life and economy; but both are now likely to disappear, and rapidly, before the influence which will come with visiting American boats.

Our party consisted of Dr. Peter H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), who concentrated on the material culture; Samuel H. Elbert, linguist; Carroll J. Lathrop, technician; and myself. I investigated the old religion and the social organization. We were set ashore July 15th, 1947. Mr. Elbert had to leave September 6th; Dr. Buck, September 21st; and Mr. Lathrop and myself, on October 16th.

Our first problem was to learn enough of the language to communicate with the people. As all of us except Mr. Lathrop spoke dialects of Polynesian, we did not anticipate much difficulty in this. However, the Kapingamarangi dialect turned out to be so different from those with which we were familiar that it was only towards the end of our visit that we began developing some facility in it. After the first two weeks, Samuel Elbert began writing down myths and tales, in the native dialect, as much for the language material as for the stories themselves. Through this dictation we rapidly learned idioms and caught shades of meaning of words because of their natural context. As the Kapingamarangi people delighted in dictating these tales to us, it became an agreeable and speedy means of becoming acquainted with them, their language, and their lore.

Had we stayed longer or pushed our quest more intensively, very likely we would have collected twice the number of myths and tales. But I believe we have recorded those best known to the people. In all, five women and six men gave us these *puakai*. A boy of ten knew a number of them and could mimic the old people perfectly in reciting them. Some of the young men, also, were fond of imitating the old people in the telling of *puakai*. When we set up our wire recorder in a village square for anyone to record chants or sing songs, one inhabitant preferred to recount a *puakai*. This prompted King David to give one that he knew. The crowd listened attentively, and the recounters obviously enjoyed their role.

Many of the tales have to do with *eitu*, supernatural beings who can take on a human form and meddle in the affairs of men. About as many of the tales have fish, crabs, lizards, spiders, turtles, birds as the actors, playing tricks on one another. In one story, stars were the actors. The remaining *puakai* relate how a person revenges himself on another after the other has been mean to him or played a trick on him. These people usually possess magic powers.

In this paper I am giving representative tales, or *puakai*, and I am relating the circumstances under which they were imparted, saying a few words about the informants. For Polynesian tales published in the past we rarely have any data of this kind, yet such information is often necessary properly to evaluate a story.

With the shortest of the tales I include the native text as a sample of the Kapingamarangi dialect. My translations are quite literal in order to preserve something of the native style. Polynesian tales so translated are likely to appear more childlike than they are and somewhat monotonous. The facial expressions and gestures of the recounters introduce infinite variety and every shade of emotion into these stories. They are passed down in this way and of course lose much of their vitality when reduced to writing and literally translated. However, a literal translation preserves the ingredients.

The first four of the tales here given were dictated by King David, age 61. He has been the local ruler of the island since 1929, appointed to that office by the people when the hereditary chief resigned because he did not want to be bothered with handling the affairs of the island. King David, whose name was Ti Ararua and then Tepiha, before he took the Christian name David, was forty-four years old at the time, a second cousin of the chief who resigned, and an outstanding man in every respect. He rules the island gently but firmly. In his youth he was an assistant priest in the old cult house and so exposed to the ancient teaching. He is recognized as the final authority in matters concerning genealogies and takes pride in his knowledge of the ancient lore.

"Myth of the Pleiades and the Morning Star"

Given by King David

Circumstances of the giving of the story: I had asked King David if he knew any stories about the Pleiades. Yes, there was one about Matariki, the Pleiades, and a star not then in the heavens, called Pukute, a bright star which appeared in the morning just as Matariki sank out of sight in the west. He implied that he would have to make some inquiries to bring it to mind. I think now he was hesitant about giving the story, thinking we might not approve of it. About two weeks later, on the afternoon of September 3, 1947, he sought me to give me the full version of a chant about the stars which we had heard recited by the young man Piripi, sitting on the lagoon beach while the stars he was chanting about were glimmering overhead. That transcribed, he touched me on the knee and then told me to be ready to take down the *puakai* of Matariki and Pukute. When I had written it down and read it back to him, he seemed delighted. He wanted me to read the story into the wire recorder if it came back from Truk repaired; and when we next played it, to let the people hear it just as Samuel Elbert had done with the fable of "The Bonito Who Stole the Tail of the Box-fish," which King David had given him.

Native text: Matariki tangata amua i hetu i ti rangi. Ku hakaputu nia hetu huakotoa, poro, "Kahia ti ingoa taku tama." Keoko Pukute ka hai poro ti ingoa tama Matariki Pakuku. Keoko Matariki ku hakawerewere ki Pukute. "Tera huaitu ti ingoa taku tama!" Keoko Matariki hai poro, "Pukute hakare e hana ra nua i ti po, tera hua, ruata e noho i tua, hiahi e noho i tai. Nia hetu huakotoa pakuku ki Pukute." Waranga tangata hua.

Translation: Matariki, the Pleiades, was the highest ranking of the stars in the heavens. He called the stars together, saying, "We must choose a name for my son." Then Pukute proposed Pakuku (Defecate) as a name for Matariki's son. Matariki was very angry at Pukute. "That is an awful name for my son!"

Thereupon Matariki declared, "Pukute shall not go above during the night, but at dawn he shall be on the eastern horizon; at evening, on the western horizon. All the stars, then (during the night), will defecate on Pukute. This is just a tale told by people.

"Story of the Father Who Stole His Own Fish"

Given by King David

Circumstances of the giving of the story: King David had no sooner finished dictating the myth of the Pleiades' revenge against the Morning Star than he wanted me to write down this *puakai o Tipu*, story of Tipu. Obviously he was anxious that the stories we collected from others would not exceed in number those contributed by himself and was now soliciting me to take them down.

Translation: There was quite an old man named Tipu (The Conch-shell). His sons went torch fishing. They brought back *manini* in the basket. When morning came his sons exclaimed, "Say, someone has eaten the fish!" Tipu remarked, "You should not have hung up the fish as you did."

They went torch fishing again. Returning, they carried up the fish, told Tipu to wake up to eat them. Tipu said, "Leave them, we will consume them tomorrow." So they went to sleep. Tipu then went out and ate the fish.

(In the story, this sort of thing keeps up for some time, the sons bringing one kind of fish then another. Finally they bring a basket of poisonous fish of the kind called *were*. Tipu got up as usual when all the others were asleep.)

Tipu took the basket, his mouth watering, ate the fish. Then he vomited and died. In the morning the sons exclaimed, "Indeed our fish were being eaten by him."

The tale is ended. This is just a tale told by people.

"Hakatautai's Exposure of Moemoeho"

Given by King David

Circumstances of the giving of the story: On September 30th, 1947, nearly four weeks after King David had related the myth of the Pleiades, he and I put in most of the day considering the ancient religious ceremonies. That evening, he dropped in after supper to dictate a tale he had wanted to give us. Feeling very tired after taking down the first dozen lines, I let him go on with his tale at conversational speed, stopping only a couple of times to summarize and to write down in English what he had said. This is the tale:

While he and Moemoeho were dwelling at Hukuniu islet, Hakatautai consumed all the coconuts suitable for drinking except those on one tree. He left this tree alone because he wanted its nuts to increase. But they did not. Therefore, he said to Moemoeho, "Someone must be stealing the nuts because there are so few." Moemoeho answered, "Ridiculous." Then Hakatautai appeared before the coconut and said to it, "Should someone climb your skin, then go to the lagoon side of Touhou islet." The coconut agreed.

It was Moemoeho himself who was stealing the coconuts. When he climbed the tree the next time, just before daylight, it immediately moved to Touhou, where most of the people lived. Attracted by the strange sight of a coconut tree standing out of the water, they flocked to the shore to see it. The tree kept turning to expose Moemoeho, but he kept moving around to the far side hiding in its branches. Finally, however, the

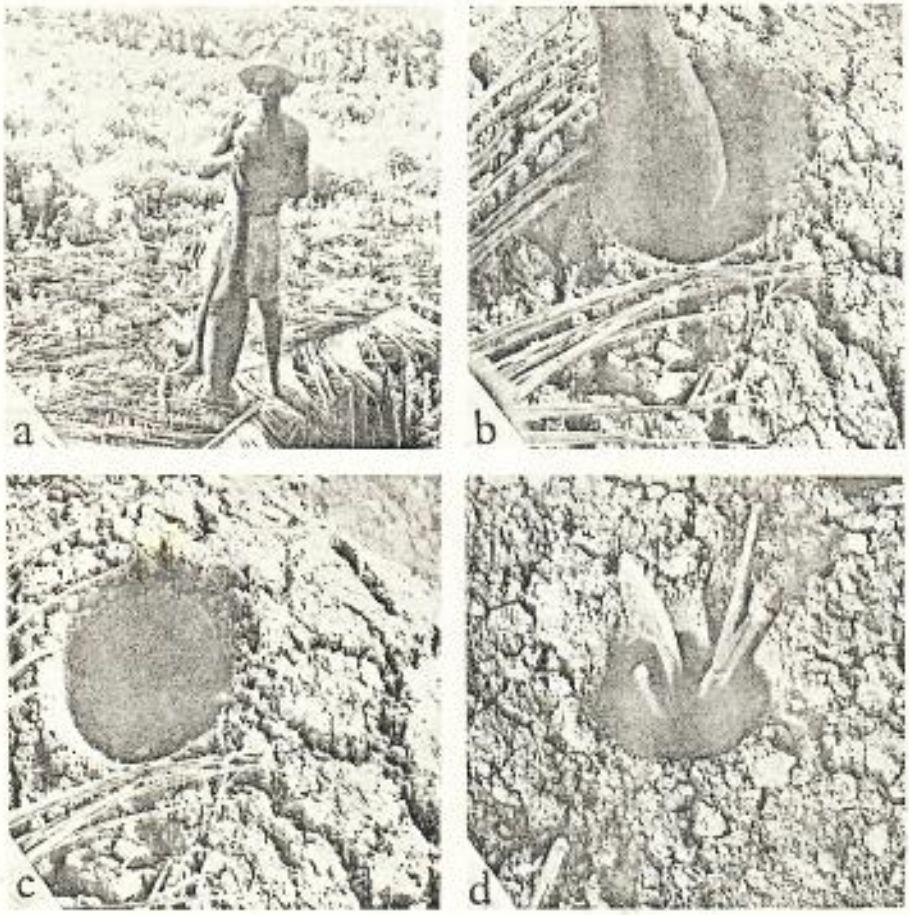

FIGURE 6.—Atiu, Cook Islands: **a**, special club-like tool for making holes in swampy lowland taro garden; **b-d**, details of methods.

TRADITIONAL AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

As in other regions of the Pacific, the wooden digging stick was the most frequently used agricultural implement, and it still has considerable use in some of the high islands of Polynesia where taro is grown in low-lying swamps. A variant of the digging stick is an enormous club, which is used for making a wide, regular, cylindrical hole in the mud, thus providing the tuber with a container in which it can develop freely. (See figures 6; 8, *a*.)

In the Cook Islands *Casuarina* wood is used for the digging stick, known there as *ko*. For certain special uses, such as making sticks intended for planting sugar cane, the softer wood of *Hibiscus tiliaceus* is utilized (Buck, 1944).

The Samoan islands have two kinds of stick: a pointed digging stick made of hard wood, known as *oso;* and a stick with a rounded end used for planting, the *oso to*. On atolls the *Tridacna* shell provides a tool for digging cultivation pits, the unwanted earth being removed in baskets of plaited leaves, usually coconut. In the low coral islands of Micronesia, shell and turtle-bone spades were also used, as well as some turtle-bone hoes. (See figure 7.)

At Yap, where traditional agricultural techniques demand a comparatively complicated arrangement of the soil, notably mounds for growing yams, the use of the spatulate digging stick, almost a shovel, has been retained from early

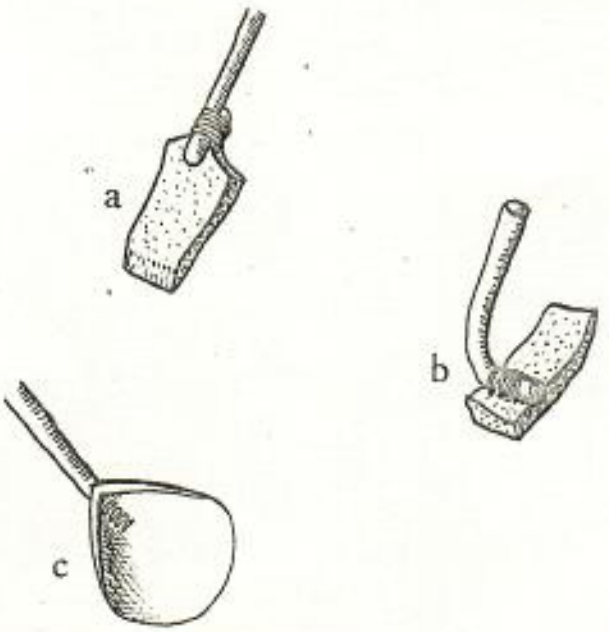

FIGURE 7.—Micronesian gardening implements, after collections in Auckland Institute and Museum: a, turtle-bone spade, Gilbert Islands; b, turtle-bone hoe, Caroline Islands; c, shell spade, Gilbert Islands.

times (fig. 8, *b*). This implement is reminiscent of some of the Melanesian tools discussed in my earlier subsistence study (1958).

Nowadays, metal hand tools of European manufacture are increasingly common. These include implements peculiar to the region, such as the whaler's blubber spade used in the Cook Islands and French Polynesia, where it was introduced during the last century when whaling was at its height in south Pacific waters (fig. 8, *c*). In the same group, or at any rate at Rarotonga, where annual cash crops are grown, the plough and even tractors are quite

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I

——	San Crist.	Malaita.	Florida.	Fiji.	Maori.
Elder brother . .	*wa-uwa* .	*a-uwa* .	*tuga* .	*tutua*	
Grandfather . .	*wa-uwa* .	—	—	*tuka-na*	*a-tua* ?
Ancestor . . .	*wa-uwa* .	—	—	—	

2

Mota *tuka* (sky), Meli *telua* (ghost, spirit), Maori *atua* ?
Santa Cruz *duka* (ghost).
Maori *runga* (up, above), Maori *wai-rua*, Tahiti *va-rua* (soul).
Florida *ta-runga* (spirit, soul), New Guinea *arua* (soul, spirit).

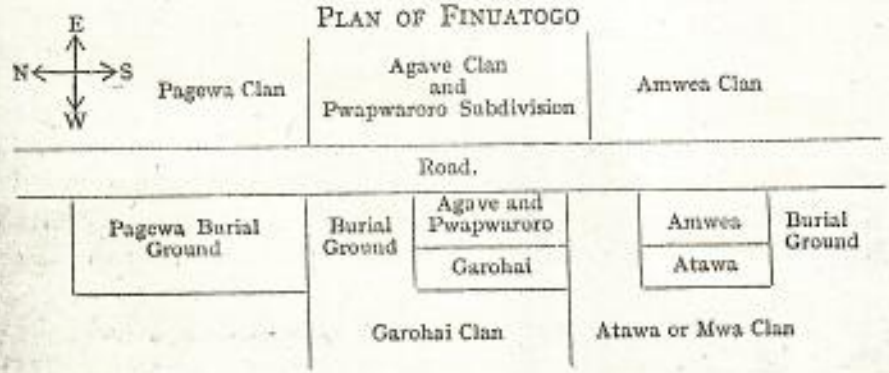
CHAPTER V

SANTA ANNA AND SANTA CATALINA

1.—*Totemism*

SANTA ANNA is quite a small island, across which one can walk in less than half an hour. There are only two villages, one on the lee and the other (the original settlement) on the weather side, but both these villages are very large as Melanesian villages go, much larger than any on the mainland. The village on the weather side is now the larger, containing between four and five hundred people, but according to native tradition the older village was very much larger than this. The village on the lee side, named Ubuna, was formed as the result of a great fight in ancient times, when a large part of the population were driven out of their home and came across to Ubuna. It is the original village, called Finuatogo, which is here described. Down the middle of this ran a road about three-quarters of a mile long, and the houses were built on each side. Three of the five clans into which the people were divided lived on one side of this road, and two on the other. They were further divided into pairs: Atawa and Amwea, living opposite one another, shared a burial ground; Agave and Garohai, the next pair, also had a burial ground in common, while Pagewa lived alone. Agave, however, had a small subdivision, Pwapwaroro, who lived with them. The subjoined plan will make this description clearer :—

PLAN OF FINUATOGO



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These clans are named after animals, except the first two. Pagewa is the shark, Agave the crab, Pwapwaroro the firefly, Garohai the turtle; Atawa is generally called Mwā the snake; Amwea is not the name of any animal, and the word is not known to have any meaning. The native name for clan in Santa Anna, as in Kahua and parts of Bauro, is *waro ni noni*, that is " the string of people ",[1] the idea being explained to me as that of stringing a number of beads together. Just as the village is divided among the clans, so all property on the island is likewise divided; garden land, coco-nuts, and so on: each clan has its own.[2] When a party of men from Santa Anna go on a canoe voyage up the coast to Haununu, the Haununu people remark on the fact that members of different clans will not even then, among strangers, eat food cooked in a common pot, but it must be cooked in a separate vessel for each clan. The members of the clans believe they are the descendants of the animals after which the clans are named; stories are told of the original animal ancestor of the clan: no member may eat of the animal from which his clan takes its name; and sacrifices and prayers are regularly offered by the members of clans to their animal ancestors. This seems to present a case of pure totemism, in which all the elements necessary to constitute totemism are present. In the case of the Garohai or turtle clan, the story runs as follows. In very ancient days, before Santa Anna existed, a turtle lived on the neighbouring island of Santa Catalina. This turtle had two children, a boy and a girl. The children noticed that the turtle used to take coco-nuts and bananas and plant them on a certain spot at the bottom of the sea, not far from Santa Catalina, and by and by they asked their mother her reason for planting these things at the bottom of the sea. The turtle, in reply, told her children to make a hook from a piece of her shell, and when they had done this they then got out their outrigger canoe and paddled over to the spot where the turtle had been busy planting useful trees underneath the sea, and there they cast their hook, which the turtle fixed on to a rock below, and the children pulled lustily, but the rock broke. However, the turtle fastened it to another rock, which was firmer, and the children hauled on the line, and up came Santa Anna all ready prepared and planted; and as for the truth of this story you have only to go to the east side of the island and there before your face is the broken rock where the hook failed at the first

[1] Not *waru tuuni*, as in my article in the *Southern Cross Log*, op. cit.
[2] See Chapter XXIII.

The Threshold of the Pacific
London 1924
Fox, C. E.

attempt. The names of the children of the turtle were Waikariniparisu and Kapwaronaro. The girl Kapwaronaro bore children, and it is from them that all the turtle people come. They throw into the sea money, nuts, and food of various sorts to turtles. None of the turtle clan may eat any part of a turtle, and the consequence of breaking this rule, even in ignorance, is death. The sister of my friend's father unhappily made this mistake: coming home hungry from her garden work, and seeing the turtle meat in the house and thinking it was pork, she ate a little and died in a few hours; nor is hers a solitary instance. The turtle clan is the chief clan on Santa Anna, since to their ancestress the people owe the island itself; and they have a peculiar privilege. At the eastern point is the stone that broke, and there beside it the two children of the turtle turned into two rocks. When boys and girls in Santa Anna come to a certain age they go through a ceremony called *Haaraha*, i.e. "making great", or "becoming a chief".[1] At the final feast, the boy or girl is placed on a platform and decorated with ornaments, and then a boy of the Garohai (turtle) clan goes to the sacred rock-children and covers them over with coco-nut leaves, and on the day fixed for the *Haaraha*, the candidate goes to the Garohai boy and gives him money, which his father has provided him with, and they go together to the place, and the Garohai boy then uncovers the two stone children to the gaze of the boy or girl, who now becomes *araha*. It is a time of great feasting and merrymaking, and any Garohai boy may act as master of the ceremonies, some boy probably who wishes to make a little money for himself.

The other clans of Santa Anna may be more briefly referred to. The Atawa clan is called here Mwā or snake, though Atawa is a secondary name. In Bauro Mwā is identified in several places not with Atawa, but with Amwea. There is no meaning attached to the word Atawa, and it is not the name of any animal, fish, bird, or snake. There is an object connected with the Atawa people, and it is the same as that found in parts of Bauro; they must not drink of the nuts of the small pale-yellow coco-nut. If Atawa (or Mwā) people of Santa Anna drink this coco-nut, their skin soon shows the white blotches of a common skin disease. No sacrifices are offered to the coco-nut, and there is no idea of descent from it. The Amwea clan have no totem and I have not been able to hear of any restrictions at all imposed on members

[1] Apparently all perform this ceremony in Santa Anna; in Arosi it is only done by members of the Araha clan.

of this clan. The Pagewa (shark) clan are believed to be descended from sharks, and to be connected with them. They must never eat shark flesh, the consequence of doing so being that they are soon covered with *bakua*, an island skin disease akin to ringworm. They sacrifice regularly in the sea to sharks. They have power to be transformed into sharks, as the following story of Kareimanua will illustrate.

A native drawing of Kareimanua appears on p. 117. He was a native of Santa Anna belonging to the shark clan. He was working one day with his father and brother in their yam garden, and as they were all hot and thirsty his father sent the two boys to get some water, and, boy-like, when they got to the stream they decided to bathe before returning. They bathed near the mouth and swam about for a time till Kakafu, the other brother, happened to notice Kareimanua hunching up his shoulders in a peculiar manner as if to resemble a shark, and he called out to him, "Why, Kare, you look just like a shark." Kakafu was out in the middle of the stream, and at those words Kareimanua swam out to him, hunching his shoulders more and more, and frightening his brother, who tried to swim ashore, but Kare was too quick for him, seized him in the water and broke his body in two. He himself did not know why he had done this, and brought the body ashore and tried to fix the two pieces together. While he was doing so another small boy, sent down to see why the brothers were so long in fetching the water, came to the bank and saw Kare looking more and more sharklike and poking about at the two halves of his brother's body. Kare saw the boy, and, impelled by some impulse too strong for him, swam out and away to the open sea, and there he swam about a day and a night, half shark and half human, and then came longingly back to the shore. But the people were all on the watch to seize him, so off he swam again to the open sea for two days and nights, and then wandered home again, only to find the people watching for him and to escape again with some difficulty. And now he felt he was more shark than man, and taking a hollow bamboo, he swam off to Napasiwai, thirty miles to the westward, and coming up at night into the village he pressed his hollow bamboo down on to the great pudding bowls, and so filling it, returned to the sea, and in the morning the people saw the deep impressions. Often Kareimanua wandered back to Santa Anna, only to be driven off. Many a man, fishing in his canoe, Kareimanua would seize and devour after first overturning the canoe, and at last he was driven permanently away from Santa

Anna by a powerful charm, and betook himself to Ulawa, where he still remains.

Canoe houses in Santa Anna are full of carvings of Kareimanua, from his feet to his waist an ordinary man, decorated with an ordinary man's ornaments, but from his waist upward a fierce-looking shark. When you see the impressions of a hollow bamboo in the pudding left overnight in the bowl, Kareimanua has paid you a visit in the night. Little carved figures of him are very common and sold to traders. No doubt they are afterwards labelled as heathen deities, and not without a show of reason, for Kareimanua, the Shark-Man, is sacrificed to by the shark clan, and feared as an evil ghost.

There is another clan at Santa Anna, the Agave or crab clan, descended from a crab ancestress, to whom all crabs are forbidden as food (to eat a crab means to die on the same day). A subdivision of this is the Pwapwaroro or Firefly clan, whose origin was from a firefly who bore a human baby, a girl to whom it gave suck, by a man of Santa Anna. This girl grew up and was married and was the mother of the Firefly clan. Pagewa have all died out.

Such is a short account of the Santa Anna clans. If the plan of the original village is observed, it will be seen that such a village might have been formed if Amwea and Atawa were the original people, living together but separated by a broad path, as tradition says they once were in Bauro; and then strangers, totem clan people, arrived and simply joined themselves on. Pagewa may have been later still. The name *waro ni nuni* was explained to mean " a string stretching out from one beginning ", which would describe very well such a formation of the village. In Santa Catalina there is also a clan called after a fish, *Iga tatari*, whose members cannot eat of the fish which is their clan totem. *Aopa* was spoken of as a subdivision or as in some way connected with the Mwā or Atawa clan, and the meaning of Aopa did not seem to be known. The interesting point is that here we have clans quite new to San Cristoval: Agave, Garohai, Pwapwaroro, and Iga tatari; and they show all the marks of true totemism; nowhere else, unless among the bird clans, is totemism so clear, and they even are not now sacrificed to, at least on the coast, like the totems of these Santa Anna clans. The burial grounds are in the west portion of the village, but unfortunately I did not examine them.

Relationship Terms on Santa Anna

The relationship terms obtained at Santa Anna by means of a pedigree were as follows (in every case man speaking) :—

ema, father, great grandfather.
ena, mother, great grandmother.
eura, mother's father and mother's mother; reciprocally grandchild.
sinamapu, father's father and father's mother; reciprocally grandchild.
epu or *mau*, mother's brother.
esi or *ese*, sister, brother.
koa, cross-cousin; also called *esi*.
kare, son, daughter.
fungo, son's wife, wife's father and mother.
waifa, wife's brother.
inoni (*aku*), wife.

In my notes to another pedigree obtained here, I have written that a grandchild is *sikimapu*, that *waura* was used for the husband of the sister's daughter, and *keikei* is the word used for mother in direct address. In naming the grandparents, I thought *eura* was preferred for the mother's parents and *sinamapu* for the father's; but either may be used. In my notes to the second pedigree I write *euwa* for elder brother or sister. The words *sinamapu* and *sikimapu* (if the latter is not an error) are very interesting, and also *koa*, which in Arosi means "mate", "chum".

I had only two days at Santa Anna, which was a pity, as my informant, a man named Taonga, was particularly intelligent. He had travelled, and remarked when we were talking of cremation that he had seen cremation practised both in Bougainville and Guadalcanar, but in the former the ashes were preserved, while in the latter (and in Arosi) they were not, but that in San Cristoval a man's bag, weapons, and personal property were burnt with him. He was anxious to tell me all he knew of Santa Anna. Two things struck me very much at Santa Anna: the elaborate tattooing, more than one usually sees among Melanesians; and secondly, the great position and apparent power of the chiefs; except at Tikopia I have seen no chiefs who seemed to hold such a position in native society, and I was constantly reminded of Tikopia (a Polynesian colony).

The relationship terms are incomplete, and there may be some mistakes in them, so that it is perhaps unsafe to draw conclusions from them. They do not, however, show the masculine and feminine prefixes, though *e* is probably for *ai*, in Kahua *wai* or *kai*. The two terms for grandparents are interesting. Generally speaking the terms seem to place the system as coming between those of Bauro and Arosi and somewhat near that of Ugi or Ulawa.

she remained, but of the people who sacrificed to her there, only two remain, and the rest are all dead.

3. *Hatuibwari.*[1]—This serpent came from Marau Sound to Ngongo near the south-east point of Marou Bay. Here he made his home. His coming took place in this manner. A certain woman went one day to the reef gathering food, various kinds of shellfish. She saw a stone coming in on the waves, and the surf threw it close beside her. She picked it up, without taking any particular notice of it, but thinking it a good stone for cracking shells with, she put it in her basket. After a time she went back to the shore and began looking for a stone to crack her shellfish with, forgetting the stone which she had put away in her basket. Presently, however, she remembered it, and sitting down by a large flat rock, she took out the stone which the waves had thrown at her feet and lifted it up to crack her shellfish ; but as she held it up in the air, flashes of lightning darted backwards and forwards between the stones. " Awii ! " cried the woman, " what have I got here, I wonder ? " and she held up the stone once more, and once more the lightning flashed back and forth, and thunder muttered between the stone in her hand and the rock below. " Ah," she said, " thunder and lightning, this needs looking into " ; and she put the stone away carefully, wrapped up in a pandanus leaf. Then she packed up her shellfish and set off home, and when she reached the village she gave the strange stone to her father, Teheraha, and told him to examine it. He took it from her, and placed it in a cave in the middle of a row of other holy stones and offered *ura'i*, i.e. money of dog's teeth and porpoise teeth and strung shells. He slept and dreamed. He dreamed the stone came to him and spoke with him, saying, " I am the bearer of news. My father, a serpent spirit, is coming hither. The people of Hunganaibwaru have driven him away from the place where he formerly dwelt. He will soon be here." He woke from his sleep and prepared a pig for burnt sacrifice. While he was doing so the people saw birds hovering in a flock round something far out at sea. They took a large canoe and paddled out, and as they paddled out the flock of birds drew nearer and nearer to meet them. Presently they saw a serpent floating in the water. They came close to it, and their canoe was made to rock violently. " What can you be ? " said the people, and they got its head into the canoe and so paddled ashore. When they landed the

[1] This information about Hatuibwari, the winged serpent, was obtained by F. H. Drew, at Tawatana, in 1914. The connexion with a stone and with thunder and lightning and his coming from the west are important. See Chapter XVIII.

people came running and said, "Put the whole of it into the canoe." They got it all into the canoe at last, and carried the canoe in triumph to the men's house and left it there that night. Next day they transferred it to a cave and then began offering their first-fruits to it. When they offer they take first some fruit of the *ahuto* tree, the tree with which fire is made by rubbing, and this they tie up in the mouth of the cave. If any of the fruit fall it is a sign that someone will fall that year in the nutting. Every year too they bring a small yam, but no nuts, for which the *ahuto* fruit is substituted, as that is also used for making fire. Prayers are made to the serpent by the people and their neighbours.

4. *Kagauraha.*—Kagauraha is a female serpent worshipped at Haununu. She and her numerous brood live in a house erected for them, at one end of which is an enclosure within which is a hole in which the serpent lives. On the walls of this house are native carvings of sharks, frigate birds, and the turtle with a bird's head which causes earthquakes. Only certain men can enter the house, all old men. They enter to sacrifice and to ask the will of the serpent about any matters of importance. When they go in they bend low with hands spread out before them. The serpent asks for what she wishes, sometimes a pig and sometimes a human sacrifice. If anyone is ill it is a sign that a pig is desired, and the person who is ill pays for it. A portion is given to the serpent and the rest is eaten by the worshippers. When a young coco-nut bears its first nut, the milk is drunk in the house in the presence of the serpent, after which men may eat and drink the nuts of the tree. When the first yams are dug some are sacrificed to the serpent, and other sacrifices are made when the gardens are planted. If they wish to know whether to go to war or not, the priest takes strips of dracaena leaves warmed over the fire and pulls them apart in the presence of the serpent. If the strands break they refrain from war. The breaking of one strand means the death of one man. A sign of anger is the swelling of the serpent. This takes place, for example, if a woman approaches, and was very marked when a missionary landed and asked for a school to be built there.

5. *Bonguru* "Pig-who-grunts."—This *figona*[1] lives in the forest. If a man walking in the forest hears near him what he supposes to be a pig grunting, and says to his companions," There's a pig, do you hear it grunting?" then in a moment he is surrounded by snakes: snakes in front of him, snakes behind him, snakes on either hand, and snakes

[1] Some say *adaro*.

CHAPTER X

SPIRITUAL BEINGS

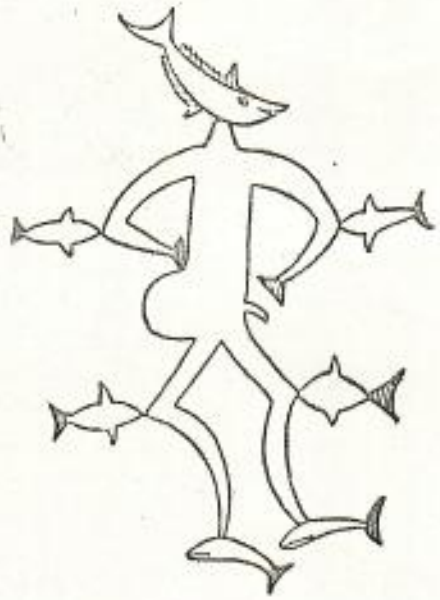
Adaro Spirits

ALL the *adaro* so far described have been ghosts, but there are many *adaro* which are spirits, i.e. they have never been men. There are three chief divisions of these: (1) *Adaro ni matawa*, sea spirits; (2) *Adaro ni hasimou*, woodland spirits; and (3) *Adaro here* or *haaheu*, the grasping or changing *adaro*. Besides these there are a few other special ones.

1. *Adaro ni matawa.*—*Matawa* means the open sea or the horizon. These spirits of the sea are a favourite subject for San Cristoval artists. They are represented as partly human, partly fish-like. They are thought to live far out to sea or near small islands along the coast. The chief of them is called Ngoriaru, and he is known by this name in South Malaita, Ulawa, and all over San Cristoval. Two subordinate chiefs are named Huaholai matawa and Hanai matawa in Ulawa. Prayers are made to Ngoriaru when people embark on a voyage and sacrifices offered to him. *Adaro ni matawa* are malevolent beings. They shoot men with flying-fish. A man fishing in his canoe will feel a sudden pain in his back or neck and the bone will be broken. He will return to the village and ask the priest what has affected him, and will be told after inquiry that he has been shot by an *adaro ni matawa*. Men learn dances from them. In a dream the soul goes out to the sea and is conducted by an *adaro ni matawa* to a sandy beach where in the surf the drowned people of *Hanua asi* are dancing. The soul goes night by night and learns the dance. The *adaro ni matawa* move in water-spouts, and the rainbow is their path. One who lives in the rainbow is worshipped at Ugi. A rainbow is always a sign for people to go indoors, not only because *adaro ni matawa* use it, but because it is a favourite bridge for other *adaro* as well. The soul of a man may use it to go afar while the body sleeps. Woodland *adaro* use it. If a man points

at it with his finger, the finger is bent and can never be straightened again. A Heuru boy named Maeraha played out of doors when a rainbow was shining and his soul was seized by a wandering *adaro*. His body grew weaker and weaker till other *adaro* were called in by the priest to his aid. One sees an *adaro ni matawa* on his journeys as a wandering fire, or if one fails to see him, one smells a fish-like smell, a sign that he is near.

Tararamanu and *Rakerakemanu* are two *adaro ni matawa*, who are known along the north-east coast, as *Wakatarau* is on the opposite coast (pp. 125, 126, 127). The last named lives at an island called Goroa. Some time ago he devoured two brothers who lived on



WAKATARAU.

the mainland opposite his island. He came up from the sea, changed himself into a cloud and came and rested on a stone on the shore. The two brothers came from a place called Rangi, where all had lately died. One was standing idly outside his house in the cool of the evening, when he noticed the cloud on the stone. He called to his brother to come out and see it and asked him what he thought it was. "It is only a cloud of sunset," replied his brother. It came up from off the stone towards them and they fled into their house, and barred their door against him. They hear him come up close and stamp against

the wall. Then he climbed up on the roof, looked down and saw them, broke his way in, and devoured them both.

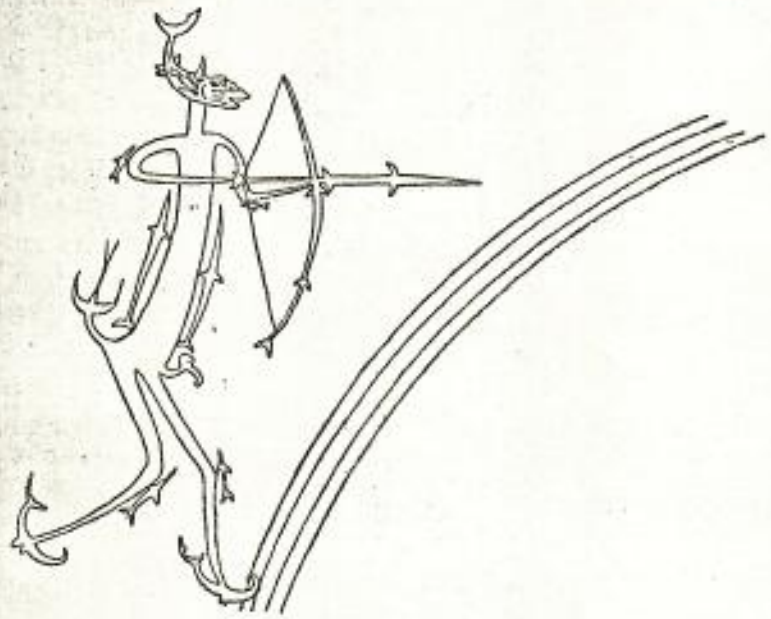
Tararamanu.—Maekasia of Fagani describes as follows the beginning of the cult of the sea spirit Tararamanu :—

" Tararamanu is a true spirit of the open sea, he has no home on shore to which he belongs. Now this was the time of which I am telling when people first began to make a shrine for him, when he appeared to some men who were chasing bonito. There were three brothers

TARARAMANU.
Adaro ni Matawa.
(Drawn by Saunitiku, Fagani.)

comrades, whose names were Waisi, Gaumafa, and Fagarafe. They were living in the village and made a canoe for bonito fishing and they got their canoe ready, and all that belongs to such a canoe, fishing lines and tortoise hooks, both large and small ones. Then they hired from a chief named Pairi a bamboo fishing rod to fish with from the stern, and Pairi gave them two lengths and said to them, ' Friends, the name of this rod for which you are giving me money is Wakio ' (the bird

Wango people call Aragau), a bird that darts down swiftly on the fish beneath it. Gaumafa replied, 'It shall be the name of our bonito canoe, we will call it Wakio.' They often went fishing for bonito in the Wakio and sometimes caught three and four and five fish, but no more than that. One day they went out, and paddling towards the open sea they failed to find the shoal of big bonito, though they kept dipping their rod into the water, but they did not get a single bite with large or small hooks; however they let their canoe float on and on towards the open sea far from land. Then looking towards Ugi they saw a red rainbow right across Ugi, like a piece of scarlet cloth, cross-



TARABAMANU.
(Drawn by Wataroto, Rafurafu.)

wise against the island as one pulls up a sail, and they were afraid that something would happen to them. 'No doubt,' they said to one another, 'some spirit of the open sea will presently shoot at us.' The red rainbow faded and was followed by a grey drizzle of rain, and when this lifted and the sun shone brightly on them they saw far off a streak of white, like a peeled tree standing out white in the forest, but this stretched across the horizon, flashing swiftly along like a spreading fire, the foaming path of bonito, rushing and leaping on the small fish for their prey. What were they like? like monstrous things!

for Tararamanu had already come down in the red rainbow and the grey drizzle of rain and the bright sky afterwards, and he it was who drove towards them the eating bonito, towards the men who had been seeking bonito in the open sea far from shore, and now he began to give them bonito three and four and five and six, and the bonito shoal contained a hundred or perhaps more than two hundred of them, so that their canoe was already almost sinking. Then he possessed Wasi and spoke with Wasi's voice to the other two, saying, 'You call your canoe "The Wakio", call it so no longer, but call it after my canoe: "Sautatare-i-roburo", "He who follows up the bonito to their home,"

RAKERAKEMANU.
Atara ni matawa, Wango.
(Drawn by Oroaniia, Wango.)

and make me a shrine in it, and I will give you fish in it, and sacrifice to me both in the sea and in the village shrine.' So that was the beginning of it and these are the very words spoken in the beginning to the people who worship him and knew him well, so that he gave them bonito and they sacrificed to him some of the fish which they caught, and the spirit Tararamanu gave them generously all kinds of fish, that is to those who worshipped him and prayed and sacrificed to him, but a man whom he disliked he killed. Such an one he would shoot with his bow and arrow, the arrow one of those garfish which comes skimming over the surface of the sea and then suddenly dives down alongside one,

this is a fish a spirit has shot at one. There are two characteristics of Tararamanu: if he gives he gives generously all sorts of fish, but then again he may attack one. This strange spirit of the open sea has two characters and is two, like two men who are fast friends and have but one name. But his cult was dying away at Fagani before the day came when Christianity was introduced; man did not seek him because they were afraid of him."

2. *Adaro ni hasimou*, i.e. bush *adaro*, correspond on land to the *adaro ni matawa* in the sea. In native opinion they are spirits, not ghosts, and they are malevolent. But it is sometimes difficult to say in a particular case whether it is an *adaro ni hasimou* or an ordinary *adaro* that is spoken of: the natives themselves are sometimes uncertain. It is possible, for example, that Wowotagai mentioned above is really an *adaro ni hasimou*, a spirit, not a ghost, and *Tapia*, of whom we shall write presently, is possibly a ghost, though probably a spirit. Again there is manifest confusion as to whether the being connected with a certain tree, pool, or rock, is a *figona* or an *adaro ni hasimou*. Native opinion is uncertain. And finally there is a confusion between *adaro ni hasimou* and *kakamora*, the little people to be described later. All *adaro ni hasimou* have straight long hair, unlike Melanesians, described as like the hair of Polynesians. They are about at the shining of a rainbow, in a sunshower, and during heavy rain when everything is grey and half hidden. There are certain trees where they are known to dwell like the *uri* in the tale of Hasihonu. They are found at particular rocks or pools. Children are warned not to go near these places. The result would be the stealing of the child's soul; his body would waste away. Should such a thing happen, the priest is called in to obtain the help of the ghosts. Ghosts are stronger than woodland spirits, and can recover from them the souls they have seized. The natives going through the bush at night hear a crackling and rustling near the path. It is an *adaro*. If the traveller calls out to it to go away and it does so, he knows it must be a ghost, not malevolent, like an *adaro ni hasimou*, which would not go when asked to. *Adaro ni hasimou* are not sociable like ghosts, and refuse to chat when met with. The mere sight of one is enough to make a man waste away and die. They do not decorate themselves with ornaments. They are less powerful than ghosts. Some of them live underground.

There is one near Pamua at a spring called Pupu. This *adaro* lives underground. A native friend of ours, named Mamake, recently saw it. It was about three feet high, a woman with long straight hair

for Tararamanu had already come down in the red rainbow and the grey drizzle of rain and the bright sky afterwards, and he it was who drove towards them the eating bonito, towards the men who had been seeking bonito in the open sea far from shore, and now he began to give them bonito three and four and five and six, and the bonito shoal contained a hundred or perhaps more than two hundred of them, so that their canoe was already almost sinking. Then he possessed Wasi and spoke with Wasi's voice to the other two, saying, ' You call your canoe " The Wakio ", call it so no longer, but call it after my canoe: " Sautatare-i-roburo ", " He who follows up the bonito to their home,"

RAKERAKEMANU.
Atare ni matawa, Wango.
(Drawn by Oroaiia, Wango.)

and make me a shrine in it, and I will give you fish in it, and sacrifice to me both in the sea and in the village shrine.' So that was the beginning of it and these are the very words spoken in the beginning to the people who worship him and knew him well, so that he gave them bonito and they sacrificed to him some of the fish which they caught, and the spirit Tararamanu gave them generously all kinds of fish, that is to those who worshipped him and prayed and sacrificed to him, but a man whom he disliked he killed. Such an one he would shoot with his bow and arrow, the arrow one of those garfish which comes skimming over the surface of the sea and then suddenly dives down alongside one,

down to her knees, dark skinned and speechless. It was during a steady downpour of rain that he passed by and saw her. Her head, like that of an *adaro here*, was fixed the wrong way, her face towards her back. He ran home and was none the worse, but he tells us a friend of his saw her some time ago, and when he got back blood flowed from his mouth, nose and ears, till he died.

Tapia, known all along the northern coast of San Cristoval, is probably an *adaro ni hasimou*. Dr. Codrington, who considered all *adaro* to be ghosts, wrote of him as "a malignant ghost, who seized a man's soul and bound it to a banyan", when a sacrifice of substitution was offered, so that the man, who was wasting away, might recover. Tapia's priest burnt pig or fish on the sacred stone.

Maekasia of Fagani writes as follows of Tapia :—"He is either a ghost or a spirit. He may change himself into a man or woman ; he has no pity, and only searches for men to destroy them ; he properly belongs to the eastern part of the island Kahua and Rumatari and beyond, but our fathers at Fagani also worshipped him and sacrificed to him on the black rock at the mouth of the river near Tomare, on the little hill Qarusunafau. There they sacrificed to him the fat of pigs for a burnt offering and sweet savour ; his nature was to destroy men, and he was utterly without pity. But in the end he married a woman, and was kind to her, doing her no injury, until the day when she died of a sickness. She was the wife of Tapia's priest, so that she had two husbands, the priest and Tapia. She knew that Tapia came into her and stayed with her, and she would say, 'Tapia came to me to-day and stayed with me.' Often and often he came and stayed with her and did her no harm."

In the following tale told by Bo, the old chief of Heuru, to his son Takibaina, an *adaro ni hasimou*, named Warungarae, takes the form of a man's wife to deceive him, and goes off with him in his canoe, destroying him. The wife, left desolate, is saved by a ghost, in the shape of a turtle ; at least it is probably a ghost, though it may possibly be a family guardian spirit.

Warungarae.—Two people were married ; the name of the man was Bworouharimamu and the name of his wife was Saumamaruitaaru. They lived in their village by the shore. When Saumamaruitaaru was about to bear a child, they went for a walk along the sand, and they saw a large fruit of the *uri* (*Spondias dulcis*),[1] which the current had

[1] The fruit which the Urana clan of Bauro are forbidden to carry.

carried out from the neighbouring river and the sea had washed up on the beach; and they took it and asked one another whence it could have come. So they carried down their canoe, launched it through the surf, and paddled along the coast till they came to the mouth of the river, which they turned. Bworouharimamu told his wife Saumamaruitaaru to cover up carefully her body, and said to her, "When we land we will go to this side of the *uri*, the side nearest us, and don't you go in to the farther side; and when there is a sunshower we must hurry into our canoe." So they went along gathering the fruit, but the woman wandered away to the farther side of the tree under an overhanging branch. Then the woodland spirit became changed again and came down from the tree, and then there was a sunshower, and the spirit took the form of the woman. The name of the spirit (*adaro*) was Warungarae. Then the spirit said to the man, "Come, jump quickly into the canoe with me or Warungarae will see us and devour us." So they embarked, Warungarae first and then Bworouharimamu, who took the steering paddle, and they paddled away down the river. And now Saumamamaruitaaru came back from the farther side of the tree and saw her husband and the spirit paddling away and already some distance off. She began shouting and calling out to her husband, "Here am I, here am I, it's I myself, but that is the evil spirit you are carrying off with you in your canoe." But the spirit said to him, "Ah! what a clever deceiver, that is the evil spirit himself all the time; paddle hard or he will devour us both." It was all in vain that his wife shouted herself hoarse on the bank, for neither of them paid any further attention to her, but paddled on along the edge of the harbour till they were lost to sight.

So she climbed up a tall *daro* tree, whose branches bent down over the water, and made her way along them. Then she untied the necklace of fish teeth which she wore round her neck, and unstrung it. She took off one of the teeth and threw it down into the water, and all the fish of the sea rose up and came to her. "No," she said, "I can't go with any of you, for soon, perhaps, you will be pursuing your prey and will throw me off without troubling about me; you will never think of me, you will be sure to lose me." So then she threw down into the water another tooth from her necklace, and all the sharks rose up and came to her. But she said to them, "No, I dare not trust myself to you, for presently, perhaps, you will be chasing some canoe, and you will throw me away without troubling what becomes of me." And so with the next tooth, she spoke the same words as before. At length

there was only one tooth left, the very last tooth of all, but she threw it down into the water, and up rose the turtles, for it was a turtle's tooth. Then she said, " Good, now I can jump down safely," for she called the turtle her ancestor. So she sprang down from the overhanging branch of the *daro* tree on to the back of the turtle, whose name was Hasih-onuccro, and there she crouched. The turtle dived down with her and took her right out to the open sea. Then she (the turtle) dived again, down and down, till the woman on her back felt as though she must die for lack of breath, but they came up safely again to the surface of the sea. Then the turtle took a long breath, and leaving the woman at the surface, went down and down to the bottom and brought stones to make a place for the woman to walk about on. When she had brought four or five and saw that they nearly reached to the surface of the sea, she brought the woman there, but the water still reached to her throat. Then the turtle brought some more and piled them up to the island and they very nearly reached the surface; the water now came to her armpits. She brought four or five more and the water came to her breast ; four or five more and the water only came to her waist. So she stood there while the turtle went for a few more, till the water came to her knees, and then only to her ankles. And at last, when the turtle had brought some more stones the place was dry, above the waves : it was an island.

The woman walked about on it, but as yet there were no trees on it, and said to herself, " Yes, it has indeed become an island, this work of my ancestor, but still there are no trees on it." And then at the sound of her speaking, trees sprouted from the ground, and the grass and fruits good to eat—breadfruit and almonds, Barringtonia nuts and coco-nuts, food of all kinds, yams, both smooth and prickly, and taro. Then the woman said to herself, " Yes, now indeed there are all sorts of food for me to eat, but still there is no fire," whereupon the turtle who had befriended her came to the shore of the island and said to her, " Choose out a flat piece of shell from my back and make with it a house for yourself, and as for that other thing you desire, rub on the shell till a spark comes." And so she did, and there she lived. At length she bore a child, whom she was expecting when she and her husband set out in their canoe, and she took him joyfully in her arms and brought him to the turtle to nurse, and said to her, " Grandmother, you must nurse my child for awhile." So the turtle came and set him firmly on her back, and carried him off far out to sea.

3. *Adaro here.*—This is the general name for this spirit *adaro*, but

it is also known as *haaheu*, or " changeling ", in Utawa (as well as *akalo hele*), and on the south coast of San Cristoval as *adaro ngaungau*, devouring *adaro*, or *adaro maramara inuni*, *adaro* mimicking a man. It takes the form of a man or woman, appearing at daybreak or at dusk. To a man it takes the form of a beautiful woman, tempting him to go with her and eat with her. It is generally the form of some woman known to him, but gorgeously decorated. If a woman sees the *adaro here*, she sees it as some man she knows.

The chief point of interest with regard to the *adaro here* is the widespread belief in it in Polynesia as well as in Melanesia.

There is a good account of an *adaro here* in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Beach of Falesa*, so no doubt the story is current in Samoa.

In the Polynesian Reef Islands this spirit is called *atua fafine*.[1] The *atua fafine* appears usually at dusk on the rocks, to a man in the form of his wife, to a woman in the form of her husband. It has red hair and a red throat. If he says to the *atua*, " My wife ! " the man dies.

Another account from these Polynesian Reefs makes the *atua fafine* appear as two women joined together like the Siamese twins. They follow a man walking alone at dusk. They are fair and ruddy and sometimes accompanied by two light-coloured men. A man was one day followed by these handsome women, and accepted from them a wild coco-nut, of which he ate a portion. " Now," said the *atua*, " he is already one of us, we have him for certain." He reached the village, was sick and " died ", i.e. he became unconscious, but recovered by the application to his nostrils of a certain sweet-smelling leaf.

Besides the *adaro* spirits there are other *adaro*, some of whom are certainly spirits and others probably so. A certain *adaro* presided over Rodomana, the abode of the dead ; another guarded the entrance ; both were spirits.

The rainbow has been several times mentioned as the path of *adaro*. Maekasia, of Fagani, says " it was the great road of the spirits of the sea ; if people saw a rainbow they thought there was a spirit coming towards them along it, and this is why they were so afraid of it. Even now when they see a rainbow they all run into their houses ".

" A turtle," he adds, " holds up a rock at Haununu. He knows when an earthquake occurs, hurries to the stone, and clasps it. They think if that turtle should fail to do so and did not clasp the rock,

[1] Among the bush people of East Arosi the word *atua* means a ghost and takes the place of *adaro*.

130

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akwo ni Rooimon named Warunga
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in his canoe, destroying him. The
ghost, in the shape of a "turtle", ie
e it may possibly be a family guardian

then that would be the end of the island, but because he looks after the rock the island still stands. They think that rock is the supporting pillar of this island of San Cristoval, and they say of the turtle that if he had not attended to that rock the island would have already sunk and been destroyed in the sea."

This turtle is famous everywhere in San Cristoval, and is often said to have a bird's head. It is represented by native drawings on the posts of the serpent house at Haununu. (The name Haununu means earthquake-rock.) It is not a ghost, of course, but we do not know whether it is called an *adaro*.

Maekasia writes of meteors that "the people think falling stars also are *adaro* and we call them *Adaro tari*—wandering *adaro*—and the heathen used to be very much afraid of them when they saw them, thinking it was an *adaro* coming down. They used to run into their houses and bar the doors". Perhaps these were ghosts. Fireflies at evening were spoken of as souls of the dead, but *Adaro ni matawa*, who were not ghosts, were seen as wandering fires.

The guardian spirits of families, not clans, are also called *adaro*, but are not considered to be ghosts. These were in the form of animals. Each family has its guardian animal, and a man inherits this from his father, and it continues to guard his son. This, then, is a case of inheritance from the father, and it should be noted that, though a spirit, the animal is called *adaro*, not *figona*.

The guardian animal is very often a snake, sometimes an opossum, either a *hito* or a *kunu*, and often a frog. Its haunt is known. It comes to the house from time to time when any event of importance occurs, such as a birth or death in the family, or a case of sickness. It is fed and thought to have a connexion with the family. Sau's father, when he became a Christian, was horrified to discover that, as he supposed, his family had always been specially connected with the Evil Spirit, since his family guardian took the form of a snake.

The following is Dr. Codrington's account of the *adaro here* in the New Hebrides :—

"Beings called Tavogivogi must be classed as spirits; they are certainly not human beings, and correspond to the mysterious snakes called *mae*,[1] which in neighbouring islands are believed to assume the form of men. A Tavogivogi is not thought ever to have the appearance of a snake; one of them appears in the form of a youth or woman in

[1] Or *mwai*.

order to entice one of the opposite sex, and the young man or woman who yields to the seduction dies. . . . The young man goes home and sickens; he remembers the sudden disappearance (like a bird), knows what has befallen him, and never recovers. The name means 'changeling', from the word in the Banks Islands *wog*, to change the form.

"The belief is most strong in all these islands (Banks and Northern New Hebrides) that the snake (called *mae*, a banded sea snake) turns itself into a young man or woman—generally into a young woman—to tempt the opposite sex; to yield to the temptation causes death.

"It is possible to discover the deceit, but the discovery is often made too late. . . . In the Banks Islands a young man, as one has related his experience to myself, coming back from his fishing on the rocks towards sunset, will see a girl with her head bedecked with flowers beckoning to him from the slope of the cliff up which his path is leading him; he recognizes the countenance of some girl of his own or a neighbouring village, he stands and hesitates, and thinks she must be a *mae*; he looks more closely, and observes that her elbows and knees bend the wrong way; this reveals her true character, and he flies. . . . At Gaua, Santa Maria, a man met one of these standing or variegated snakes as they call them, *mae tiratira*, *valeleas*, on the beach at night in the form of a woman of the place. Seeing by her reversed joints what she was, he offered to go to the village and bring her money. When he returned he found her waiting for him in her proper form, as a *mae*; he scattered money upon her back, and she went off with it into the sea."

One of us well remembers the excitement caused by a *mae*, seen at Mota one evening ten years ago by a man of the place. We were sitting talking in the village, when this man rushed up the path from the landing-place in great excitement, declaring he had seem a *mae valeleas*. We immediately repaired to the spot on the cliff where the *mae* had been seen, but found nothing. The man saw the *mae* in the form of a woman of the village named Mary. She sat by the path, and he spoke to her and said, "Shall we go up to the village?" "Not I," she replied, "you go up by yourself." He then looked closely at her and saw she had decorated her hair with two kinds of hibiscus, red and white, which no native woman would think of doing. He recognized her as a *mae*. The real Mary was sitting with us in the village. Nothing happened to the man.

The same thing exactly is known in San Cristoval, and natives

6. Sacred groves or thickets. These are not very numerous, but have great sanctity because it is believed they are full of *adaro*, though no dead are buried there. They are called "villages of the dead", like the burial trees, and it is believed that if a man goes through them his soul will be left behind there. Generally such a place is a thicket of a bamboo called *'au bungu* (which is always sacred) and one large tree, usually a *maranuri* (or *mananuri* or *nuri*), a large tree with white flowers, or sometimes a *buru*.

Near Hawaa on the south coast is a famous grove which has a large *maranuri*; and a large thicket of *'aubringu* which has lately been cut down by a planter, while the natives waited awe-struck to see what would happen. In this grove Hatuibwari was believed to appear, changing from a man to a serpent, and causing sores and illness to any who profaned the spot. Sacrifices of pigs and pudding were offered here. At other *maranuri* groves on the north coast, very sacred places, people passing put offerings of money.

7. Harmful trees. These are not numerous. The chief are *rau'eda* (if a man goes near it his legs will waste away); *harage*, a sacred tree which has *mena* to kill dogs; *marabarihu* and *bare'o* (breadfruit), which have a bad influence on a garden, and the former of which especially will cause poor crops if it is allowed to remain in or near a garden.

8. The *Arite* (Catappa terminalis) is planted on many *hera*; and the fruit appears as a lozenge tattoo mark on the forehead of chiefs in Ulawa. It is tattooed in Bauro, but whether only with chiefs I do not know.

9. Many coco-nuts are sacred trees, full of *adaro*. Two varieties, *niu mahu*, associated with Atawa, and *niu bara*, planted on *ariari* walls, have a specially sacred character; and sometimes coco-nut milk is said to be the blood of the first female ancestor of mankind.

CHAPTER XXI

STONE WORK

IT will be convenient to bring together stone work of different sorts, even though some have been already mentioned, and to include here sacred stones and changes into stone, but without implying at all that these ideas with regard to stone or particular stones are all to be referred to any one people, either Araha or any other.[1] With stone must be included shell ornaments, especially clam shell, regarded by Melanesians as " stone ".

1. *Ariari*, stone platforms, very regularly constructed, with openings through them of different sizes, built along the seafront of villages, and sometimes in front of *tawa'o* (sacred house), in which case sacrifices are often offered on them. The entrances along the sea-front were all taboo to women, except one of them. The *niu mahu* was planted on these platforms, and also the *'aihuri*, the former a coco-nut with pale yellow nuts, and the latter a tree with yellow green leaves used in cooking and often planted at landing places, where its yellow foliage makes a conspicuous mark. Sometimes houses were built on the *ariari*, or it formed the end of houses built against it. Two stone platforms where canoes land from bonito fishing are called *'abu i waiau*. Men going fishing stand between these and each touch a betel nut. On return they bale their canoes in the space between the *ariari*, sacrifice, and eat on the platform.

2. *Du'a*, rough stone walls built for various purposes. One at Wango marked the boundary between the Wango and Fagani people, who were traditional enemies, and the fighting between them took place usually at the *du'a*. Boundaries between villages were usually marked by *du'a*, though sometimes by prominent rocks like *hau si'esi'e* near Tawaatana. *Du'a* are also stone fish dykes to enclose *buma* (a fish),

[1] See pp. 218 seq. for descriptions of stone tombs.

and no woman could cross over these. Other *du'a* are stone walls running out into the sea some little way. These are sacred sometimes, as at Rimahui, to the sacred sharks; money (shell) was offered on them, and when a canoe approached one all talking must cease. No one could cross over a *du'a*.

At Onchature on the south coast, there is a famous *du'a* running out into the sea, connected with the *figona* (spirit) Wamarea, who is said to be the *koa*, or fellow, of Hatuibwari, the Winged Serpent. On this dogs were sacrificed, and it was very sacred, no one daring to approach it. Travellers passed by in silence, and could neither chew betel nut nor drink water for the rest of the day. Nothing in the vicinity could be taken away, and if a branch of a tree close by were plucked it immediately withered. The walls of the *tawao* (sacred house) were of stone, and called *du'a*, but the stone walls of an *oha* (canoe house) are *bani ariari*. Gardens are also enclosed with stone fences in Arosi, and these are called *du'a* also. The stones placed on edge round the *damu sigo* or *damu tege*, a little enclosure for throwing betel skins, are also called *du'a*. The upright stones forming the base of the thatch walls of the inner chamber of the *tawao* (sacred house) are not called *du'a*, but *bo raherahe*, and the upright stones enclosing the oblong round the central posts of an *oha* (canoe house), a place for sacrifices, are called *uhi matoo* and not *du'a*.

3. *Kakaru*. These are wells lined with stones similar to those in Santa Cruz, which form such a striking feature of Santa Cruz villages: but in Arosi they are no longer prominent, as they are no longer used and have been allowed to fill up. The deepest of them is about 15 ft. deep: usually they are 10 feet or so. The bottom is lined with stones, looking much like a native stone oven, and the sides are lined with stones some 4 feet or 5 feet from the bottom, probably to the level the water rose to. Many of the *tawao* had their private *kakaru*, besides those common to all the villagers.

4. *Sacred Stones* (*Hau maea*). The number of sacred stones is very large, and it will not be possible to describe them all. The best plan will be to describe fairly fully one of them and give short notes on some of the others. For this purpose a very good one will be the large stone of red chert now set into the stone steps of the Heuru church.

The name of this stone is Wabina or Waibina, named after the hawk *Bina*. It is a large bright red stone about 2 feet square, and used to stand in a *hera* at Heuru on the *heo* or raised mound of earth

and stones on which burial of Araha and others took place. Its last priest was an Araha named Bora, who as priest of this stone had two official titles, *Binauhi* and *Hanarete*. The first of these titles is no doubt derived from the name of the stone, and the second from the natural right his priesthood gave him to take the lead in preparations for war, *hana* (meaning to shoot with a bow and arrows).

Wabina stood on the *heo* and was surrounded by carved stone figures, although the stone itself was not carved in any way. On its right was a finely carved figure of a shark, a flint; and on its left a carved flint bonito. These two figures were taken, when the people became Christian, by the Rev. R. B. Comins. Completing the circle round Wabina were the stone figures of birds, some in white coral rock, and others in diorite. There were at any rate six of these stone birds, and probably at one time a good many more. The birds were the *Gaura*, frigate hawk, the sacred bird of the Araha clan, the *Bina*, and the *Ma'ahe* seagull, sacrificed to in war. After the *hera* was dismantled these were used to hang cooking pots on, and none now remain.

Close by was a sacred coco-nut called *niu oraora*. *Oraora* means in Ulawa to be possessed by a ghost, and the Arosi word does not differ greatly in meaning, but the ghost is an evil one who gives foul thoughts, so that such a man becomes *misumisu'a*, foul and filthy like a dog. This tree was possessed by Wabina, and consequently was magical. The midribs were taken and used to pierce a man with, and he then became foul. The nuts were not eaten, and used to lie in a heap. Now they are thrown away, but never eaten. People from other villages used to steal the nuts, but without the proper charms they were useless.

Wabina itself had magic powers, the chief being that it could give power to people to eat to repletion without any unpleasant consequences. People going to a feast used to come and touch it with their spears or with a pearl shell knife for slicing yams, and then, according to tradition, they went and ate fabulous amounts of food at the feasts.

In front of Wabina was a large stone upon which burnt sacrifices of pig and puddings were offered to the stone, especially before war. Binauhi offered these sacrifices and said the appropriate spells and charms, and Wabina, or the *adaro* in Wabina, then went with the people to the fighting. If it was a marauding expedition he said: *Wabina gere hanoria i heingahu* "Please Wabina go to the murder"; if it was a regular war, conducted at the formal fighting place (*Bwaonga*),

he said: *Wabina gere hanoria i heioi.* Binauhi took a branch of dracaena and struck Wabina, and then gave some of the leaves to the fighting men, eating his own share. The fighting men did not eat theirs, but wrapped them in leaves, only the edges, called *Karinga diri*, and then waved the bundle three times over Wabina and tied the leaves round their necks so that they hung down over their backs. These bunches were called dracaena shields, *dirinitako*, and had great power. Binauhi then took a dracaena leaf and his bow and arrows, and two spears, only two, not many like the fighting men—these were his official panoply, he must not carry a club, or anything else—and they all went to the sacred casuarina. Here Binauhi tore the leaf into shreds, as many as there were fighting men, and distributed them. When the expedition returned, the leaves were brought to Wabina and burnt. They also brought *ria* (ginger) leaves, touched Wabina with them and ate them—especially Binauhi—so as to be hot in fight.

Binauhi himself prepared to lead the expedition by taking an arrow, touching Wabina with it, and then sticking it into the ground close by Wabina till they were ready to start. If an arrow or spear of Binauhi's struck a man, even if it merely glanced off and inflicted a flesh wound, the man would die; but if Binauhi did not desire to kill him, he would shout *Boomangori* (pig destroyed), and the man, by sacrificing a pig, would recover. He was then called *Boomangori*.

Binauhi was always accompanied by a bird, *kekewe*, a wagtail. The story goes that the *hada*, the sacred hawk of Araha, had performed *ha'imarahuda* with the *kekewe*, as the wagtail had told the hawk he was too large to live on the ground, and so they exchanged places. At first the hawk was very awkward in the air, but after some lessons from the wagtail, he learnt to fly. The *kekewe* then is the *marahu* of the hawk, and the associate of the Araha (without knowing the numerous transactions of this sort that have taken place between birds and fishes it is often impossible to understand native customs). The *kekewe* goes with Binauhi perched on his shoulders. If he flies back and forth across the path they must turn back; if he flies to right or left that is where the enemy are. Binauhi consulted the bird before starting as to whether they should go; the *kekewe* sings and Binauhi asks, "Shall we go?" or "Is the enemy coming?" and the continued singing of the *kekewe* means yes. "Shall I be hit?", "Will so-and-so be hit?" and the *kekewe* stops singing, which means no.

In the same way the Mwara clan have two birds, the *tehe*, a hawk, and the *waraanagi*, a kingfisher.

In this story it is worthy of notice that the proper arms of an Araha are the bow and arrow and the spear, but not the club.[1]

Hau'ora'ora (Shining Stone). This is a stone lately in a stream near Su'uri, but formerly on a *heo* like Wabina. Over the stone, which is of dazzling splendour, there is usually a rainbow (the sign of *adaro*). It is a white stone about 1 foot square. If it so wills, no one can lift it, but it may be light as a feather. Many people tried to lift it, but none could till a friend of mine dived and lifted it, and carried it into the bush. It has, however, another property, that of becoming invisible at will, which it then exerted; and it has not been seen since. There is another *hau maea* called *Hau'ora'ora* in a stream near Onetere, and I am told if one goes there by night the stone glows in the water more splendid than the moon at the full.

At Mateku there is a sacred stone resting on a cycad, which has been cut through so as to form a flat surface. This is inhabited by a great many *adaro* whose *mena* is so great that the cycad can neither sprout nor rot.

At Taritari is a large diorite stone three feet high called *Hau wanuwanu* "Whistling stone". I could not see any hole where the wind might whistle in it, but it whistles whenever one of the clan is to die. It has not whistled, however, for a good many years.

Hau'iha'iha are sacred rocks which are entrances to the land of the dead, which the bush people, but not the coast people, believed to be underground. Below *hau'iha'iha*, of which there are many, the road forked, one branch for Atawa and one for Amwea. At the *hau'iha'iha* by Tawa Supwe, near Heuru, there was a road for the Araha dead to cross to Ugi, and thence to Orumarau and Maraba. On this there is a giant clam fixed fast to the stone, which itself is believed to consist of clam shell (there is only one word, *hau*, for stone and shell; they are classed together in the Melanesian mind).

Umaroa's Stone. Umaroa was the leader of the canoe which came to San Cristoval in the traditional flood, and the chief of the Mwara clan. Umaroa had a sacred stone which was carried by the party from place to place, and finally when he died he was buried underneath it.

Hauaroha'i (Turtle Stone). This is a stone at Bwao, on the south coast, inhabited by many *adaro*, and many sacrifices are offered to it on the *heo* where it lies. It does not always lie on the same part of the *heo* as it has the power to move about freely wherever it likes.

[1] Most of this account of Wabina was given to me by the son of the last Binaahi.

believed to pass. These figures were the same shape as those on spears, in a crouching attitude,[1] with a long pigtail-like projection coming down from the head to the back, and with what looks like a kind of hat. They are also carved in wood in the posts of houses. These stone figures were carved in white coral rock, and these are the only ones I have seen; but they were more usually carved out of diorite, I am told. One such was possessed by Taki of Wango, but was thrown away some years ago. I have managed to get some of these statues, one of which has a goatee beard. In some *heo*, bird statues take their place, and in this case the male and female stones of the human statue *heo* are called the "bird's children"; they are set up by it, and are used for magic. The use of bird statues is accompanied by the peculiar belief that all the *adaro* of those buried on these *heo* dwelt in the single bird stone, and the male and female stones set up by it and called its "children" are not distinguished from one another, although they differ in shape (see p. 283).

The statues were painted in Arosi with tumeric after the men died whose *adaro* would pass into them. In Ulawa I was told that the statues were painted sometimes red with red earth, and sometimes white.

Stone Carvings

Besides stone figures of men, birds, and fish, there are in some places stone carvings. The most interesting perhaps are those at the water hole at Madoa in Ulawa. These are:—

(1) A stone pig 25 feet long from snout to tail, very much worn, and bearing now a very faint resemblance to a pig, but yet cut out of the rock.

(2) Footprints of a large size cut in the rock.

(3) A turtle and a crocodile cut in the rock, both much worn and defaced, because since the people became Christians the children have largely chipped away the carvings.

(4) On the rocky face over the pool are many carvings which can be seen if the moss which now covers them is removed.

[1] The name for this is *kerebasi* "holding the bow"; the originators evidently fought with bows, and the attitude is one adopted in such fighting. See Fig. 11 (facing page 292).

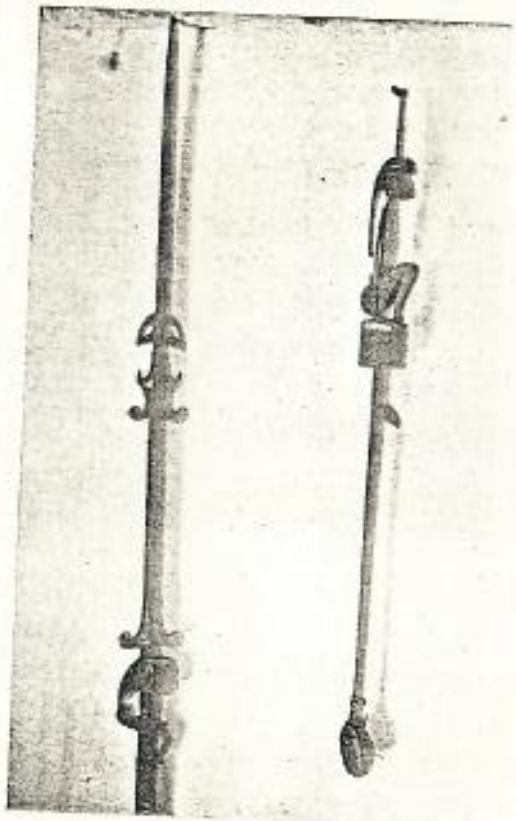

FIG. II. WEAPONS WITH CARVED HUMAN FIGURES

of the feast) a trumpet is blown, not the conch, however, but the *akuri 'au*, bamboo trumpet, a length of bamboo with a split and one end open, the other end with only a small hole bored in it.

The *'airasi* is put in the *tawao* and brought out after some months, when an ordinary feast takes place, and a length is cut off and burnt on the *ariari* (stone platform) of the *tawao*, on top of which a pig is cooked; some of the chips are taken to the ovens where the pudding for the feast is cooked. In this way at successive ordinary feasts the *'airasi* is gradually consumed, being kept as long as it lasts in the inner, very sacred, chamber of the *tawao*. To consume the *'airasi* gradually in this manner is called *wagiwagi*, a term that otherwise means exultation and rejoicing at the death of an enemy; and *wagiwagi* are also skulls of slain enemies (or the hair of an enemy) hung up as trophies in the canoe-house.

Note

One of the most interesting points in connexion with this feast is the tree used (*'ai rosi* simply means "withered" or "drooping tree"), which is a variety of *kamau*, a fig. One variety, that used generally at least for *'airasi*, is believed to cause twinges and convulsions of the body, rheumatism and tetanus. This tree is called *huhua* or *huahua* (from the round leaves), *rauri'i* (because they are small), and *parako*; and from this last is derived the Arosi term for rheumatism *parako*. The *parako* is never used for fire wood, lest the smoke should cause the disease *parako*. In Ulawa the tree is called *parako*, but its other Arosi name *huhua* remains, perhaps, in the Ulawa word for the spasms of tetanus *huhu*. In Mota the tree is called also *palako*, and gives its name to the spasms of tetanus called *palao*, from which probably comes the word *gapalo* for sinews affected, and so generally veins and tendons, a local word which must be late in origin. It is the *palako* which is gaily painted for the Banks Island *kole*, or memorial feast. It seems possible to affirm then that there was a great respect shown to this tree, amounting indeed to worship at any rate in older times, and that the fig had a decidedly sacred character.

The Ho'asia

The *Ho'asia* is one of the most interesting rites practised in San Cristoval, and at first acquaintance it appears very confusing; but it will perhaps be clearer if I anticipate conclusions reached elsewhere from other evidence, and consider the rite as a combination of the ideas of the Atawa, a people of tree-worshippers, living in round

houses, holding beliefs in *hi'ona* or *figona* spirits, with those of the Araha or Abarihu, an immigrant people worshipping a winged serpent and the sun, living in long houses, and holding religious beliefs regarding stones; the former burying in the ground round sacred trees, the latter in stone tombs with dolmens.

The word *ho'asia* is the passive form, or passive past participle, of the word *ho'a*, to sacrifice, and means, "sacrificed." It is the harvest festival held in the month when the crops were ripe, and the chief ceremony took place either at noon or at sunrise. The firstfruits are offered, and the two most sacred objects connected with it are a sacred tree and a sacred stone.

It is further remarkable in that it is passed from place to place, beginning at Haununu; and native tradition makes it certain that it once reached at least to Ulawa and Guadalcanar. But before the advent of white men it had been much circumscribed, and in Arosi only reached as far as Onehatare on the south and Onetere on the north coast, so that only a very small portion of Arosi observed it. This is very remarkable when it is remembered how homogeneous Arosi is in beliefs and rites, as well as language. This appears to be the only important ceremony limited to a portion of Arosi.

Some account was given of it in an earlier chapter (see p. 80), but that was only a partial account. Like so many of these interesting rites, it has probably been observed for the last time; at any rate, its days are numbered, so it will be the more interesting to describe it as we actually saw it in its original home in February, 1919, though we were told by the chief actor that it was very imperfectly performed and many ceremonies once practised had been omitted. By supplementing what I saw in 1919 in company with some Arosi friends with accounts from other places in Bauro and Arosi we shall be able to get at any rate an idea of the main features of this important festival.

We arrived at Haununu a few days before the *Hogasia* (as it is called there), actually on 24th February. During at least a week previously the people had been very busy fishing and bringing the fish they caught to the *oha* (canoe house). As far as we could learn, nothing else had been done as regards the *Ho'asia*.

The originator of the feast was said to be an historical person named Waganimæ; and a dead relative of Waganimæ, a ghost named Wagari or Wogari, had a share in the ceremony. It was Waganimæ, we were told, who imparted *mena* to the sacred stone and probably also to the sacred tree. He belonged to the Araha clan,

and this is given as the reason why the Araha men take so prominent a part in the ceremony. Another clan which was said to come second in importance in the *Ho'asia* is the Atawa. The two remaining clans simply take a share in the proceedings. I think myself that the Araha Waganimæ probably was only its originator in the sense that he greatly altered an older ceremony, but this may be put aside for the present. What is clear, at any rate, is that this is a ceremony in which Araha and Atawa are the leading actors.

The *ho'asia* is an offering of firstfruits to a *figona*, a spirit; but sometimes it is considered to be offered to Hatuibwari, sometimes to Agunua, sometimes to *figona*, who were the helpers of these. Hatuibwari is the winged serpent god of Arosi, who in Bauro becomes feminine *Kahausipwari* (*Ka* is the feminine prefix); Agunua or A'unua is the supreme being, male even in Bauro, where all other *figona* are female. It is anticipating later conclusions to say that I believe the *figona* were originally female tree spirits, and may have become confused with the male supreme beings of Arosi and the Araha. At Haununu the offering is to Kagauraha, a *figona* with an incarnation in a red serpent with a crocodile head and the ears of an eel, but Kaweraha had been put in charge of the Ho'asia by Hatuibwari, who came down from heaven on to the hill Namaragi, close to the harbour, which we shall find has an important place in the rites.

On 25th February, the day after our arrival in the district, the people all went to their gardens and brought in some garden produce of every sort, two of each (e.g. two yams); one they took to their houses and one they took to the *tawao*, called at Haununu the *rima apuna* or *rima higona*, "the sacred or spirit house." This *tawao* was of the ordinary shape, but not like that of the Rasirasi festival, for inside was a small room built round the two main posts of the large room, and in this was a circular stone oven between the posts, from which hung sacred red money. There was nothing else in the *tawao*. The people returned from their gardens at noon and the chief priest then performed the first rite. At Haununu there are three priests of the *figona*, of whom the chief is Haganihinua. The office is hereditary, but in a peculiar way; the three priests hand on their priesthood, not to their sons, but to their daughters' sons; the daughters are called the women (or wives) of the *hi'ona*,[1] and are to some extent sacred. The grandsons are to be

[1] The phrase is *aiuuni* or *hohens gaua higona*, stronger than *ana higona* and implying "for the use of" the spirit, as though the spirit had some influence on the birth of her son.

the future priests, and they accompanied, as will be seen, the priests and helped them in all the ceremonies. As these grandsons are now accepting Christianity, it follows that the old rites will cease. It seems that there were once four priests, one for each clan, but on this point there is some doubt; certainly there should have been four boys, but there were only three, as one had recruited; one of the boys was about 17, the other two very much younger, while the priests were all very old men. Haganihinua took very much the leading part, and often went alone into the *tawao*, the other two leaving it apparently very much to him. He is the only one of them who is really devout and cares for the old religion, one of the other two being a professional murderer, who is said to have murdered over sixty people to obtain money. Is a man of bad character generally, while Haganihinua is one of the most courteous and kindly gentlemen it has been my good fortune to meet. At Haununu there are four clans: Araha, Atawa, Maroa, and Amwea, always mentioned in this order. Haganihinua's father was Araha, but I do not know the clan of his mother or the other priests, except that their clans were not the same as his. Haganihinua took two yams and gave them to the people, who took one to the east and one to the west, to the boundaries of the Ho'asia, that on the east being a rock called "the earthquake rock". This is a rock thought to be the pillar on which San Cristoval rests, and is held up by a turtle whose movements cause earthquakes. There used to be drawings of this turtle on the walls of the old *tawao* (in which were real snakes), destroyed by a landslip. The turtle is famous all over San Cristoval, and is sometimes represented with a bird's head.[1] The *hi'ona* and the *Ho'asia* are in some way connected with this rock. To the west of the boundary of the ceremonies is *hau buuhara*, the stamping-rock. Wherever the *Ho'asia* takes place there are two rocks as boundaries, but the eastern rock of one village will be the western boundary of the one before it.

The sketch map will make the proceedings clearer, but I should say it is drawn from memory of a place I have not seen since the time of the Ho'asia two years ago. The *hau buuhara* to the east will be the western *hau buuhara* for villages to the east, while the *hau buuhara* by the village Sugu is the eastern *hau buuhara* for villages further west, and for the bush villages through which the *Ho'asia* crosses to the other coast and, in ancient times, to Ulawa beyond. But Sugu, Irafua, Naona

[1] Cf. the tale of Hasihonu'eero and of the turtle which fished up Santa Anna, p. 132.

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THE SACRED TURTLES OF KADAVU

By DAVID BLAKELOCK

ON the island of Kadavu, one of the larger islands of the Fiji Group and some fifty miles by water from the capital, Suva, is the village of Namuana. Namuana nestles at the foot of a beautiful bay adjacent to the Government Station in Vunisea Harbour.

Here the island narrows down to a very narrow isthmus and by climbing the hill behind the village one can stand on the saddle and look out to the sea to the south and to the north. Legend says that in the past, during tribal wars, warriors slid the canoes on rollers up over the narrow neck of the land to save them the long journey round the east and west ends of the island. The legend associated with the women of Namuana village is one of the most interesting ones, beside the legend of the Firewalkers of Beqa. This is the legend of the Sacred Turtles of Kadavu.

Many, many years ago in the beautiful Namuana village lived a very beautiful princess called Tinaicaboga, wife of the chief of Namuana. She had a charming daughter called Raudalice.

The two women often went fishing together on the reefs close to their shores. On one particular occasion, the two women went further afield than usual and out into the submerged reef which juts out from the rocky headland to the east of the bay.

They became so engrossed with their fishing that they did not notice the stealthy approach of a great canoe filled with fishermen from Nabukelevu, a village at the west end of Kadavu. Nabukelevu is in the shadow of Mt Washington, the highest peak on Kadavu.

The fishermen suddenly leapt from their canoe and seized the two women, bound their hands and feet with vines and tossed them into their canoe and set off in great haste for Nabukelevu. Although these women pleaded for their lives, the warriors took no notice of them. Their entreaties fell on the deaf ears of these cruel men.

The gods of the sea, however, were kind and soon a great storm arose and the canoe was tossed about by huge waves which almost swamped it.

AS the canoe was foundering in the sea, the fishermen were astonished to learn that the two women lying in the water in the hold of the canoe had suddenly changed into the form of a turtle, and to save their lives, the men got hold of them and threw them into the rough seas. As soon as the turtles hit the water, the storm began to subside. But the frightened fishermen continued on their homeward journey.

Although the women were saved from those cruel fishermen, they were not to regain their human form. So, as turtles, they lived on in the lagoons of the bay.

When the people of Namuana learned of the incident, they mourned and then a very strange ritual began. The women of Namuana, assembled at the top of a rocky headland about 120 to 150 feet above sea level and chanted. As they chanted, beautiful turtles would rise to the calm surface of the lagoon below and float about listening to the chants.

The translation of this strange song is:

"The women of Namuana are all dressed in mourning
Each carries a sacred club, each is tattooed in strange patterns.
Do rise to the surface, Raudalice, so we may look at you
Do rise, Tinaicaboga, so we may also look at you."

Like other rituals, this has taboos. One of these is that no fishing is permitted in the waters of that lagoon, let alone turtle fishing. The other taboo is that no one from the village of Nabukelevu should be present during the ceremony of the calling of the turtles. This is very important for if one is present, no turtle will rise. These are still observed today.

As is usually the case with such strange ceremonies and customs in Fiji, the turtle-calling is based on an ancient legend still passed on from father to son among the people of Kadavu.

You may doubt the truth of the legend, but you cannot doubt the fact that the chanting of this strange song does in fact lure giant turtles to the surface of the blue water of the bay. The ritual is still preserved by the women of Namuana village on the island of Kadavu.

YOU MY OWN SON

By MICHAEL EVO

will comfort you
no more,
will feed you
no more,
ou my own son
low the Whiteman's friend.

The books you read,
The radio you listen to,
and the papers in your hands
will be your comforters

The Whiteman your friend
and the job you worship
Will now house and feed you.
You my son, now the Whiteman's friend.

From the Yasawas I returned to Suva to board a cutter leaving on a coasting voyage to the island of Kandavu, to load bananas.

We sailed past Ngaloa Harbour, where Australia-bound steamers stopped in the '70's to transship passengers and goods for New Zealand, round the western end of the island, and along the north coast to pass through the foaming reef at Tavuki Bay.

I went there to see the curious ceremony of turtle calling. Women of Namuana village mass on a headland at Tavuki Bay and, by chanting, call great turtles up out of the sea. We witnessed this strange rite in the company of the *roko*, or provincial chief. As we hove to off the headland, the women were clambering in single file up the steep path to the crest.

We went ashore and followed them, slipping in the wet clay of the trail. When we got to the top we sat on the hillside behind the 50-odd women who were seated astride two smooth boulders, looking out to sea (following page).

Chant Begs Turtles to Rise

Under a lowering sky the empty Pacific shone like steel. The women began an ancient chant of half-forgotten meaning:

We, the women of Nambukelevu,
Adorn ourselves with black ceremonial skirts,
We assume an attitude of reverence,
We paint ourselves with intricate markings,
We disguise ourselves thus, Raunindalithe,
That we may look upon you, O great one.

Raunindalithe was the turtle to whom the women sang. The sea glistened dully; not a mark appeared on the smooth surface. On and on the women droned.

Suddenly one of the women pointed downward, and all chanted with renewed vigor. I leaned over the precipice. Far below I could see a yellow-brown smudge under the surface; it grew larger, and then the mottled brown back of a big sea turtle emerged. The chant rose triumphantly as the turtle rocked on the sea, flippers outspread and head turned upward as if to listen. For half a minute the turtle floated quietly, then tilted downward and swam smoothly into the depths.

The women rested a moment and then began their chant again, using the same words, but calling this time on Tinandi Thambonga, the Mother of Turtles. Almost immediately a shieldlike shape broke the surface, and an enormous turtle, half again as big as Raunindalithe, floated on the water. The Mother of Turtles rested there nearly a minute, turning her head slowly from side to side, then slipped down into the sea. The women finished their chant with a drawn-out cry.

I was astounded at the seemingly magic power of these women, and asked the roko if these turtles were protected from fishermen.

"No," he said, "turtle fishermen regularly hunt them around here, and we never feed them. On the contrary, they feed us."

He said that the ceremony is performed infrequently, and pointed out that the village is some distance away, so that turtles cannot be accustomed to seeing people on the point. Yet the same two always seem to show themselves when called by name.

"Except," added the roko, "when the people of a certain village are here. They are professional turtle hunters. When they see one lying on the bottom, they wait until he is ready to come to the surface for a breath, then throw stones at him, so that he must dive immediately. They do this till the turtle is exhausted, then they swim to him and overpower him. No; Raunindalithe and Tinandi Thambonga do not show themselves to those people."

This seeming power of communication with animals occurs in several places in the Pacific. In Fiji certain islanders seem to possess the power to call up red prawns, eels, turtles, and even sharks. I offer no rational explanation for it; I can only describe what I saw in the case of the turtles.

The Red Duck Flies by Night

That evening we lay at anchor in Tavuki Bay. A long line of flying foxes, silhouetted against the afterglow, flapped like pterodactyls toward some nocturnal feast of fruit.

At midnight we weighed anchor and stood up Kandavu Passage for the main island and Suva. In the blaze of southern stars overhead the five bright stars of the Southern Cross wheeled through the diamond dust of the

Motionless as a Statue, a Spear Fisherman Stands on Living Coral

Rising from a reef off the island of Kambara, the coral heads house live polyps. These sea creatures withstand the sun's glare during the short intervals of unusually low tides. Fijian spearmen are astonishingly accurate even at long range.

urashimataro

THE TURTLE OF THE SKY KING

DESPERATELY Lekabai stretched out his arms in the wild welter of water and his hands unexpectedly struck the comfort of solid rock. Painfully he pulled himself out of reach of the waves and collapsed on a narrow ledge. He had been fishing in his small canoe not far from his village in Samoa when a sudden storm had risen and swept him out to sea. His canoe had been waterlogged and smashed, and he was at his last gasp when he'd found safety on this rock.

When he recovered he began to climb. The rock towered far above him until it was lost in the clouds. He found nothing to eat, but slaked his thirst from small pools of rainwater. Day after day he climbed, until he came to the clouds and passed through them.

Now he looked up to the sky. There were no clouds there, but there was still no end to this barren towering mountain. There came a night when, faint from lack of food, he collapsed into unconsciousness.

When he woke he was lying on soft yielding vegetation. The sun was shining, birds were singing in the treetops, and a warm gentle wind stirred among the branches. It was a sight to delight any man, but Lekabai felt lonely.

He missed the slow crash of surf on his native shores, the familiar coconut trees, the voices of his friends. The fair land of the sky was no home for this ship-wrecked Samoan.

The Sky King heard the sound of weeping. It was so unusual that he came down to investigate. He bent over Lekabai.

"Why are you weeping?"

Lekabai looked up through his tears and recognised the nobility of the man who had spoken to him.

"I am weeping because this is a strange land, and I miss my own land of Samoa."

"Dry your tears," said the Sky King. "I will lend you my own turtle to take you back to your country. All you have to do is to climb on its back. There are only two things to remember: on peril of your life, do not open your eyes until the turtle climbs out on to the beach. Put your hands over your eyes and keep them there until you are able once more to look upon your wife and friends."

He pressed his hands over his eyes and took no notice of fish, wind, or birds.

"And what is the second thing?"

The Sky King smiled. "As you have seen, we have no coconut trees in this world. When the turtle returns, give it a coconut, and a mat woven from coconut leaves. We shall plant the coconut and learn to weave our own mats by copying the one you send us.

Lekabai climbed on to the turtle's back and hid his face in his hands as he had been bidden. For one horrifying moment he thought he was falling to his death. Then he felt the turtle's back under his legs. Together they plummetted down through the air like a stone, and sank far under the waves. The rough skins of sharks rasped against him, and their voices shouted to him to open his eyes, that he might see and avoid the perils of the deep sea.

The turtle rose to the surface, and there were dolphins plunging in and out of the waves and saying, "Look! Here is your island of Samoa. See, your friends are waiting for you!" But Lekabai would not look.

The wind howled round him and shouted, "Look out! I will blow you into the sea if you don't open your eyes!" Still he would not look.

Night came, and in the morning the birds flew round his head, screaming, "Is this the land you are looking for? There are palms and sandy beaches, and tall mountains; look and see if this is the island you seek."

But Lekabai remembered what the Sky King had told him. He pressed his hands over his eyes and took no notice of fish, wind, or birds. At last he heard waves breaking and felt the sand under his feet. As the turtle climbed out of the water he opened his eyes and saw the trees and the canoes of his people on the beach. Jumping off the turtle's back, he ran to his own village, where he was greeted as one who had returned from the Spirit Land. His wife and children were waiting for him, and all that day there were tears and laughter and the eating of good food, and rejoicing because Lekabai had come back to his people.

It was only when the sun was setting that Lekabai remembered the turtle, and the coconut, and the mat he had promised to send to the Sky King. With a feeling of dread clutching his heart, he rushed to the beach. There was no sign of the turtle.

During Lekabai's absence it had grown tired of waiting. It had swum out to the reef in search of seaweed to eat, and there it had been speared by fishermen coming back to land in their canoes.

The troubled men went to the far end of the beach where he

could see a knot of men. They were heating an oven, and close by lay the dead body of the turtle they were preparing to cook.

"Iau-e! Iau-e!" he wept. "This is my good friend the turtle, that brought me from the Sky Land. What have you done? The Sky King will be raging, and much evil will come from the killing of his turtle."

His friends wept with him, until Lekabai said, "We have shed tears, but they will not help us. Put out the oven fires and let us bury the turtle. The Sky King must not know what we have done. If we bury it in a deep grave he will not know what has happened to it."

The terrified villagers dug such a grave as no man had ever seen before. Five days they spent digging it. As the hole went deeper and deeper, they lowered a tall coconut palm into it, so that they could climb up with the soil as it was excavated.

On the sixth day they lowered the turtle to the bottom and filled in the hole; and to make certain that the Sky King would temper his anger if ever he discovered what had happened, they placed a coconut and a woven mat beside the body of the turtle.

But the Sky King knew what had happened. He sent a sandpiper, which arrived as the grave was being filled in. It swooped down from the sky, touched a boy named Lavai-pani with its wing, and returned to its master.

Perhaps the Sky King was satisfied with the gifts that had been buried, for he did not punish Lekabai; but Lavai-pani, the boy who had been touched by the Sky King's bird, never grew to manhood. Year after year he remained a child. His friends became men and married and had children, who grew up and were married and had children. Through these long years Lavai-pani remained as a boy who would not grow up.

Lekabai was dead. Men sometimes talked of his adventures in the Sky Land and how he had returned to his home on the back of a turtle; how it had been killed and buried, but the place of its burial was now forgotten. Only Lavai-pani knew, and he did not talk to anyone.

The legend of the Sky King's turtle was told to the king of the Islands of Tonga. His eyes sparkled when he heard of the size of the turtle. He called his people to him and said, "You must go by sea to Samoa and find that turtle for me. Its shell will be well preserved. Dig it up and bring it to me, and from it I shall make fish hooks as large as the ones our grandfathers used."

So a large canoe sailed off to Samoa. When the crew landed and told the Samoans what their king had sent them for, they were laughed at.

"It is an idle tale," said the children of Lekabai's children's children. "It may well be that our ancestor went to the Sky Land and returned on the back of a giant turtle, but no man now living can tell you where it was buried."

The Tongans returned and reported to their king that the turtle's grave could not be found. He was angry with them. "Return at once," he said. "If you do not bring me the turtle shell I crave, I will have you killed."

They went back on what they feared was a fruitless quest. Seeking out the oldest men in the village, they besought them to search their memories and tell them where the grave might be found; but the greybeards talked amongst themselves and laughed, and could tell them nothing.

Then Lavai-pani, the boy who had been with them as long as they could remember, said, "Let not your souls be small, men of Tonga. I can tell you where the turtle is buried. I was there before these old men were born."

He took them to a place near the beach and said, "Dig here. This is where the turtle is."

All day the Tongans dug, while the Samoans stood and jeered. "Where is your turtle?" they asked mockingly. "The exercise is good for you, but you have simple souls if you trust this boy."

Then the Tongans turned on Lavai-pani with bitter words. "You have misled us. Tell us where the turtle is buried. If we do not find it we are dead men, and we will take you with us to the Spirit Land."

Lavai-pani, who had never before been heard to laugh, doubled up with mirth.

"See how foolish these Tongans are," he said to his people. "Twice they have sailed across the sea and now, after so little digging, they are ready to give up their quest."

He turned back to the visitors.

"Please yourselves," he said. "Go home to your king and tell him you have failed, if you wish. But I tell you that if you keep on digging for four days you will find the shell."

Remembering that their king would keep his word if they failed, they endured the taunts of the Samoans, and on the evening of the fifth day they found the shell and the bones of a gigantic turtle; but of the mat and the coconut there was no sign.

They sped back to Tonga; but on the way they talked together and decided that if they kept one piece of the shell for themselves it would never be missed. But the king was not deceived.

"There are only twelve pieces here," he said fiercely. "Where is the thirteenth piece?"

The men looked at each other and were tongue-tied. Then one, bolder than the others, replied, "O King, it is the fault of the people of Samoa. They said to us, 'Be satisfied with the twelve pieces. We will keep one for ourselves in order that we, too, may make fish hooks from it.' "

The king frowned.

"Are you afraid of the Samoans?" he asked. "My anger is more to be feared than theirs. Go back once more and bring that piece to me."

The king himself went down to the shore to see them leave. Their hearts were shrivelled in them, for they dared not go to Samoa again, nor return to their own village.

So they sailed on before the wind until they saw land. They were weary of the endless march of the waves, and put gladly to shore.

The place they came to was Kadavu, which was under the lordship of the King of Rewa. He took the Tongans to his own country and gave them land, and there they took wives and built houses, and lived with the people of Rewa. And that is how the people of Tonga first came to the islands of Fiji.

nds being indicated. The legs are slightly bowed and have knobs pro-cting from the hips. They terminate in blocks probably intended for feet. Members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition found evidences of angu- geometric decorative carving on a few Tongan stone structures, al-ough stone carving does not seem to have been generally practiced. here such carving was found the decorated surfaces, like the Marquesan use posts, were divided into sections set off by groups of parallel aight lines. These division lines were vertical and the spaces between ed with diagonal lines running in one or two directions, a series of V's, rectangular units. One structure was decorated with a number of ight lines very irregularly disposed and intersecting each other appar-ly at random. This structure displays also one or two small circles.

Of the Tongan clubs in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum several are lecorated and the others show only zigzag and parallel ridges for orative designs. Edge-Partington (11,12) and Churchill (9) show ny sketches of Tongan club designs. From a study of these, most of following conclusions have been drawn.

Like the Samoan clubs, the surface of the Tongan clubs is treated in ions although the entire surface of the head of the club is usually ved. Plain parallel longitudinal, horizontal, and diagonal lines are ch in evidence; dots and short dashes occur but are not common. ring-bone and crosshatching are to be found but zigzags are more ninent. Checkerwork with squares filled with parallel horizontal, itudinal, or diagonal lines is also fairly common. On some clubs ares are outlined. Diamonds, concentric diamonds, and two groups oncentric V's so facing each other as to suggest concentric diamonds also be present.

The triangle is perhaps the commonest of designs on Tongan war s, but it is used somewhat less than in Samoa. There are plain tri-es, interlocking triangles, triangles filled with lines parellel to one side, of triangles directly opposite each other so that the spaces between incidental diamonds, groups of two triangles forming the hourglass rn, and groups of four triangles almost meeting and filled with V's, pace between the triangles forming an incidental X.

There are very few curvilinear patterns employed. Few circles, con-ic circles, spiral bands around the clubs, and even fewer scollops crescents are used. On the other hand a great many representations imal life are utilized for decorative designs on clubs. Of these birds, and men are the most common, although dogs, centipedes, octopuses, ls, and turtles seem also to be favorite designs. All of these forms nuch conventionalized, especially representations of men which are

strikingly similar to the triangular-bodied and linear-bodied human beings seen in Hawaiian petroglyphs (Pl. XXIX, *A*, *b*, *c*).

USE OF DECORATIVE DESIGNS

In addition to the decoration of war clubs, the Tongans decorated their grave mounds very elaborately and expended much time and effort in the decoration of baskets, fans, and tapas.

Designs on Grave Mounds

The Tongans practice the custom of making and preserving beautifully decorated grave mounds. These suggest huge cakes built up in tiers with fancy icing on the top and sides. From one to six colors or kinds of materials are used in the decoration of a single grave, so that rather elaborate effects are possible. Plate XXVII prepared from field sketches by W. C. McKern, shows sketches of the designs found on the top surfaces of eight grave mounds.

Originally the mound was probably completely covered with a coating of a single color, but this came to be modified in many ways. One of the simplest designs consists of two broad bands running lengthwise of the mound, the space between the bands and around the edge being of a second color. Another pattern has the same two broad lengthwise bands split up by several narrow bands of different color running crosswise of the mound. They do not, however, cross the central band which (Pl. XXVII, *a*) is made in two colors. A third design consists of diagonal stripes branching out from a central lengthwise and narrow band after the manner of the herring-bone design and done in two colors, each stripe containing a dot of the alternate color (Pl. XXVII, *c*). Many arrangements of triangles are used, from very simple ones to the complicated pattern shown on Plate XXVII, *b*—a pattern introduced recently by Europeans. (See also Pl. XXVII, *g*, *h*.) Diamonds and rows of oblongs were also used. Crosshatching combined with checkerwork as shown on Plate XXVII, *f* also forms an effective design.

Designs on Baskets, Fans, and Food Discs

A study of the few baskets and fans photographed by members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition to Tonga and of sketches in published works adds but one design to the list of Tongan patterns. This consists of groups of radiating lines and was found on a basket. Other designs on Tongan baskets are horizontal lines and bands, zigzags, diamonds, and a conventionalized pattern probably intended to represent a bird. A series of tri-

TABLE NO. 4—*Continued*

TONGAN DESIGNS, ELEMENTS AND MOTIFS

DESIGN		OBJECT DECORATED									
		STONE CARVING	GRAVE MOUNDS	CLUBS	FANS	BASKETS	WOOD DISC	LASHINGS	TEXTILES	TAPA
19a.	Fish	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
19b.	Octopus	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
19c.	Turtles	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
19d.	Lizards	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
19e.	Centipedes	—	—	×	—	—	×	—	—	—
19f.	Dogs	—	—	×	—	—	—	—	—	—
19g.	Birds	—	—	×	×	×	×	—	×	×
20.	Human form			×			×			?a

a For discussion, see page 72.

P85
Fiji –
Turtles - clubs

P88 New Guinea
Turtle - Coconut Bowls

MAORI DECORATIVE DESIGNS

INTRODUCTION

The Maoris of New Zealand occupy the extreme southwest outpost of Polynesia and because of their location it is especially important to determine whether or not their art is typically Polynesian, as seems popularly supposed. Although much has been written on Maori art, it seems appropriate in the present paper to briefly analyze the Maori designs, particularly those shown on wood carvings.

CARVING

In addition to the carved objects in the Maori collection of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, a series of photographs of Maori carvings collected by Eric Craig of Auckland, New Zealand, furnished valuable material for study. One of the photographs in the Craig collection shows several carved boards, apparently house posts. Some of the carvings are plainly of Maori workmanship, but others which display only angular geometric designs arouse some doubt. If of Maori origin, they are unusual both in the selection and arrangement of the designs upon the boards, for Maori carving does not follow the general Polynesian rule of dividing the surface of the decorated object into zones by means of one or more horizontal lines and making a sharp differentiation in the designs of adjacent zones. Typical Maori carving is continuous over the entire surface of an object or at least over the surface of each board used. No intentional division into zones is apparent and when a vertical, paneled effect is achieved it is due to the necessity of using several boards, each of which has been independently carved although with quite similar designs.

The most common Maori house post design is the human figure. Some of these are very ornate, others are comparatively simple. The head is always greatly exaggerated in size and the facial features are portrayed in a variety of ways. Some specimens show decidedly oblique eyes, others have round eyes practically on a level. Supraorbital ridges are conspicuous on most of the faces. The nose may or may not show the nostrils. When nostrils are not indicated the general outline of the nose may be roughly termed V-shaped, diamond-shaped, or an inverted T.

The Maori apparently consider the mouth as the most important facial feature as it is given great prominence in their carvings. The characteristic mouth is a large oval pinched together in the center though much more sharply than in the Hawaiian figures; it is somewhat suggestive of the bill of a bird. Almost invariably the artist has carved a large tongue hanging out of the mouth. Teeth are shown in some figures and not in others.

TURTLE, FOWL AND PIG

IN Havaiki were the beginnings made of many things that concern this world above. It was persons of that land who brought forth turtles, fowls and pigs, all from one family. These people were Tu moana urife and his wife named Rifarifa, and their son whom they called Metua puaka, that is Pig-parent.

While Tu and his wife were on a visit to the island of Pupua, turtles were born to them. These turtles crawled down to the sea and swam away, and produced their young throughout all the low sandy islands of the Tuamotu.

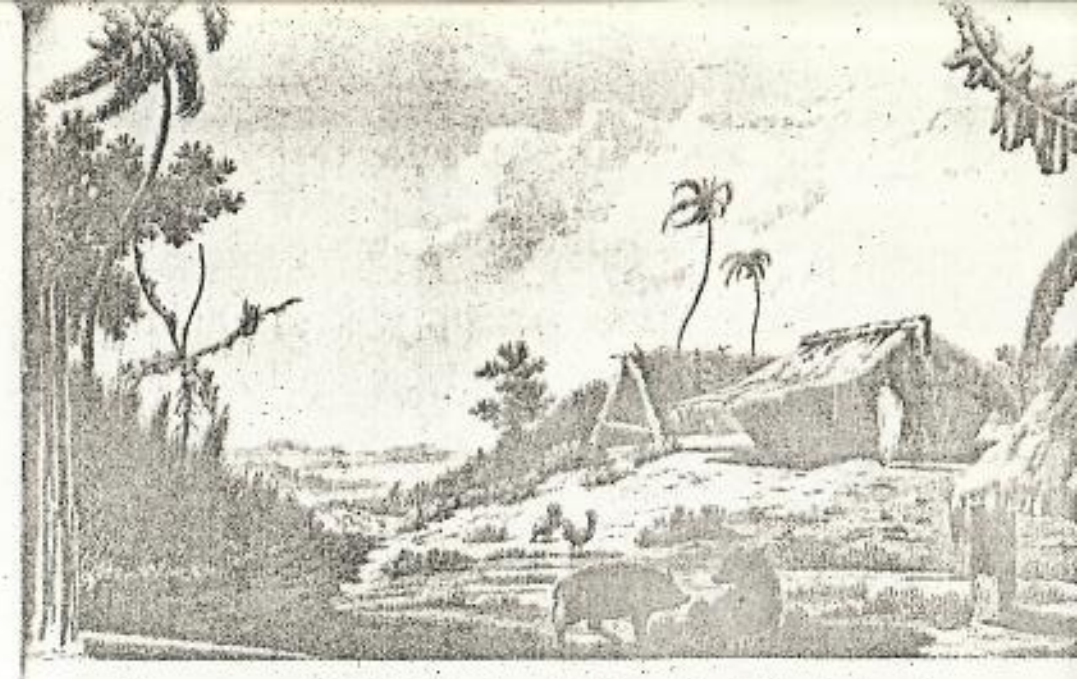
When Tu and his wife returned to Havaiki they had a family of chickens. They let them go in the bushy valleys of that land, and all the fowls in the world are descended from those progeny of Tu and Rifarifa. These things happened when the world was new.

Fowl and Turtle met one day, and at once they began to argue. 'You!' said Turtle, 'you are common! You will be eaten by women and children, but I shall be sacred to the gods! I shall leap into the gods' house!'

Fowl replied, 'How can you leap into the gods' house! It is you that is common. You yourself will be eaten by the women and children, but I shall live in the depths of the sea and escape their hands!'

Just then Turtle was picked up by a strong man who took him to the chief of all that land. The chief was so pleased, he sent Turtle straightway to the marae to be offered to the gods. Thus it is that the turtle is tapu and may be eaten by none but chiefs and priests.

On seeing Turtle's fate, Fowl made off to hide in the sea, but she had only got her head under the water when a party of women and children who were gathering shellfish seized her legs and took her



'It was persons of that land who brought forth turtles, fowls and pigs . . .'

home. Thus the fowl became common, the food of women and children. Only white birds are offered up at the marae of the gods. White birds are tapu, like the turtle.

Tu and Rifarifa had one child like a man, Metua puaka. When Metua grew up his parents took him to Porapora to marry a young woman whom they had chosen.

These two dwelt together, but one day that wife teased Metua for having no land in Porapora. This hurt his feelings and he went to his mother. She said, 'Is that all your trouble? Well then, tomorrow morning go into the bush and open your mouth wide, like this. There will rush out a great number of small animals making a noise. They will be puaka maohi. Tie them together by their legs with sinnet, and gather many stones to make a wall. By night they will be fully grown. Put them in the pen and bring your wife and present them to her.'

All this Pig-parent did next day. It happened as his mother had said, and Metua's wife was pleased. All the pigs in the land are descended from those pigs of Metua's.

p. 77 The Easter Island headdress, made of rushes covered with painted tapa cloth, is in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. (By courtesy of the Peabody Museum.)

by J. F. Miller.
(By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

TURTLE, FOWL AND PIG

Porapora

Recited to J. M. Orsmond in 1825 by Mo'o, of Porapora, and here retold from Orsmond's version. 'Havaiki' in this case possibly refers to the island now called Ra'iatea (for which it was the ancient name), rather than to the general 'place of origin' of Polynesian myth. [Henry, 39: 380]

p. 79 The house with fowls and pigs was drawn in Tonga by William Hodges, artist on Cook's second voyage, and later engraved in England.
(From 148, by courtesy of the Turnbull Library, Wellington.)

THE WOMAN IN THE MOON

Tahiti

The Polynesian 'woman in the moon' is usually there as punishment for some such earthly wrong as allowing the rain to spoil some mats, or—in the New Zealand story of Rona (83: 95)—violent swearing. In this little fragment cited by Emory we can briefly hear what must often have been an extremely annoying though necessary noise in any village of tropical Polynesia—the clatter of the women beating tapa cloth with mallet and wooden block. It comes from an account of the Creation written down by a Tahitian named Mare in 1829 and first published in L. Gaussin's *Le Tour du Monde*, 1860. [Emory, *JPS* 47: 45–63, 1938]

p. 80 The tapa beater—a wooden mallet used for beating the bark of the paper-mulberry tree into tapa, the universal Polynesian cloth—was drawn for Sir Joseph Banks

ATARAGA AT THE POOL

Tuamotu

How the demigod Maui was begotten. A good example of the lewd and garrulous style of story-telling obtained by Stimson in the Tuamotu, but not a typical account of Maui's origin. For a more 'classical' version, see Grey (72: 12–44), or my own *Maori Myths*, where Maui's mother is Taranga and he is named Maui tikitiki a Taranga because she bore him as a premature foetus and threw him into the sea wrapped in her top-knot (tikitiki), an ornament which only men possessed among the Maori. 'Ataraga' and 'Taranga' are therefore in effect the same person.

The opening scene at the pool is from the island of Anaa and the remainder of the story, from the entry of Huahega on, was given by Fariua a Makitua, of Fagatau. A key to the song of the dancing girls:

Te kiri vi!	=	the right-stretched skin (the hymen)
Te momotu	=	take by force
Tu i mimi . . .	=	stands the clitoris . . .
He vahine . . .	=	'here is a woman; below is the cleft portal, opened by the fingertips'
He tiriga pa . . .	=	'it is Tu-of-the-long blade who has thrown her down'
Ka horo ra	=	'the blade plies in and out'
Torapi, torapa	=	'a sudden flow escapes'
Kokokokina!	=	'slappety-slappety-slap'.

The 'eel-with-a-slit-skin' refers to the Polynesian practice of super-incision.

[Stimson, 50 and 49]

p. 82 Fly-whisk handle. This excellent specimen of the Society Islands' finest sculpture comes from Huahine. The object was probably both ceremonial and functional, having a 'horse's tail' of sinnet fibres hanging from it which would suitably emphasize the gestures of a chief while also keeping off the flies to some extent. Both Tuhaki and Rata would probably have made good use of such a whisk.
(By courtesy of the Museum of Primitive Art, New York.)

p. 85 Ifin flower and leaves (Barringtonia speciosa). This is the tree whose grated nut yields a paralysing fish poison, formerly much used in Central Polynesian lagoons; after a drawing by J. F. Miller.
(From 148, by courtesy of the Turnbull Library, Wellington.)

p. 88 This tiare (Gardenia taitensis), the loveliest of Polynesia's perfumed flowers, was drawn by Sydney Parkinson in 1769.
(By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

MAUI-OF-A-THOUSAND-TRICKS

Manihiki

Maui tikitiki a Taranga, as he is called in New Zealand (see preceding note), is Polynesia's best-known mythical character. As culture-hero, fire-bringer and trickster who improved the universe for man, he seems to have been known in all the major groups—deserving his description by W. D. Westervelt as one of the strongest links in the mythological chain of evidence binding the scattered inhabitants of the Pacific into one nation. Eastern Melanesia, as well, has stories of Maui Kijikiji, and even in Europe his name is known, at least to those who study the psychology of myth. The first European to write about him was Captain Cook, who in Tahiti in 1769 was shown a basketwork figure that was taller than a man, and told that it represented Maui. The figure was covered with white and black feathers and had three knobs on its head which Joseph Banks was told were 'little men' (2 [1]: 302). This description makes the object resemble the Rarotonga and Ra'ivavae wooden figures of gods bringing forth their 'sons'. Cook's interpreter Tupia told him some stories of Maui, but unfortunately for us Cook thought them 'too absurd' to note down.

The now famous New Zealand version of the Maui cycle was published by Grey in 1855, and its discussion in Europe began in the following year, with Schirren's *Die Wandersagen der Neuseeländer und der Mauimythos*. Since then Maui has been discussed by Bastian, Tylor, Frobenius, Roheim, Rank and numerous others. He has been compared at various times to Hercules, Joshua, Loki, Brer Rabbit, the inventor of daylight saving, Manabozho and Prometheus, and there is an interesting section on him in Suzanne Langer's *Philosophy in a New Key*. The authoritative work is Luomala (24).

It is obvious that any collection of Polynesian mythology must reserve an important place for Maui, but in fact he is rather difficult to include, since no account of him exists which holds for Polynesia generally, and most accounts have gaps. The only one that is complete (in the sense that it starts with his birth and ends with his death and includes all his principal adventures) is that of Grey (72: 12–44), which is, however, unique in its character as well as its completeness. New Zealand's Maui, because of his 'universality' and even more because of his last sexual encounter with death, is the one who has interested Western scholars; but he is not the one the other islands know. The more 'typical' Maui of tropical Polynesia is in no way a tragic figure.

My own retelling of the Maori version is already published in my *Maori Myths*, so for this book I have devised (as two stories) a composite version, bringing together material obtained at periods sixty years apart in two parts of Polynesia. Wyatt Gill's entirely reliable version of 1870 (from which I have drawn 'Maui-of-a-Thousand-Tricks') comes from those glorious 'blue-lagoon' atoll of

In that way, he got the whale to come close to him. The whale was so sure of winning the fight that he was easily fooled.

Suddenly, the octopus squirted out some of the black mud that he had in his body. He squirted it into the water, which turned black. The whale could no longer see his enemy. They had a big fight. They pushed up waves, mountain high.

The whale hit at the octopus with his head. He struck at him with his front flippers. He swung his tail high up in the air and then smacked it down hard on the water. But where was the octopus? The whale couldn't see him. He smacked and whacked and hit only the sea. The octopus moved around very fast and kept out of the way, squirting the black fluid all the time.

When all the water around the whale was quite black, the octopus swam up to his enemy. He put his long, strong tentacles around the whale's great body, around his flippers and tail, his ears, his eyes, his mouth—wherever he could get a good hold.

The whale fought fiercely. He smacked down his heavy tail, but he could not shake off his enemy. The octopus held him tightly. Then he pushed the whale against a large rock in the ocean and held him there. He squeezed until the whale was dead.

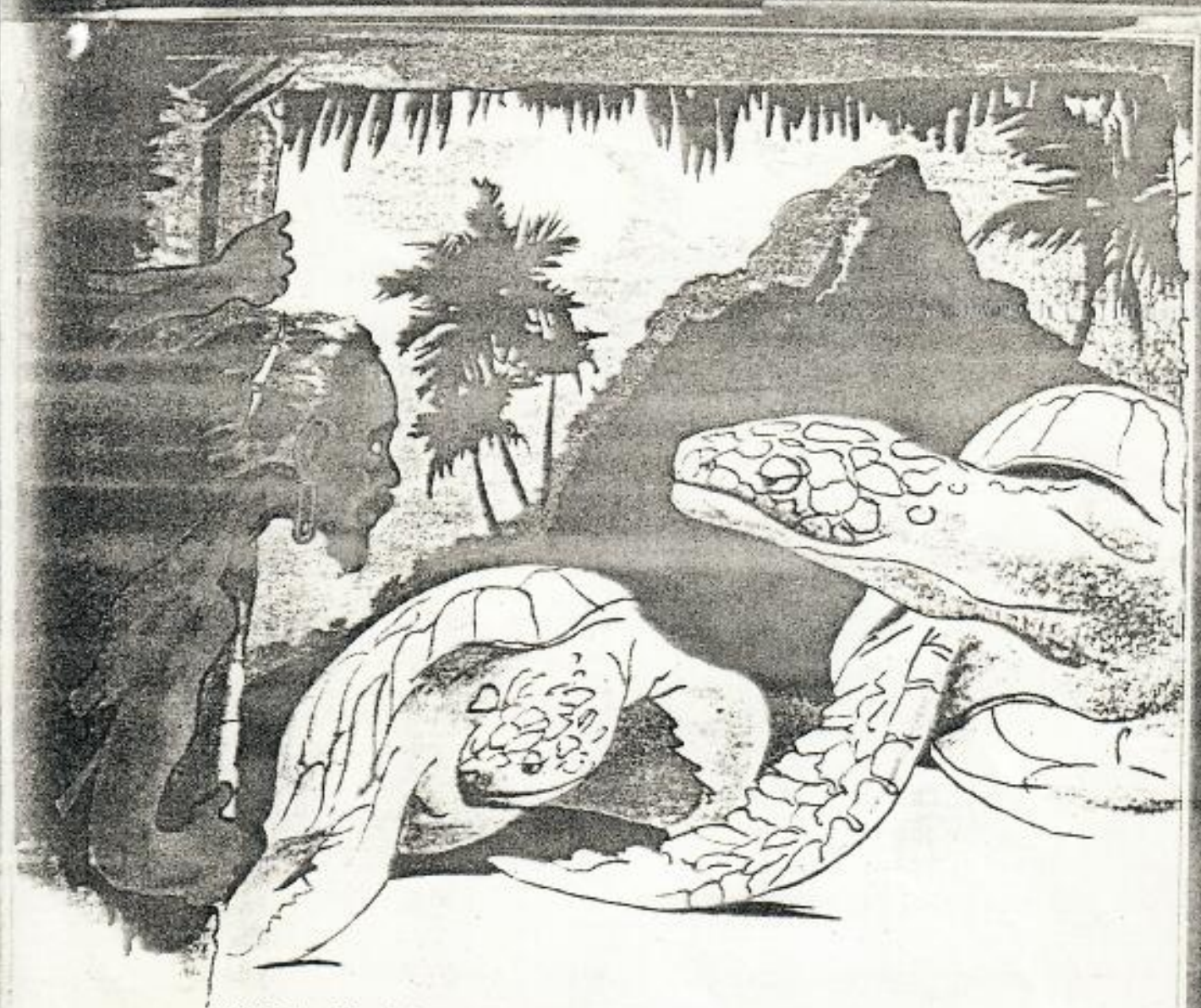
"This will show who is king of the sea," he said.

From that day, the octopus has black fluid always ready for a fight. But nobody calls him the "king of the sea," for he doesn't look or act like a king. He is known as the "pirate of the sea," and that is entirely different.

The Turtles and the Mountain Tunnel

During the second world war, hundreds of caves were dug in the cliffs and mountains of the Pacific Islands. To these, the people went for safety. Sometimes, they had to live in the caves for a long time. But the people of the village of Pata, on Tol Island, in the Truk Atoll, did not need to dig caves. They already had a deep tunnel in which they could hide, if war came their way.

The tunnel reaches from one side of a high mountain to the other, and it has been there for a long time. An old legend tells how it came there.



Tol Island had five small villages. They were all under the rule of a chief named Samoniong. He ruled wisely, and the people were glad to obey him.

The people used to bring their chief the first fruits and vegetables of their trees and gardens. They took pride in doing it. Each of the five villages tried to bring the best foods. In the Pacific Islands, food was always the most valuable gift. The island atolls lay far apart, with the wide ocean between. Food was not always easy to get, or to carry to other places.

Everybody in the village of Pata brought food to the chief at the same time. They held a celebration, with singing, dancing, and a feast. The chief took certain foods for himself. He divided the rest among the people, to be eaten at the feast or taken back home with them. It was a happy time of good will for the whole community.

One fine summer day, the people of Pata village prepared a great pile of fruits and other foods. They filled large woven baskets with green drinking coconuts and cooking and eating coconuts. They dug up the largest taros and yams. They picked from the trees the finest breadfruit, papayas, mangos, and other fruits. They brought pigs, chickens, lobsters, coconut crabs, shrimps, and fish for the feast. Even the old men and women helped to carry baskets filled with fruits, vegetables, and cooked foods wrapped in leaves.

The people wore their best clothes, with strings of shells or flowers around their necks and arms, and flowers in their hair.

There were more than a hundred people. They started out on the long way to Samoniong's house, laughing and happy. They walked along the beach. The chief's house and land lay some distance away, on the other side of the island.

Between the village of Pata and the chief's home, there was a high mountain. The people had to walk around it on their way. That part of Tol Island was called Wonei.

A strong, ugly giant named Oneniap had come to live on that mountain. None of the people, not even the chief, knew that he was there. He got his food by stealing.

The people came shouting, singing, and laughing on their way. They carried the heavy loads of food in baskets hung on poles over their shoulders. The giant heard them, as they passed the mountain at Wonei.

"Aha! This is my chance!" he said to himself, as he looked down over the edge of the mountain cliff.

He sprang from the mountain top to the beach, sailing through the air. One minute he was on the mountain, and the next minute, there he was, in front of the people, with a huge club.

"Put down the food! Put down the food!" he shouted. The people were frightened. They gave Oneniap everything they were carrying. He picked it up in his long arms and flew back to the mountain top.

The children began to cry. The other people stood there in anger. Gone were the beautiful fruits and vegetables and everything else. There was nothing for the people of Pata village to do but go home with empty hands.

Some of the men went to Chief Samoniong and told him what had happened. The good chief worried about his people. What would become of them now? Such a giant would find a way to eat up everything on Tol Island.

The following night, Samoniong couldn't sleep for worry. He lay on mats in his house and wondered what to do. All of a sudden, he heard a soft voice near the doorway, calling, "Samoniong! Samoniong!"

He got up. There, in the clear moonlight, he saw two large turtles. "Samoniong, why do you worry? We're going to help you," said the first turtle.

Then the second turtle spoke. "We'll make a new road for your people to come to you," it said. "Go to sleep and rest now. You'll see the road in the morning."

The two turtles crawled away in the moonlight. Samoniong went back to his mats and slept. The turtles went to the mountain and began to cut a great hole through it. One turtle worked on each side. They met in the center.

In the morning, when the sun arose, there was a great tunnel, all complete. It reached from Pata village to the home of the chief, on the other side of the island. The turtles were nowhere to be seen.

The people were happy. "We won't have to go around the mountain to get to our chief!" they shouted to each other. "Look, look! We can go right through to the other side!"

They took fruits and other food and went to visit Samoniong. They sang and shouted and laughed, as they entered the tunnel and passed through the mountain. The giant Oneniap heard the sound. He couldn't see anyone, no matter where he looked, because the people were all in the tunnel.

The kind old chief, Samoniong, was delighted. He stood at the far end of the tunnel. He heard the people as they came singing, and he met them with joy. They all went to his house and had a celebration.

Never again did Oneniap trouble the people. They used their tunnel when going from Pata village to the other side of Tol Island, and they are still using it today. In Pata village, the turtle has been much respected ever since.

17 ◊
A self-portrait by John Webber, RA (*c.* 1750-93), artist on Captain Cook's third Pacific voyage of discovery (1776-80). *Photo*: author.

Webber was commissioned by the British Admiralty to the *Resolution* as ship's draftsman, and he became one of the most productive artists ever sent on a South Sea expedition. His paintings, drawings, and engravings provide an unusual wealth of detail, useful today in the study of Polynesian life and art. John Webber's personal collection of "curios", and this portrait, are kept in the Historical Museum of Bern, in his native Switzerland. Among his paintings are several portraits of Captain Cook (e.g. see 3). Webber sometimes signed himself William, and is occasionally misnamed "James", presumably in confusion with his captain. However, the native spelling of his name is Johan Weber.

◊ 18
An engraving after Webber (17) entitled "An offering before Capt. Cook, in the Sandwich Islands". *Collection*: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. *Photo*: author.

The Hawaiians, for reasons logical to their way of thinking, identified Captain Cook with the great god Lono and treated him accordingly, until they became disillusioned by time and circumstance, then they killed him in a skirmish. In this temple scene of 1779 a sacrificial pig is being offered to Cook in the presence of three officers of the expedition, all seated with the Hawaiian chiefs before two wooden images and the temple house.

◊ 19
An engraving after Webber (17) entitled "A Human Sacrifice, in a Morai (*marae*) in Otaheiti (Tahiti)" depicts Captain Cook and some of the ships' officers being shown the interior of a Tahitian temple, Society Islands, in September 1777. *Collection*: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. *Photo*: author.

This scene is one of the most vivid depictions of Tahitian religious custom. In it a newly-killed human sacrifice lies lashed to a pole, numerous skulls of former sacrificial victims rest on the stone platform at the back, while two boys singe a dog on a fire before adding it to the pigs already on the elevated platform. The high drums on the left are similar in type to those of Raivavae. (Compare 187.) The essential features of Polynesian religion are summarised on pages 43-4.

neolithic stone adzes of the Pacific, which have been studied intensively by Duff (1962, 1970) and others, show clearly that Polynesian adzes relate to a common dispersal which includes the adzes of India, Malaya, Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, Vietnam, south east coastal China (from the Bay of Canton to the Yangtze River), Formosa, and the Philippines. In view of all the known facts it is not surprising that maps plotting adze dispersals correlate with the spread of the Malayo-Polynesian language.

Within Polynesia itself adze differences in East and West Polynesia correlate with the diverged Polynesian languages of the two areas. The tanged-butt adze is absent from most of West Polynesia yet universal in East Polynesia. Similarly, fish-hook modifications are of significant help in determining a chronology and pattern of dispersal. Differences in early and late Hawaiian hooks, and their resemblance to Marquesan and Tahitian forms, enabled Sinoto (1968) to present well-supported theories on the origins of the Hawaiians and the sequence of their settlement of Hawaii from the Marquesan and Society groups.

The harpoon point is a sophisticated technological item that has circum-Pacific dispersal. Similar harpoons are found in the Arctic, New Zealand, the Chatham Islands and the Marquesas. Such evidence of dispersal of basic artifacts has great interpretive significance when we come to consider the origins and relationships of Polynesian art.

RACIAL ORIGINS, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL QUALITIES

Events on the Asian mainland and on the islands of Austronesia more than four or five thousand years before Christ are of great significance in the formation of the Polynesian type. South East Asia has seen each of the three races of mankind dominate, then decline, or merge in complex admixtures to form the new intermediate racial groups.

Pressures on the Asian coastal rim and island peoples, among whom were numbered the Proto-Polynesians, usually came from the north and from sophisticated civilisations. Early Chinese history has an important place in the sequence of events

20

that stimulated or impelled the Proto-Polynesians and neighbours of the old Malayo-Polynesian stock to seek less populated parts or to flee from antagonistic intruders. The picture is complex and as yet not clearly defined.

The catalyst of Proto-Polynesian migration, it would seem, was the appearance of a bronze age culture in the central plain of China and its subsequent aggressive expansion. Weapons of stone and wood are never a match for metal, and the rule would appear invariable that nations with a superior technology can overwhelm those with an inferior technology. The bronze age in China emerged with the Shang dynasty (referred to as Shang, Yin, or Shang-Yin, orthodox dating c. 1766-1122 BC, or by revised chronology, c. 1500-1027 BC—chronological references in this text follow the former dating). Shang warriors used chariots, swords, armour and battleaxes with ruthless ferocity. They had little concern for the neolithic gardeners and farmers who then occupied vast tracts of the Asian mainland. Whenever the Shangs pushed out their elbows, or their successors in the Chou and Han dynasties decided to expand their domains, neolithic peoples living near or far felt the effect, in proportion to their distance.

Proto-Polynesian groups probably never confronted Shang warriors, but they felt the pressures generated by Shang expansion as well as the influence of Shang culture on the eastern and southern coasts of China and on the islands of South East Asia. Primitive Oceanic cultures were extremely sensitive to change in environment or population increase. The migratory movements of the Proto-Polynesians were undoubtedly stimulated by pressures coming out of mainland Asia, particularly at the onset of the bronze age, and by their own population increases. Overpopulation makes men restless and migratory.

Proto-Polynesian movements must have been sporadic however, and without any dramatic fleeing before an imminent enemy. From time to time, a bay too crowded for fishing in a delicately-balanced ecology would have caused a fisherman to seek another ground; a village too crowded would have sent small families to seek space with kinsfolk who lived in a less crowded village. Multiplied thousands of times over hundreds of years, such small events determined the migratory patterns, which were in due time to include the islands of Polynesia in their scope.

A stimulating new view of South East Asian prehistory is stated by Professor W. H. Solheim (1970) of the University of Hawaii. Solheim proposes that South East Asia generated much of cultural importance which found its way to China including, it would appear, bronze-working technique. This idea does not necessarily lessen the subsequent influence of Chinese bronze culture on South East Asia in the Chinese expansions that followed, (no technical skill in bronze work anywhere in Asia surpassed that of Shang or Chou); however Solheim's hypothesis does deprive China of its primary role in the development of South East Asian art (as proposed for example by Heine-Geldern, 1937, and more recently in 1966). Solheim summarises his position as follows: "The most obvious difference between my reconstruction and the traditional reconstructions based on that of Heine-Geldern is that in mine South East Asians are innovators, contributing much to world culture and in particular contributing to the foundation of north Chinese culture and its later expansion, as opposed to seeing South East Asia as a *cul de sac* with innovations and progress coming from the outside, and in particular owing much of its progress to migrations from the north, China in particular." Elsewhere Solheim (1968) indicated that bronze work is evident in north eastern Thailand as early as 2300 BC, with the chance of an earlier date quite

20 ◇
A warrior's ornamental headband. *Width*: 19⅜" (49.3 cm). *Collection*: Mr and Mrs Raymond Wielgus, Chicago, Illinois, USA. *Photo*: Raymond Wielgus.

Headbands of this type were worn in the jaunty manner seen in the portrait 21. This type of head ornament was formed by attaching pearlshell plates of various shapes to a woven coir base, then overmounting the plates with turtleshell fretwork. Similar ornaments termed *kap-kap* found in Melanesia, especially in the Solomon Islands, appear to relate directly to those of the Marquesas Islands.

21 ◇
A late nineteenth-century studio photograph (photographer unknown) of a tattooed Marquesas Islands man, shown wearing a decorative headband (20), and postured with his right hand resting on a club of a late type (160). *Collection*: author.

The human hair ornament on this man's shoulders is old, but the cockfeather ornaments on his wrist and ankles appear to be a late innovation. (Compare the life-size model of a fully-dressed warrior, 144.)

22 ◇
The daughter of a high chief. Western Samoa. From a photograph taken in Samoa over seventy years ago by the Burton Brothers of Dunedin, New Zealand. *Collection*: author.

This handsome girl is wearing a finely-plaited mat of a kind that has great ceremonial significance in the Samoan islands (see page 38), and a necklace formed from split and ground tooth ivory of the sperm whale. In Samoa sacred maidens called *taupou* are selected to represent the prestige of their villages and to make appearances as dance leaders and makers of *kava* on all occasions of importance.

feasible. This concept of Austronesian prehistory is impressive to those who know the Oceanic cultures of both South East Asia and the broader Pacific. By the fourth millenium BC people were evidently on the move in all directions, especially by water, ending long isolation in many places. Malayo-Polynesian culture expanded east and west, in the latter extension reaching to Madagascar, while in the former, to distant Easter Island.

For thousands of years the south Asian region from which the Polynesians derive has been a mixing pot of the three major racial groups of man-

40 ⌓
A pair of reptilian monsters (*tuniwha*) drawn in charcoal on the ceiling of a natural limestone shelter. *In situ*, Tengawai Gorge, South Canterbury, New Zealand. *Length*: 16' (4.88 m). This drawing is reproduced by courtesy of H. D. Skinner (1964).

The relationship of lizard and crocodilian forms to Polynesian art is a fascinating subject in which speculation and reasonable assumption are vital to any true view of the motif. (See page 54.)

reflections, water colour, land smell and the pointing of pigs and dogs, the sound of distant surf and ground swell motion, all provided clues to finding or relocating islands. Most islands are in fact encircled for about fifty miles seaward by evidence of land presence. The peaks of elevated islands are in some instances visible for 100 miles in clear weather.

The pathfinding skills of primitive man were studied intensively by Harold Gatty (1958), who was a pioneer navigator of the trans-Pacific air route when air navigation was elemental. It is not unreasonable to admit the possibility that prehistoric man shared with his fellow mammals some of the directional sense that has baffled scientific analysis; nevertheless, Gatty did not attribute the so-called "homing instinct" or "sense of direction" to a sixth sense, but believed in the remarkable effectiveness of trained observation.

The old-time Polynesians had no instruments of navigation, but they knew exactly where and when particular stars would lift above the horizon and under which stars particular islands were to be found. The sidereal, or star compass, was remembered by the use of rhythmical chant. Obscured skies, however, left no option but to rely on wind and swell direction until skies cleared. Thousands of canoes must have been lost during the epic settlement of Polynesia, and thus hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children must have perished.

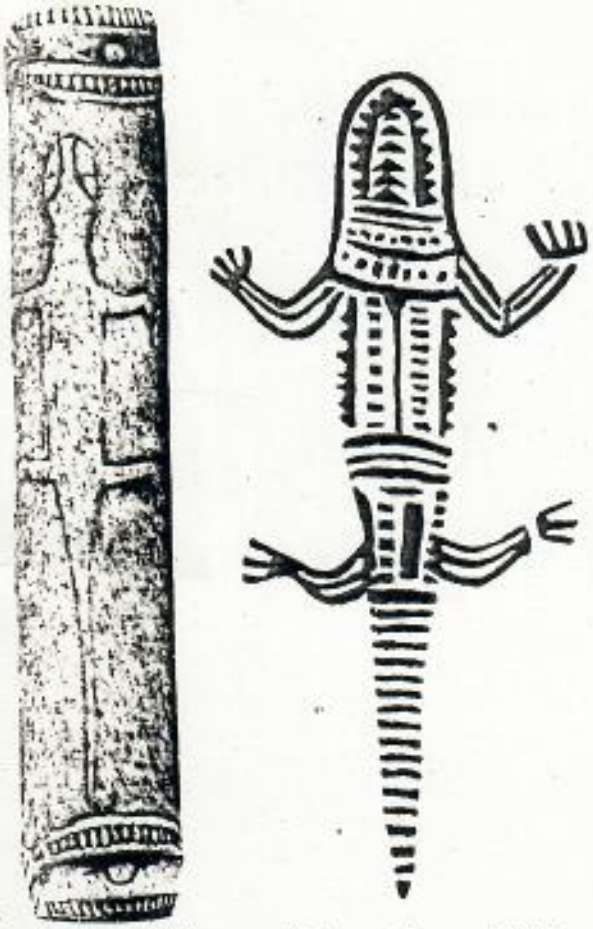
SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Polynesian social structure varied in form from group to group but was basically one of chiefs, commoners, and slaves. Tribal kinsfolk grouped in villages under hereditary chiefs. Blood ties with other clans obligated friendship unless there was a real cause for enmity. Tribes without genealogical connection to one's own tribe were regarded with suspicion and unworthy of mercy in time of war.

Marriage took several forms. Monogamy was regarded as undesirable, polygamy being the rule in the form of multiple wives (polygyny), or rarely, as in the Marquesas, multiple husbands (polyandry).

Sexual rights usually extended to one's brother's wife. Brother and sister marriage took place in some areas to conserve and multiply chiefly mana. The young were encouraged to experiment sexually with their friends, both for pleasure and for sorting out compatible and fertile partners. Chiefs enjoyed any woman they fancied, but commoners kept to their peers.

Democratic feeling was at a low ebb in old Polynesia. A man was what he was born, be it aristocrat, commoner, or slave. High chiefs held the power of



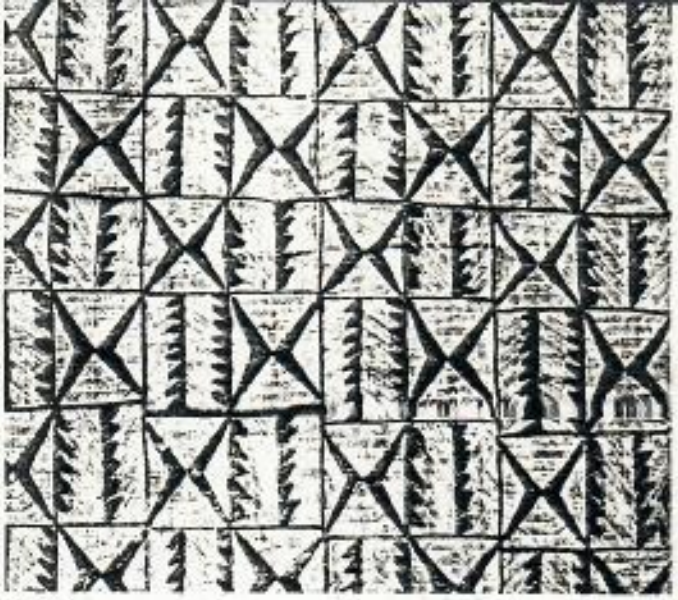
41 ⌓
A flute with lizard design, made from a human thighbone. New Zealand. *Length*: 5¾" (14.5 cm). *Collection*: British Museum, London. *Photo*: Dominion Museum, Wellington, New Zealand.

⌓ 42
Lizard resembling a crocodile, from the handle of a ceremonial adze (similar to the adze 296). New Zealand. *Length*: 5¼" (13.3 cm).

This reproduction is from a crayon rubbing taken by the author from an adze in the collection of James Hooper, Sussex, England.

◊ 43
Detail of a feather cloak. New Zealand. *Collection*: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. *Photo*: author.

The mixed feathers of this cloak include native pigeon (*kereru*), ground parrot (*kaka*), *tui* and exotic peacock. The pattern is an arrangement of triangles set on a base of flax fibre. New Zealand featherwork is technically much simpler than that of Hawaii; however, when viewed in terms of aesthetics, at its best it equals Hawaiian work. (Compare 260-65.)



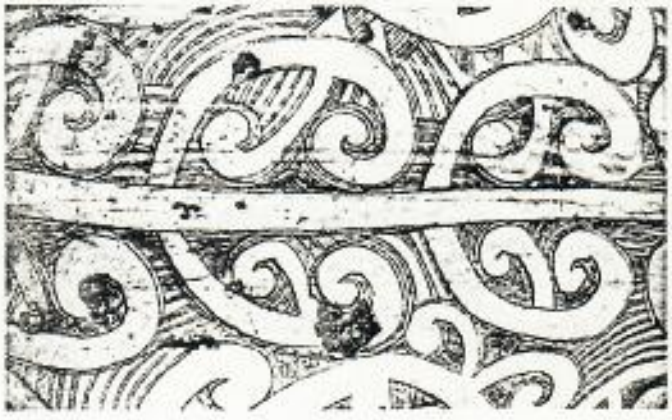
44 ⌓
A sheet of barkcloth. Western Samoa. *Collection and photo*: United States National Museum, Washington, DC.

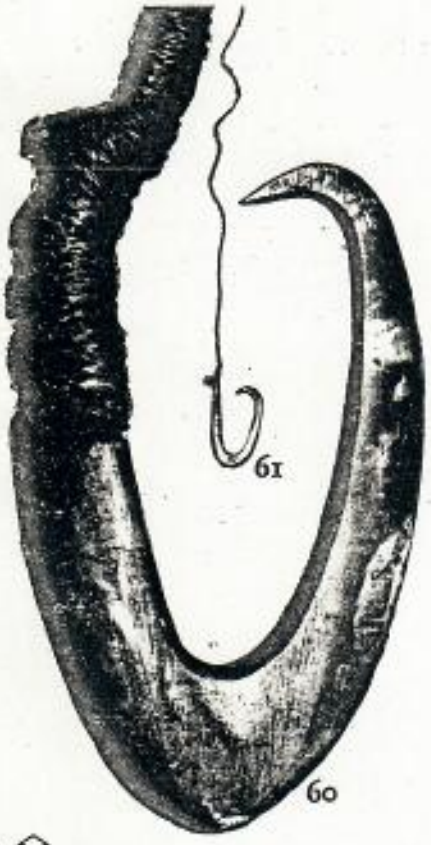
The design of this *tapa* is based on rectangular compartments, with two different patterns used repeatedly in chequerboard fashion. The light base pattern is block-printed, then a secondary pattern is overlaid by hand, using dark pigments. (See page 37 for a general note on *tapa*, and compare styles of other areas: Hawaii, 48 and 288; and Marquesas, 148-49.)

The underside of a decorated gourd bowl. New Zealand. *Length*: 15" (38 cm). *Collection*: Dominion Museum, Wellington, New Zealand. *Photo*: author.

An effective Maori technique of gourd decoration was that of scratching through the rind of a fresh gourd, then adding black pigment later to accentuate the incised lines. As this technique was a form of free drawing, and because the gourd surface is convex, the curvilinear patterns of Maori art (seen illustrated as a rafter pattern, 88) were favoured in gourd decoration.

⌓ 45





60 ⌓ 61 ⌓

A pair of pearlshell fish-hooks used in hand-line fishing. Tahiti, Society Islands. These hooks are of similar form but show the great size difference found in some types of Polynesian hook. *Height of large hook*: 6⅛" (15.5 cm). *Height of small hook*: ¾" (2 cm). Both hooks were collected in Tahiti on the first voyage of Captain Cook (1768–71). *Collection*: Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, England. *Photo*: author.

Polynesian hooks are of three basic types: for hand-line fishing, for trolling, and for hand-rod threshing. Form is determined by function and by the materials used in manufacture. Relative size is important as one cannot take a large shark on a hook designed for a 2 lb fish.

62 63 64 ◊

Three trolling hooks. On the left is a Tahitian hook with pearlshell shank and point, attached line, and fringed lure. The Tongan hook in the centre has a whalebone shank, a turtleshell point, and a pearlshell back. The hook on the right is from New Zealand where pearlshell was not to be found (in order to obtain the flashing effect of a fish when trolled the wooden shank is lined on the inner face with iridescent abalone shell). The point is of bone.

This trio of hooks is in the collection of the Field Museum, Chicago. *Photo*: museum archives.

serving being always from highest to least-ranking chief. In East or Marginal Polynesia, where *kava* was used, it was regarded more as a refreshing drink than an elaborate ritual. In West Polynesia custom inspired the making of exceptionally fine *kava* bowls, round in form, with a suspension lug; however, the number of legs multiplied with the decline of craftsmanship to a point in Western Samoa where bowls with as many as sixteen legs were made for tourists.

The *kava* ceremony is officiated over by a chieftainess of good birth. In former times the *kava* root was chewed by young men and women, spat into a bowl, then mixed with water before serving. This mastication method suggests that there must have been "clean" health in old-time Polynesia. However, it caused terrible cross-infection of tuberculosis and other introduced diseases in post-contact times and has since been abandoned for stone pounding of the root. *Kava* drinking as a custom has survived in Samoa, Tonga and Fiji.

PERSONAL ORNAMENT AND TATTOO

In Polynesia it was the male who was lavishly decorated. The impressive appearance of chiefs as warriors and diplomats was a matter of tribal pride. Decorative combs, necklaces, amulets, earplugs, *leis*, feathers, girdles, cloaks, capes, and hand weapons were used by chiefs according to local custom and personal status. Women were decorated, too, but with less splendour.

Bodily modifications were made by the tattoo, the pigments being placed under the skin with small combs or chisels of bone or shell. Men were usually heavily tattooed in thighs and buttocks while women had delicate marks on thighs and arms in most groups. Master tattooists were held in high esteem. New Zealand facial tattoo of both men and women assumed a form of flesh carving which left deep grooves in the skin. Easter Island, Cook Island, and Marquesan tattoo covered large areas of the body. Men and women of sufficient social standing were tattooed upon attaining maturity and were thereafter regarded as fully responsible tribal members.

Ornaments made from the natural teeth of sharks,

dogs, or sea mammals were often worn unchanged except for drilled holes. Some teeth, such as those of the heavy sperm-whale, were modified into a hooked form or split into tusk-like necklace units. Hybridized fish-hook and tooth-form breast ornaments are found in several areas. Ornaments made close body contact and consequently were regarded as being highly charged with mana, especially those that had passed as family heirlooms from generation to generation.

ENVIRONMENT AND ART

Polynesian art is remarkably homogeneous in its main features and reflects sensitive responses to differing island environments. Sculptural arts especially are influenced by material resources. New Zealand wood art was largely a product of environment, as was the stone art of Easter Island.

Food supply, population, and social stratification directly reflect the natural resources of islands. Where food is plentiful, population increases, inter-tribal rivalry is stimulated, and high specialisation of occupation occurs. Polynesian art flourished best in the most productive groups. In general, Polynesians exploited island resources to the limit of their neolithic technology.

In some groups the sophistication of socio-political life relegated the plastic arts to a minor role; for example, in the classical cultures of Samoa, Tonga, and Tahiti. In these cultures the importance of gods and ancestors did not change, but their symbols grew less formal. Diversion of social energy to political interests, as in the Samoan Islands, where they absorbed both commoners and and chiefs, left little interest in decorative art.

Certain animals, indigenous or introduced, influenced particular arts. The breeding of dogs for food in Hawaii allowed, as a by-product, the manufacture of dancers' leggings, which required the canine teeth of as many as 700 animals in the making of a single pair. Teeming bird life made possible the feather cloaks of Hawaii and New Zealand, just as the abundance of cocks provided for the Marquesan warriors' great headdresses.

POLYNESIAN RELIGION

Polynesian religion inspired much Polynesian art. Its sophisticated concepts suggest that it was derived from old sources existing long before Polynesia was settled. South East Asian and southern Chinese ideas are evident in its composition; for example, ideas of polarity in nature. Polynesian ideas on sexual differentiation in nature relate to the Chinese *yang*, or male active positive principle, and *yin*, or female inactive negative principle.

Women were regarded by Polynesians as inferior to men unless some notable heredity placed them in positions of power. It was believed that by their negative nature women were dischargers of positively-charged mana. Consequently women were taboo at any activity that involved male mana, such as religious ceremonies, craft-work concerned with gods, and canoe- and house-making. They were a deprived sex and could not eat with men, use canoes unless for special travel, or eat foods such as shark, bananas, or human flesh. Their hair was usually cropped, while that of men was worn long. Their ornamentation and dress were inferior.

As the highest chiefs had gods at the top of their

65 ⌓
A nephrite pendant of New Zealand which combines a fish-hook shape with conventional *hei-tiki* human form. (Compare 307 and 309.) Its neck cord is attached to the toggle of bird wing bone. *Height of hook*: 3¼" (8.4 cm). *Collection*: British Museum, London. *Photo*: museum archives.

Nephrite hook-form amulets are relatively common in New Zealand but not of this hybrid composition. Until the discovery of a similar specimen at Waikanae (see Barrow, 1961), the only known example of this type of ornament was this specimen, collected by Saddler of HMS *Buffalo* in the mid-1830s. Elaborate hook forms used in fishing rites to promote good catches are known from many parts of Polynesia (the Mangaian hook 220 is an example).

66 ◇

Canoes of the Society Islands as seen in 1769 by Sydney Parkinson, natural history draftsman aboard Captain Cook's *Endeavour* (first Pacific voyage, 1768–71). *Collection and photo:* author.

The trim double-hulled craft in the foreground, with deck-house and well-stayed mast, is obviously a fast sailer. Early visitors often noted the superior sailing qualities of Polynesian canoes over lumbering European vessels. (See page 30.) A canoe house with canoe is shown on the left of the engraving.

67 ◇ 68 ◇

A small fishing canoe about to be beached, and a fisherman repairing his nets. Both photographs were taken by the author on Upolu, Western Samoa. Western Samoa is one of the few places in Polynesia where old modes of life and traditional ways of doing things have persisted (other present-day Samoan subjects are depicted, 69–72). Change is steadily increasing in pace in Samoa as elsewhere in the Pacific. Each generation moves further from the colourful past of tradition to the less picturesque but more convenient ways of modern life.

genealogy, they shared the mana of the gods and so had little reason to be humble. Human ancestors could become demi-gods.

Generally speaking, the higher the gods the more remote they were from human affairs and from human interest. Priests and commoners usually called on lower gods and ancestral or minor spirits to aid the affairs of daily life. The spiritual beings of Polynesia can be classified into three groups:

(i) Cosmic deities representing nature's elements and power. Tangaroa, the sea god, was widely regarded as the principal creator, and Tane as the promoter of fertility and protector of forests. Rongo presided over peace and horticulture. Tane became the god of craftsmen and was important to makers of canoes and such things.

(ii) Patron gods, who served as benefactors to tribal activities and to a large extent governed man's activities on land and sea, including certain crafts.

(iii) Family protectors, comprising local godlets, tribal ancestral spirits, culture heroes, sprites, and fairies. This supernatural legion was appealed to on all common occasions and its omens heeded. The spirits of this class appeared everywhere and were used in sorcerers' magic.

Creation myths vary greatly. Tangaroa usually assumes the role of creator of man and other gods. In Tahitian stories man was moulded from the earth by Tangaroa with the aid of the war god Tu. The Polynesian Adam is called Tiki. In some legends man made his female partner from earth and breathed life into her earthen image. In other stories Tane, the fertility god, creates a woman from the earth and has sexual intercourse with her in order to create mankind. The introduction of Christianity to Polynesia caused the early admixing of Hebrew biblical stories with local legends, to the confusion of folklorists.

Polynesian art relied on classes of craftsmen-priests called *tohunga* in New Zealand, *kahuna* in Hawaii, *tufunga* in Samoa, and so on. The name implies professional skill with high social rank. *Tohunga* were specialists in sacred crafts, temple ritual, oral widsom, and formula chants to secure the aid of gods and spirit mediums. They regarded words as living forces which could, if incorrectly used, backlash on the perpetrator. The ommission of a word from a chant could be fatal. Polynesian priests knew their profession well and were careful.

There was little sham or insincerity in chiefly priesthood.

TEMPLES AND SHRINES

Temples of many forms, from wayside shrines to massive stone structures, were in use throughout Polynesia. The most spectacular temples are located in East Polynesia, Easter Island, and Hawaii. They were appropriately used as mausoleums and places where priests could call on the gods with ritual sacrifice in the presence of ancestral spirits. Temple furnishings included images, oracle towers, temple houses, offering stands, and pits for the disposal of taboo refuse.

The most celebrated of all Polynesian temples is that of Taputapu-atea, at Opoa, Ra'iatea, which was visited by Captain Cook in 1769. The priests at Opoa had created 'Oro as a son of Ta'aroa and had gone so far as to elevate him above Tane, to the great consternation of Tane's loyal followers. The 'Oro cult, which resembles in some respects the secret societies of Melanesia, had as one of its arms the famous Arioi Society. War ensued, and many of the faithful followers of Tane left for other islands. 'Oro is usually represented by an image of plaited coconut-husk sennit decorated with red feathers.

Small shrines, sometimes no more than a few rocks, were erected to meet the daily needs of fishermen, craftsmen, and wayfarers. Simple offerings were placed on these shrines to placate spirits and to help secure their active aid in everyday activities.

MANA AND TABOO

Polynesian social and religious behaviour, as well as specific individual and group interaction, are often best studied in relation to mana and taboo. Art work is intimately linked to both concepts.

Taboo means "forbidden" or "restricted", both in the social and religious sense: taboo could be imposed on people, things, and places. Mana was a subtle power that could be possessed by people and things: its presence was awarded with prestige within the community in proportion to the amount possessed. Taboo protected mana.

We should think of mana as the positive and active principle of Polynesian life and of taboo as the negative and protective aspect. People acquired mana through inheritance and accumulated successes, while objects acquired it through effectiveness. To be taken into slavery or killed was to forfeit one's mana to the victor. Mana was lost by failure or by breach of any taboo that brought one into contact with pollution of one sort or another. Food, especially cooked food, was high on the list of things that were *noa*, or common, and liable to lessen mana. Cooked food was kept away from sacred places.

All things possessed a degree of mana. An adze, canoe, or fish-hook gained mana from ownership, and from repeated success in use. Some chiefs were so highly charged with mana that taboos surrounding them were potentially dangerous to ordinary members of the community. A few nobles were of such extreme mana that they were carried when going abroad as the very ground they touched became taboo if they walked on it. Anything a chief owned or touched or used became charged with something that can be compared to high tension electricity; it was safe enough if not touched. Some shortcircuits were disastrous, as we know from the classic case of a slave who ate scraps of food and later died in convulsions on learning that the food

73 ◊

This engraving, after a sketch by artist Webber (17), depicts a graceful Tahitian girl bringing gifts of barkcloth to Captain Cook in 1777. The pair of gorgets attached to the front of her costume (also valuable gifts) are made from coir sennit, with added trimmings of feathers, shark teeth, and dog hair. *Collection:* Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. *Photo:* author.
One of the gorgets is now in the Dominion Museum, Wellington.

74
A free-standing image, presumably used at the foot of a house post to represent a tribal ancestor. New Zealand. *Height*: 15¾" (40 cm). *Collection*: Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, Scotland. *Photo*: author.

This type of image, which relates closely to certain Hawaiian images (75), was established as a type from extant examples found by the author in British collections (Barrow, 1959).

had been left by a chief. Such incidents were reported by reliable observers.

Both mana and taboo were impersonal in operation. It would appear that neither was connected in Polynesian belief with the direct action of gods or spirits. Polynesians regarded the operations of mana and taboo in much the same way as modern man sees the workings of mathematics or gravity. The effect of mana and taboo on the attitude of craftsmen making things and on community attitude to things made was fundamental in both Polynesian art and life.

DEATH AND BURIAL

The division of society into aristocrats, commoners, and slaves was carried over to the Polynesian afterworld. The souls of chiefs were favoured over those of commoners, and it was doubted whether slaves had souls. The living were fearful of the spirits of the dead, who were thought to wander about in discontent before passing on to their dismal underworld. The underworld, called Po by the Maori, literally means "night", or "place of departed spirits". Priests often claimed control of the dead, so their power was both feared and respected. At Pukapuka in the Cook Islands rings of twisted coconut fibre were used by priests to catch souls and let it be known to the community that so-and-so had his soul "caught". The family was then obliged to persuade the priest with gifts of food or property to release the ensnared soul.

To Polynesians there was no such thing as a natural death. They believed all died from external causes, such as black magic, the blow of a warclub, or drowning at sea. The gods themselves sometimes ate human spirits, thus causing death, and this too was an external cause.

The arts associated with death and burial include head mummification and manufacture of burial caskets, bone boxes, or memorial poles. As enemies ever watched for an opportunity to humiliate the dead and to insult the remains of their bodies, for example by converting bones into fish-hooks, burials were kept secret. Caves, rock ledges, and chasms were favoured hiding places. Sometimes special canoes were made to hold the body, as the

75
A god or goddess with attached human hair and *tapa* loincloth. Honaunau Bay, Hawaiian Islands. Taken from the Hale-o-Keawe temple (13, 15) by Midshipman J. N. Knowles during the visit of HMS *Blonde* in 1825. *Height*: 16½" (42 cm). *Collection*: British Museum, London. *Photo*: author.

A pearlshell eye and the fitted tongue are missing. In general appearance this image compares closely with certain New Zealand images of similar size which also have human hair attached to the head (74).

76

77

78

76 ⌂ 77 ⌂
A ridge carving, believed to be from a bone house. Localised to Raivavae, Austral Islands, on the basis of style. *Width*: 20½" (52 cm). The line additions to the lower photograph (77) represent the author's reconstruction of the missing parts. *Collection*: Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, England. *Photo*: author.

Figures appear on both sides of this ridge piece. It is recorded as having been collected on Captain Cook's first voyage (1768–71); however, no specific record of island provenience exists. Its Austral Island attributes are sufficiently distinct to allow localisation of style. This carving obviously relates closely to the New Zealand carving 78.

The "Kaitaia carving", so named from its place of recovery during a drainage operation at Kaitaia, Northland, New Zealand. *Width*: 7' 5" (226 cm). *Collection*: Auckland War Memorial Museum, New Zealand. *Photo*: museum archives. ⌂ 78

Some scholars have persistently identified this remarkable carving, which is so unlike classical Maori wood styles (compare the classical styles 83 and 289–95), as a door lintel. On the evidence of structure and resemblance to the Raivavaean carving 76–77, and for the several convincing reasons proposed by Skinner (1964), it seems reasonable to accept the Kaitaia specimen as a ridge carving rather than a door lintel. Its decorative arrangement resembles classical door lintels, which have as a rule a central figure and outward-turned *manaia* (see page 54), and it could well be argued that Maori door lintels are in fact adaptations of ridge decorative carvings that were widely used in South East Asia. The outward-turned beaked monsters of the Kaitaia carving (78) are hybrids, basically avian with human and reptilian features added. These *manaia*-like creatures replace the outward dogs of the Raivavaean carving 76–77.

soul was thought to journey to the ancient homeland in the west called Hawaiki. The use of such "soul boats" is widespread in South East Asia and was probably a burial custom of the Proto-Polynesians.

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

Polynesian warfare was usually a periodic activity. Its main objective was the slaughter of any member of the enemy group whether man, woman or child. Its basic causes were population pressure and the tribal blood feuding initiated by insults and killings. The thirst for revenge was never satisfied. In the days of spear and club battle casualties remained modest; however, when Western firearms were acquired the picture changed from one of lively skirmishes which all enjoyed to one of horrible slaughter. Territory invaded in times of war was rarely occupied permanently, although spoils were taken and captured inhabitants either killed or carried away as slaves.

The earliest Polynesian settlements offer little archaeological evidence of warfare, but in classical times it existed on all but the smallest islands. Polynesian fortifications and weaponry reached a primitive perfection. Weapons used included long and short clubs, spears, daggers, toothed cutters, slings, stone-headed clubs, throwing and tripping devices, and strangling cords. Ironwood long clubs and the jadeite short clubs of New Zealand are often things of great beauty.

Cannibalism appears to have been practised at one time or another throughout Polynesia, although at the time of European contact it was habitual only in some areas. The most notorious places were Fiji, the Marquesas, and New Zealand. Acquisition of mana by the ritual swallowing of an eye of the slain enemy, or the eating of some part of his body, gave religious meaning to some South Sea cannibalism. However, the delicious taste of human flesh was proclaimed a good enough defence by some hardened old warriors remonstrated with by visitors. Women were forbidden this flesh.

As archaelogical excavation of early Polynesian sites rarely turns up evidence of cannibalism or warfare, we must assume that the earliest settlers lived in peace and either developed these traits within their society or received them as customs from new migrants. War and cannibalism became a way of life in some places. In classical times bones of the slain were used freely in making fish-hooks, flutes, fan handles, and other useful items. The Fijians refined the eating of human flesh by inventing a pronged wooden fork to help effect the taboo that human flesh must not touch the lips of the eater.

HEAD CULTS

Throughout Oceania and South East Asia a man's head was regarded as the most taboo part of his body. Headhunting has been a feature of South East Asia and Melanesia for thousands of years, and until recent times pockets of Asian headhunters, such as the Wa of upper Burma, the Naga of north east India, and the mountain tribes of northern Luzon, were very active. Polynesian interest in heads and the collecting of them belongs to this ancient Asian tradition. Headhunting was closely associated with ideas of sexual fertility, and many Asian primitive tribes thought it essential to survivial.

Polynesians are not ordinarily classified as headhunters, yet in some areas they took and preserved heads as trophies or otherwise used heads in ritual. Captain Cook reported seeing long strings of jawbones hanging in the great temple at Opoa, Ra'iatea, and skulls of sacrificial victims were abundant in Tahitian temples. Polynesians evidently shared in the widespread Pacific head cult ideas, such as the head being the focal point of personal mana. The heads of carved images are sometimes rendered as large as the body, and they are almost always to some degree outsized because of the relative importance of the head in Polynesian belief.

Anything associated with the head of a Polynesian aristocrat was extremely taboo. Hair combs were considered highly potent with mana. To touch the head of a noble or to pass food over it was a sure death warrant to slave or commoner. A shadow falling on the head of a sacred chief was a sacrilege sufficient to bring death if the shadow's owner was not of equal mana.

Chiefs visiting European ships for the first time appeared to behave irrationally by refusing to go into certain areas. Now we can understand why: if they visited the lower decks, others would be standing above them. The prospect of walking under strings of onions or bags of potatoes swinging from a deckhead horrified them, since food was particularly harmful to mana.

After death the head of a chief was treated with veneration. In New Zealand it was often mummified so that it could be kept affectionately at home. The heads of enemies were similarly preserved but as objects to be insulted. Skulls were sometimes kept in boxes or bowls, in either sacred or secret places. Red ochre was often applied to skulls and bones, as well as to sacred burial objects, as an indication of respect.

Mummified heads or skulls were believed powerful talisman in promoting fertility.In New Zealand bones and dried heads or skulls were placed near

80 ◇

79 ◇

Motifs of early bronze age China, of the Shang period (probable dating of dynasty: 1766–1122 BC), are here reproduced for general comparative purposes. 79 is a typical bronze vessel face mask (*t'ao t'ieh*), while 80 is the typical profile dragon (*k'uei*), two of which can meet together to form a mask (as with this *t'ao t'ieh*). The parts of the *k'uei* dragon are analysed in illustration 81, while a New Zealand *manaia* (82) is placed below as a suggestive comparison. *Photos*: author.

The curvilinear surface decoration of bronze age China and the fabulous creatures within its decoration have been proposed as ancestral to many South East Asian, Melanesian, and Polynesian art forms. The author believes that this general principle of relationship is reasonable and worthy of serious investigation; however, it must be remembered that South East Asian art also had its influence on Chinese forms. (See page 22.)

81 ◇ 82 ◇

A New Zealand *manaia* creature (see page 54), presented in isolation from the panel of which it is part. *Photo*: author.

The presence of the spur or crest on the beak and other features of *manaia* suggests an affinity with the *k'uei* creature 80–81.

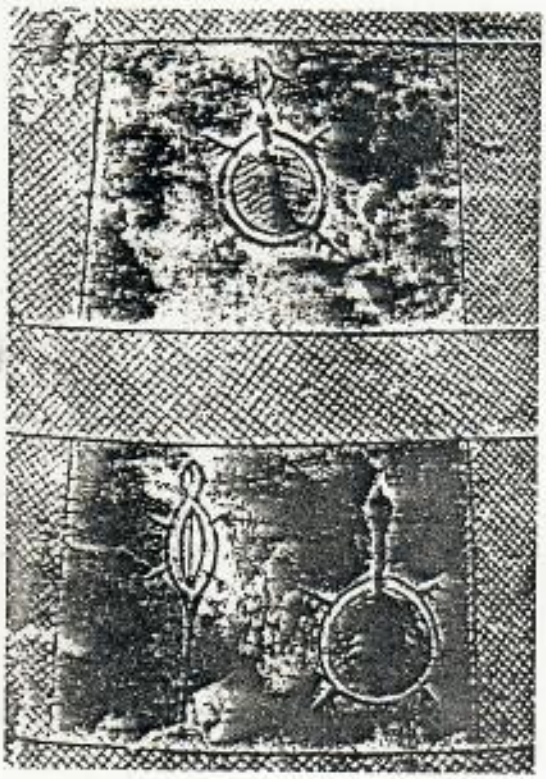
◇ 83

A panel from the same source as 82, the Gisborne, New Zealand, house Te Hau-ki-Turanga (see also 289–90), depicting a female ancestor with a child at her breast. *Photo*: author.

This panel is an appropriate representative of classical Maori wood sculpture, which bears ready comparison with ancient Chinese bronze forms (79). (See the discussion on page 000.)

84 ⌂
A female figurine of jade of the Shang dynasty, China (c. 1766–1122 BC), believed to have been found in a tomb. *Height*: 4⅜" (11 cm). *Collection*: Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. *Photo*: museum archives.

This ancient Chinese figurine, the jade of which has been calcified by time, has a sculptural style that is strikingly similar to several Polynesian image styles. The facial features, especially the eyes, and the form and stance of the body, are readily paralleled in Polynesian art.



85 ◊
Detail from a ritual bronze bell of *dotaku*, illustrated in the Tokyo National Museum's catalogue of the Olympic Games exhibition of Japanese treasures, 1964 (collection of Ohashi Hachiro, Tokyo).

Bells of this type are associated with the Yayoi culture of Japan (c. second century BC to c. second century AD). The zoomorphic designs set in compartments are reminiscent of the ideographs found on Western Polynesian clubs (111–14). The close resemblance of many Polynesian styles to ancient styles of Asian islands and coastal cultures suggests that many Polynesian art forms were diffused into Polynesia and are not exclusively the result of local development. This subject is discussed in the text. (See page 20-22.)

growing crops. On Easter Island skulls, some with a vulva symbol engraved on the forehead, were put into chicken runs to promote egg production. When one knows the importance of crops or chickens in the Polynesian religious and social context, these acts become reasonable and lose their absurdity.

TOTEMS AND METEMPSYCHOSIS

Fundamental to Polynesian art symbolism was the belief in the power both of ancestral spirits and their totems. Strictly speaking, totems are plants, animals, or minerals towards which a human kinship group has mystical feelings of relationship and dependence. In Polynesia birds, fish, turtles, water snakes, sea urchins, cockles, coconuts, and lizards were favoured totems; sharks, turtles, and owls were especially popular.

The identification of these totems with ancestral spirits constituted much of the everyday religion of Polynesia. Since the totem was regarded as personal kin the eating of it was disallowed. Oddly enough it was permissible to help others catch one's own totem animal provided it was not harmed or eaten by members of one's totem group; also, in some instances only certain parts of the body of the totem were forbidden as food.

The root of the totem custom was the belief in metempsychosis, or the entering of a man's spirit into an animal at the time of the man's death. Transmigration of the soul with accompanying transfer of mana could also occur with plant or mineral totems. An outcrop of rocks or banana plant might serve in this way.

The Samoans were regarded by their fellow Polynesians in the early years of evangelism as being particularly godless, because they lacked the usual religious paraphernalia of images and temple trappings. In fact they had numerous deities and totems and lived under their guidance. Sometimes proof of sincerity of Samoan conversion to Christianity was to have a man kill and publicly eat his family totem. The great chief Malietoa of Western Samoa, on his renunciation of paganism, had totems

86 ⌓
A bronze pole motif formed by gold and silver inlay, of the Chou Dynasty of China (1122–256 BC). After Badner (1966), in his paper relating New Zealand and ancient Chinese art motifs. *Photo*: author.

The likeness of this design to Maori patterns used in New Zealand rafters (for example, 88) is immediately apparent.

87 ⌓
An ink impression from a bronze harness trapping from Anyang, China, of the Shang Dynasty (1766–1122 BC). *Collection*: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan.

This design, which contains a horned *t'ao t'ieh*, relates in character and mood to many patterns of New Zealand (for example, 82–83, and 289–97), and to the Marquesas Islands patterns in general. (Compare 159–65.) Such resemblances are not coincidental nor superficial, as the members of the respective cultures were in contact during a period relatively recent in the chronology of man in the Pacific. (See pages 28-9.)

88 ◊
A New Zealand painted rafter pattern typical of eastern North Island Maori culture, from the time of European contact. *Photo*: author. This and many other rafter designs appear in Hamilton (1896), and may be compared with ancient Chinese patterns 86–87.

89 ⌓
A crayon rubbing by the author from a figure on a treasure box from North Auckland, New Zealand. This figure is on the base of the box numbered 223 in the author's *Maori Wood Sculpture of New Zealand* (1969). The use of spiral forms in Polynesia, China and South East Asia is considered on page 58.

caught and eaten. His sons had as their totem a fish called *anae* which they ate, according to missionary John Williams, "with trembling hearts", then hastily retired from view to vomit the fish they had eaten because they feared it might eat their innards. Traditionally, if a man ate his totem it was said to grow within the body until it killed him.

The shark was a popular totem, and those who claimed its kinship were said to swim safely among them. In Hawaii when priests imagined the shark totem wanted sustenance, some luckless commoner was caught with a running noose, strangled, then fed to sharks. It was thought that the soul of the victim would animate the totem to the benefit of society.

Fishermen sometimes fed their own dead to sharks in the belief that this would give them protection from attack during any further mishap at sea. Even spirits of stillborn babies, which were thought to be spiteful and dangerous, were transmitted by feeding the body to sharks. The appearance of the shark in Polynesian art is limited to West Polynesian club decoration.

ANIMAL AND FABULOUS SYMBOLS

The animal symbolism of Polynesian art is quite limited except in Tonga, where a very wide range of creatures is depicted in the surface decoration of clubs. In most areas the human figure, as either god or ancestor, dominates as the basic theme of art.

Next to man, birds, bird-men, and lizards take precedence as art themes. Considering the widespread importance of animal totems one would expect animals to appear in abundance, but they do not. In this respect Polynesian art contrasts greatly with Melanesian art, which is rich in animal totems.

The mammals of Polynesia were restricted to an inconspicuous native bat, the sea mammals, and introduced pigs, dogs, and rats. None makes regular appearance as art motifs. Birds, which were abundant and greatly respected as totems, omen makers, and spirit vehicles, are likewise neglected as literal art motifs; but the fabulous use of bird elements is, in the author's opinion, important. Mankind has favoured the use of birds in art and mystical symbolism, as is well documented in E. A. Armstrong's *The Folklore of Birds* (1958).

Throughout Oceanic carving there was a strong tendency to either humanise birds or to avianise humans. This has resulted in the development of motifs that are bird-man hybrids. The present author surveyed the Polynesian forms in a paper entitled "Material Evidence of the Bird-man Concept in Polynesia" (1967). Of carved bird-men the Easter Island examples are the most notable for variety and association with a recorded bird-man cult. Elsewhere we have bird-men but no evidence of specific relationship. Generally, precise meanings have been lost.

The *manaia* of New Zealand, which appears abundantly in classical carving, is the subject of much controversy. Some observers insist it is a profile rendering of the human form which serves also as a device of surface decoration and space-closing. After studying *manaia* over many years on hundreds of carvings, this writer is of the opinion that *manaia* is a member of the bird-man family of Polynesia, its reptilian traits being combined with human and avian traits. The old carvers who might have told us what *manaia* is if they had been asked have long since departed. Modern carvers seem not to know more than do academic observers, and they too disagree among themselves. We can expect to get to the truth of *manaia* by comparative study, although solutions may take decades of research.

The most fruitful approach seems to be that of first accepting *manaia* as a motif with antecedents in ancient China and South East Asia. Observable relationship appears to be found in the dragonlike *naga* creatures of Austronesia and in Chinese bronzes of Shang and Chou. The decorative themes of classical Maori and Marquesan art exhibit distinct resemblance to the arts of South East Asia and bronze age China. *Manaia* often appear on door lintels grasping a snake, a creature absent from Polynesian land fauna but present as a sea snake. Parallel uses of the *manaia* and "snake" of New Zealand are found in Melanesia and throughout South East Asia in obvious bird-snake versions.

Lizards make rare yet regular appearances in Polynesian decorative art. Polynesians generally regarded lizards with fear, for they symbolised death; for example, New Zealand lizards represented Whiro, the malevolent god who personified all that was evil. Many of the demons and monsters described in Polynesian myths resemble giant lizards or crocodiles, the latter being quite absent from Polynesia.

One of the most fascinating discoveries in Polynesian studies was made by H. D. Skinner and described in his paper "Crocodile and Lizard in New Zealand Myth and Material Culture" (1964). He demonstrated that folk memory of crocodiles is preserved in Maori culture and other Polynesian arts, and that analysis of club forms is especially revealing of this element.

The Proto-Polynesians must have known the crocodile. Recorded traditions of Melanesia, Borneo, the Philippines, and other Austronesian places where the crocodile is a common art motif reveal that it was powerful as a totem creature and vehicle

for wood carving; Easter, Necker and Raivavae islands for stonework; Fiji for canoe-building; Tonga for ivory work; the Marquesas, Easter Island, New Zealand and the Cook Islands for tattoo; the Chatham Islands for dendroglyphs; New Zealand for rock painting and jadeite working; and Hawaii and Tahiti for barkcloth manufacture.

This general statement does not mean that the best work in a particular medium is found in its geographic area of greatest specialisation. Easter Island specialised in stonework, yet the best stone sculpture in Polynesia is probably Marquesan. The small wooden images of Easter Island are technically speaking the most precise and finished, surpassing Maori work in this respect.

Areas of style types usually match the major cultural divisions and island groupings. Variations of local styles are found within island groups or even within individual islands. At least a dozen discernible regional wood carving styles existed in New Zealand, and some survived into the twentieth century on the East Coast and Bay of Plenty areas of the North Island.

SURFACE PATTERNS AND THE SPIRAL

Polynesian surface patterns consist of *bas-relief*, *intaglio* or painted designs that are rectilinear, curvilinear, or a combination. Spiral forms reached an unexcelled vigour and variety in New Zealand wood sculpture and tattoo. Comparatively speaking, only the Marquesan craftsmen equalled the Maori in the skilful decoration of surfaces, whether of wood or human skin.

The Polynesian designer preferred to incise his patterns if the material could be readily worked that way. When decorating flat surfaces craftsmen often divided the area to be decorated into quadrangles and then manipulated the pattern within the available space of each division. This predisposition to design compartments is exemplified in the surface decoration of Tongan clubs, Samoan barkcloth patterns, Marquesan blocked motifs, and Maori wood sculpture and rafter motifs.

The Polynesian spiral, presumably derived from an assemblage of artistic motifs carried by the Proto-Polynesians, has comparable forms in northern Melanesia, South East Asia, and ancient Asia. Marquesan and Maori spirals and surface decorations generally resemble those of bronze age China. R. Heine-Geldern, Carl Schuster, Douglas Fraser, Mino Badner (see Bibliography), and other scholars have postulated actual design relationships between the art of Polynesia and ancient China.

Spirals are not limited in Polynesia to New Zealand, as is popularly supposed. Fretted spirals predominate in Marquesan art, and some rounded spirals are found there. Spirals in wood appear in New Zealand, the Chatham Islands, the Marquesas, and Easter Island. The pattern of their dispersal suggests a common ancestor and association at the earliest settlement of Polynesia.

THE ROLE OF THE CRAFTSMAN

Craftsmanship functioned on many levels in Polynesian life. Most men could swing an adze or make a net, but few were qualified priestly specialists bearing the title of *tohunga*. The community rewarded them well for their services.

Qualifications for entry into apprenticeship required one to be born a male and to possess appropriate lineage and natural talent for the particular craft. Tribes or individual families developed fame as hereditary practitioners of one craft or another, as was customary in Far Eastern countries.

Esoteric trade guilds functioned on some islands under a patron god, rules of conduct, and an agreed code of behaviour. Payment was made by gifts of goods and food, money being a late importation. Unscrupulous craftsmen were not above the extortion of clients with tricks such as stretching out a job until the employer's resources were exhausted. Samoan carpenters and canoe-builders were extremely touchy on matters of protocol and had to be handled diplomatically at all times. They would readily down tools and would not touch the unfinished work of another.

Crafts were conducted with respect for the traditional taboos. Ritual chants for every phase of work from the first picking up of an adze to the lifting of taboo safeguarded any interference from malignant spirits. Women had their own crafts of barkcloth manufacture and weaving, but the important hard-media crafts were the preserve of men. Women did not go near craftsmen at work, nor approach anything unfinished.

The craft of the tattooist was the most taboo of all because of the direct handling of the bodies of persons of rank. The touching of a chief's head or the drawing of his blood was about the most frightening personal act possible in Polynesian life. For these reasons the tattooist needed to protect himself by ritual and professional immunity. The delicacy of Polynesian tattoo reveals the great attention given to this sacred art.

Tane was regarded by craftsmen as their presiding deity. In Tahiti adzes were "put to sleep" each night in the god's temple. A remarkable artifact reflecting the occult regard for craftsmanship is the ceremonial adze of Mangaia. These non-functional adzes represented Tane as Tane-Mata-Ariki, that is, Tane-of-the-royal-face. A particular feature of these

adzes is a surface decoration formed from multiple headless human figures set in rows with elbows on knees. This motif, often referred to as the K-figure, is of a form better likened to two capital Ws, one of which is inverted, looking like this:

This figure motif is found also on artifacts from Mangaia and the Austral Islands.

Non-functional adzes with carved helves are found in New Zealand where they served as batons of authoritative rank. Mangaian and New Zealand forms originated from carpenters' tools and not from battleaxes, and they illustrate the symbolical importance of the adze. There is a persistent world-wide fallacy that stone blades are weapons of war. Polynesia never had a battleaxe in its inventory of weapons.

TOOLS AND STONEWORK

The tools of Polynesian craftsmen were made from wood, stone, bone, shell, shark or rat teeth, and fish skin. The adze and the chisel were basic tools of work, but axe, awl, flake knife, wedges, drill, and rasps were included in the carpenter's kit. Various adzes met different needs, and they were of many forms. Basalt was the standard blade material, but in New Zealand many fine-grained rocks, including nephrite of steel-like hardness, were used. The Maori tool kit reached a summit of neolithic variety of adze types probably unsurpassed at any previous time in human prehistory. Many New Zealand adzes abandoned at the pre-polished stage show mastery of the flaking technique.

The relationship of wood to tool and vice versa was felt by craftsmen. Sometimes the small or large facets caused by blade cuts were left as becoming surface patterns. They reveal great virtuosity with adze and chisel.

Stonecutting was achieved by direct picking or adzing, as on Easter Island. New Zealand nephrite was cut with sandstone saws and with sand and water abrasive. Pecking and flaking were widespread, done with hammerstones weighing from a few ounces to many pounds. The neolithic tradition of Polynesia includes stone temples, massive images rooted in the ground, and portable stone objects such as small *tiki* of the Marquesas or *poi* pounders of the Society Islands. Each object called for different technical procedures.

The absence on coral islands of fine-grained rock, such as basalt, required inhabitants to seek stone where they could find it, by trade or expedition. If none was available they substituted shell or bone blades. The island of Pitcairn formerly served atoll-dwelling Tuamotuans as a quarry site and was journeyed to over many miles of sea.

The introduction of metal by Western ships began in the late eighteenth century. Iron tools were in general use by 1830. Stone, shell, and bone blades were cast aside in favour of metal whenever and wherever it became available, and this had a profound effect on Polynesian art of the post-contact period.

RAW MATERIALS

Wood was the chosen material of the Polynesian craftsman. A favoured hardwood was the *Casuarina* or ironwood. The Easter Islanders suffered from the absence of large trees, although a small tree, *Sophora toromiro*, provided a dense hardwood suitable for precise carving. The Maori of New Zealand, the most blessed with raw materials of all Polynesians, found trees ideal to the carver. *Podocarpus totara*, which was readily split into slabs, was relatively soft, yet durable. This tree above all others allowed spectacular development of classical Maori wood art with its massive war canoes and decorated houses. Every island produced some kinds of usable wood, the coconut itself providng a hard trunk timber indispensable to atoll life.

Incidentally, attempts to identify woods patinated by long handling or artificial staining or blackening can be frustrating. Artifact surfaces cannot be scraped or sections cut to obtain expert opinion. Even experienced carpenters seem unable to help with identifications in difficult cases where help is most needed. The typical woods are, for the most part, readily identified.

For the purpose of art study, however, degree of hardness is a primary factor. The intractability of hardwoods tended to discourage elaboration of form or surface decoration, while soft or relatively soft woods encouraged these things. The New Zealand wood style, which is so reminiscent of certain rococo oriental and Melanesian carving, was technically feasible because of the abundance of relatively soft woods and a good supply of hard and fine-grained rocks.

Stone, ivory, and bone followed wood as the favoured materials for sculpture. Other materials were used either alone or in combination with primary or secondary materials. Secondary materials were coral, pumice, bulrush, pith, obsidian, teeth (whale, dog, shark, or human), feathers, hair (human or dog), clay (as pottery in West Polynesia and as ochrous pigments generally), shell, sharkskin, tortleshell, coconut-coir as sennit, miscellaneous plant fibres, and barkcloth. Pigments of considerable variety were of both vegetable and mineral origin and were applied in a variety of ways.

Fibres worked by techniques of plaiting and netting were in a few places adapted to sculpture, notably in the god images and sennit caskets of

Hawaii. Ingenious "finger weaving" techniques originally developed in the manufacture of fish-traps and baskets were applied to garment-making in New Zealand, while netting techniques were used in making base fabric for Hawaiian garments and in featherwork. Flat plaiting of various gauges was applied in making many things, including mats, baskets, and fans. Plaited decoration is often exquisite.

IRON EFFLORESCENCE AND DECADENCE

Before Western intervention Polynesians lived and worked at the polished stone tool or neolithic level of human culture. The Hawaiians had received odd fragments of metal embedded in driftwood carried from Asia or North America by the Northern Pacific and Californian currents—the same currents that brought the giant logs welcomed by canoe makers. Captain Cook was surprised to find that the Hawaiians called iron by a specific name, *hao*, and showed interest in acquiring it. Polynesians encountering ships for the first time usually ignored iron until they learnt its properties; then they became so passionately fond of it they would trade or steal for it at every opportunity. In time ships' nails became a standard unit of trade, the value of which was saved from uncontrolled inflation on Cook's ships by orders to crew members that iron be used in buying supplies and not curiosities or trifles. Almost any woman would give her favours for a ship's nail, so the rule was hard to enforce.

Hoop iron from barrels made excellent blades, so it, too, was always in demand. With such blades craftsmen could do more ambitious carving. The simple fact is that a very large part of extant Polynesian sculpture belongs to that era of early carving that had a virtuosity made possible by metal tools. The drum bases and the trade paddles of Raivavae and the large ancestral panels of New Zealand wood carving illustrate the efflorescence of style following the introduction of sharp-bladed tools. Carvings grew bigger and more elaborate as tools became more efficient.

The efflorescent effect on art was spectacular as long as old restraints prevailed, but a general decline followed until a point of decadence was reached. Traditional carving had ceased in most areas by the mid-nineteenth century. Traditional sculptural arts terminated first. This brief flowering of carving art in some parts, notably in New Zealand and the Marquesas and the Austral Islands, was in conflict with the ideals of the newly-acquired Christianity, which forbade interest in "heathen" culture or its products.

Trade with visiting ships kept certain crafts alive in their decadent forms, but the incentive of money or goods was a poor substitute for the former stimulus of belief in the old gods and the spirits of ancestors. Imported sawn timbers and other short-cuts to work did make for lifeless products, but the real cause of decadence was the loss of culture. Change of tools or materials does not automatically cause decadence in art. In Polynesia the reasons were simply loss of stimulus from traditional beliefs and the fact that there was no longer a place for the old-time craftsman.

RELATIONSHIP AND ORIGINS IN ART

Polynesian art did not grow without seed or transplantation. Its antecedent traditions and ancestral forms were carried into Polynesia by the earliest settlers, who had an inheritance of ancient art. The persistence of art motifs, often rendered unrecognisable in local idiom, is one of the most remarkable facts of human culture. It is no great wonder, however, that Polynesian culture with its short isolated life of a couple of thousand years should have retained so much of the distant past. Within Polynesia, the Hawaii and New Zealand groups, although severed in time and space, nevertheless exhibit iconographies that are remarkably similar in their main features. Fragments of early New Zealand wood art, such as the Kaitaia carving, share styles closely with the Austral Islands, Easter Island with the Chatham Islands, and so on, in a marvellous artistic homogeneity.

The perspective of Polynesian art is one of at least 3,000 years, its vanishing point being the world of southern Asia. There neolithic fishermen and gardeners, among whom were the Polynesian ancestors, met in trade or conflict with bronze age agricultural peoples of mainland Asia. We have already discussed the early dynastic cultures of China which began their southern expansions within the second millennium before Christ, bringing pressures to bear on the Malayo-Polynesian aborigines of the south.

However pioneering present-day studies may be in their attempt to relate the Polynesian to the primitive ethnic and proto-historical cultures of Northern China and South East Asia, there is good reason to press for more comparative study of Austronesia-Austroasia and Polynesia.

In 1968 Columbia University of New York prepared and toured a large photographic exhibition illustrating the visual relationships of the arts of Pacific cultures. The catalogue to this exhibition, entitled "Early Chinese Art and the Pacific Basin", offers a significant collection of parallels between the arts of ancient China, Polynesia, Borneo, Sumatra, the north west coast of North America, Mexico and western South America; parallels that support the thesis of pan-Pacific dispersal of Asian culture.

108 ◇

A trilithon of coral rock, Tongatapu, Tongan Islands. This structure, which bears the name of Ha'amonga-a-Maui (Burden-of-Maui), stands about sixteen feet high and is composed of giant slabs weighing thirty to forty tons each. Their placement is readily explained by the use of massive manpower, and inclined causeways formed from loose coral rock which were subsequently removed. Tongan tradition claims that this structure was erected by Tuitatui, the eleventh *Tui Tonga*, or ruler, as a monument to his two sons. An estimate of age based on generations since the eleventh *Tui Tonga* places the date of construction at about 1200 AD. *Photo*: S. D. Scott.

109 ◇

Tombs faced with dressed coral slabs, Tongatapu, Tongan Islands. *Photo*: S. D. Scott.

At the place called Mua two great *langi* (terraced mounds) rise at some points to twenty feet. They are tombs, associated with the burial of generations of sacred kings of Tonga. Terraced structures related to religious ceremony and burial are found in many parts of Polynesia. The high, multi-terraced temple of Mahaiatea of Tahiti, although known to have been built in the eighteenth century, encouraged false notions of a direct relationship between Polynesian and ancient Egyptian culture.

110 ◇
111

Club with surface ideographs. Crayon rubbing of surface detail (111). Tonga. Hardwood. *Length*: 34½" (87 cm). *Collection*: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. *Photo*: George Bacon, museum archives.

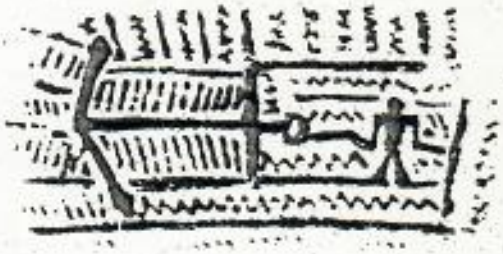
The distinctive *intaglio* of this club is typical of a number collected on the two visits to Tonga by the ships of Captain James Cook. The rubbing shows characteristic working of ideographs within compartments. The two pairs of dogs, two men, a turtle, an octopus, two crescents, and three dots occur just above the grip of the club. The surface carving is unfinished on the lower part of the handle, where interesting process cuts are to be seen. Unfinished work usually indicates either the death of the owner (when no one would dare continue his work) or alternatively, the trade of an item before it was finished. The various creatures probably relate to the totem of the club's owner. (See page 52–5 for further discussion on totems; also refer to 112–14.)

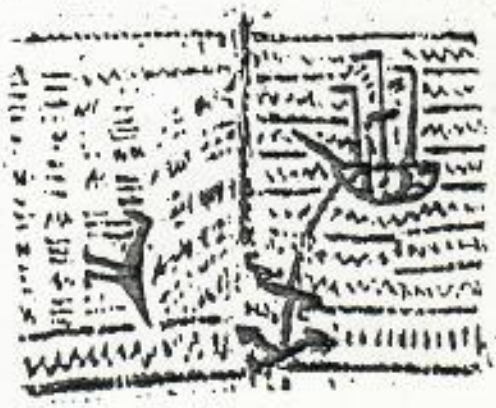
110

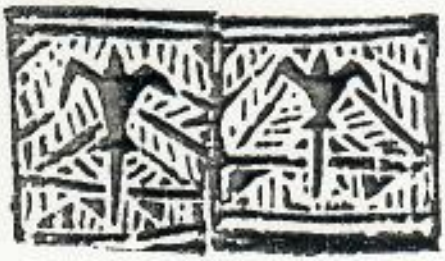
112 ⌂
A photographic enlargement of the surface of a Tongan club in the collection of the Tropical Institute, Amsterdam, Holland. *Photo*: R. L. Mellema, museum archives.

The club from which this detail is taken is extremely unusual, firstly in the manner of surface *intaglio*, and secondly in subject, which is a connected landscape of a kind not observed in any other Polynesian carving. On this club a scene appears within which is found a lagoon (or bay), trees, fish, men, and birds. It was mentioned to the author when studying the club at the Tropical Institute that it was possible the club dates from the visit of Abel Tasman to Tonga in 1643. This is feasible, as the club is evidently of an older style than those collected by Captain Cook and his men in the late eighteenth century, and certainly much older than the common run of figured clubs collected in the nineteenth century.

113 ⌂ 114 ◊
A selection of zoomorphs from Tongan clubs which were made available to the author for study and crayon rubbing in the London home of Captain and Mrs Fuller in 1956. The Fuller Collection has since been acquired by the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. The subjects of the small pictures are clear: men with carrying poles, warriors fighting (one of them has lost his head), turtles, a warrior with headdress, European sailing vessels, and old-type anchors. The two sets of eyes at one end of a club indicate, along with other features, its basic animal form. (See page 54.) General reference to totems in Polynesian art is provided on page 52.

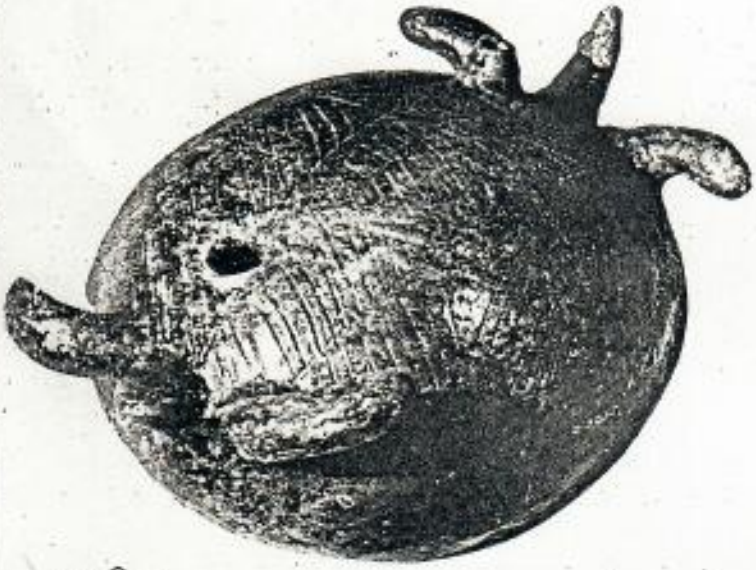






134 ⌂
Open bowl with resin glaze and incised stipple pattern. *Height*: 5⅛" (13 cm). *Diameter*: 7⅛" (18 cm).

136 ⌂
Wide-mouthed jar with uneven resin glaze and notched lip. *Height*: 9⅞" (25 cm). *Diameter*: 7⅞" (20 cm).



135 ⌂
Turtle form water bottle with resin glaze and lightly-incised decoration. *Length*: 12¼" (31 cm).

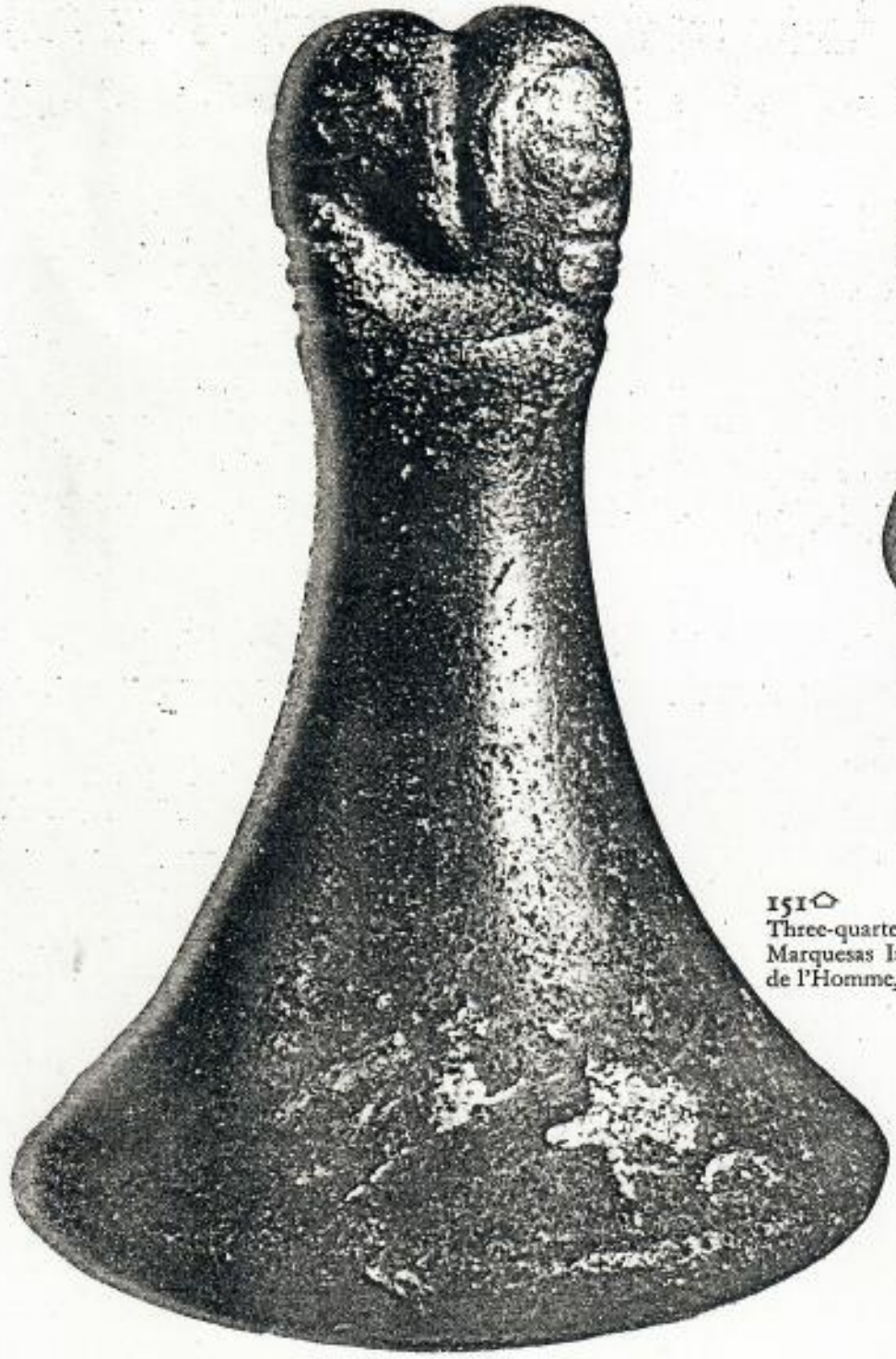
137 ◊
Water bottle with mottled orange-green resin glaze with applied and incised surface decoration. *Height*: 11" (28 cm). *Width*: 10¼" (26 cm).

This selection of four pots represents typical styles of Fijian earthenware. *Collection*: Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, England. *Photos*: author.

Fijian potters, traditionally women, fired the raw wares in open wood fires, then glazed or partially-glazed them when still hot by rubbing gum from indigenous pine over the surface.

150
Poi pounder. Marquesas Islands. Basalt. *Height*: 7⅞" (20 cm). *Diameter*: 5⅛" (13 cm). *Collection*: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. *Photo*: George Bacon, museum archives.

In parts of Polynesia, namely the Cook, Society, Hawaiian, and Marquesas Islands, pounders were in regular domestic use (basic pounder types are illustrated, 57). *Poi*, a mash made from breadfuit and *taro* or other fruit, was matured by fermentation and served as an important food staple. (See page 38.) In the Marquesas vast quantities of breadfuit *poi* were stored in submerged and stone-lined pits to meet daily domestic requirements and to safeguard against famine. The best Marquesan *poi* pounders, with outward-facing heads, are rivalled for beauty of form only by those of the Society Islands (179–80). Sexual symbolism is evident in Marquesan pounders as the grip and head clearly represent a phallus. (See page 57 and compare the shape of the New Zealand pounder 39.)



151
Three-quarter view of a stone *tiki* of heavy proportions. Marquesas Islands. *Height*: 5¾" (14.5 cm). *Collection*: Musée de l'Homme, Paris. *Photo*: author.

152

153

154

152 ◇ 153 ◇ 154 ◇

A stone *tiki* with suspension hole (viewed on three planes). Marquesas Islands. *Height*: 7⅞" (19.5 cm). *Collection*: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. *Photos*: author.

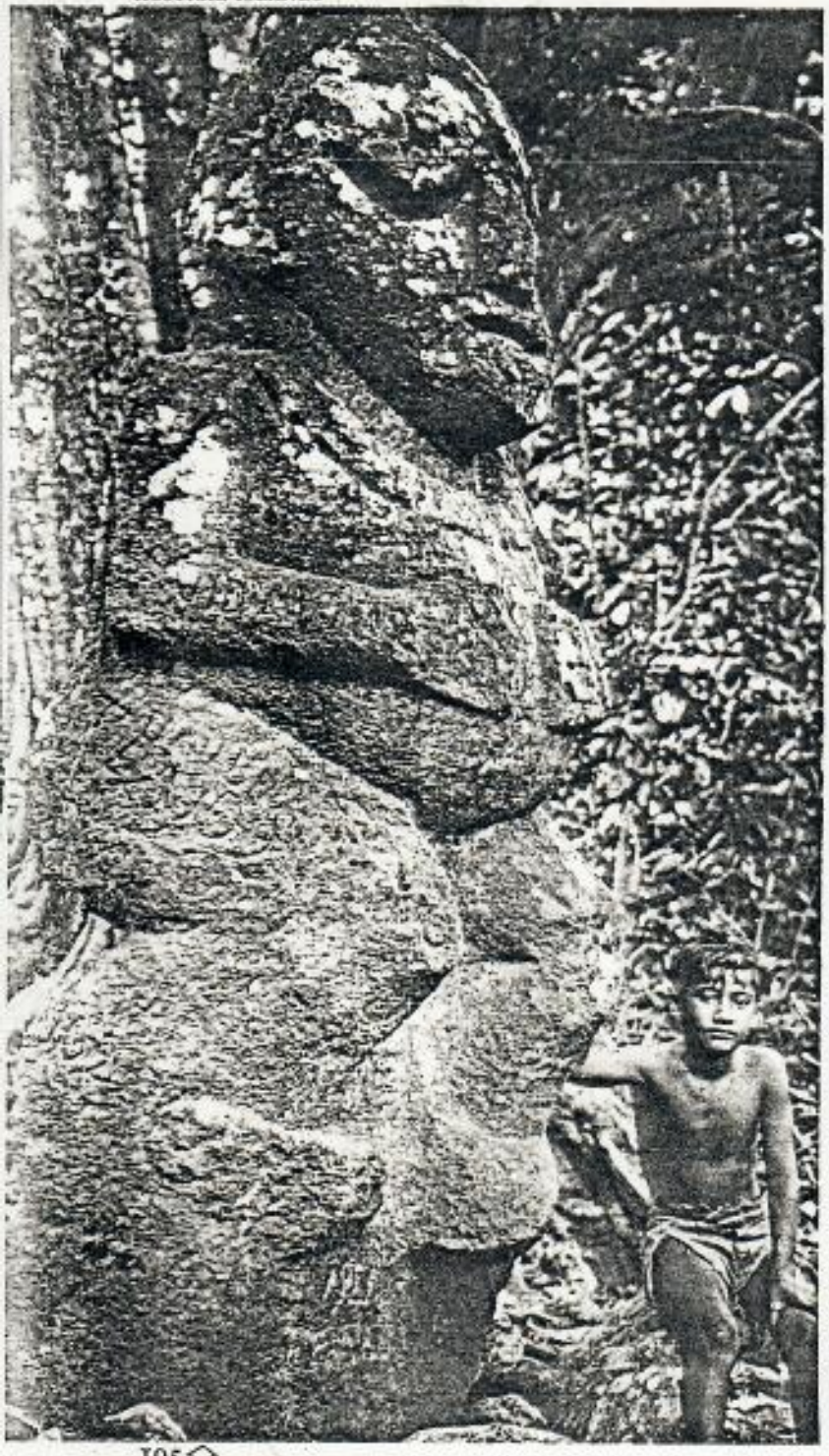
155 ◇ 156 ◇

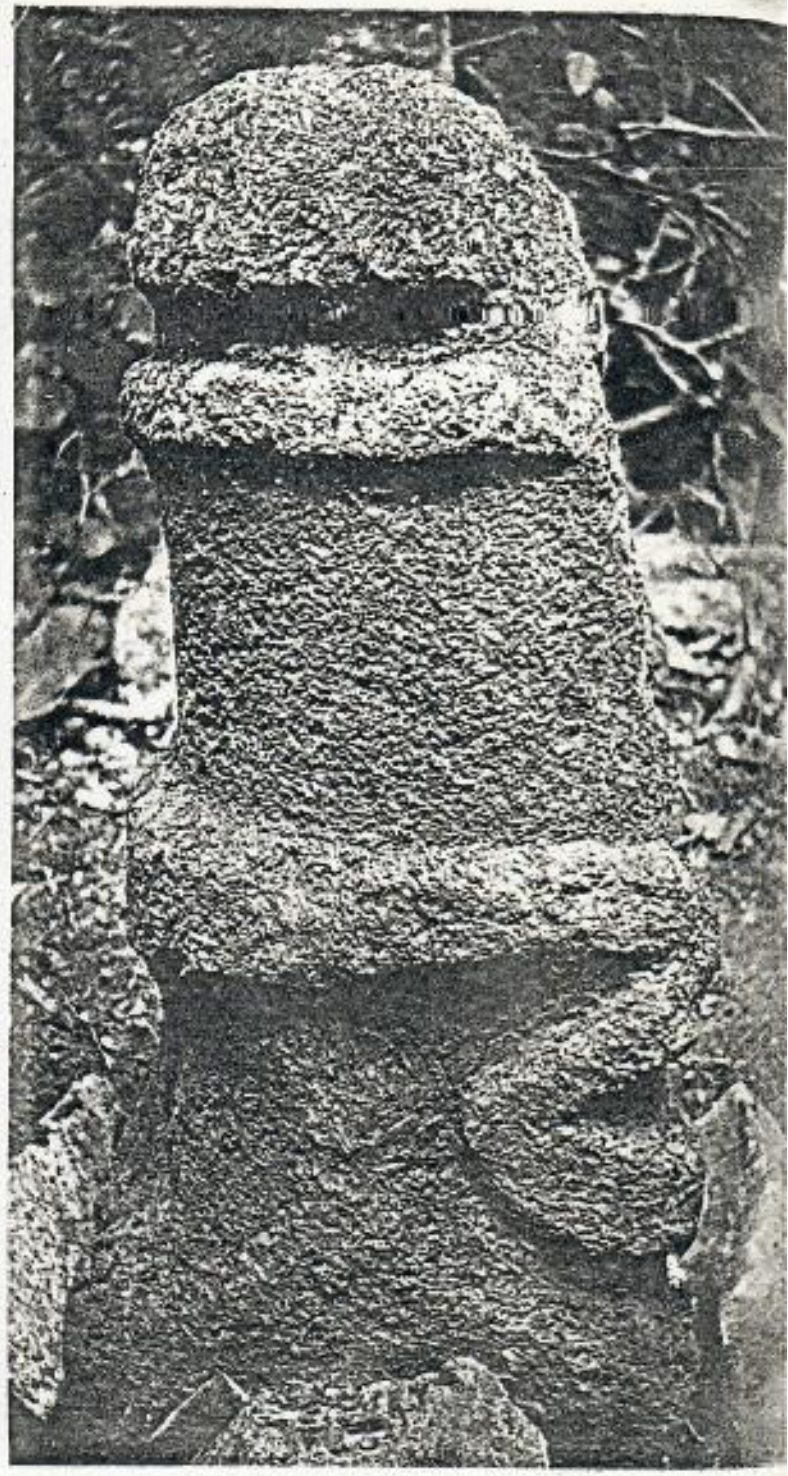
Double stone *tiki* joined at head and buttocks (viewed on two planes). Marquesas Islands. *Height*: 7⅛" (18 cm). *Collection*: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. *Photos*: author.

Small pendants of human form, representing ancestral spirits or minor gods, are found in many parts of Polynesia. The Marquesan variant of these small *tiki* are made from basaltic rock which is worked by pecking and bruising with a small hammer stone. Some have final grinding, others not. A suspension hole commonly appears behind the head, or, in the case of double images, between the figures joined back to back. According to Linton (1923), an authority on Marquesan art, small stone images were used in healing the sick or in votive offerings. He notes also that they were made and carried by priests to be invoked for aid in the success of one enterprise or another.

155

156





195 ◇
Female statue. Raivavae, Austral Islands. Soft basaltic rock. *Collection*: Musée de Pape'ete, Tahiti, Society Islands. *Photo*: J. F. G. Stokes, Bernice P. Bishop Museum archives. (See 196.)

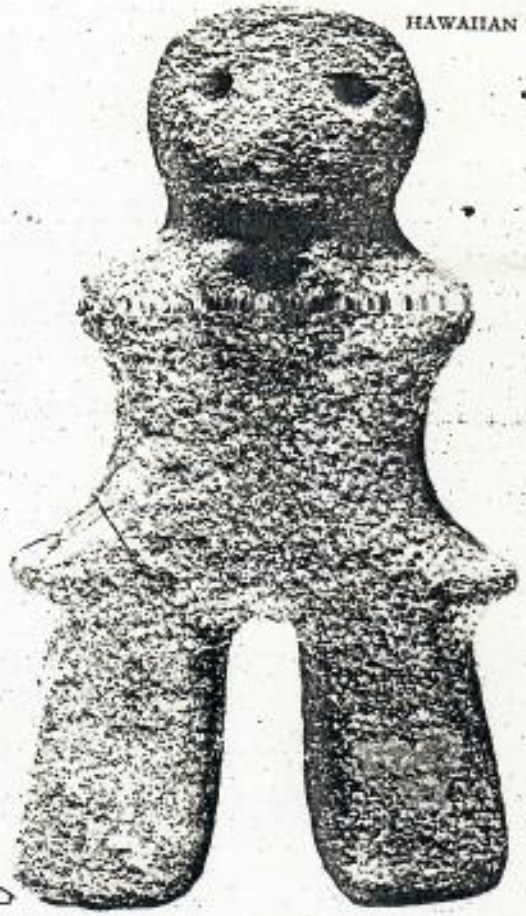
The Raivavaean boy sitting at the right of the image provides a scale of size, while the initials cut by vandals gives an idea of the relative softness of the rock material. This photograph was taken with the image *in situ*; it has since been removed, with a companion, to Tahiti. Sir Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), in his classic book on Polynesians entitled *Vikings of the Sunrise* (1938), portrayed himself standing by this image outside the old Pape'ete Museum. Polynesia has a tradition of massive stone sculpture by no means restricted, as is popularly believed, to Easter Island. Polynesian stone work is discussed on page 59.

◇ 196
Stone image in the form of an erect phallus. Raivavae, Austral Islands. Basaltic rock. Photographed *in situ* by J. F. G. Stokes, member of the Bayard Dominick Expedition to the Austral Islands, 1920. Raivavae is the only island in the Austral group with an impressive tradition of stone image manufacture. Some of these images, more ingeniously than elsewhere in Polynesia, combine the phallus with the human features of torso, arms, and head (the head corresponding to the glans) as a symbol of ancestral virility.

279 ⌂
Petroglyphs depicting birdmen (*in situ*) at Kaunolu, Lanai, Hawaiian Islands. *Photo*: Kenneth P. Emory, Bernice P. Bishop Museum archives, Honolulu.

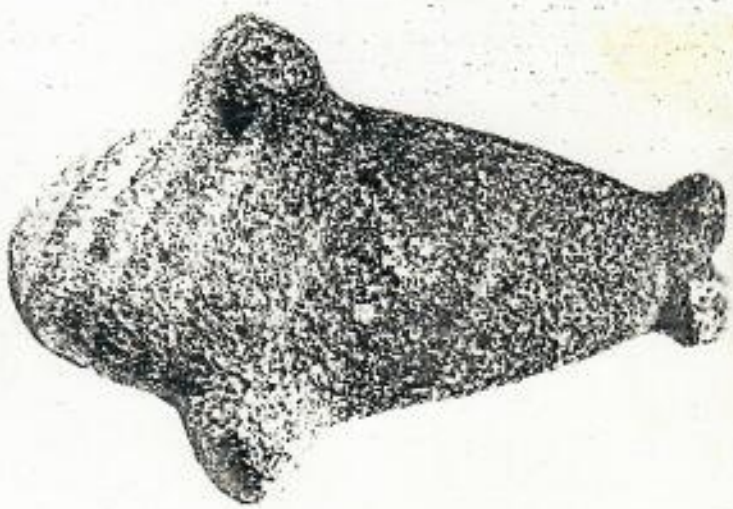
The individual figures on this engraved rock were marked by white chalk for photographic clarity. Rock engravings, formed by bruising the surfaces of vesicular lava rock with hammer stones, are found throughout the Hawaiian Islands. The subject matter of petroglyphs is diverse, including men in various acts, birds, birdmen, dogs, lizards, turtles, canoes, canoe sails, human feet, and abstract patterns which may or may not have had representational meaning to the Hawaiians who created them. As sailing ships, horses, goats, guns, and European letters make their appearance, we have confirmation that petroglyphic art persisted into the historic period of the Hawaiian Islands.

Petroglyph "fields" occur in greatest concentration at resting or camping places on trails; however, they appear sporadically also. Some pictographs are said to represent local spirits or godlets, as is believed the case with these dancing birdmen of Kaunolu, while some (especially circles) are thought to relate to the ritual disposal of the umbilical cord. As Hawaiian traditional life was immersed in the occult, we may assume that many petroglyphs had magical uses while others were mere personal *graffiti*.



280 ⌂
Anthropomorphic image. Hawaiian Islands. Stone. *Height*: about 11" (28 cm). *Collection*: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. *Photo*: author.

This small image, probably the material vehicle of a god, has sculptural values similar to the fish god 281, and represents Polynesian stone forms having tremendous appeal to the modern eye. There are several traditions of Polynesian stone sculpture (for example, that of Necker Island 283–85), in which elements of the old Pacific artistic styles are echoed. Similar images, concepts and taste are found in South East Asia.



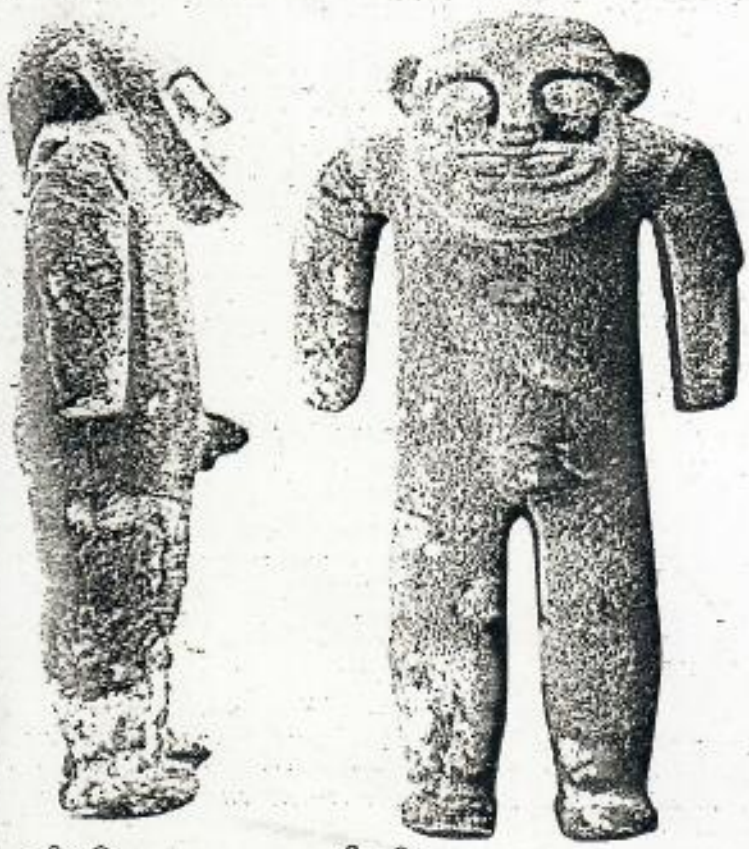
281 ◊
Fish god. Hawaiian Islands. Stone. *Height*: 5¼" (13.3 cm). *Collection*: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. *Photo*: author.

Stone fish gods are thought to represent Kuula, the Hawaiian fish god. The simple form of this example, comprising only a body with knobs for fins and tail, is to modern eyes a most satisfactory piece of abstract sculpture in its own right. To the ancient fisherman, however, it served not as an object of art but as a place to accommodate a helpful spirit. Fishing was a vital activity in the Polynesian economy and was thought to require the protection and aid of magic.

282 ◊

Bowl. Necker Island, Hawaiian Islands. Vesicular basalt. *Height*: 9" (23 cm). *Collection*: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. *Photo*: author.

The technical skill required to make this thin-walled bowl from a small basaltic boulder and the patience needed to endure long hours pecking away with a small hammer-stone can hardly be comprehended by wage-earning workers in an industrial society. We can, however, be reasonably sure that the craftsman chose stone instead of wood as a bowl material because suitable wood was not available on Necker Island. This remarkable bowl was collected by the Tanager Expedition, 1923–24. Like the stone images of Easter Island it is a product of the environmental restriction of available raw material rather than of complete freedom of selection of material on the part of the craftsman.



283 ◇ 284 ◇

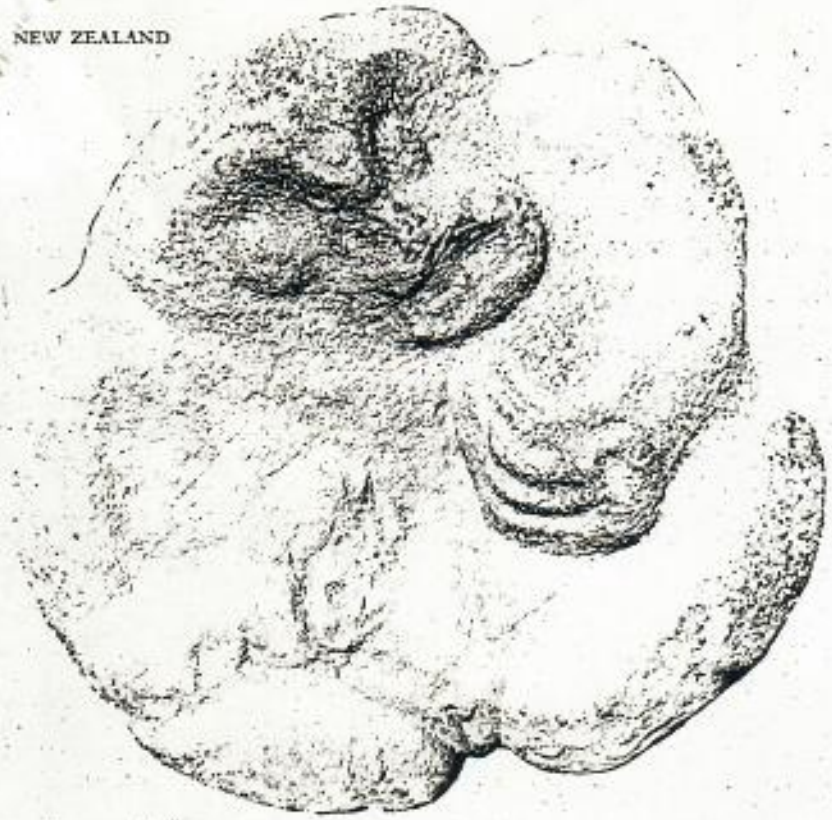
Two views of a male image. Necker Island, Hawaiian Islands. Vesicular basalt. *Height*: 14½" (37 cm). *Collection*: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. *Photo*: author.

This image was collected in 1923 when a US Navy minesweeper visited the island on survey work (Emory, 1928). Necker stone images were made by the usual stone hammer-pecking technique, followed by the surface grinding of some types. Two complete specimens in the Bishop Museum collection have the surfaces ground, while the other two complete specimens, in the British Museum, have rough surfaces. All known images are of male sex. Their remarkable formal abstraction of limbs, torso, and head is reminiscent of ancient Japanese art styles of Jomon or Haniwa (compare the stone figure 280), and it is proposed elsewhere (page 60) that such resemblances emerge from relationships in ancient Asia.

285 ◇

Male image. Necker Island, Hawaiian Islands. Vesicular basalt. *Height*: 11¾" (30 cm). *Collection*: British Museum, London. *Photo*: author.

This image was collected by officers of HMS *Champion*, which called at the island in 1894. The image style of Necker Island, distinctive in its own right, appears to have two basic types of figure: one that is of slim form with ground surfaces and thus sharper features (283–84), and a second with surfaces unfinished and of a broad flat form resembling a gingerbread man (285). All images collected appear to be associated with a temple and would seem to represent gods rather than ancestors.



298

A female crop god. Taranaki, New Zealand. Volcanic rock. *Height*: 20" (51 cm). *Collection*: Taranaki Museum, New Plymouth, New Zealand. *Photo*: author.

The form of this image was influenced by a number of factors: the size and shape of the raw boulder selected, local traditions of stone working, the style of Taranaki woodcarving art (the head and hands of this god reflect local carving conventions), and the technique of manufacture by pecking and bruising with hammer stones. Such images were placed in or near cultivation patches to protect growing plants against calamity and to promote fertility. (See page 40.)

299

Crop god. Taranaki, New Zealand. Stone. *Height:* 24" (61 cm). *Collection:* Taranaki Museum, New Plymouth, New Zealand. *Photo:* museum archives.

Double-faced guardians of gateways are found in many parts of the Pacific. They seem to belong to an ancient Oceanic tradition of art, but in Polynesia they are encountered only sporadically, namely in the Society Islands, Marquesas, Easter Island and New Zealand. They are of course unlike the double-headed images (e.g. Tahiti, 166), which are exceedingly rare.

300

Crop god. Maketu, Bay of Plenty, New Zealand. Pumice. *Height*: 5⅞" (15 cm). *Collection*: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. *Photo*: author.

The museum record with this specimen says that it was dug up with a mass of bones which it suggests were those of slaves sacrificed in the cause of crop fertility. This small image is certainly of the crop god class, indicating that it was placed with crops to protect them from harm. (Compare 298–99.) The pumice material used is soft and friable but durable if left undisturbed and dry. Generally pumice images tend to lack a fixed form. They are often suspect, because the ease with which pumice can be cut and the amorphous nature of genuine pumice specimens have frequently tempted forgers to use this material.

The Chatham Islands (chiefly comprising Chatham and Pitt Islands) lie about 470 miles due east of Banks Peninsula, South Island, New Zealand, and are part of New Zealand territory. The original Polynesian settlers, termed Moriori, are extinct as a distinctive group; survivors of the original stock have inbred with the mainland Maori invaders who in 1835 overran the local population, causing bloodshed and slaughter. Chatham Island and the adjacent Pitt Island range within fifty miles of longitude, and are generally exposed to the strong western winds encountered in these latitudes of the South Pacific. The climate is described as "windy, damp and cool", with a mean annual air temperature of about 50 degrees. This is below the comfortable level for Polynesian conditions of life. Until definition of Chatham Island culture by the researches of Skinner (1923), the Moriori were regarded as a people more Melanesian than Polynesian. The Moriori were indeed descendants of tropical Polynesian ancestors who had found and settled these islands, probably by way of New Zealand, and who made the best of an uniniviting environment. The presence of a schist rock provided material for heavy weapons of fascinating forms, while the abundant groves of *kopi* trees (*Corynocarpus laevigatus*) yielded berries and wood. The slow-growing bark of the *kopi* trees provided a "canvas" for a dendroglyphic art unique in Polynesia.

310 ◊

Male image. Chatham Islands. Pumice. *Height*: 7¼" (18.5 cm). *Collection*: Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, England. *Photo*: author.

This pumice image, which resembles certain Maori crop gods and Tahitian stone images, was presented to the museum by Lord Stanmore in 1893. The arms appear to emerge from or enter into the mouth as a divided tongue (a divided tongue is seen in Maori wooden masks), brow ridges are typically arched (compare 318), and the umbilicus is indicated by a knob. The use of pumice as an image material was customary in New Zealand but is recorded from the Chatham Islands by only a few rare specimens. (Compare 311.)

311 ⌂
Squatting figure. Chatham Islands. Pumice. *Height*: 10¾" (27.3 cm). *Collection*: Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, England. *Photo*: author.

The style of this figure relates immediately to the sole surviving Chatham Island free-standing wooden figure (313–15). Its squatting position represents a rare but basic posture of Polynesian iconography. (See page 55.) The strongly-defined ribs appear as a distinctive Chatham Islands convention in rendering the figure. (Compare the wooden figure, and 317.)

312 ◊
Flint blade and haft. Chatham Islands. Chert, wood, flax fibre. *Length*: 11" (28 cm). *Collection*: Dominion Museum, Wellington, New Zealand. *Photo*: author.

Roughly-flaked stone blades of a consistent form are found in many parts of Polynesia. One basic type is conventionally termed *mataa* and is found in considerable numbers in the Chatham Islands, southern New Zealand, and Easter Island, where obsidian is the favoured material. The form is typical. Above the cutting edges the blade has a tang (which may amount to nothing more than a rough projection), which facilitates the lashing of the blade to the wooden handle. This Chatham Island specimen illustrates one method of doing this.

Temples of Tahiti's ancient pagan gods live again for tourist

By Helen Altonn

Star-Bulletin Writer

The massive ancient marae (temples) of the Society Islands are being resurrected in a herculean effort led by a Hawaii archaeologist for the French Government.

Some of the temples are cleared and visible for the first time since the Tahitians adopted Christianity.

Dr. Yosihiko Sinoto of the Bishop Museum began the unusual restoration program this year and is continuing it until 1970 on Raiatea, Bora Bora, Tahiti and Moorea.

His first project, on the tiny island of Huahine, was a remarkable feat. Just the fact that he was able to assemble nearly all of the men of the village to assist him—despite their deep superstitions—was a triumph.

The village of Maeva on Huahine Nui, the northern part of the island, has about 30 marae—the largest assemblage in the Society Islands.

They are massive edifices. The largest marae in Maeva is 130 feet long, with coral slabs about 10 feet high.

Missionaries or storms destroyed the temples in past times. More recently, stones have been carted off by the people for building projects.

Gets special name

Sinoto acquired a special name from the villagers as they struggled together to reconstruct the marae.

They called him "Tahutahu," meaning sorcerer, or one skilled with magic power.

They believed he must have gifts of magic because he knows how to put the enormous stone slabs back into their proper place.

But, he explained, the "magic" involved only hard labor and detailed drawings of the marae fortuitously recorded in 1925 by Dr. Kenneth Emory, head of the museum anthropology department.

Only Emory's descriptions of Tahiti's stone remains during his early expeditions make it possible to reconstruct the marae. Even the names of the temples, which the Tahitians no longer know, are carefully preserved in Emory's notes.

The Maeva villagers feared ghosts would strangle Sinoto if he tampered with the temple ruins.

They prayed before doing any work for the archaeologist.

Await cry of a bird

And they listened for the ominous cry of a particular bird. Had they heard it, they would have stopped working, Sinoto said.

They also would have ceased work if anyone was hurt on the job.

that Sinoto wanted only to "beautify" the temples.

"The people were very excited and very proud of the marae being reconstructed," he said.

"All of the women would go out fishing and then stop by and watch.

"They said no more about ghosts."

No one was more proud of the finished marae — a majestic sight — than the men who worked on them. Sinoto said they all brought their families to show where they cemented, or piled stones — how their talent had contributed to the raised temples.

Sinoto rebuilt one temple in Maeva last January as an experiment, to see if it could be done and if it was practical to do them all as a tourist attraction.

He returned to Huahine in June and again in July and August for a full-scale operation.

His work crews have restored 16 marae at Maeva and Marae Anini, the national marae of Huahine Iti, the southern end of the island. It is 150 feet long.

Sinoto said they also stumbled upon some previously unknown marae in Maeva and these will be reconstructed next year.

Hard to get permission

At first, he said, he had trouble getting permission from the land owners to work on the temples. One owner, with four marae on his property, adamantly refused permission for months.

"However, after patiently negotiating with him, he consented. And he was the best in helping me," Sinoto said.

Another of his major problems was to fill holes in the pavement of the front courts of the marae, where stones were hauled away for school and road construction, he said. He had to dynamite the hillsides for boulders to replace the missing stones.

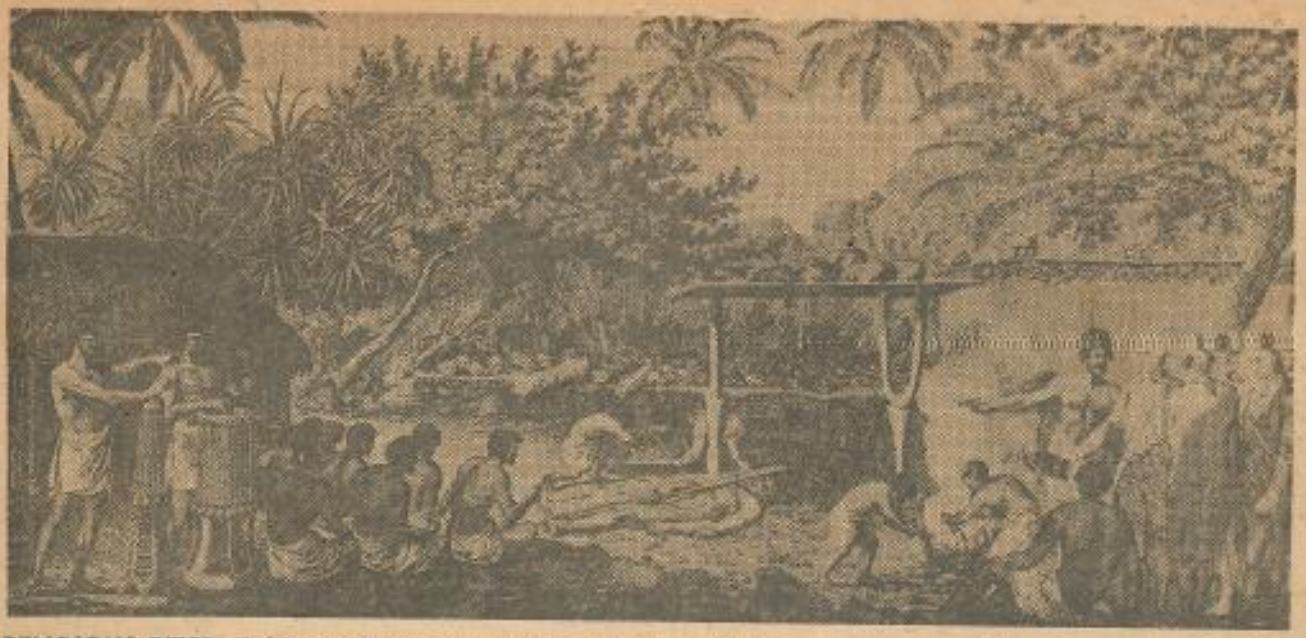
Explaining how the marae were used for religious ceremonies in ancient times, Emory said the people gathered in the court. It faced the stepped platform, called "ahu," which was the seat of the gods. Only the high chiefs and priests could approach the platform and participate in the rites. And only the ruling chief was permitted to have human sacrifices.

The government in France is spending considerable funds to restore the temples in the Society Islands as part of a program to stimulate tourism.

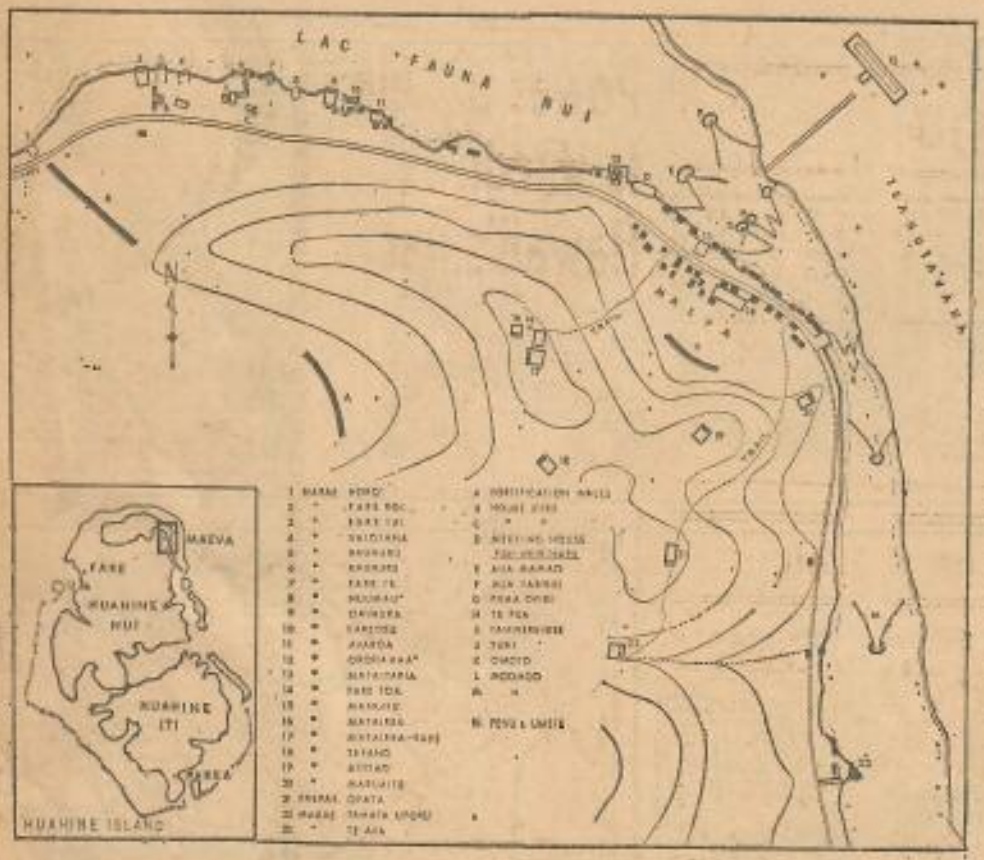
The program began at Huahine because of plans for an airstrip and hotels at Maeva, probably within two years, Sinoto said.

In the meantime, Maeva is experiencing a surge of local tourism because of its spectacular marae.

"The local people are coming from the other villages to see them," said Sinoto. "They paid little attention to



RELIGIOUS RITES—Tahitians in ancient times gathered at the marae to worship their gods and offer human sacrifices. Only high chiefs and priests could participate in the ceremonies at the "ahu," the seat of the gods.



TAHITIAN VILLAGE—The community of Maeva on Huahine has the largest assemblage of marae in the Society Islands, shown here in a map drawn up by Dr. Yosihiko Sinoto. Maeva also has the last of the big meeting houses in French Polynesia (D.) Sinoto cleared a pathway to the huge Marae Manunu (15) across the lagoon and repaired some of the old stone fish traps in the water.

With obvious relief, Sinoto noted that the bird did not cry. Nor were there any injuries that were not clearly due to carelessness.

He gathered some 60 men—nearly every man in the village—for the temple redevelopment program. He organized them into "pupu" or groups, each with a foreman.

The skills of each individual, as recognized in the community, were fit into program. For instance, an expert in tying knots had charge of all knots. Another who could lay stones was responsible for this task.

They worked on several marae simultaneously. Sinoto's equipment included only a few pulleys, one-inch-thick rope, and some heavy duty gloves. He attached the rope and tackles to the surrounding coconut trees.

Before hoisting the coral slabs into position, he had to dig out trees and roots growing between the stones. He also mended the broken stones.

Previous attempts have been made to restore some of the temples. But instead of putting the slabs back together, new, smaller stones were placed on top of the broken ones. This complicates Sinoto's work, because he is trying to recreate the temples as true to the original as possible.

Tremendous amount of work

The restoration at Maeva took a tremendous amount of time and labor. And the villagers finally were convinced

He reinforced some of the broken slabs with steel staples so they will stay together for many more years. But they must be maintained, he said. His local assistant on Huahine has been appointed a part-time government employe to keep the marae clean and in repair. He will travel around the island once a month to inspect the temples, Sinoto said.

During his spare time this past summer in Maeva, Sinoto cleared a pathway for a walking tour to one of the isolated marae.

Repairs old fish traps

And he won the hearts of the villagers when he repaired the old stone fish traps in their lagoon, greatly increasing their fishing capacity.

During one of his next trips, he plans to work on Maeva's big meeting house, the last in French Polynesia. It is 300 feet long.

His most urgent temple project now is Taputapuatea on Raiatea. It is the national marae for all the leeward islands, and very important because it is believed the ancestors of the Maori left from here to New Zealand, Sinoto said.

He wants to complete the reconstruction of Marae Taputapuatea by next June because of celebrations planned by the government for the 200th anniversary of Captain Cook's first voyage.

TOUGH JOB — Dr. Yosihiko Sinoto, right, supervis es the reconstruction of Marae Anini, national temple of Huahine Iti in the Society Islands.

SEAT OF GODS—The marae usually have a double-decked platform, called "ahu," formed of huge slabs and coral fill. This is Marae Manunu, one of Maeva's massive temples.

ENORMOUS EDIFICE—Dr. Sinoto's ability to put the huge slabs of the marae back into place earned him the name "Tahutahu," from the Tahitians. It means sorcerer or magician. Pictured here is one end of Marae Manunu.

STRING FIGURES

A STUDY OF CAT'S-CRADLE IN MANY LANDS

BY

CAROLINE (FURNESS) JAYNE

WITH AN ETHNOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION
BY
ALFRED C. HADDON
M.A., Sc.D., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., M.R.I.A.
Cambridge, England

ILLUSTRATED

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
1906

A TURTLE

This Caroline Islands figure was shown to Dr. Furness by the young Uap girl "Dakofel."

First: Put the string around the upright finger of a second person, and then holding the strings untwisted in your right and left hands, take a second turn around the other person's finger with the right string.

Second: Put both hands from below through the long loop (Fig. 613); then swing each hand over and to the outside of the string of the same side, around the string, up toward you and again through the loop (Fig. 614). This movement

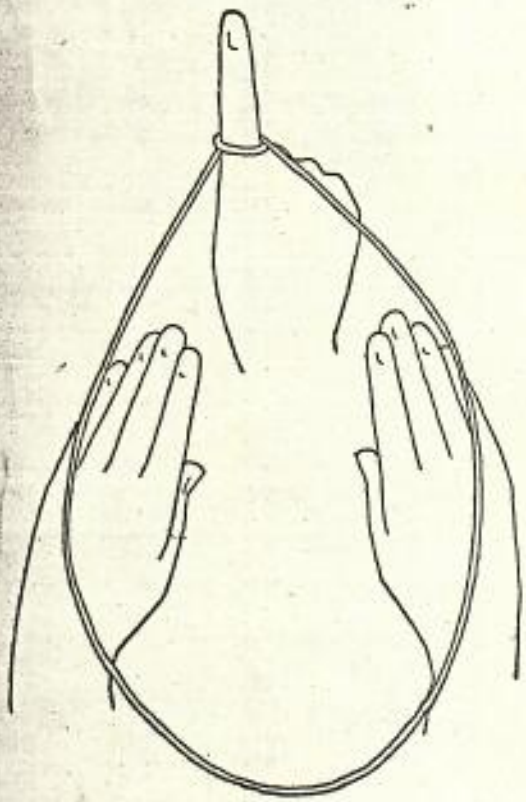


FIG. 613.

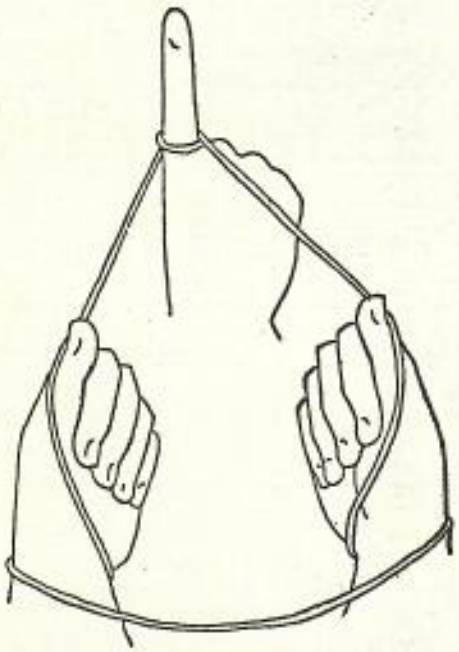


FIG. 614.

puts a turn on each wrist. With the thumb and index fingers of both hands catch the ring which is around the finger of the second person (Fig. 615), and pull it toward you, and by separating the hands, the cross string of the loop, thus formed, comes under the original right and left strings (Fig. 616). Now let the loop slip off

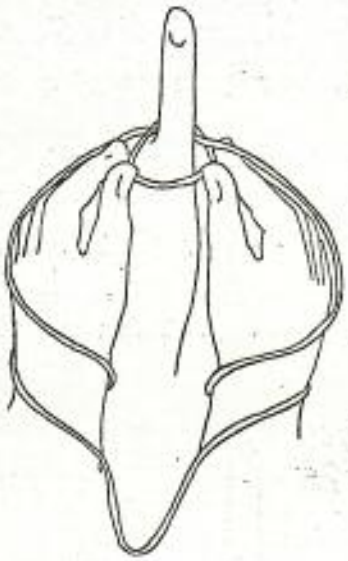


FIG. 615.

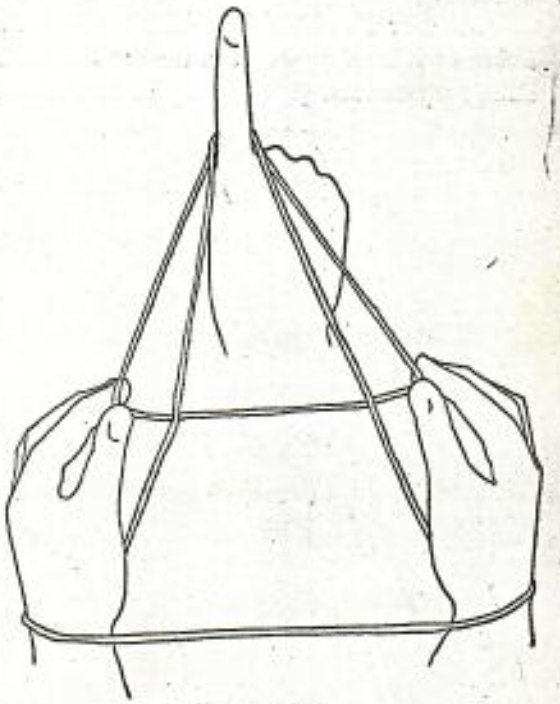


FIG. 616.

both wrists, and you get a second cross string over the two right and left strings, and a loop is held by the thumb and index of each hand (Fig. 617).

Third: Put each hand from below through the loop held by the thumb and index, and with each little finger take up from below, in the bend of the finger, between the finger of the other person and the cross strings, the outside string of the two strings passing to the other person (Fig. 618). With the thumbs take up,

UAP CHILDREN PLAYING THE "TURTLE."
(Courtesy of Dr. William Henry Furness, 3rd.)

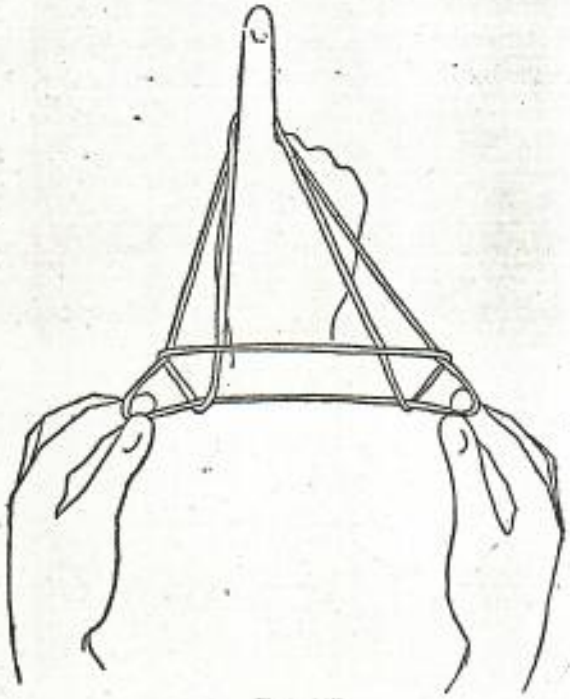


Fig. 617.

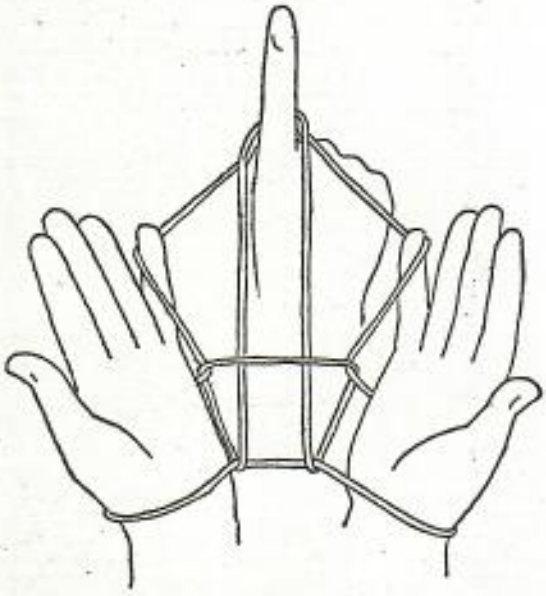


Fig. 618.

from the near side, the far cross string (the string crossing over the four strings passing to the other person) (Fig. 619). Then the second person withdraws the finger, and you separate the hands, put them in the usual position, and draw the

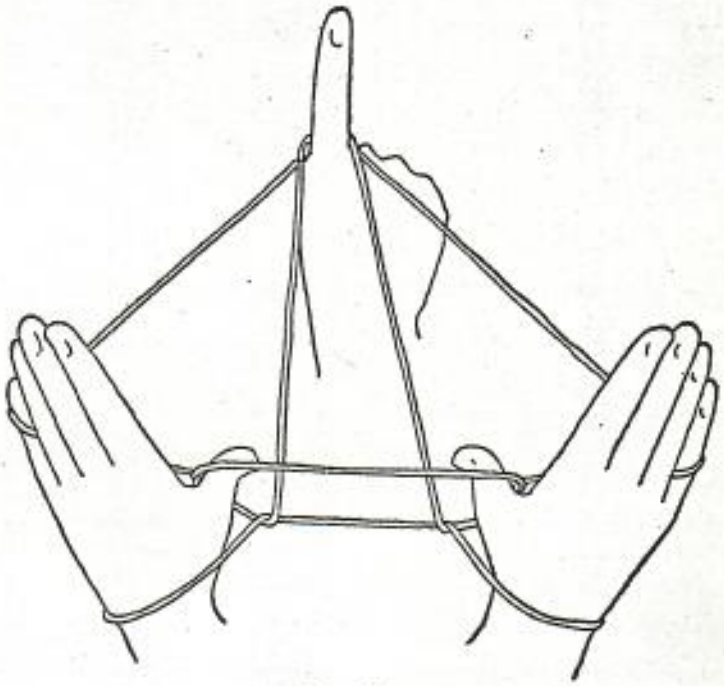


Fig. 619.

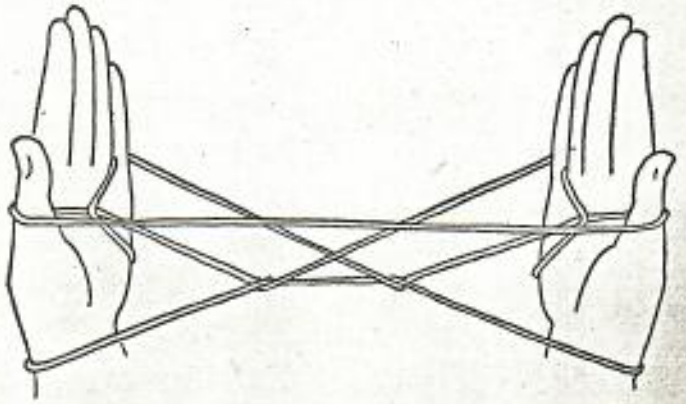


Fig. 620.

strings tight (Fig. 620). You now have a loop on each wrist, a loop on each thumb and a loop on each little finger.

Fourth: Holding the loops securely on the thumbs and little fingers, turn the

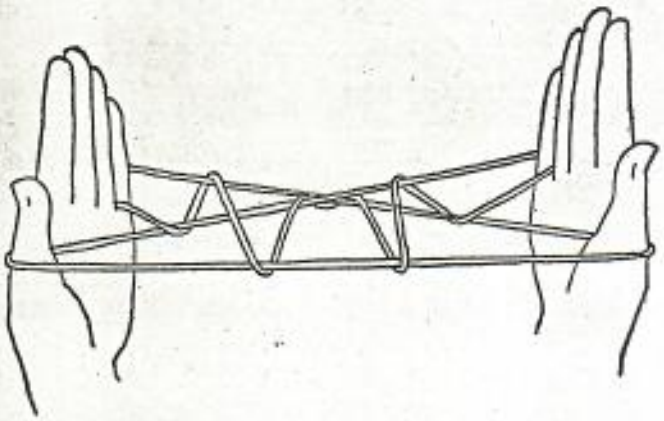


Fig. 621.

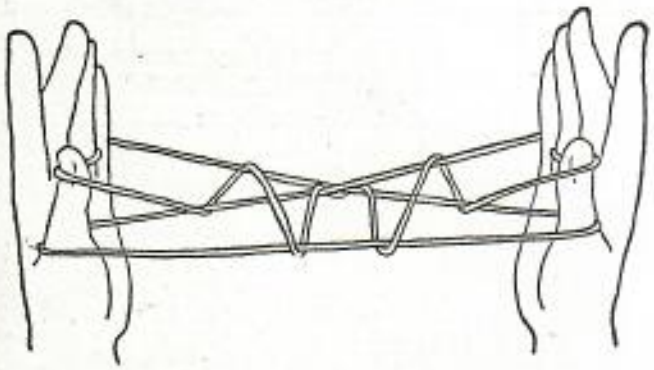


Fig. 622.

hands with the fingers pointing down, and shake the wrist loops off the hands. Separate the hands, and restore them to their usual position (Fig. 621).

Fifth: Pass each thumb away from you over the far thumb string, and pick up from below on the back of the thumb the near little finger string, and return the thumb to its position (Fig. 622).

Sixth: Pick up from below on the tip of each index the far thumb string (Fig. 623), and pressing the thumb against the index, straighten the latter, and hold the string high on its tip. Turn the palms away from you (Fig. 624).

Seventh: Swing the left hand down so that the palm is toward you and the fingers are directed to the right, and at the same time swing the right hand so that

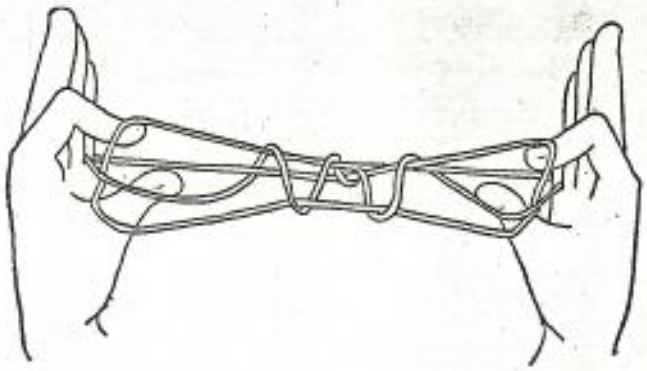


FIG. 623.

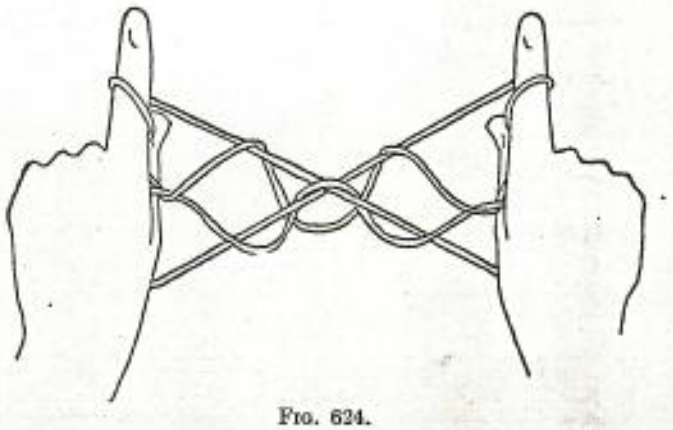


FIG. 624.

the palm faces away from you and the fingers point to the left. Draw the strings tight (Fig. 625).

The "Turtle" has the same final pattern as the "Bagobo Diamonds" and it is likewise extended vertically. If the next figure, "Ten Times," be formed from

the "Bagobo Diamonds" it will eventually come back to the "Turtle," with simple loops on the thumbs and index fingers. The opening movements, although resem-

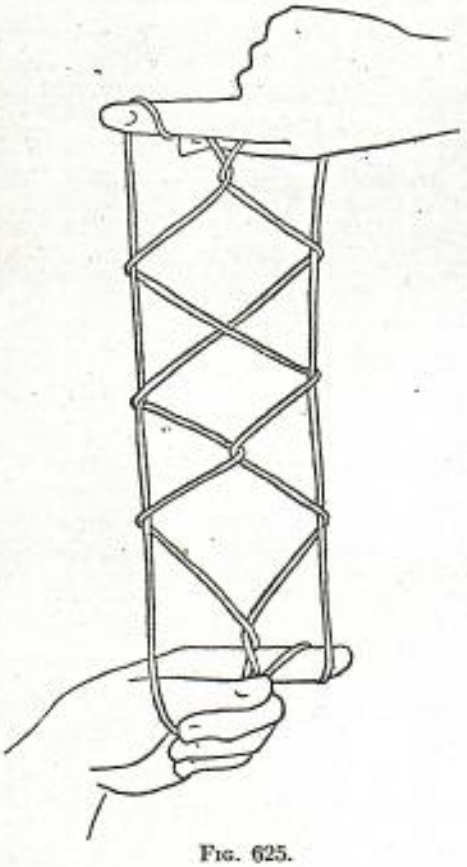


FIG. 625.

bling the opening movements of the "Pygmy Diamonds," are found only in this figure; the later movements are like those in the two preceding figures.

TEN TIMES

This game is really only a continuation of the "Turtle," but I have made it a separate figure, provisionally, because I saw the Philippine Linao Moros at the St. Louis Exposition form it from another figure which I could not record, but I think it was the same as "Bagobo Diamonds." Subsequently I learned the figure, as a part of the "Turtle," from Dr. Furness, who collected it in the Caroline Islands from the Uap girl "Dakofel."

Two persons are required for this figure, which is formed from the completed figure of either the Caroline Islands "Turtle" or the "Bagobo Small Diamonds," preferably from the "Turtle," as the strings are not so much twisted about the fingers.

First: The first person holds the completed figure of the "Turtle" in front of him, vertically of course, and the second person faces him. The figure consists of a central row of three lozenges and two side rows of four triangles each. These triangles may be numbered first, second, third and fourth from below upward, and the rows are right and left as seen by the second person.

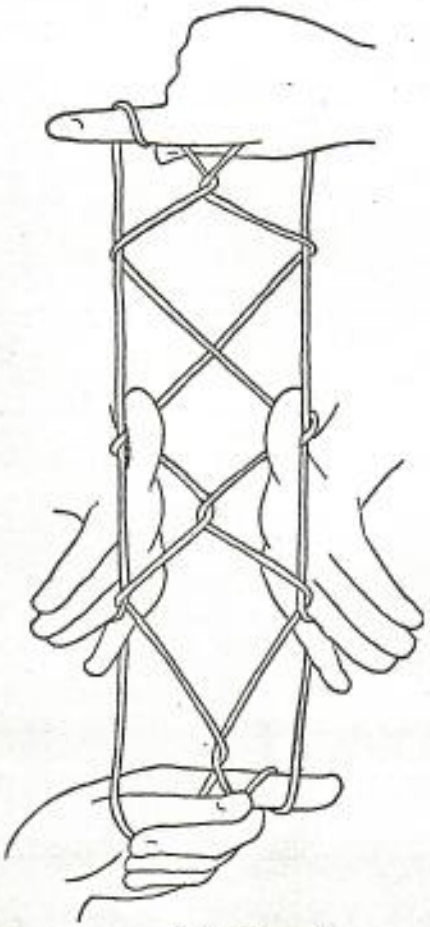


FIG. 626.

The second person directs his left little finger away from him through the first (lower) left triangle, and his right little finger away from him through the first right triangle. Keeping the little fingers in these triangles, he now directs the thumbs away from him through the second side triangles, the right thumb of course through the right triangle, the left thumb through the left triangle. Turning each thumb up he directs it toward him through the third triangle (Fig. 626). The first person now places his right little finger loop, untwisted, on the left little finger of the second person, and his right index loop, untwisted, on the right little finger of the second person (Fig. 627), and withdraws his hands entirely from the figure.

The second person now puts his hands in the usual position and draws the strings tight. He has two loops on each thumb and two loops on each little finger.

Second: The first person now puts his right thumb from below into the left thumb loops of the second person, and his left thumb from below into the left little finger loops of the second person, and takes these loops away from the second person on his thumbs. The second person puts his left thumb from below into the loops which are on his right thumb, and removes the right thumb, and puts his right thumb from below into the loops which are on his right little finger, and removes the right little finger. The figure is now drawn

tight on the four thumbs (Fig. 628). It consists of a central lozenge, the sides of which form the bases of the triangles held by the thumbs.

Third: Each person now puts the index and middle finger of each hand, from below, into the triangle extended by the thumb, and then away from him over the

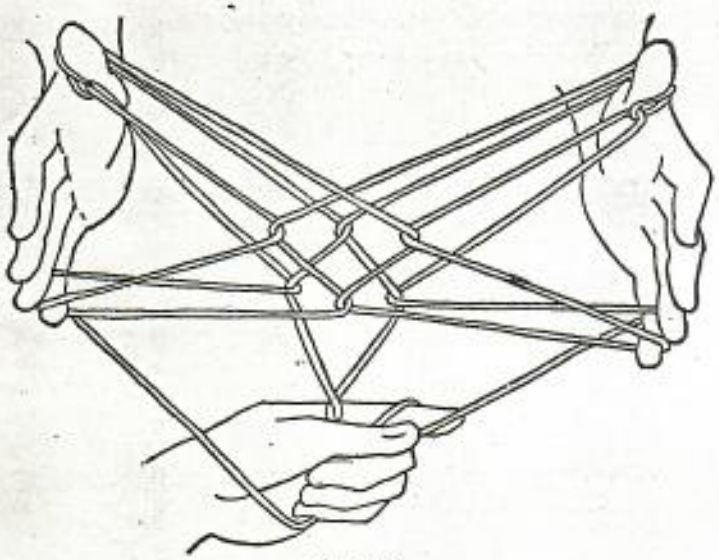


Fig. 627.

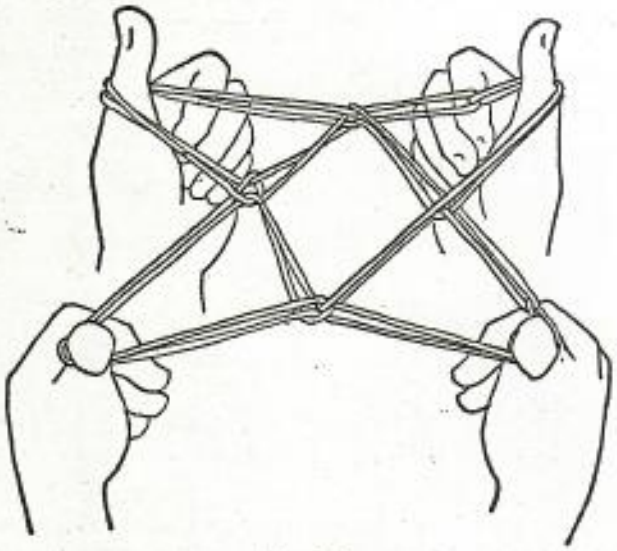


Fig. 628.

strings forming the base of this triangle (the corresponding side of the central lozenge) (Fig. 629), and pulls these strings down and toward him, letting the loops slip off the thumb (Fig. 630).

Each person now puts each thumb from below into the loop held by the index and middle finger and withdraws these fingers.

Fourth: Repeat the *Third* movement nine times.

Fifth: The figure is now laid down, and all the fingers are withdrawn. If you are careful, the top half of the figure can now be lifted up and opened out like

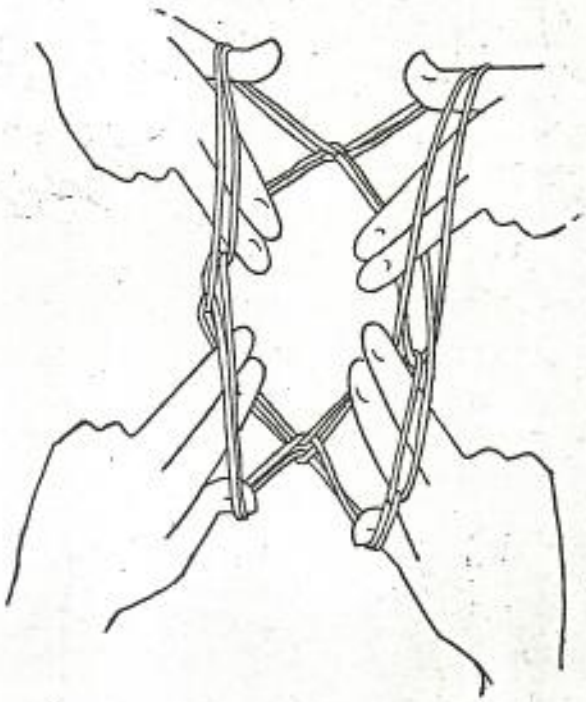


FIG. 629.

a book, when it will be seen that you have again the original "Turtle" figure (Fig. 631), from which these movements can be again repeated.

The Moros, who showed me this figure, appeared to take great delight in doing it; and they were much surprised to see Dr. Furness form it from the "Turtle." They always repeated the *Third* movement nineteen times, so we might more properly call the figure "Twenty Times," but in the Caroline Islands it is universally done ten times. As a matter of fact the figure will succeed if the movement be done *any even* number of times.

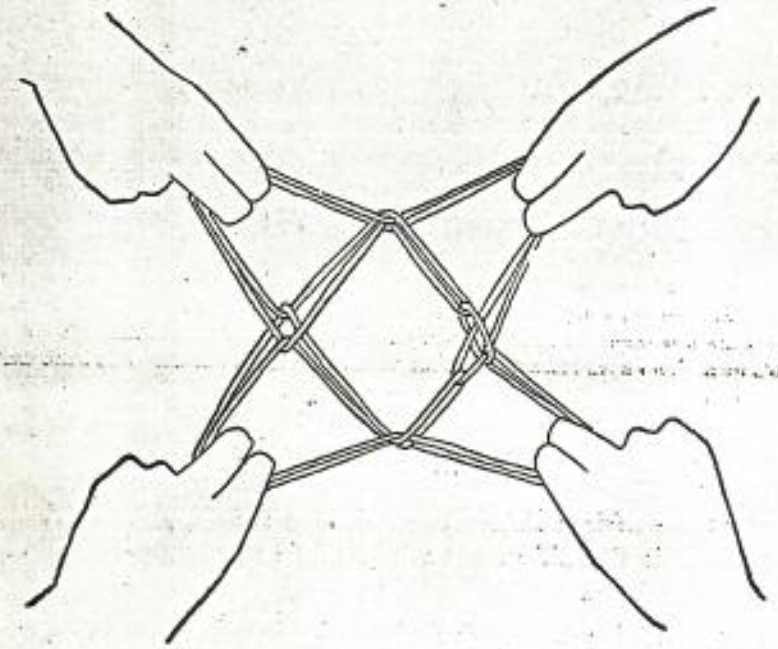


Fig. 630.

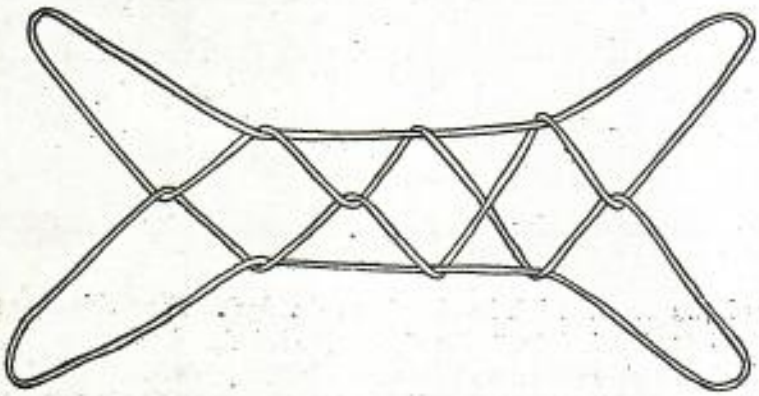
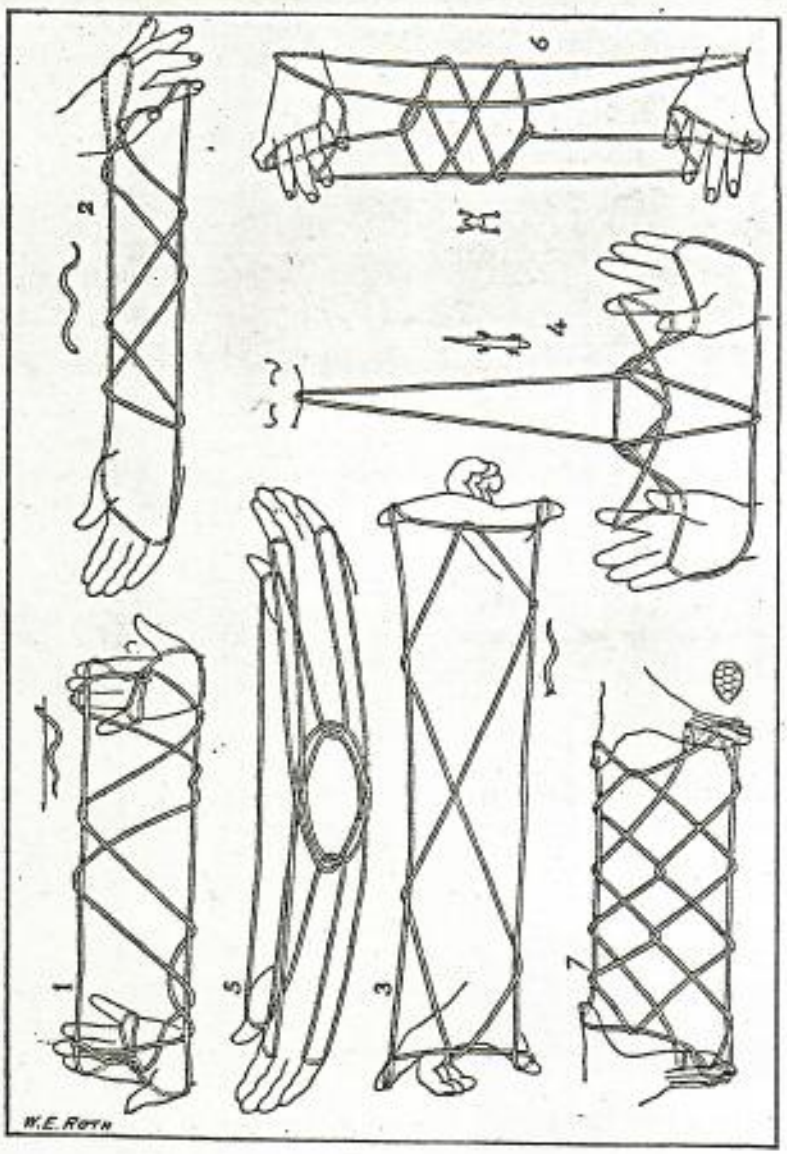
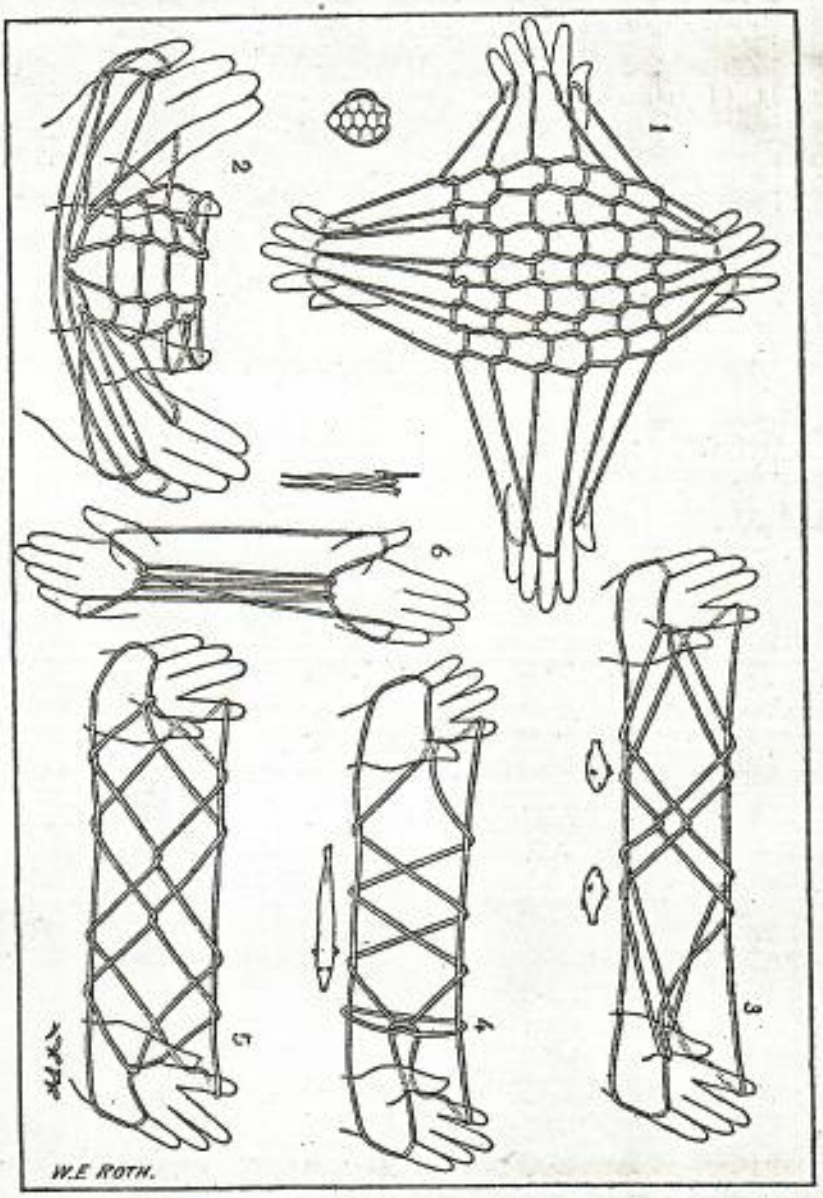


Fig. 631.



ROTH'S PLATE VI.—ANIMALS: REPTILES

1. Water-snake. Princess Charlotte Bay.
2. Snake, in general. Cape Bedford, Burketown.
3. Deaf-adder. The fingers of the one hand are moved to represent the teeth and mouth. Cape Bedford.
4. Crocodile. Cape Grafton, Cape Bedford, (Middle) Palmer River. See Pl. VIII, 3.
5. Crocodile's nest, with egg. Pennefather River. "Iguana," see Pl. VIII, 3.
6. Frog. Princess Charlotte Bay.
7. Turtle: the scutum. Cape Bedford. Princess Charlotte Bay.



ROTH'S PLATE VII.—ANIMALS: REPTILES AND FISH

1. Tortoise: the scutum. (Middle) Palmer River.
2. Turtle: the scutum. Pennefather River.
3. Two fish. (Lower) Tully River.
4. Fish. Atherton.
5. Mullet skimming along the water. Cape Grafton.
6. Eels carried on a hooked stick (a common method of carrying fish). Cape Bedford.

of the thumb, when you can catch it on the thumb and draw it toward you (Fig. 330, Left hand) as you return the thumb to its position (Fig. 330, Right hand).

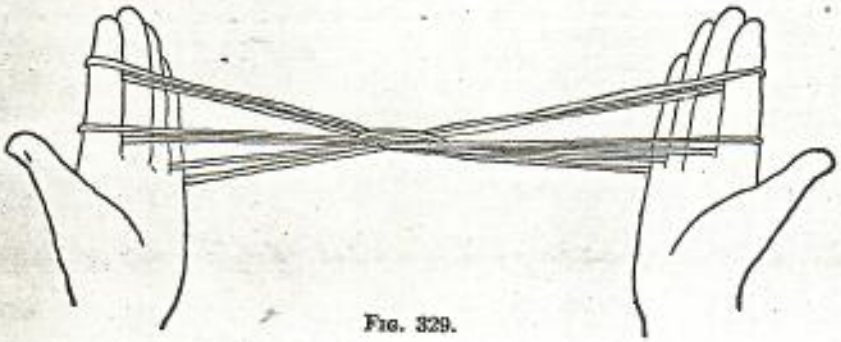


Fig. 329.

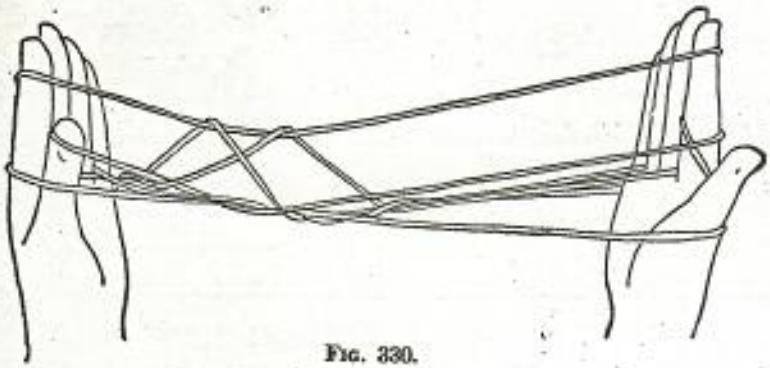


Fig. 330.

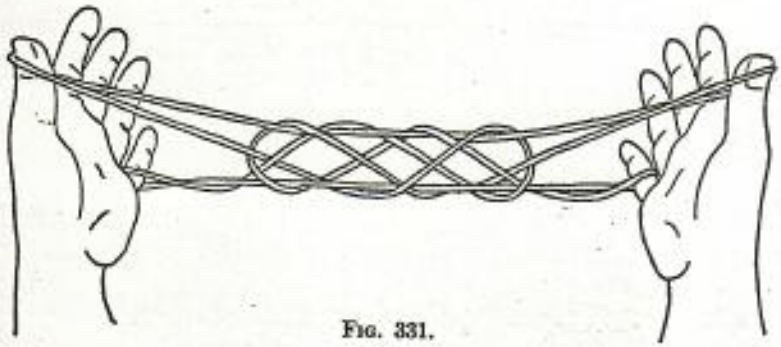
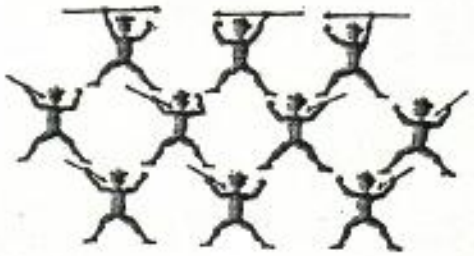


Fig. 331.

Eighth: Withdraw the index fingers from their loops, turn the hands with the fingers pointing away from you, and extend the figure loosely (Fig. 331). If the strings be drawn tight the pattern cannot be seen.

This is a most interesting and novel figure. The *First* and *Second* movements are unlike anything occurring in other figures. In the *Fourth* and *Seventh* movement, the use of the middle finger to assist the thumb in catching the string is not a native practice; I have put it in to make these movements easier. The finished pattern differs from the usual finished pattern, because it runs down to form a twisted cord if the strings be pulled too tight; moreover it is not extended in the characteristic Caroline Islands fashion.

TEN MEN



This is another Natik, Caroline Islands, figure collected in the same way as the two preceding figures. Roth gives a drawing (pl. VI., Fig. 7) of an Australian

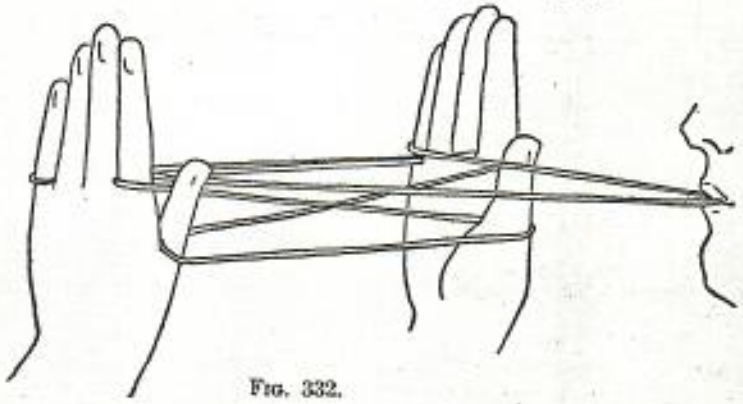


Fig. 332.

finished pattern called a "Turtle," which appears to be the same as the finished pattern of "Ten Men." I have reproduced the plate on page 379.

First: Opening A.

Second: With the teeth draw the far little finger string toward you over all the strings (Fig. 332), and bending the left index over the left string of the loop held by the teeth, pick up from below on the back of the finger the right string of the loop held by the teeth, and return the left index to its position. Bend the right index over to the left, and pick up from below the left string of the loop held by the teeth,

and return the right index to its position (Fig. 333). Now release the loop held by the teeth, separate the hands, and draw the strings tight (Fig. 334).

You now have two loops on each index, a loop on each thumb, and a loop on each little finger.

Third: Release the loops from the thumbs, and draw the hands apart.

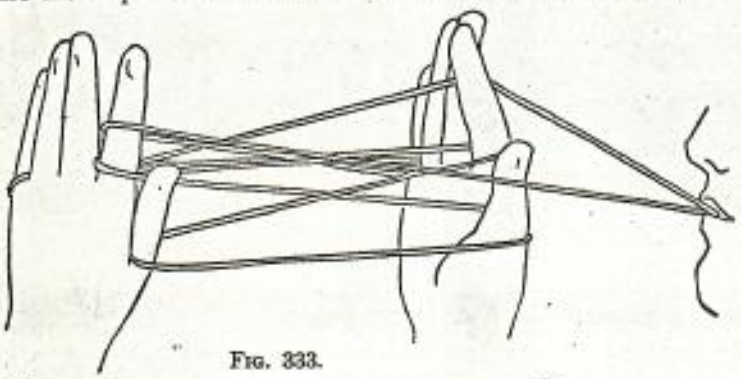


Fig. 333.

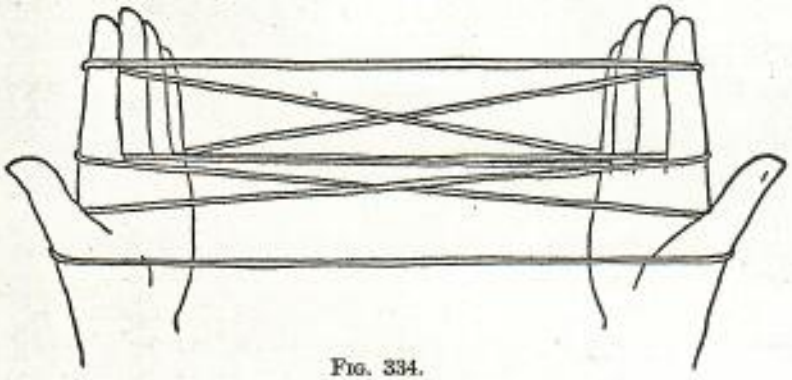


Fig. 334.

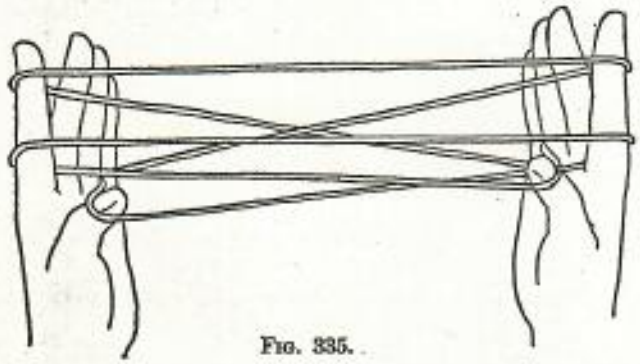


Fig. 335.

Fourth: Put each thumb away from you, under the index loops, and pick up on the back of the thumb the near little finger string, and return the thumb to its position (Fig. 335).

Fifth: Pass each thumb up over the lower near index string, and put it from below into the upper index loop, and draw the thumb away from the index in order to enlarge the loop now passing around both index and thumb (Fig. 336).

Sixth: With the left thumb and index (or the teeth) pick up the right lower near thumb string close to the right thumb, and draw it over the tip of the thumb

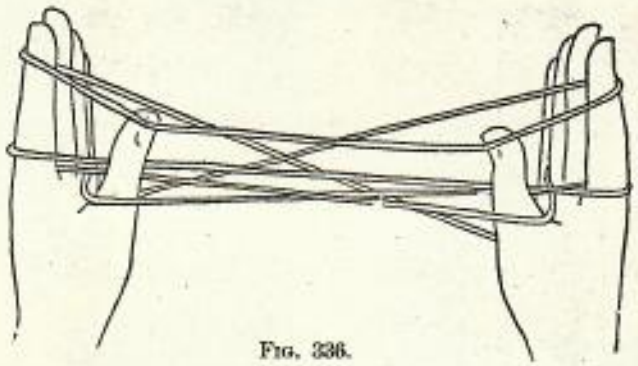


Fig. 336.

(Fig. 337), and let it drop on the palmar side; being careful not to disturb the upper thumb loop. In the same manner with the right thumb and index (or the teeth) pick up the left lower near thumb string close to the left thumb, draw it over the tip

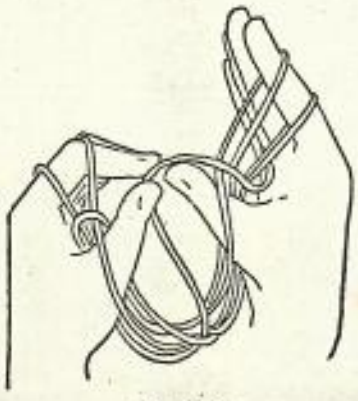


Fig. 337.

Fig. 338.

of the left thumb (Fig. 338), and let it drop on the palmar side. Separate the hands (Fig. 339).

Seventh: Withdraw each index from the loop which passes around both thumb and index and draw the strings tight (Fig. 340, Left hand).

Eighth: Transfer the thumb loops to the index fingers by putting each index from below into the thumb loop (Fig. 340, Right hand) and withdrawing the thumb (Fig. 341).