

SEA TURTLES - TUAMOTU

1930-1970s

G.H. BALAZS FILE

Tuamotuan Religious Structures and Ceremonies

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INTRODUCTION

On the scattered atolls of the Tuamotuan Archipelago, which lies 14° to 22° south of the equator and stretches from north of Tahiti, 800 miles to the southeast, ruins of coral platforms and upright slabs mark the sites of the marae, or places of worship, of the Polynesian inhabitants before they were Christianized. Although half to a full century has elapsed since ceremonies took place upon these marae, the names of many of them are still cherished, and they figure prominently in the songs, chants, legends, and stories still heard.

While recording the marae ruins in 1929, 1930, and 1934, during the Bishop Museum ethnographic survey of the Tuamotus (16, 26),¹ I became especially interested in their original appearance and in their function. This monograph contains what I have been able to gather from the meager but helpful published literature and from the field work of the two Bishop Museum expeditions, described in my report of the Tuamotuan Survey (16) and in the report of the Mangarevan Expedition (26, pp. 61-67).

It requires only a brief acquaintance with the older generation of Tuamotians to realize that the life of their predecessors revolved about the marae and that the marae, more than anything else in the culture, bound the members of each group together and anchored them to a past which profoundly influenced their present.

I have dealt with the physical appearance of the marae in considerable detail for two reasons: the marae ruins in the Tuamotus serve to mark the original extent of locally distinct cultures, which now have merged and largely lost their identity; and marae ruins survive throughout a large part of Polynesia and furnish a concrete basis for comparative study.

FIELD WORK AND SOURCES

During the first Bishop Museum expedition to the Tuamotus, from the early part of 1929 to the early part of 1931 (16), chants, songs, and prayers used in connection with the marae were taken down from dictation or copied from native manuscripts in existence before our arrival. This work was done mainly by the linguist of the expedition, J. Frank Stimson. In a number of the islands I learned the terms for various parts of the marae and gained some idea of their function. At Fagatau, in 1929, we encountered Te Miro a Pahoa,

¹ Numbers in parentheses refer to *Literature Cited*, p. 100.

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Women were taught marae prayers and chants, but purely as repositories of this lore.

The head of a family or kindred was entitled to be the priest of the marae, but in the case of tribal maraes, some other member of the chief's family might hold the office. According to Montiton (35, p. 379), the high priest had an assistant, (*huhuki*), who stood on his right, and two assistants (*fakataw* and *hakuri*), who were on his left. Andran speaks of only two lesser priests, also of royal blood and called *huhuki* (1, vol. 28, p. 234); and my informant at Napuka, Te Uru, said the priest or chief was assisted by two men whose designation he could not remember.

Montiton's information, which he said was gathered from the eastern Tuamotus, is from Tatakoto, Fagatau, or Fakahina, for at no other eastern islands did he stay long enough to gather his knowledge of maraes. Prior to the publication of his article on Tuamotuan religion, he had remained for nearly six months, just before October 16, 1870, at Fagatau (34, p. 284) and from November 5, 1870, to July 16, 1871, or a little over nine months, at Tatakoto, where he was much occupied building a church and a calvary (34, p. 286). At Fakahina he stayed four months prior to 1872 (34, p. 376).

Andran (1, vol. 28, p. 234), drawing on information from Fakahina, says of the high priest:

In the Tuamotu Group the chief officiating priest, who conducted, so to speak, divine worship, and represented the archpriest in our cathedrals, was known as the *konanuku*. He was a great personage and very holy. Further, he enjoyed the highest privileges. He was exempt from ordinary work and from that forced labor, at times so troublesome, such as cooking and the preparation of the turtle, for which the common people were liable. The smoke from the ovens was not to come near him or to touch him. Throughout the whole island there was but one authority (that of the king) superior to his, while at times his influence was as powerful as even that of the king. He alone was responsible for the ordering and carrying out of everything that concerned the celebration of the annual festival and the performance of the religious ceremonies on the marae. All these were under his sole jurisdiction. It was the *konanuku* whose duty it was to regulate them as he thought fit, providing that he preserve the ancient usage.

At Fagatau, *tu-kyu* was the term used for the high priest.

OCCASIONS FOR CEREMONIES

The capture of turtle, porpoise, or large fish of the sacred class was the most frequent occasion for the use of the marae. The importance of turtle feasts upon the marae is obvious, for far more detail is remembered about them than about any other marae ritual. During the off-season for turtle, most maraes at Napuka lay idle.

About July, at the approach of the time when female turtles came ashore to lay their eggs and both male and female turtles appeared around the island, the principal maraes of a tribe were meticulously weeded and cleared of all rubbish (*parapara*). This was done at Napuka by the *taki hoga kareva*

(seekers of bits of coconut fiber), who were gray-headed men. After clearing, the maraes were decorated for the rites, the purpose of which was to insure a large catch of turtle during the season, July to December or January. The first turtles captured at the beginning of the season were offered to the gods with the most elaborate ritual (2, p. 130).

Cannibal feasts no doubt furnished occasions for the use of maraes reserved for that purpose. In a legend we collected from the Valitahi area, marae ceremonies were held before setting out on a voyage, to insure protection against a god named Rua. Upon the safe arrival at land, the chief immediately repaired to the marae to acknowledge the protection given by his gods (44, p. 189). Famines called forth special marae ceremonies. At the first pregnancy of a woman of the *ariki* family, prayers were said at the marae (35, p. 491). The navel cord of the chief's son might be buried at the marae with some ritual. In the chant of the Hao chief Te Hau-o-Rogo, occurs: "[K]a koti te pito ko [= o] Tagihia, ka tanu ki roto ki Maruata" (Sever the navel cord of Tagihia, bury it at marae Maruata).

The succession of a chief to the position of *ariki* called for a very important ceremonial, about which we have no details except that it sometimes took place upon the founding of a new marae for this chief. Upon the death of a chief, his body was carried to the marae before final disposition of the remains on the land or in the sea. If he were to receive the honor of apotheosis, some of the ceremonies involved took place upon the marae.

Terms for other important ceremonies have been remembered, such as *folue* at Tatakoto, *te ahu papure*, and *te unu tapikopiko*, a three-day ceremony, at Fagatau.

THE TURTLE FEAST CATCHING THE TURTLE

The eve and day of the sacrifice of a turtle at the marae, the men who were to partake of the flesh observed continence, says Montiton (35, p. 367), whose information is from Fagatau, Fakahina, or Tatakoto. "They ordinarily slept near their canoes, to launch them as soon as day appeared, for turtle hunting, for bonito trolling or for fishing for other large fish. The man who caught the victim detached the brightest scale and offered it to the god whose image was on the bow of the canoe, designating and consecrating the victim by this chant." (The native text of the chant is Montiton's, but for the translation I have substituted one of Stimson's, which I regard as more accurate.)

Ka [k]ohiti mai te tai,
Tupa ruga,
Tupa raro,
Tupa uia,
Tupa tai.
E pana i mua,
E pana i roto,
E pana i muri,
Now the tide rises,
It sweeps to the east,
It sweeps to the west,
It swerves toward the land,
It swings out to sea.
It rises before,
It rises between,
It rises behind.

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

Myth of turtle and fowl

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

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

Karibi the elder and Karibi the younger leaped into the fire to provide food. That part of them which was not consumed by the flames turned into maggots. Those from Karibi the elder became turtle and bonito; those from the younger became *Pitara* fish and frigate birds. When they met, Turtle and Bonito said to Pitara and Frigate Bird: "They shall all become sacred to Te Fatamoua, a trumpet will sound for them, a drum shall loudly beat, a feast must shall be spread, a prayer recited, and their bones shall be neatly piled" (*Pi iho ratou ki te Fata-moua, e pu to ratou e tapī, e uunere e unere āua, e tapakau e māhara, e pure e oli, e pūhata kia to ratou āri*). But Pitara and Frigate Bird demanded for themselves these privileges. Thereupon Turtle and Bonito prophesied that no coach would blow for them, no drum would sound, no mat be spread, and their bones would not be gathered up.

In Tahiti, the turtle says to the fowl (30, p. 381), when one contends for prestige above the other, "You are common, you will be eaten by women and children, but I shall be sacred to the gods, I shall leap into the god's house." An old Reao native recounted to Scurat (43, vol. 21, p. 125) the following tale of the cock and the turtle:

The turtle said to the cock, "Come out here, come out here." The cock replied, "Come inland here, come inland here." The turtle answered, "I will not go inland lest I have to eat excrement." The cock retorted, "I will not go out there, lest I have to eat seaweed." Then the turtle said, "Fie on you! You will never be famous. As for me, I will die at Manaha-o-Tagaroa, I will be famous" (*o tau ro e higa to tau ki Manaha-o-Tagaroa, e ro[9]o tohu*).

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

Toinoino e!
E iuraga māt ai taua ika nei,
He ika nei, he ika nei;
Ko mea ra te tagata i roaka ai taua
ika oka nei,
He ika paku, he ika tavake, he
ika heko.

He ika paraparau-e-ra;

Takai, takai, takai,
Takai ko te hune no Tu ma,
Nau e [te igos o te tagata].

Hoi o! hāia te pekau o { Takero
Matariki.

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

In the book of Te Aka a Puraga at Hāo occurs the *toinoino*, announcing chant, for the *pitika*, a species of parrot fish with a sharp beak (*Scarus* sp., called *pūhoro* in Tahiti).

Toinoino e!
E rāgi te tpu i ruga nei,
E ika te i carō nei.
Ko silonihō, akia, makere hoki,
Taua ika te pitika hoki, te pitara.
Hoi, hoi, tuene, tuene e.
Ka taua reporepo hia
na hua, na kohaga,
na ruahine.
Ka taua reporepo hia!

A chant announcing a catch!
It is a heaven which spreads above,
It is a fish which lies below.
...
That fish is a *pitika* indeed, a *pitara*.
...
Bury smeared with dirt...
Bury all smeared with dirt!

CARRYING TURTLE TO MARAE

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

LEADER
Hāroa ki togaro,
Hāroa ki togarau;
Ka piri, ka pokipoki,
Encircled in the south,
Encircled in the north;
Closed-in, covered over,

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

It is a turtle of the kind called
paraparau-e-ra.
Bird on, bird on, bird on,
It is the girdle of Tu and his clan,
It is for you [the person who caught the
turtle].

Hoi o! Broken is the slipper of { Takero
Matariki.

Aku paru te vai nini ra i Kaurau,^a
He ho!

My fish at Raurou,
Ho!

Puaru:

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

A man tens pa!^b
Hio! hi ho!

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

Uese mo! i raga Te Raurou,
Poi mai i aha takaka,
Kioga te paipari o tuku masava,
E aka aka takaki.

Stirring upon Te Raurou.

Carry [the fat of] my arm-pit.

The flesh of my breasts shall be known.

How delicious is [the flesh of] my neck.

As the *a* in *pa* is extremely short, the translation may be wrong; the line may be actually "a man

te napa."

^b This calling out by the people is termed *hi* (*kaa hi te tagata*).

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

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

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

ARRIVAL OF TURTLE AT MARAE

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

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

TE MAE'S VIZION

There in the darkness stretching out,
There in the darkness restricted,
There in the darkness bound round,
Arise, stir!
There where is the divine essence.

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

TE URU'S VIZION

[In] that land [or darkness] of far extent,
[In] that restricted land,
[In] that land bound round,
Turn [hither].
[The gods] voyage to the realm of light.

Ia kere roa,
Ia kere poto,
Ia kere tatutatu,
A huri a.
Te kere te ao.

^a Considering the possibility that it might here be a name, I rounded out Te Mae on the subject. He here of no god named Io. Toward the last of my stay at Napuka, in 1914, I acquainted Te Mae with the unverified account of Kibo written by Fatoua of Fagatau (46). He remarked, "This teaching is not here."

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

INVESTITURE OF CHIEF

Montiton (35, p. 378) writes that the chief took up his position "with his back to the marae" (*adossé au marae*), that is, with his back to the *ahu* platform of the marae, for Te Uru and others at Napuka mention this as being the first position taken by the chief or presiding priest. Furthermore, Montiton says that the chief faced the *tufu* kneeling at the back of the marae while the warriors, seated to the right and left on stools, formed two parallel lines. Montiton speaks of the *tufu* in the singular number, but this, I believe, may not be a term for some officer, but a descriptive term applying to those exclusive of the warriors who sat or knelt directly on the ground at the far end of the court.

According to Montiton (35, p. 379), to the chief's right was the speaker (*huhuki*) charged with giving him his headdress (called a *fa*) and putting into his hands a staff surmounted by a little image. To his left was the *fakatau* and the *hakari*. Montiton described the *hakari* as the bringer of the "sacred stone . . ." but he says nothing about the *fakatau*. However, *katau* means right, and the *hakari* was stationed at the right of the *eriki*, as viewed by those attending the ceremony; *fa* probably refers to *tokio-fa*, which at Napuka is the name of the object fetched by the *hakari*. Hence, I believe *fa-katau* (sacred-object-on-the-right) was simply another name for the *hakari*. At Napuka the term *fa-katau* for one officiating at the marae recalled nothing, but the *hakari* was remembered by Te Uru as the man who went the length of the island chanting a charm to induce turtle to come.

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

^a The staff of Mahini, high chief of Fagatau, was called a *tufutaru*, and was named *Taru-taru*.

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

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

Tagarou ian, ka (a)ke!
Ka' gahuta iau!
Ko te alua e!
Te hura, hura te vaka!

Tagarou there with you, alight!
Fly out to you!
It is the gathering together!
The tribe appears!

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

The chief then turned toward the *atua* and, with "grand contortions and deafening yells" (Montiton, 35, p. 379), invoked all the gods. Montiton gives the following list, in which most of the names are recognizable on our Fagatau genealogies, and many occur in genealogies from Fakahina (Audran, 3, p. 234): Tauruhua, Kai-nuku, Puniava, Ruanuku, Tu-te-ao-tea, Tu-makino-keino, Tohutika, Rua-fatoga, Tu, *te ati* Tu (the clan of Tu), *te ati* Rogo (the clan of Rogo), *te ati* Tane (the clan of Tane), Tama-tu-hau, Tama-arihikihahi, Tavake, Kuafatu, Mahinui, Te Moana-tai-hia, Tama-tea, Hoga, Marere-kogakoga, Rua-kai-atua, Mutui-uta, Mapu, Mahaga, Kourou, Okea, Tabuka.

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

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

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

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

AWAKENING OF THE GODS

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

In 1931, Reva, daughter of Te Miro, gave me a chant for the awakening of the gods (*no te fakauru atua*), which Stimson came across three years

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

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

1
Fakarahaia ki te po roa!
Ka eke ki te vaka mihi/jamihija a Tane!
Ko vai jii tapa i fanau ai koe e te rakaan?
Ko Tu-ruma-rakau, ko Taraga-nui-o-
mere!
Ka tupu ia Tane!
E taku aitu—e ara!
E ara (e Tupua),
E ara i [=e] Te Iri,
E ara i [=e] Te Fatu,
E ara e Tane, e ara!
E ka hura ariki,
Ki tai tupu, ki tai rito, ki tai kao!
E Rua-toka-nuku, e Rua-toka-ragi.

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

2
O Hiro e, ka tara i[au] io rouru;
Ka haki au io korero.
Ko Ru i huakina te papa ki raro,
Ko Haumakama te tagata i verohia[a]j]
te ara i Hira [= Hiva].
Ka tu ki Vai-be-nuku,
Ka takoto ki Vai-be-rari [= ragi].
Nifanifa Te Toki!
Ko Takurua.

2
O Hiro, your hair is united by me;
I now cast out your words.
It was Ru by whom was uncovered the foundations below,
Haumakama was the man who illuminated the road to Hiva.
Stand up at Vai-be-nuku [the star Castor],
Lie down at Vai-be-ragi [the star Pollux].
Fierce is The Adz!
It was Takurua [Sirius].

3
Tueru i Ruyahere, but we have not come across Turuma-rakau as a star name.
† *papa* is supplied from Reva's version.
* *Hira*, from Reva's version.
* *Hira*, in the text, but obviously, from Reva's text, a mistranscription for Hiva. In the chant for the chief of Kapiti, he is called a peaceful child of the land who died struck down (*ka hio*) on the "ara i huakina" a "Yanc" (the dark sea road of Tane).
* Te Toki (The Adz) is the name of a star in a list of star names from Fagatau, and next to the name Vai-be-nuku.

Takuru e tu nei,
Ko Fakamata-tahi-a-nuken,
Ko Fakamata-tahi-a-ragi.
Ruru ki Te Pua,
Ruru ki te aro o Fanui.

Tu tahaga i te aro o Takuru ma Takero.³
Matariki ko tei raga.
E tahua ko tei ruro—
E ara, e ara!

¹ Takuru at Paganus was called "king of the stars" (*tehi no te kaga keteke*), and among its epithets occur, *Takuru-mata-nuku* (*Takuru-growth-of-land*), *Takuru-mata-ragi* (*Takuru-growth-of-sky*), *Takuru*, under the name *Takuru-mata-nuku*, *Takuru* was called (20, p. 363) creator of children (*te ariki*), in the sky and on earth. *Tagaroa* is addressed as, or calls himself, *Matahi-ouku*, *Matahi-ouku o Tagaroa*, to *Matahi-nuku*, to *Matahi-ragi*.

² In the Tahitian account (20, p. 362) of the birth of the heavenly bodies, the heavens were banished with stars to be brought into the presence of *Takuru* (*i te aro o Te'arua*), to assemble as a *hau* (*of nana's*) in the presence of *Te'aro*.

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

NO TE FAKAMATUA HAGA EI ARIKI FOR THE CONSECRATION OF A CHIEF
Ara mai, ara marie!
Ara mai o mata i te po,
Ara mai o mata i te aoi!
Ara mai, ara marie!
Ara mai e Tupua, e Tahito;
Ara mai e Mahiri, e Manatu;
Ara mai e Pava, e Gagana;
Ara mai e Tāne, e Uho!
Ara mai i te rua, ara marie!
Ara mai i te ata,
Tu mai i te ata,
Matike mai i te ata.
Haere i te ata, kin horo,
Kia moeaga taua ki te heiau e.³
Ara mai, ara marie!
Awaken, become wide awake!
Let your eyes open in the world of night,
Let your eyes open in the world of light!
Awaken, become wide awake!
Awake, O Tupua, O Tahiti;
Awake, O Mahiri, O Manatu;
Awake, O Pava, O Gagana;
Awake, O Tāne, O Uho!
Awake in the abyss, become wide awake!
Abide in the clouds,
Come to life in the clouds,
Arise in the clouds.
Move in the clouds, that you hasten,
That we two may sleep in the heiau [god house].
Awaken, become fully awake!

³ In a section of Paganus mythical genealogy, *Tupua* is the wife of *Tahito*, and *Gagana* is their grandnephew (21, p. 70).
⁴ The line is obscured by the differences in the native text, one version has *kie moeaga ki taua ki te heiau e*. Another has *kie moeaga o taua ki te heiau e*.

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

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

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

Ka tahi nei ka taea Ria e,
No te fare i motu.
Ruru na te tagata,
Ma Nāhiti, na Tahoe, na Te Hakukiri.
Te iroa te vaka, ko Te Kaha-mata-tini.
Ka kave ki uta, ki uta te henua,
Ki uta Te-Arero.
Ka tau motu, ko Te Ao,
ko Te Tama; ko Te Ahu-o-Toga.
Hakaara ko te mata, te mata o te atua!
Ko Te Taura, ko Te Miki, ko Te Piriana,
Ko Te Tachacia, ko Te Tai-maeva,
ko Te Tai-rutua,
Te Moko-inu-tai, ko Te Matahao, i i.

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

Tei hea taku tira?¹
Te horo mai nei taku tira.
Tei hea taku tira?¹
Te horo mai nei taku tira,
E uia! mai nei taku tira.
E tuku atu ki te tira a Ruahatu,
Ki taea te moana,
Ke fakaruru atu.²
Tiraira te moana!
Haua te moana, taia te moana,
Kiritia te moana.
Ka tuku atu i te tira a Ruahatu,
Ki taea te moana,
Ke fakaruru atu.
Tiraira te moana!

¹ Te Ufi also chants the line, "Ke fakaruru e tu e."

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

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

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

DEDICATION OF TURTLE

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

[H]ia-u-u-uo!¹
Te ika no Tauruhua!

Ha-u-u-uo!
The fish of Tauruhua!

All the warriors chanted after him:

Hika te ahi a Tauruhua
Ki te rahi tatapa!

Kindle the fire of Tauruhua
In the . . . sky!

Tukua te rahi ora matoru.²
E-i-i-ia! Ave!

The life-giving-sky of far extent is left behind.
There! At last!

[H]uro kia a[k]e!
Tukua te rahi ora matoru.

Shout till he appears!
The life-giving-sky of far extent is left behind.

I hia e [= la e ?]
Hau-u-u-uo-u-a!

There now!
Thunder rolls!

¹The call at the beginning of a prayer, as I have heard it from Te Miro and Te Mae (both participants in hehenu ceremonies), is a long, drawn-out, vigorous *hoo-oo-ai*. In a Tausanous chant we have a *henny* (33, p. 458) translated as *ra rahi ora* (the floating sky, the lowering sky, the changing sky).
²Te rahi ora, te rahi ora, te rahi ora (the floating sky, the lowering sky, the changing sky).

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

OFFERING OF TURTLE

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

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

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

E niu, e niu, e niu mara!¹
Ia [= ia] [v]ai² te ika o tai
i te nuana hohou?
[K]ia topa i te aro o Tauruhua,
[K]ia topa i te aro o Kainuku,
i te aro o Puniava.

O niu, o niu, o niu, o sacred stone
offering protection!
For whom is the fish from the depths of
the ocean?

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

This followed by an enumeration of all the gods.

E tai te ika [a] te niu,³
Pakal[e]i te ika i te kupega.
E haru [i] te ika i te vanuga mai!
Hau tia te ika nui nei,
[K]ia maie.

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

¹It is noteworthy that the betelger of the sacred stone called a *niu*, a word ordinarily meaning *ecocot*, is himself called a *hakari*, the common Tausanous term for a coconut.
²Montiton translates it as "for whom," but "for whom" is "na vai." If he has translated correctly then a *vanuga* has been made in reproducing the text. Or this may be "[K]ia te ika o te nuana" (May the fish of the sea copulate).
³In Montiton's text, *ia* is grouped with *te*, which follows. But "ia" only, not "iakabe," could mean sacred. Montiton's translation of the line is: "May the sacred stone on the fish, perhaps, be of [akabe] should be separated as modifying *niu*. *Niu-ia* would then have more in common with *ia* [akabe] in Fagatau mythology. *Niu-ia* is the name of some place, thought by Faria to be a village in Varau in the north-west.

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

NAPUKA CHANT AT THE LAYING ON OF THE TOKIUSA

Ho . . . i!¹
E niu kae, ko niu maru ika!²
Ka tu mai [i] taku pe!³
Taku niu ko te rau maeva.⁴

Ho . . . i!
O niu by which sacrifices are consecrated,
charm over creatures of the sea!
Attend my chant!

My niu, representation of my god, is
welcoming feathers.

E iiria, e iakia i te tokerau!
E niu, e niu kai [= kae?]!
Mahiri, Koro, Tapakia!

There is thundering, appearing [of gods]
in the north!
O niu at whose touch food is consecrated!
Mahiri, Koro, Tapakia!

¹A long drawn out *ko . . . o*, is the recognized method of obtaining the attention of the gods. Te Mae gave this preface only once, and that was when he enacted the ceremony for me.
²I take this *ka* to be the equivalent of *kae* in the line "Maeri Tagara ki te kae o 'Yu" occurring in a Hao chant beginning "Maui i Haorangi" and of *ka* in "he ika i nuana, ka maie, kia kae ki te rauau takou ki Haorangi" in an Aua chant beginning "ko ika hakara ika."
³Te Mae first gave "niu maru ika" but in chanting it over he gave "niu maru ika," as it is in his recording on the dictaphone. This is also Te Ufi's rendering.
⁴For this line Te Ufi gave, "tapa aie taku niu ko te pe," and continued with "ko te rau maeva."
⁵Probably a reference to the bunch of leaves or feathers (*tokiusa*) employed in the Napuka ceremony.

However, Te Mae told me that the turtle was placed in the oven on a bed of gator, leaves, and these leaves were called "niu maeva." A Fagatau chant has, "Tena pohama kotu ai ki te kole aitia, ki te rau maeva, ki te rau mahora, ki te aro (o) Puniava" (that phoenix cut off with the lambso knife, at the welcoming leaves, the spread-out leaves, before the face of Puni and his people). *Niu-niu* seems as an ancestral god name or epithet along with *Toiava*, *Kau-i-faoga*, *Nogo*, etc., in the Kao adoring prayer, which follows this one.

At Napuka, the *niuhiri* and several other internal organs of the turtle, were consumed on the marae itself by the chief and others. This *niuhiri*, therefore, may not be a personal name and may belong with *ka* in the preceding line. However, *Mahiri* does appear as a god name in a call to the gods (p. 68).
⁶Koro certainly refers to Koro-paga, or Koro-i-napuka, and Tapakia to Kauhau-tapakia, occurring in other prayers.

[K]a pou a ika [ki] Mana[hu]-Tairarua.

The sacrifice shall be entirely consumed at Mānaha-Tairarua [marae of the gods].

E aro [= haru]¹ te ika i ti [= te] nia!

Seize the victim through the power of the nia!

E aro te ika i te vanaga-ranaga!

Seize the victim through the power of the ritual!

E aro te ni [= te ika nui]²

Seize the great animal here,

Kia mate!

That it die!

E aro te ni,

Seize the great fish here,

Kia hoi!

That it be consecrated!

¹ From Montilion's prayer it is plain that aro here should be haru.

² Here Te Mae's version has apparently abbreviated "te ika nui nei" to "te ni."

³ This is the ending given by Te Mae in dictating the prayer to me. However, in chanting it, he changed *hia* to *hā*. *Hā* seems to be a variant of *ka* (sacred) but it may stand for *who* or *she*.

At "kia ho," Te Mae volunteered, the *tokiofa* was taken from the breast of the turtle and carried back to its resting place on the marae (p. 21).

In writing of the marae ceremonies at Napuka, Audran (2, p. 130) says of the *tokiofa* and its function:

... before the sacrifice, one of the two *tokiofa*, amulets of great importance made of two decorated sticks and ornamented with tresses of coconut leaf, was placed on the victim which was thereby sanctified, then taken back to its original place while the chants, gestures, and rhythmic prayers accompanied these preliminaries.

Then, the designated executor, assisted by the *paragwi*,⁴ the man charged with the ritual of the ceremony, cut the throat of the turtle which was finally placed on a native fire prepared in advance. And during the long hours of its cooking, the chants and prayers never ceased.

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

In another place (1, vol. 27, p. 135), in going over the same ceremonies, Audran gives us a clearer picture of his conception of the *tokiofa*:

In the middle of the open space [the court] were two kinds of amulets covered with garlands. These were two little decorated sticks, *te tokiofa*. As soon as the throat of the turtle was cut one of these little sticks was brought and laid on the victim, as if to consecrate it. After the sacrifice the little stick was returned to its place. The ceremony was accompanied by songs and rhythmic prayers. During the cooking the prayers continued. As soon as the turtle was done to a turn it was taken out of the native oven, the *tokiofa* was again placed on it, and the turtle was divided up.

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

It was taken by the assistant of the priest and placed on the breast of the turtle immediately before the chanting of the prayer commencing "E nia, e nia maru ika." The victim was laid on its back, on the rear of the court, the priest stood behind it, facing the *aku* of the marae. On his right hand was the assistant who brought the *tokiofa*, and on his left, the man who cut the throat of the turtle. The bringer of the *tokiofa*, in approaching it, went along the right side of the marae.

A version of the offering chant, recorded at Vahitahi but possibly a Hao chant, begins with *nia* and ends with *nate*, as does the version presented by Montilion. In Davies' Tahitian dictionary (14, p. 155), *nis-mate* is defined as

⁴ *Paragwi* I believe is an error for *paragi*, meaning a sacrifice or to sacrifice. At Vahitahi, *Tuhiragi* gave the term *maqa Paragi*, so meaning "food sacrificed with prayer." *Paragi* would here, then, be the man who offered the sacrifice, in other words, the *kahahi*.

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

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

VAHITAHĪ CHANT FOR THE NIU

Taku niu ko rau-maeva.

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

He nia ke [= kae ?].

Rahia nuaena

... That it be released in the north.

Ke tuku atu ki te tokerau.

Tara-poti is the realm of my

Ko Tara-poti, ko te hau o taku

... originator of turtle pounds.

niu malagi [= mata-i ?] pupua ika.⁵

The *nua* touches:

Para te niu;

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

He niu maru ika, taku niu.

Whilst I soar, soar afar.

Ko i faga, ko i faga van atea.

Fading from view, speeding on!

Ka iina, ka tere!

There in the branching staff,

Ko i te tokotoke a manga reva,

There in the land of images crowded together,

Ko i te nuken a ga tiki putuputu,

There in the image born of the Pisonia tree.

Ko i te tiki fanau a te gatae.

What is the image, the sacred image?

Ko vai be tiki, tiki haha?

An image of *semiti*.

Ite tiki makoha u.

Koro-i-mapuna is the possessor,

Koro-i-mapuna te fatu,

and Ruahatu is the possessor.

e Ruu-maku te fatu.

... It is that which adds power to the god

He hohi matau aru.

at Tau-reka.

Ko i te hakamanamana a te

The *nua* touches:

tupua i Tau-reka.

A charm over fish is my charm.

Fara te niu;

Reverberation of the sky, a god from

He niu maru ika, taku niu.

the sky appears.

Vavao o te rahi, iakia e tupua

It is Ru, son of Atea.

o rahi,

The foundation of the sky is illumined

Ko Ru a Atea.

by rainbows.

Turia takere rahi.

Eat, while embarking, your dry fish.

Kai eketu o ika maro.

A victim is here,

Tika he ika nei,

To be sacrificed!

Kia mate!

... *Nis-mate-pua* appears in one of the two preceding chants which are truly for the coconut: *He nua*

and called by him a chant for the sacred fish (*ika tapu*). He called the gods in the prayer, *atua tagata*, or ancestral gods.

He ika na Rogo, te ika tapu!

Te ika a Turi-nui nei.

E ika ran.

Mamaia te ika tapu, te ika roa

[a] Ruahatu, Toiana, Kiripoo,

A fish for Rogo is this sacred fish here!

The fish [captured by] Turi-nui here.

A fish grappled.

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

Rua-te-fa-toga, Raa-maeva, Rogo.
 Koko-koko, koko-koko,
 Ke taparia masi kara,
 Ke taparia masi masi.
 Ke taparia masi.
 Hapaipai aku e nei e.
 Haruru a, haitiri,
 Haruru a, haitiri, gatoro a.
 Hauraki matagi hauri,
 Hara teku vahi Te Matanaka
 [= Ra-tu-muku ?],
 Matana [= matagi ?] hara.

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

IMMOLATION OF TURTLE

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

Kaki ta[k]a, [k]a topa—
 [K]a topa i te aro o Tauruhua!
 [E] atua i te [h]ika-tira,* ko
 Kainuku—
 [H]ao, kai mai!
 E atua hiva ao. [= ko ?] Puniava—
 [H]ao, kai mai!
 [E] atua [h]ikagiagi no
 Ruanuku—
 [H]ao, kai mai!
 Tu-maahini no te fatitiri—
 [H]ao, kai mai!
 E atua hua, ko Tohutika—
 [H]ao, kai mai!
 E atua [h]ika vaka, ko Tavaka—
 [H]ao, kai mai!
 Approach, partake of this food!
 Tu-the-hospitable, abiding in the thunder—
 Approach, partake of this food!
 A god of peace, thou art Tohutika—
 Approach, partake of this food!
 A god of the ship's stern ornament,
 thou art Tavaka—
 Approach, partake of this food!

* *hika-tira* is defined by Davison's Tahitian dictionary (13, p. 106) as a "sort of temporary idol fixed up for a begging expedition; a small altar for a god on board a canoe."

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

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

Ka ma te po, ka ma te ao.
 Koia Tu, koia Ragi;
 Mata-iki, Mata-ho.

The nether world, the upper world is freed of restrictions.

There is Tu, there is Ragi; Mata-iki, Mata-ho.

Tagi [i] te po, tagi [i] te ao,
 Hura rana pu ha i katau e,
 Kia mate!

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

In Tahiti, Tu is Ta'arou's divine assistant in the nether world (*po*), and *Ragi* (= *Ragi*, in Tuamotuan), under the name *Ra'i-tupia-nui*, is associated with the upper world (*ao*) as the "growth" of the *ao*, the "unfolding" of the *ao*, and the "budding" of the *ao* (30, p. 356).

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

Ka maama ru e,
 Ka maama raro,
 Ka maama te hetu,
 E ka maama te marama.
 Ka maama te mata o te ika.
 Ho ki te mata ika,
 Mata honu teua.
 Ho ki te ma i.
 Tagi te pu, tagi te ao,
 Tagi te ao, Huanariki-ora.
 Horoga tu!
 Tapa, hakamotu!
 Free from restrictions above,
 Free from restrictions below,
 Free the stars from restriction,
 Free the moon from restriction.
 Free the eyes of the fish from restriction.
 Offer the eyes of the fish,
 Those are eyes of a turtle.
 Give the eyes.
 The trumpet sounds, sounds in the day,
 Sounds in the day [the trumpet]
 Huanariki-ora.
 Give!
 Cut, sever!

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

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

Ko koe hobi, e honu!
 Kua tiraga koe ki Manahoa-Tagaroa.
 Kotia to farona!
 Tuakia to gaku!
 Tabetabe to toto!
 Hurahia koe ki ruga i te unu-rau-toto!
 Kua mate koe!
 Tokio!
 It is you indeed, o turtle!
 You lie on your back on marae Manahoa-Tagaroa.
 Cut is your throat!
 Disemboweled are your entrails!
 Your blood flows away!
 You are turned over upon the oven of first cooking!
 You are dead!
 Tokio!

* *Tokio* shouted *tokio* . . . e is an ending employed in a number of chants, not all religious. The people of Vahitahi maintain that it is just an ending and that they know no meaning for it. Among recorded endings are *hiki*, *hobio*, *hobi*, *hobio*, *hobio*, *hobio*, *hobio*, *hobio*, and *hobio*.

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

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

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

Tufai! te pepe,
Tua'i te tahai.

Tara iti, tara mui haki [= Hiti?].*

Mui te kura Tamarua [i] Hiti,*

Poi mui te pōe!†

'Tera mui te kōea tahai,

Nau te atua,

Ka kai!

Te atua e nōho, te atu e hōre,

Nā Tara, nā Kaipōa, nā Varoa, nā Te

Ariki-pōtai, nā Haroa-mui-te-ragi;

Nā Muna-iti, Mumariki;

Tern mui te kōea tahai,

Nau te atua,

Ka kai!

'Tōlōki ti te pō.*

Ka mui!

Tōki a!†

Tōki o ha!‡

* Te Ufi gave *tua'i te pepe*.

† Te Mae gave *tara mui haki*; Te Uru gave *tesa mui* in his incomplete fragments and Te Ufi, *tesa mui ki*.

‡ Tamarua, which I believe to refer to Tama-tu-hae, the boiling god, figures in a Paganu chant, "Tāgāia ra tahi hā (a) i te rima mui o Atea, Tamarua," and also in a chant from Hao, "Tamarua e mui i te pō o Atea." On a genealogy from the western Tuamotus, he is represented as the son of Atea.

* *Kōi mui te pōe* was given by Te Ufi. Te Urupo had in its place *e hōre te mō*.
† Te Ufi gave, *te i te pō (= hōre)*, *te i te pō* (it is there with the necessary, there in the nether world).
‡ Te Urupo and Gōte (Te Mae's wife) gave *tōki e*, and Te Ufi gave *ōki e*.
§ The *e* is drawn out with emphasis. The *a* or *o* in the previous *tōki* balances with the *e*, in a manner very pleasing to the Tuamotuan ear. Thus we get in a Vahitahi prayer, "tara e, tara o, mōlara," and in calling out to a person, "Tahaki e, Tahaki o." Te Urupo gave *tōki-o-ya*.

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

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

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

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

Mikomiko tahai tēa,

Ko i Nōma,*

Ko i Hao.

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

The above is then repeated with *tōga* (south), *raro* (west), and *tōkerau* (northwest) appearing in place of Hao.

Ko i Tokerau-e-rito.

It is [offered] at [the stone slab named]

Tōkerau-e-rito.

Ko i Ru-matūke, ko i Ru-hagahaga,

[Ko i Ru-pepe, ko i Ru-takoto].*

Taki uta, taki tai,

Mōi a rere.

Ka kai kura, ka kai rei,

[Tama-putu-rua].*

Tōia ra hōki te matahaki.†

Te matahaki,

Ko i Nōma,

Ko i Hao.

Ko i Hao, ko i Poureva.

Muna-parea, Te Hono-kai-taua,†

Hachae-toga, Te Mauri-o-keha no

Fare-ao,‡

Te Ariki-mai-hiva.‡

Tōia ra ka tagi te kura,‡

Tagi te ao.

It is [offered] at [the stone slab named]

Tōkerau-e-rito.

It is [set before] Ru-matūke, Ru-hagahaga,

It is [set before] Ru-pepe, Ru-takoto.

Who thrust up inland, thrust up seaward,

Completely separating [sky from earth].

Partake, sacred oat, eat, venerated one,

Tama-putu-rua.

That here is indeed the consecrated food.

The consecrated food,

It is [offered] at Nōma,

It is [offered] at Hao.

At Hao, at marae Poureva.

Muna-parea, Te Hono-kai-taua.

Hachae-toga, Te Mauri-o-Keha of

Fare-ao,

Te Ariki-mai-hiva.

That is the answering call of the *kura*,

Crying in the world of light.

* Hauata, who dictated the chant to me at Mangereva in 1934, gave *ko i ano mui* (before him who comes) instead of this line, and followed by *rapa* instead of *Hao*. We did not learn of any place named Nōma.

† These names given by Hauata only.

‡ This name is from Hema; Te Uira gave *Tagi-putu-rua*. Tama-rua figures in the Napuka prayer. Possibly this is another name for Tama-tu-hae, god of healing.

§ Te Uira gives *monorei* instead of *mata-haki*. Te Aku gives *para hōki te mōi tōa*, *te mōi hāi*. At Vahitahi Shimson learned that *ka mōi-hōi-ya* was a term for a woman who ate food consecrated to the gods.

¶ Te Hono-kai-taua, father of Muna-nui, high chief of Hao 14 generations before 1900.

‡ Pareao, the skull house at marae Poureva at Hao. Te Mauri-o-Keha was Muna-nui's great-grandson.

§ Te Ariki-mai-hiva was the grandfather of Te Mauri-o-Keha.

¶ Te Aku and Hauata gave *rapa* in place of *kura* and following *rapa* Hauata has *Vahu-otiki*, as if it were the name of the *rapa* (pigeon).

[Mahu-ariéi],
Mestaki te keniga' kai.
Kia o ra to kava
horo i te raga,^a
Mamahiá' ma te rau e.
Tokioho!^b

^a Maho-Seki is from Te Aho's manuscript. Hauata gave Vahuaráki in her detested version, and Te Uira gave Mawariki.
^b Hauata gave Keniga' kai in a poetic form of kava.
^c This line in Te Aho's manuscript is kai hio o ra to kava hio. Hauata gave kai o ro to kava hi.
^d Te Uira omits the line.
^e Te Aho has mawariki in place of wawariki. Hauata had wawariki, and Te Uira, wawo ea.
^f Te Aho, Hauata, and Te Uira end the chant with tokioho. Hauata, whom I asked her the meaning of tokioho replied, "it means that the food was to be withheld from the people."

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

HAKA MATUA HAGA I TE HONU I TE
MARAÉ I POURÉVA
He utu e! He utu, he utu!
Tu mai! Tu mai! Tu mai! Tu mai!
Haere mai! Haere mai ki te pure!
Ea, hau pure!
E pure, e pure-kiri,
E rogo maga hau i mate ai homu e
No te atua i te riri.

1*
Mikoe, mikoe tahai tens,
Ko i ana mai,
Ko i ruga.
Ko i ruga, ko i raro,
Ko i uta, ko i tai.
Ko i te kava,
E miro,^a e fau, e mahora.
E mata iku, e mata hai tens,
Ko i ana mai.
Mikoe na koromatua' hoki,
Matua i uta—na Uehono, na Irahau,
Matua i tai—na Hau, na Mahora,
Koropaga-(i)-te-moana.^b
Na Tubea, na Tavaha, na Tari-topa-pahae.

* The divisions of this prayer are mine; the chant, as given, has none.
^a Miro leaves were substituted for kava leaves in marae ceremonies at Tahiti (20, p. 161).
^b I have transcribed koromatua' as spirits, following the Tahitian meaning of 'aromatua (sheets of the dead supposed to be transformed into inferior gods who were much feared).
^c The word moana ordinarily means to consecrate, but here I think it is simply an abbreviation for koromatua, as in Tahiti (20, p. 173).
^d Koropaga-te-moana would seem to be equivalent to 'Oropa'a in Tahiti, called bird of the ocean (fatu moana) and powerful spirit of the ocean (arava moana) (20, pp. 165, 244).

2
Tagara-tu-tiri,^a
Mikoe, mikoe, mikoe tahai tens,
Ko i ana mai.
Ko i raro, ko i raro,
Ko ia Kana, ko ia Pohé,
Ko ia Kumakumu-maroro.
Pere hoki te mata iku, te mata hai
tens,
Ko i ana mai.
Ko i ruga, ko i ruga,
Ko ia Te Tuki, ko ia Te Honu.

3
Tagara-niua,
Pera hoki te mata iku, te mata
hai tens.
Ko i ana mai.
Ko i te paepae,
Paepae mai, paepae honu.
Ka raga to mata,
Ka raga [= rogo] to fai tariga.

4
Pera hoki te mata iku, te mata
hai tens,
Ko i ana mai.
Ko i te tara i toga,
Ko i toga, ko i toga-mui, ko i
toga-amauu,
Ko i Toga-haro-pito.
Pera hoki te mata iku, te mata
hai tens,
Ko i ana mai.
Ko i te tara i tokerau,
Ko i tokerau.
Ko i Tokerau-o-rifo.
Ko ia Ru-matike, ko ia Ru-takoto.
Ko ia Ru-pepeke-te-uru, ko i a
Ru-hagahaga.
Tuki uta, tukia tai,
Muti a rere.
Ka kai kura, ka kai homu.

5
Pera hoki te mata iku, te mata
hai tens,
Ko i ana mai,
Ko i Hao, ko i Pouréva.
Tane-te-nia, Tane-ma-Ruamuku e,
Kia hatai tuma, ka maama.

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

2
Tagara-in-the-thunder,
Flesh, flesh, flesh of turtle is that there,
For him who comes.
It is [offered] below, below.
It is [offered] before Kama, before Pohé,
It is [offered] before Kumakumu-maroro.
Thus it is with the consecrated food,
the proffered food is that there,
For him who comes.
It is [offered] above, above,
It is [offered] before Te Tuki, before
Te Honu.

3
Tagara-niua,
Thus it is with the consecrated food,
the proffered food is that there.
It is [offered] before him who comes.
It is at the platform,
The great platform, the platform supporting
the turtle.
Lift up your eyes,
Listen with your ears.

4
Thus it is with the consecrated food,
the proffered food is that there,
Placed before him who comes.
It is before the stone upright standing on the
south end of the platform,
It is before the south wind, the strong
south wind, the cold south wind,
It is before the stone slab in the south,
called Toga-haro-pito.
Thus it is with the consecrated food,
the proffered food, is that there,
For him who comes.
It is before the sacred stone slab in the north.
It is before the north wind.
It is before the stone upright Tokerau-o-rifo.
It is before Ru-matike, it is before Ru-takoto.
It is before Ru-pepeke-te-uru, it is before
Ru-hagahaga.
Thrusting up inland, thrusting up seaward,
That [land and sky] be completely severed,
The gods eat, partake of the turtle.

5
Thus it is with the sacred food, the
proffered food is that there,
For him who comes,
It is at Hao, at marae Pouréva.
Tane-te-nia, Tane-ma-Ruamuku,
That darkness be dispelled, the tapu is lifted.

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

Kia hatai tana, ka nana.

Ka ma raga, ka ma riro,
ka ma uta, ka ma tai,
ka ma te po ma te ao.

[Mahu-ariki] hakaama!
Tupere, pikaiki, tupere
takataka.

Hakautua, hakaama!

* This name is omitted in Robinson's manuscript, but *Mou-uriki* occurs in the chant copied at Vahitahi. This is evidently a mis-transcription for *Mau-uriki* given by Te Uira in the short *horo* chant, in which Te Aka's manuscript has *Mahu-ariki*. Huan, in her dictated version, gives *Vahu-uriki*.

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

E tapena, e tapena, e tapena ika,

E tapena honu.

E tapena, e tapena, e tapena,

Tena hoki te mata ika,

Mata honu tena,

Mai te mai!

Parona honu tena,

Ka kai koutou,

Ki mua i te marae nei e,

No te atua Makai-kino.

Tena hoki te mata ika,

Te mata honu.

Ko i uta, ko i tai,

Ko i te ihu vaka ma Tapakia ia.

Ia e, fano!

Tena hoki te mata ika.

Te mata honu tena.

Mai te mai!

Tagi te po, tagi te ao,

Tahua ta roa,

Tere te keiga kai,

Mamahu te rua e;

Tekio!

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

Tagi te pu, tagi te ao.

Ga ariki oen.*

Horoa ia iu i taki fakamoe.*

* I believe this may refer to the two priests, Te-moana and Te Ariki-utu-moa mentioned in the Vahitahi feast prayer (p. 89).

* Stimson's version gives "horoa atua" in place of "horoa ia iu," and then omits the next three lines, the last two of which, however, are given in the earlier part of his version. Stimson translates the *horoa* as "my sleeping god."

That darkness be dispelled, the restrictions are lifted.

Free from restrictions above, below,

inland, seaward,

the world below and the world above,

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

Eat [till the belly be] distended, eat till

the belly be rounded.

Establish, bestow power!

Tagi te pu, tagi i te ao.

Talamu tu ai te tereiga kai.*

Horo ki te marae,

Mamahu i te rua.

Koia oiaota tena,⁴

Ka kai ki mua i te marae,*

Ma te atua Mata-i-kino.⁵

* Stimson's version has "tahua ta roa, te tereiga ka tai" in place of this line.

⁴ For this line see my substitute "koia honu tena."

* Stimson's version has "ka kai ma hoki ki mua i te marae." i Tuaina, Paig, Teherangi, Ruca, and Takaoa give Makai-kino as the name of the god; but Huan and a Nukutavake informant of mine, Tapahi, gave Mata-i-kino.

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

Koia iroiro tena,

Ka kai ana koe i mua i te marae

No Te Atua-ma-kai-kino.

Hoko ki te mata e, mata hoki tena!

Hakakite mai e!

Ma te po, ma te ao!

Ka hano, tu atu,

Teretere te reiga kai,

Horo ki te marae,

Mamahu i te rua.

That here is bonito flesh,

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

For Te Atua-ma-kai-kino.

Give the eye, that indeed is the eye!

Make known!

Make free of restriction the nether world and

the upper world!

Fly, stand up,

The feast-company gets under way,

Hasten to the marae,

Steam the oven.

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

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

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

The trumpet resounds, resounds in the light world.

The food offerings pile up like coral heads in the lagoon.

Hasten to the marae,

Prepare the oven.

That is uncooked flesh,

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

For the god Mata-i-kino.

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

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

Non e Rua,
E Rua i te tuki,
E Rua i te horo
E Rua i te arai.
Arai [i] te moana,
Te moana tabi' [= tabia], te moana
tagia.
Taki tai, e kurike tai,
E kare fanaa a pi,
Fanaa a rogo.
Titi maragai,
Maragai kokeka,
Ke tu a kokeka!
Ke hiki ana,
Ke rere a manua
Ke re[re] a taketake,
Ke puke [= peke?] to hukua.
Ke ataka te korigo,
Ke ka temutemu' o kamea.¹

For you Rua,
Rua the striker,
Rua the joiner,
Rua the warder-off,
Warding off the ocean,
The swept seas, the moaning seas,
...
A wave born of the rising sea,
Born of fame,
Land-plover of the stormy wind,
The stormy wind blowing secretly,
Let it blow!
Leaping,
Flying as a bird flies,
Flying like the white tern,
Let your white foam fly.
Let the pupil of the eye . . .
Let the gills open and shut.

¹ Versions of Tuhiragi and of Tahiri's Pora begin with this line.
² This is *tauva* in Tuhiragi's version; *toke* in Tahiri's, Te Uira's, and Te Ragi's versions.
³ This phrase is omitted by Tuhiragi but is given as *te moana tagia* by Tahiri, Te Ragi, and Tuhiragi.
⁴ In place of this line the other versions have *e tai e rogo, e tai e rogo, e tai e rogo*.
⁵ Tuhiragi has *te hiki ana*; Tahiri and Te Ragi have *te hiki ana*; and Te Uira, *te hiki ana*.
⁶ Tuhiragi has *te hiki ana*; Tahiri and Te Ragi have *te hiki ana*; and Te Uira, *te hiki ana*.
⁷ This line omitted by others.
⁸ In place of this line, Tuhiragi has *ke moana-purea*; Tahiri has *te hiki ana*, and Te Ragi has *te hiki ana*.
⁹ Tahiri has *o te moana*, and Te Ragi has *te moana*.

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

Tipa horo te vaka o Rua na,
Ho tui, ho noti te tere a
Tagarua.
Ko te vaka e! E pu!
What a canoe! E pu!

Or this Rua may be Rua-toka-nuku (Rua-coral-of-the-land), Rua-toka-ragi (Rua-coral-of-the-sky) of the Hao chant for the awakening of the gods, beginning *fakuaralata hi te po-roa* (p. 67). If so, he is comparable to Rua of Tahiti inhabiting the nether world, and also called "Rua-to'a-nu'u, Rua-to'a-ra'i."

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

Nou e Tane,
Tane-tuke, Tane-rere,
Mahuta i te tuki,
Tuki o Tane.
Tane-paku, Tane-haruru,
Tane-i-te-lalari, Tane-i-te-rarama,
Koe i raramama,
Koe a i te fa ki te ragi
no Tane-ma-Ruanuku.
For you, Tane,
Tane-kicking, Tane-flying,
Fleeing after the pounding,
Pounding [out of the earth] of Tane.
Tane-striking, Tane-thundering,
Tane-in-the-flicking, Tane-in-the-flashing,
You who lighted up [the skies],
You in the sacred domain of the sky of
Tane-with-Ruanuku.

THE FIRST OVEN

Montiton says at this stage of the ceremony (35, p. 379): "The immolation (*lofena*) and the last offering of the victim (*ragi*) are finished. All that remains is the muddification or Communion."

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

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

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

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

rotika tivaia at Napuka; ~~mau rau toto~~, at Anaa and Takarua; and *mau pirikani*, at Vahitahi.

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

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

Songs sung while turtle was cooking

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

Tatara ti atu kaveiga, e pu ana ke, e,
Talara to gaegae, e pu ana ke, e,
Tatara to gaegae, e pu ana ke.

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

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

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

E ao Tohutiika ariki,
Fakiauna to kava;
Fukakau to kava i to
Maragai-tu.
A tufikja re,
E kava, te kava a Tohutiika;
E tufikja kia Vavao [= Vavau],
kia Havaiki.
Come chief, Tohutiika,
Drink your kava;
Drink to sanitation your kava of your people
the Maragai-tu.
Grant victory.
A kava, the kava of Tohutiika;
Give it to Vavau,
to Havaiki.

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

by Paia of Anaa, and a dictated version from Huarai of Vahitahi, and another from her sister, Kaca. Seurat (42, p. 439) gives a part of the chant. The chant evidently refers to Maui's offering of kava for Raka-mau-rere, presumably his tutelary god. Maui's magic *adz*, *Naiia*, by which Havaiki was chopped free and pulled to the surface of the sea, is mentioned, as well as his victims *Kel* (Tuna), Pearl-shell (Uhi), and Clam (Korora).

PEHE MO TE HAGA KAVA

Pepeu

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

Na Raka-mau-rere te kava, ere ni i.
Hua

Te kava!
[Na] Raka-mau-rere te kava,
Na Raka-mau-rere te kava mate;

Na Raka-mau-rere te kava.
Ko te toki hoki Naiia [= Naiia].^a
tuatua kia [te tunu i Havaiki].^b
Ka higa, ka takoto [k]i Haa-mauro-hia,
Ka pae ki Fatu-marigirigi.

Tinaia te ika o Maui,
Tuna-te-vacura.

Na Maui hoki tena, ea.
Na Raka-mau-rere te kava,
Na Raka-mau-rere te kava mate:
Na Raka-mau-rere te kava!

Karu

Te ahi e[i] ka i te tunu o Vaten,
Tinaia te taona [or, taone] ki
te unu-rau-toto.
Ahihi kakana tin ma,^c
Na Haa-ragi hoki, ea.
Na Raka-mau-rere te kava, . . .

Karu

[Ko] Te Uhi[te-aro]i^d
e tu i te ara au hia ra,
Korua turei, ea [= korora tere ihia]?^e
Ko Te Pata-o [or, Patau],^f ea.
Na Ta hoki, ea.
Na Raka-mau-rere te kava, . . .

^a According to Huarai, *Naiia* was the name of the *adz* of Maui, and so the name is spelled in her version and that of her sister.
^b The words in brackets are from Huarai and Ruci's versions.
^c In place of *te ika*, the other manuscript version has *te toyo*.
^d The versions of Huarai and Kaca have in place of this line, *rai of Isakera te anava*.

Removal from first oven

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

CHANT OF THE KAVA [OFFERINGS] OF MAUI

Introduction

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

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

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

For Raka-mau-rere is the kava.
It is the *adz* *Naiia*, by which
the foundations of Havaiki were severed.
Expiring, stretching out at Haa-mauro-hia,
Floating to Fatu-marigirigi (Flashing-
surface-of-the-sea).

The victim of Maui dies,
Tuna-the-eel-spirit.

For Maui, indeed, is this.
For Raka-mau-rere is the kava,
For Raka-mau-rere is the death kava;
For Raka-mau-rere is the kava!

Verse

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

Verse

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

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

At *Vahitahi*—according to an account received from *Ruea*, *Huarai*, and *Takaoa*, the former chief of the island—after the turtle had had the entoplastron (*unahi o te unu*) removed, the breath (*aho*) from its throat (*faroua*) put into a basket (*kete*) and carried before the marae, and after it had been baked (*ken*), "the priests went to the side of the cooking fire (*kuu haere te pupu taura ki te pae o te raga*) to *tokia* the turtle seaward or by the side of the sea (*e tokio te houu ki toi*). Here, *tokia* may mean "to consecrate" or it may be equivalent to *tokioro* in the *Vahitahi nihihihi* dance (*Ko te uarua ko tokioro*), in one version of which *tokioro* was abbreviated to *tokia* and *okio*. This, *Ruea* told *Mazé*, meant "the dragging of a turtle" (*kuuuegu tifa*).

This was the chant (*teia tonu korero*), delivered when the turtle was "tokio-ed":

Haere, haere te wahine Titi-
fakahakahaka;

Titi te haere,

Haroua noe;

E ka toloro te kiore ki roto i te horau.

Pipiki o vaevae, vaevae kikiriri!

Tokia!

Tuitui tahaga tako takere,

Putu te gahaki,

Tokia!

The woman Land-plover-sneaking-along
goes, goes along;

Like the land plover is her going.

It is the breaking of dawn;

The rat creeps into the canoe shed.

Draw up your legs, vaevae like the black tern!

Tokia!

Piercing and piercing again . . .

The coconut shell is pierced,

Tokia!

* *Kiore* (rat) frequently refers, metaphorically, to the ghalbas, hence it would seem that the set of copulation is the theme of this chant. But why this should be brought in here is not clear.

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

Ko te marae, ko tokioro [repeated],

Koia te i taku fagogo [repeated],

Ho ake te tahi kia kai taku matakeinaga.

Ho ho ho ho ho!

It is the marae, it is the dragging [repeated],

It is for my child [repeated],

Give something that my people eat.

Ho ho ho ho ho!

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

Ko te marae, ko tokioro [repeated],

Ec aha? Koia te i taku fagogo.

Ho ake tahi tari na taku fagogo.

Ho ho ho ho ho!

It is the marae, it is the dragging [repeated],

What? It is for my child.

Give some bit for my child.

Ho ho ho ho ho!

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

Ko te parumu, ko te vaere [repeated],

Koia te i taku Tavana [repeated],

Ho ake te tahi kia kai taku

matakeinaga.

It is the road, it is the sweeping [repeated],

It is for my Governor [repeated],

Give some [nourishment] that my people

may eat.

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

THE SECOND OVEN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VARIOUS FEAST PRAYERS

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

Fakalahanga kai!
Garae te tumu o te feua!
Tane i honia ki¹ te Atu-papa-roroa!

Ko taha i nolio hia ai te nohoga
o ga tahuga.²
Ke taria te kai nei,
Kia mahiki,
Kia aga hia mai e Te Ariki-tu-a-mea.
Ka mana in raua homo.³

Tu-metua,⁴
Haha ki te tuni!
Haha kaha [= kaha].⁵
[Ke ui e].⁶
O! Fakalahanga kai!

Fakalahanga kai!
I kaha mai i te hihanga o te ra,
te tohoga o te ra!
Kia hopaina ki ruga,
Kia tukua ki raro.
Ka tu ko te hoga nei!
Ka mana ia raua homo.
Tu-metua,
Haha ki te tuni!
Haha kaha [= kaha].
Ka rau kai muu!
Tokio!⁷

Fakalahanga kai!
Ko maia,¹ ko maofaofa,
ko tukituki.
Ko pehe vaka a uta,
ko pehe vaka a tai,
Kia tu-patiki te horo o teua vaka.

Fakalahanga kai!
I kaha mai i te hitiga, etc.
Fac!⁸

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

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

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

¹ Te Hega gives the introductory line as *Te Ati Hauhanga kai!* Fakarongo, of Nukunavake, as O . . .
² Stimson (45, p. 53) drops the *ki* before *te Atu-papa-roroa*, but this is present in the Tagi version, which he used, and in all our versions.
³ This is a manuscript of Tama, who thought it was in place of *nolio hia ai*. Te Hega gives *ke taha noa* gives *te nohoga*. As given by Tagi the line is: *taha noa noa te nohoga o ga tahuga*. Fakarongo gives *te nohoga*.
⁴ Stimson interpreted it before Te-metua in presenting Tagi's version (Stimson, 45, p. 59).
⁵ Tagi gave the line as *fakalahanga kai*, obviously adding a *u* after *fakaha* and *kie*. In a manuscript of Tama, *te ui e*, Te Poo's manuscript the line is rendered *haha ki*.
⁶ Te Poo's manuscript has *te ui e*. Fakarongo and Te Kuru of Nukunavake have *kie ai e*. Tagi has *te ui e*. The inhabitants of Vahitahi are unanimous in explaining *te ui e* as "simply the ending (*te ui e*) of the chant." Tagi thought that *te ui e* in *te ui e*, meant to freshen. But thought that *te ui e* was short for *te ui e*, a simile to the marae. Stimson's interpretation of the ending as *te ui e* (all is *kie*'s) was based on the assumption that there was a *u* after *kie*.
⁷ Te Hega ends the chant with *ke vs kai ma*. O . . . *te ui e* . . . e!

Tane, in another Vahitahi chant for him, is called 'Tane-riri'. In Tahiti, a name for Tane is Tane-te-hoe, and at Vahitahi, it is Tane-i-te-hoe. In Tahiti, also, Tane is referred to as "a bailer at sea" (*ei ahia-ho te tai o Tane*) (30, p. 368).

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

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

FAKIGA TAPAKAU RA TOGA

CONSECRATION OF THE FOOD MAT OF TOGA

Kia e! He tapakau!
 Tapakau ra Toga.
 Ko te alu ra Toga, te roki na Toga.
 Tuhivi atu, tuhivi mai,
 Manaval atu, manaval mai,
 Ka heto atu, ka heto mai,
 Ka hētoto,
 Ko i te ara hētoto,
 Ko i te mauri rereva [a]i na Toga.
 I te nei i runa ai to tapakau,
 Ke faki ai to tapakau.
 Ka raka i mua. Haehae!

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

* The Te Pou manuscript begins with "ia e"; Tama's version begins with "haha tapakau hamani."
 † Both Te Pou and Tama have *maua* in place of *mauri* in this line, and Te Pou ends the chant with this line. Another version has "to i te mauri, rere fae."
 ‡ Tama has *maua* in place of *te nei*; another version has *maua*.
 § Tama has "ka raka i mua, fae," in place of this line.

PRAYER FOR FAKAHOTU

PUSE NO FAKAHOTU
 Ka raraga Fakahotu ki tama tapakau,
 Matahe rite.
 Toro e, toro e,
 Fakahotu has plaited her feasting mat,
 With corners firmly tied.
 Stretching, stretching.

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

PUSE TAPAKAU NO TANE

PRAYER FOR THE FOOD MAT FOR TANE

Haha tapakau hamani!
 Haha tapakau hamani!
 Tapakau a Tane!
 Tokia hau noa,
 Niū pae a veku,
 Niū pae a ragi,
 Ma te rau' mahaha,
 Ke mo toki e Tane.
 te rau o Atea,
 [K]i[ā] tutia ai, to tapakau [ma ta]!
 Tagarou-i-te-ua, [Tagarou-i-te-tai].*

Tapakau-i-te-atarere;
 Ko i te matau i fatia i ravea,
 Ko i te muku mau [ke]i roto,
 Ko i te hoe tara mai ki hea,
 Te nei i rau' ai to tapakau,
 Kia haki ai to tapakau,
 Ka raka i mua. Fae!

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

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

‡ In the version from Tahiti this is *Tane* for *a* sake.

§ In the version of Tahiti-o-Pou, and in one other version, *ragi* appears in place of *rau*.

¶ The Te Pou manuscript has *ke mo toki e Tane*, Tagi's version has *ke mo toki o Tane*, or *te rau*. *Māua*'s in Tahiti means "to give a present or bribe to gain an end" (14, p. 147). This may be the original form of *te nei*.

‡ The Te Pou manuscript has *ke raka i mua*, Tagi gave the line: *ke raka i mua* [a]i to tapakau.

§ The book may be a reference to the famous book instrumental in Tagarou's rescue of Hina-o-rau-rāi, wife of his son Turi, in the Nukutavake tradition of Turi.

¶ The Pou's manuscript has *ke i te hōhoro mauri kia*; Tagi has *ke i te hōhoro mauri*, Euen giving *hōhoro* in place of *hōhoro*; and Tama has *ke hōhoro mauri*.

‡ Some informants thought that *rau* here meant to double, or to duplicate. I believe the mat was given to Tane to present to Tagarou.

§ The Pou's manuscript has *ke rau hōhoro mauri*, Another version has *ke raka i mua*, *haea*. Tama's manuscript has *ke rau hōhoro mauri*. Takerou a Mahaga gave the same chant as Te Hega but ended in *raka i mua, fae*.

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

I tutia [a]i tapakau,
 Te Tun-i-te-riri, Te Tua-i-te-hoe,
 Te Tun-tata-i-Hiti,
 E hiti i te po ma te ao.
 Ka hitu riki.

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

Pelua e, pelua e,
Na Tu e.^a
Hio!^b

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

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

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

Tapena, tapena, tapena!

Kai!

Na Tapasa, na Tahito,
Na Te Iri, na Te Fata, na Te Tuman,
Na Te Toro, na Te Aka, na Te Agi,
na Te Reva.

Kai ragi! na!

Kai tapatiati te fani no koutou,

Kia kaikai mai o koutou haga tapena.

1

A sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice for the gods!

Eat!

It is for Tupua, Tahito,
Te Iri, Te Fata, Te Tuman,
Te Toro, Te Aka, Te Agi,
Te Reva.

Eat you chiefs there!

Eat . . .

That your sacrificed offerings be consumed.

2

A sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice for the gods!

Partake of the sacrifice!

Partake of the sacrificed dog,

The sacrificed fowl,

The sacrificed pig,

The human sacrifice!

May there be more sacrifices,

There where are your friends, your people,

There where are your guests!

The ancestral gods appear!

My people gather 'round!

^aI am assuming that ragi is here used in the Hawaiian sense of "heavenly one," "chief." But Moonson (OS, p. 279) gives ragi as a term for "victim" or "last offering of a victim."

The turtle is not mentioned in this prayer and perhaps the prayer was intended for offerings of dog, pig, fowl, and man.

A Hao manuscript book contained the following food blessing (*pure no te fati haga katiga*):

Maia-caca, ko maia roro,

Tu, tu roro, mai te haga ara,

E nobo ara na ruihine, ko Atanua,

ko Te Kupu-hei-ariiki.^a

Opening-eyes, O . . . god,

Arise, stand . . .

The two old women, Atanua,

Te Kupu-hei-ariiki,

^aAtanua stands at 12 generations from 1900, on Hao genealogies; Te Kupu-hei-ariiki is her daughter.

Ko roro iho, iho roro ake,
Horahina te keiga,
Kai tuina Te Moko-hei-tara . . .
Gather around.

Ka takamini.

Fakatu Te Fare-ariiki,^b

Takere ragi no Hao.

Melake te keiga kai!

^bThe royal clan of Hao.

Dwell within, without,
Spread out the feast,
Te Moko-hei-tara eats . . .
Gather around.

Let the Fare-ariiki clan assemble,

The royal foundation of Hao.

Excellent is the feast!

CANNIBAL FEASTS, HUMAN SACRIFICE

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

The heads or skulls of enemies killed at Takapoto or Takarua were sent to marae Hitinga at the northern extremity of Takarua. South of the marae was a pit called Ruapou, where the skulls were buried (18, p. 34).

According to a Hao manuscript copied by us, Poureva, the principal marae of the great island of Hao, had a "place for heads" (*vai rui a upo'o*), named Fare-ao. The manuscript of Te Pou mentions for marae Kura-takea, their principal marae, a "head house" (*fare upoko*).

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

The natives of Hao were among the most notorious cannibals in the Tua-

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

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

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

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

EGL FEASTS

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

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

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

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

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

OFFERINGS AT THE RUAHATU

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

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

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

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

...like another that rock called "te moe o Faka-aho" and said that I...
 like Ruanhatu, was an important god. In a list of marae features given
 in Ruca four years previously, mention is made only of the fact that *paakana*
 (branch coral) as well as *paakana toroio* (small *Tridacna* shells) were to be
 seen at the marae. At the best preserved marae ruin of the area, marae
 Aturona, Vairaatea Island (18, fig. 51) I saw a pile of branch coral along
 one side of the court, exactly like the *ruanhatu* of Fagatau.

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

BURIAL RITES

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

Tikaro, tikarohu!
 Ka mohora ki mua i Maruofa, rira.
 Pua, ka garo, rira!
 Pua, ka garo, ka tukua,
 Ka tukua ki uta i te henua.
 Kau mai i te tai o Pehahi, rira.
 Pua, ka garo, rira!
 Pua, ka garo, ka tukua!
 Let him be wrapped up [in his burial mat]!
 Let him be laid upon Maruofa [his marae].
 Shrouded, lost, alas!
 Shrouded, lost, set down,
 Set down inland [upon his burial platform].
 The flooding seas of Pehahi flow hither.
 Rolled up in his shroud, lost, alas!
 Shrouded, lost to view, let down [into the
 grave]!

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

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

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

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

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

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

Teretere tau, e kotokei tagata.
 He teretere tau, he kotokei tagata.

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

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

Kura poi Kura poi
 Maai ake, maai ake
 Here hia! Here hia!
 Pupa! Pupa!

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

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

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

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

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

Ka ka i te ahi, ka i roga!
 Hikaisa ma vetevete,
 Tamarakibia,
 Tagae! Tagae!

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

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

Next, the priest takes the *kaufara*,⁴ which had been properly sanctified, out of the growth from the top of a pandanus bush and was very carefully wrapped up in specially prepared white pandanus leaves. It was not bound with coconut. A Reao native told J. F. G. Stokes in 1921 that when the bundle was placed at the marae about 20 *eraba* sticks were set up. These were sticks with pandanus leaves, *naa* (*Lepidium*, or scurvy grass) leaves, and coconut leaves.

He holds it up before the assembled multitude and prays to the gods. The high priest to the second priest, who, holding it on the both hands, advances in turn to every person within the marae, to each of whom he holds it up to be *hugi* (smelled or embraced). This rite supposed to be of the utmost importance, not even a babe in arms could be passed over it. After each individual had smelled or embraced the *houfara*, the priest would pass his hand over it before holding it out to the next in turn, in order to remove the odor (*houga*) of the preceding person. The second priest then returned the *houfara* to the first, who then recited a prayer, afterwards replacing the *houfara* in the *ama*.

The first priest next conferred his mana upon the second, who then commanded the people to follow him out of the marae. He led the way over every path in the village, and past each habitation. As each person arrived before his own dwelling, he left the cortege and entered therein. Thus all the people returned to their homes, after which the ceremony was considered over.

CEREMONY OF APOTHEOSIS

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

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

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

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

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

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

... that case he would be considered... he would supposedly be particularly able to bring success in their undertakings to his descendants who should call upon him for help.

If the chief or leading warrior was to be converted into a *moiti*, the body was left on the scaffold support (*houfara*) to dry and desiccate (*houfara*) in the sun. A *fare heiau* or *fare moiti* was then built to receive the corpse. The house was small and contained an *ara* or four-walled stone inclosure for the corpse (*ira mate*); this enclosure [is or vault?] could not be entered by the common people or even by the relatives of the defunct unless of *houfara* or *taura rank*.

When the body was sufficiently desiccated a funeral cortege was formed, led by the *houfara*, which proceeded to the marae. There, before removing the corpse from its *houfara* the high priest recited the following *fare*⁴ (given by Tagi a Tanehoala).

HE KURA TAATA, HE KURA MARU
 Te tu ahi nei taku kura
 i te tui o te rahi
 Ke hiave, ke maharokave,
 ke rotoau!
 Kia topa te hahai,
 Hahaku te atuu Te Uho-araki e.
 Te kura i raga nei.
 Kia! He kura!

AS ANCESTOR GOD, A KURA MARU
 My hiva abides everywhere
 in the remote abode!
 Let the gloom gather, threatening clouds,
 that thereby I should fall!
 That it clear in fall,
 The god Te Uho-araki stands forth in splendor.
 The hiva above here!
 Behold! A hiva!

The *ira mate* (corpse) was then transported upon a specially prepared *tiraga* (stretcher), or *sa-kaoko*, to the *fare heiau* where it was deposited upon a scaffold-like shelf in the *ara*. The position of the corpse was horizontal—extended with arms lying on the stomach, palms down. It was wrapped up with sennit.

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

Temo atu ra ha ki roto e!
 Ki roto i te fare koe,
 Ki roto i te ara koe,
 Vai atu ra ha ki roto,
 Ki roto o te fare koe.
 E manio (i manio) te!

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

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

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

SHORTENING A MARAE CEREMONY

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

Irihau e, nuku mau tori,
 Tapae i te rahi o Tu.
 Ko Rogo, Te Iri, ko Te Fata,
 Tupua, ko Tohihika.
 Mama iau i e!

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

⁴ This chant was called at Nukunaváa a "pure rahi o te kura manu" (sacred prayer of the hiva manu).

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MARQUESAS

Mathias says that in the Marquesas they knew the morning and evening stars, and their names had those meanings¹; and Jardin says the name of the morning star was Fetu-oatea, and that of the evening star Fetu-mahona-puipui-i-te-ahiahai, and that they were both the planet Venus². I imagine the first name means "the star of (the god) Atea." The Pleiades were called Mata-iti or Maka-iki, which Mathias translates as meaning "little eyes"³. According to Jardin the stars of the Belt of Orion were called Taotahu⁴; but Mathias says that they were called Ta-tuitui-hohoe, which, he says, apparently means "a chief's paddle"⁵. The story of the fish-hook of Tongareva had evidently reached the Marquesas, for von den Steinen, having great difficulty in persuading a chief's family to sell him the carved tortoise-shell hook "with which Maui fished up the island of Tongareva," succeeded in doing so by reminding them that, according to their own tradition, Maui had hurled his hook into the firmament, where it became the constellation Scorpio—thus shaking their belief in the relic⁶. The Milky Way was called Vao-fetu, or "band of stars?" It is said that meteors were believed to be the excrements of—apparently—the sun and moon⁸. They were also associated with the souls of men⁹.

According to Mathias the people knew a great number of constellations and gave them names, also some stars¹⁰. Jardin says that the voyages which they made from one island to another of their archipelago had made them observe the stars and distinguish the principal constellations; they identified about twenty-five [stars and constellations]¹¹. Von den Steinen says the months received their names and were distinguished according to one or more fixed stars which appeared at each new moon; thus there was a Sirius, an Orion, and a Pleiades month¹².

¹ Mathias, p. 210.

² Mathias, p. 212. Cf. Jardin, p. 206. The *r* is not pronounced in the Marquesas.

³ Jardin, p. 206.

⁴ Von den Steinen, *V.G.E.* vol. xxv, p. 501.

⁵ Jardin, p. 206.

⁶ Des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. LII, p. 727.

⁷ Mathias, pp. 209-10.

⁸ Von den Steinen, *V.G.E.* vol. xxv, p. 498.

⁹ Jardin, p. 206.

¹⁰ Mathias, p. 210.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 207.

¹² Jardin, p. 206.

PAUMOTU

The people of the island of Mangareva believed that the stars were fixed to the sky¹. Stevenson says that Venus played a great part in the tales and customs of all the islands of the group. Among other things it regulated the season for good fish, which were poisonous in the lagoon with Venus in one phase, and valued articles of food when it was in another. The white men explained these changes by phases in the coral². According to Caillot, when in Hao Island a male turtle was caught the people shouted out "Takero!" but if a female, was caught they cried "Matariki!" It is explained that each of these names signified a star, that the two stars rose in the east about May, and that the people attributed to these stars the south-east gales which blew at this period³. It will be noticed that the latter of these names is that commonly given to the Pleiades.

NIUE

We have only a scrap of information from the island of Niue. Smith says that he could not learn from the present generation whether they had the same knowledge of the stars, etc., as had most other branches of the race. Venus, as the morning star, was called Fetu-aho, and as the evening star Tu-afiafi. There was also a constellation called Mataliki, but he could not learn whether, as in other islands, it was the Pleiades⁴.

FOTUNA

Grézel refers in his Dictionary to the practice in the island of Fotuna of naming some of the months of the year from the stars and constellations⁵. I shall quote him with regard to this when dealing with months and seasons. He also gives the following names of known stars and constellations; and in repeating them I shall in each case introduce the page in the Dictionary into my tabulated list instead of in a footnote⁶:

p. 128	<i>Fetaungapepe</i>	two small stars near the Southern Fish
	<i>Fetun</i>	year, star
p. 129	<i>Fetun ao</i>	morning star (Venus)
	<i>(Fetun aeso)</i>	Jupiter or Saturn (planet)
	<i>(Fetun ea)</i>	

¹ *A.P.F.* vol. XII, p. 67. Cuzent, *V.I.G.* p. 38.

² Stevenson, *S.S.* p. 158.

³ Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 68 and note 1.

⁴ Grézel, p. 67.

⁵ Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 217.

⁶ Grézel, *passim*.

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by E. W. Williamson

Religious and Cosmic Beliefs
of Central Polynesia

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1700a

Legends of the South Seas
Alpen, Anatomy

Porapora

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.

16 décembre 1972

Steau Tortue

ELEVAGE de TORTUES

ETUDE de la CROISSANCE - GROUPE A

INTRODUCTION -

Le 18 novembre 1972, vingt (20) oeufs de tortues ont été récoltés d'un nid découvert à Faaurumai, secteur de Avatoru dans l'île de Rangiroa (oeufs pondus depuis plusieurs jours) par un pêcheur local, résidant Avatoru. Monsieur TETUARI à TEITA, l'intéressé récoltant un certain nombre d'oeufs et les transporta chez lui à Avatoru pour les mettre dans un trou de 30 cm près de sa cuisine. Une partie des oeufs pondus ont été laissés à la nature.

Les expérimentation d'élevage des jeunes tortues provenant de chez M. TETUARI ont démarrés le 16 décembre 1971.

RESULTATS des EXPERIMENTATIONS APRES 12 MOIS.

- Poids gagné en moyenne par tortue	5.620 grammes
- Longueur de la carapace " "	33,6 cm
- Largeur " " " " " "	28,8 cm

CONSOMMATION de la NOURRITURE

Par an et par tortue 31,600

.../...

ETUDE sur la CROISSANCE de TORTUES

NOURRITURE CONSOMMEE PAR UNE TORTUE PENDANT 12 MOIS

GROUPE A

Janvier	25 gr/jour	750 g total du mois
Février	50 "	1 400
Mars	65 "	2 015
Avril	65 "	1 950
Mai	70 "	2 170
Juin	70 "	2 100
Juillet	75 "	2 225
Août	80 "	2 480
Septembre	100 "	3 000
Octobre	120 "	4 720
Novembre	120 "	3 600
Décembre	150 "	4 650

88

31 600 x 20

632 F/an

31,600 kg de déchet par année

ELEVAGE de TORTUES

ETUDE de la CROISSANCE, POIDS et DIMENSIONS

GROUPE A

C A R A P A C E

Nbre	Poids	Long.	Largeur	Observations
1	20	4,8	3,7	Premiers essais d'élevage de tortues, dans des bacs en plastique au Centre d'Avatoru. Le 16 décembre 1972, éclosion de 16 spécimens. Mensurations faites ce jour.
2	19	4,7	3,6	
3	18	4,6	3,2	
4	19	4,7	3,7	
5	18	4,5	3,6	
6	19	4,7	3,7	
7	17	4,2	3,2	
8	19	4,8	3,8	
9	15	3,9	2,8	
10	18	4,5	3,8	
11	19	4,7	3,8	
12	17	3,7	2,9	
13	19	4,6	3,5	
14	19	4,7	3,9	
15	20	4,8	3,7	
16	17	3,8	2,7	
Total	293	71,5	55,3	
Moyenne	19	4,0	2,9	

Mois de janvier 1972

ELEVAGE de TORTUES

ETUDE de la CROISSANCE

GROUPE A

C A R A P A C E S

Nbre	Poids	Long.	Larg.	Observations
1	110	8,5	7,4	4 tortues mortes en cours du mois dont 2 des suites des troubles stomacaux par fermentation due à la nourriture.
2	115	8,3	7,0	
3	104	7,5	6,8	
4	103	7,9	6,7	
5	87	7,5	6,4	(Traitement effectué par cure au bicarbonate et herbes) (remède local).
6	80	7,2	5,9	<u>Symptômes</u> : Tortues congelées n'arrivent plus à plonger pour attraper leur nourriture.
7	90	7,9	6,5	1 tortue disparue pendant la nuit. (vol).
8	104	8,1	6,9	1 tortue offerte au biologiste Mindy Don Lee.
9	100	7,8	6,7	- Nourriture : 3 fois par jour.
10	80	7,5	6,4	(Bénitier) (pahua) (Poissons déchets).
11	90	7,3	5,6	- Poids de nourriture consommé par jour du 16/12/71 au 16/1/72 = 100 grammes par repas ou 300 grammes par jour pour 12 tortues.
12	90	7,6	6,3	
12				Consommation du mois = 9 kg
Total	1.158	93,1	73,2	Consommation par tortues, par mois = 750 grammes
Moyenne	97,1	7,8	6,6	Main-d'oeuvre 2,30 h/jour
				Total main-d'oeuvre du mois 90 heures.

ELEVAGE de TORTUES

ETUDE de la CROISSANCE

GROUPE A

Nbre	Poids	Longueur	Largeur	Observations
1	250	11,0	9,0	Poids de nourriture fournie en moyenne par mois et par tortue = 1,400 Kg
2	230	10,4	9,0	
3	210	10,3	8,7	Main-d'oeuvre du mois = 90 heures
4	220	10,4	8,6	
5	220	10,3	9,0	
6	220	10,0	8,6	
7	180	9,5	8,5	
8	184	9,0	8,5	
9	170	10,0	8,4	
10	160	9,4	7,9	
11	90	8,6	7,5	
12	85	8,0	6,5	
Total	2 219	116,9	100,2	
Moy.	167,5	9,5	7,5	

E T U D E de la C R O I S S A N C E

GROUPE A

Nbre	Poids	Long.	Larg.	Observations
1	450	13,5	11.0	Poids de nourriture fournie par tortue, par mois = 2.015 grammes Main-d'oeuvre = 90 heures 1 mortalité (Stomacal)
2	350	12.0	9.5	
3	400	12.5	10.5	
4	400	12.7	10.5	
5	400	12.5	10.7	
6	400	12.7	10.5	
7	270	11.5	9.5	
8	290	11.5	10.0	
9	300	11.5	10.0	
10	290	11.5	10.0	
11	200	10.5	8.0	
11				
Total	3.750	123.4	110.2	
Moyenne	325	12.0	9.5	

ETUDE de la CROISSANCE

GROUPE A

Nbre	Poids	Carapace		Tête larg.	Ceinture au corps	Plastron	Observations
		Long.	Larg.				
1	500	15,0	12,3	3,2	29,4	12,6	Nourriture à base de poisson fournie pour le mois et par tortue 1 960 g Apparition de taches autour du cou de cer- taines tortues, genre de champignon Cure. Application de bleu de méthylène sur les parties malades. Résultats positifs, traitement très effi- cace, disparition des lésions après 3; jours de traitement.
2	500	13,9	11,7	3,1	29,8	11,8	
3	490	14,3	11,4	3,1	28,0	12,0	
4	530	15,1	12,3	3,2	30,2	12,3	
5	390	12,8	10,3	2,9	24,9	10,8	
6	391	12,7	10,2	2,9	24,8	10,3	
7	420	12,8	11,0	2,8	26,5	10,8	
8	395	13,7	10,5	2,9	26,2	10,7	
9	400	13,3	11,3	2,8	26,4	10,9	
10	420	13,1	10,8	2,9	26,2	10,9	
11	440	13,3	11,2	2,8	27,8	10,4	
11	4 876	150,0	123,0	32,6	300,2	123,5	
Total Moyenne	447 g	14,0	11,1	2,9	28,2	11,1	

CENTRE D'AVATORU

ETUDE de la CROISSANCE

GROUPE A

Nb	Carapace		T E T E			Plastron	Sexes	OBSERVATIONS
	Poids	Long.	Long.	larg.	Ceinture			
1	2,100	25,3	20,0	4,4	46,1	19,1	F	Reste 10 spécimens
2	3,000	27,3	22,2	4,8	51,1	21,1	M	Rien de particulier à
3	3,100	26,5	23,0	4,9	52,8	21,5	F	signaler. Très bonne
4	3,000	27,4	23,0	4,9	52,8	21,5	M	santé.
5	3,400	29,2	24,0	5,1	54,6	23,6	F	Poids moyens de la nour-
6	3,000	26,4	23,9	4,6	51,8	21,8	M	riture par jour, par
7	3,300	27,4	24,7	5,2	53,4	22,9	F	tortue = 100 g/ 3kg/mois
8	2,900	25,7	22,6	4,8	51,5	20,5	M	tortue 2 repas par jour
9	2,200	24,2	22,2	4,5	46,4	19,1	F	7h,30 et 16h,30
10	2,500	25,3	23,2	4,7	48,3	20,8	M	
10	28,500	264,7	222,0	47,8	508,8	239,2	$\frac{5M}{5F}$	
total								
oyenne								
1	2,850	26,4	22,9	4,7	50,8	21,5		

ETUDE de la CROISSANCE

GROUPE A

Nb	Poids	Carapace		Tête	Ceinture	Plastron	Sexe	OBSERVATIONS
		Long.	larg.	larg.				
1	4,000	30,8	26,5	5,5	58,4	25,3	M	Poids moyen de nourriture
2	4,000	29,5	25,5	5,9	57,5	21,0	H	per 100g / 100g / 100g
3	4,000	29,0	25,8	5,5	58,0	24,8	F	de déchets.
4	3,000	28,5	25,5	5,5	54,0	23,5	F	4,7-0 kg / mois / 100g
5	4,000	30,2	26,8	5,5	54,9	24,0	F	
6	3,400	28,9	23,5	5,5	55,0	22,5	F	rien de spécial à
7	4,000	29,0	25,0	5,5	58,0	24,0	M	signaler
8	4,000	29,0	26,5	6,5	57,0	23,5	F	
9	3,000	27,8	24,0	5,5	51,5	21,5	N	
10	3,000	26,2	23,2	5,1	51,5	22,0	H	
10	36,400	289,4	252,4	55,0	528,0	234,9	5-5	
total moyenne								
1	3,640	28,9	25,2	5,5	52,8	23,4	5-5	

CENTRE D'AVATORU

ETUDE de la CROISSANCE

GROUPE A

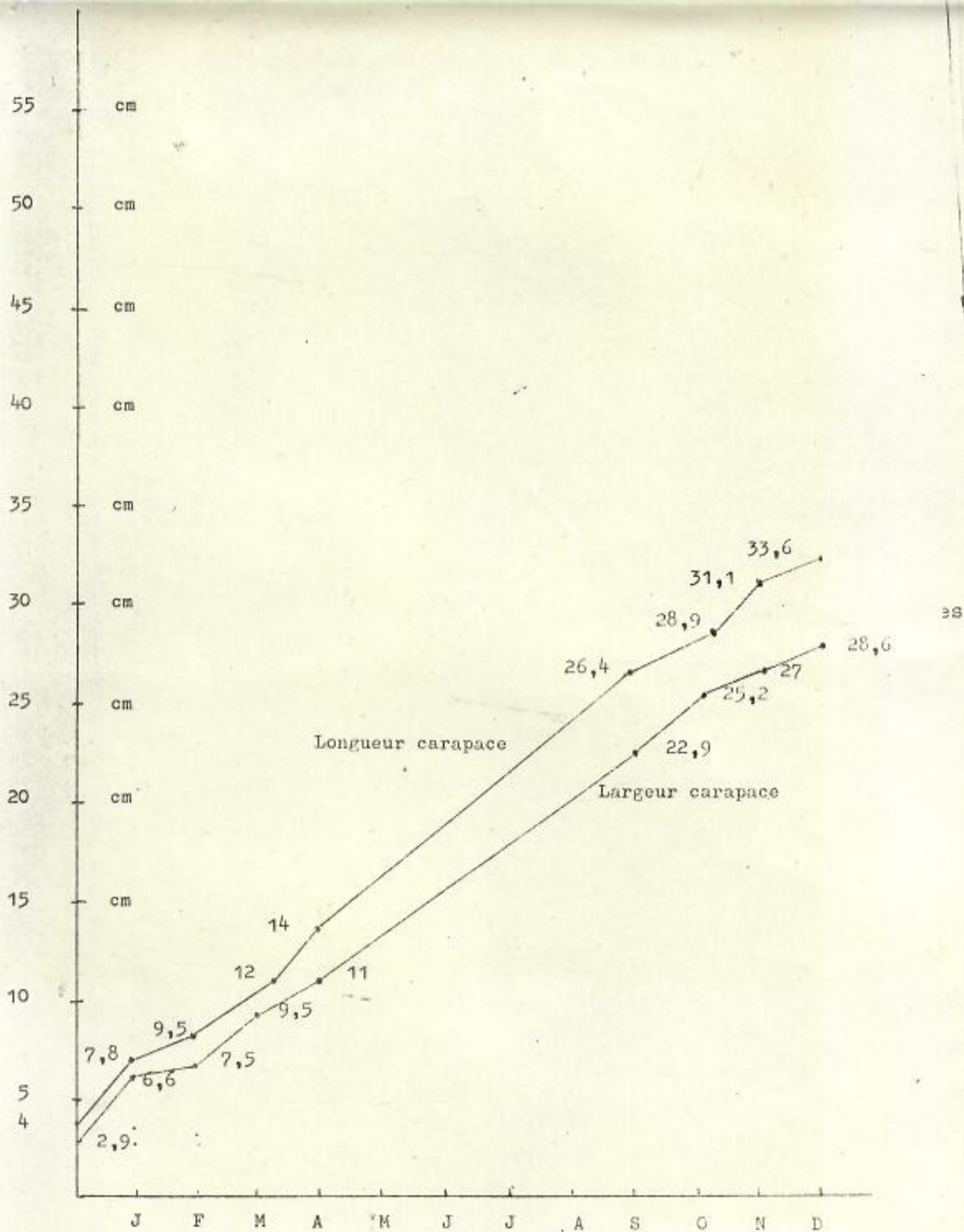
Nb	Poids	CARAPACE		Tête	Ceinture	Plastron	Sexe	OBSERVATIONS
		Long.	larg.	larg.				
1	5,000	31,5	29,4	5,2	63,8	26,0	M	Bonne santé
2	4,420	31,0	26,9	5,5	61,5	26,0	M	720 g nourriture
3	5,000	33,0	27,3	5,8	63,0	27,0	M	par jour /tortue
4	4,950	31,5	27,3	5,7	63,3	26,0	M	1,600 kg par mois/
5	5,000	32,5	27,0	5,7	61,2	26,4	M	tortue
6	4,000	29,2	25,5	5,6	55,9	24,4	F	
7	4,450	30,6	27,0	5,5	60,4	25,0	F	
8	5,000	31,5	27,5	6,2	62,0	26,0	F	
9	3,900	29,5	25,2	5,5	56,5	23,9	F	
10	4,200	31,0	27,0	5,7	61,0	27,0	F	
10	45,920	311,3	270,1	56,4	608,6	258,0	5 - 5	
al								
enne								
1	4,592	31,1	27,0	5,6	60,8	25,8	5 - 5	

CENTRE D' AVATORU

ETUDE de la CROISSANCE

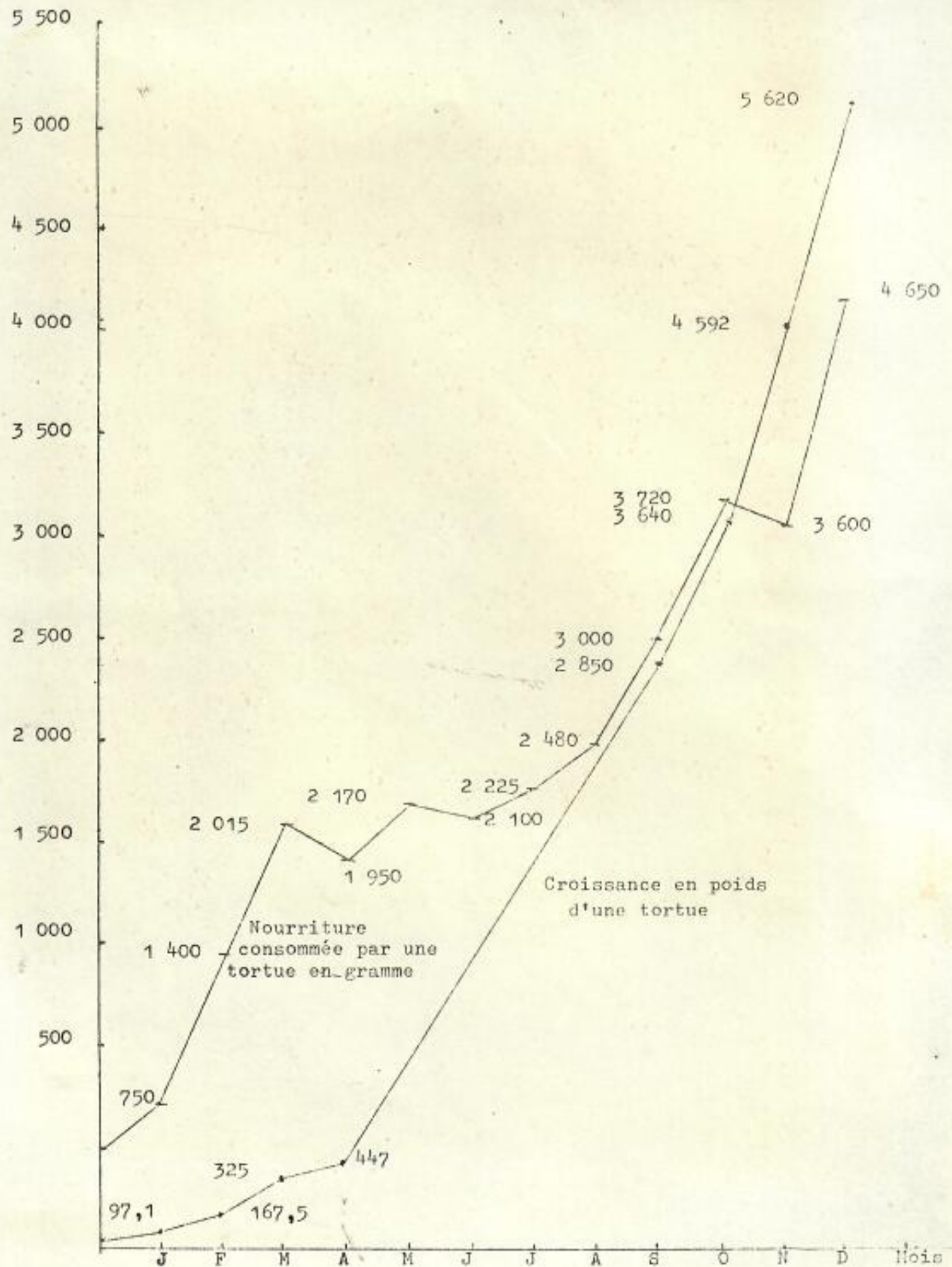
GROUPE A

Nb	Poids	Carapace		Tête larg.	Ceinture	Plastron	Sexe	OBSERVATIONS
		Long.	larg.					
1	6,400	35,3	29,0	6,0	65,0	29,0	M	Un amaigrissement de quelques tortues durant ce mois. Signe visible creux sous le ventre, Causes : manque de nourriture par négligence du manoeuvre, responsable des soins aux tortues. Comme ce centre manque de main d'oeuvre ceci est normal. Trop de travail pour chaque manoeuvre et dirigeant. Poids de la nourriture : 150 g / jour 4,650 kg / mois.
2	6,200	34,9	28,5	5,8	65,0	28,0	M	
3	5,200	32,8	29,0	5,8	63,2	26,1	M	
4	4,800	32,0	28,0	5,5	62,0	26,1	F	
5	6,000	33,5	30,0	6,0	66,0	26,3	M	
6	5,800	33,5	29,2	5,9	66,0	27,6	F	
7	4,800	32,0	26,7	5,3	60,0	26,0	F	
8	6,400	35,5	29,0	6,2	66,0	28,8	M	
9	4,800	32,2	27,0	5,7	60,0	25,4	F	
10	5,800	34,3	29,3	6,4	66,5	28,5	F	
10	56,200	336,0	286,2	58,6	639,7	271,8	5-5	
Total								
Moyenne								
1	5,620	33,6	28,6	5,8	63,9	27,1	5-5	



GROUPE A/

DIAGRAMME DE CROISSANCE DE LA CARAPACE pendant les 12 premiers mois



GROUP E A/
 DIAGRAMME DU GAIN DE POIDS DURANT LES 12 PREMIERS MOIS - AVATORU

16/12/71 à 16/12/72

French N-tests turning South Pacific atoll into Swiss Cheese Isle

By THOMAS O'TOOLE
and KEVIN KLOSE

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — France has so badly damaged parts of the South Pacific atoll of Mururoa where it conducts its underground nuclear weapons tests that it may be forced to move the tests to another island in French Polynesia as early as next year.

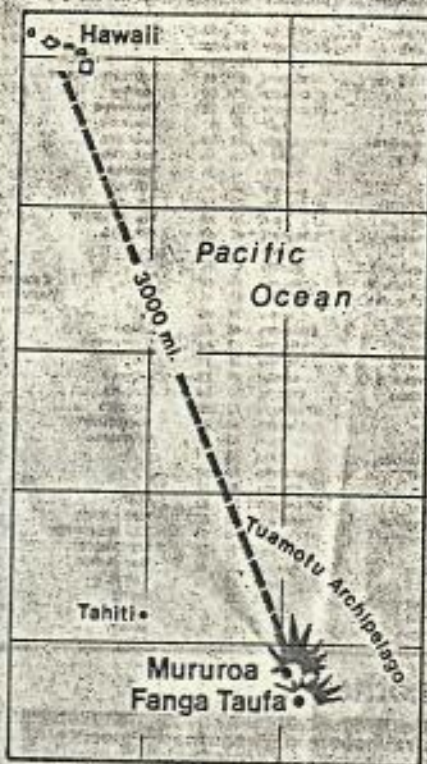
No decision has been made by France to abandon Mururoa but nuclear weapons sources in the United States and in France have said that test holes are already being drilled in the nearby atoll of Fanga Taufa to see if it can accommodate weapons testing. France conducted its first two underground tests at Fanga Taufa in 1975 before moving the tests to Mururoa.

Sources said the 29 nuclear weapons that France has exploded in the past four years under Mururoa have left the island "looking like a Swiss cheese."

Test holes have been drilled under the 60-foot-deep lagoon as far down as one mile into the volcanic rock that underlies the coral-and-limestone atoll. The French have not said when the first test will take place under the lagoon but it could come in 1981.

France never announces a nuclear weapons test and never confirms one after it takes place. France simply acknowledges that it conducts occasional tests.

Even the number of explosions



France has conducted in Polynesia is supposed to be secret, but U.S. sources place them at 31, two at Fanga Taufa and 29 at Mururoa.

France also keeps secret the size of its tests, most of which it insists

See DAMAGE on Page A-4

Damage to Mururoa forcing France to move N-test site

From Page 1

are under 20 kilotons. Sources say that most French tests are engineered to miniaturize their weapons so they can be more easily carried by missiles and aircraft.

The last large French test was understood to be the 200-kiloton test of July 24, 1979, that triggered a small tidal wave the French newspaper *Le Matin* said happened when the weapon stuck half-way down the 800-meter-deep shaft leading to the test pit and was fired in that position.

While admitting the explosion set off a mini-tidal wave, French sources denied that the weapon was stuck and denied the explosion took place half-way down the shaft.

One source said the explosion set off an underground landslide of limestone, which lay above the volcanic rock where the weapon was exploded. The source freely admitted that the limestone may have been loosened by previous blasting.

In any case, the earthslide occurred three or four hours after the explosion when French test

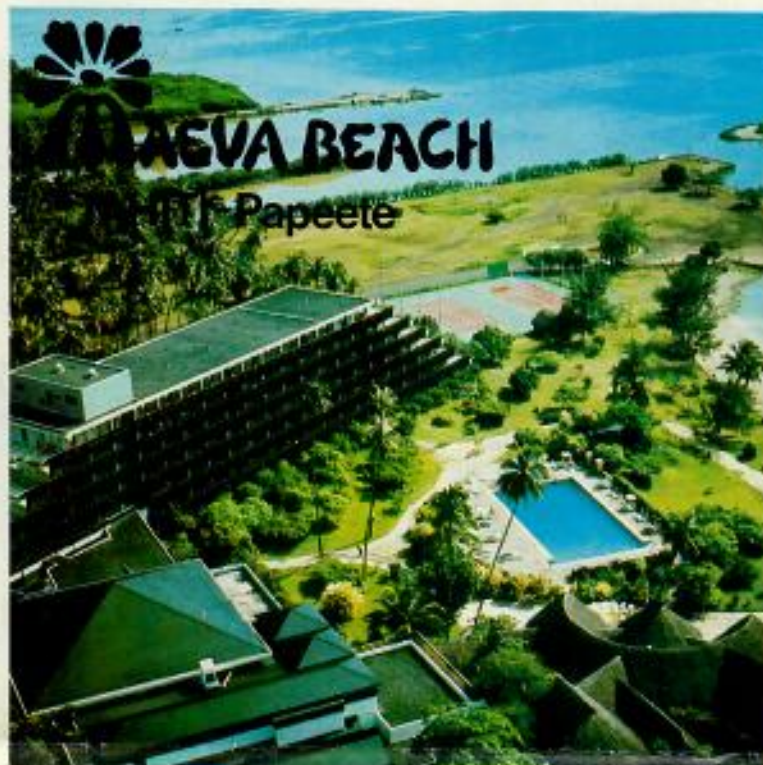
personnel had emerged from bunkers where they stay during a test.

Less than three weeks before the tidal wave incident, there was an accident on Mururoa involving the handling of plutonium used to make the French explosives. French sources said an electric drill used to machine the plutonium set off a spark that triggered an explosive chemical fire that killed two workmen.

"It was a stupid accident," one French source said, "but had nothing to do with nuclear testing."

New Zealand newspapers have said that the explosion that triggered the tidal wave also vented dangerous amounts of radioactivity into the atmosphere, which French sources also denied.

One source said that most testing on Mururoa takes place in pits about two-thirds of a mile down, which he said is deeper than the U.S. tests in Nevada and is more than deep enough to prevent venting. The source said that bubbles of radioactive gas often escape but insisted they are so small and dissipate so rapidly in the atmosphere that they present no threat to the environment.



**Adresse / Address : B.P. 6008 - FAAA
TEL. 28.042 - MAEVOTEL**

SITUATION / LOCATION

Hôtel prestigieux de style polynésien situé à 6 kms du centre de Papeete, face à l'île de Moorea et à proximité immédiate de l'aéroport international de Faaa.

Polynesian style hotel located at about 6 kms from the center of Papeete, facing the Moorea island and nearby the international airport of Faaa.

LES SERVICES DE L'HOTEL / HOTEL FEATURES

Hôtel de luxe entièrement climatisé . 230 chambres . 2 restaurants . 2 bars . salons . boutiques . piscine . tennis . activités nautiques sur la plage . bureau de voyages . location de voitures.

De Luxe hotel fully air-conditioned . 230 rooms . 2 restaurants . 2 bars . lounges . shopping arcade . swimming pool . tennis . nautical activities on the beach . travel desk . car rental.

SALLES DE REUNIONS / CONVENTION HALL

La salle «Paevai» peut accueillir 150 personnes en cocktail et 80 personnes en réunion. Dans les jardins de l'hôtel, «fare banquet» de style polynésien, d'une capacité de 500 personnes en cocktail et 350 personnes en banquet. Possibilité de cocktail autour de la piscine.

The «Paevai» room can guest 150 persons for a cocktail party and 80 persons for meeting. In the gardens of the hotel, «fare banquet» in polynesian style offers a capacity of 500 persons for a cocktail party and 350 persons for banquet. Cocktail facilities around the swimming pool.

ADRESSES UTILES / USEFUL ADDRESSES

UTA / AIR POLYNÉSIE - quai Bir Hakeim - B.P. 314 TEL. 25.850
OFFICE DU DEVELOPPEMENT DU TOURISME - Papeete - TEL. 29.626

Adresse / Address : B.P. 2460 - Papeete TEL. 27.553 - KAINATAHITI

SITUATION / LOCATION

Situé dans l'archipel des «Tuamotu», sur un des plus beaux atolls du Pacifique du Sud, idéal de par sa petite taille, à une heure et demie de Tahiti.

Located in the «Tuamotu» Archipelago, on one of the most beautiful atoll in South Pacific because of its small size. An hour and a half from Tahiti.

LES SERVICES DE L'HOTEL / HOTEL FEATURES

Ensemble hôtelier de grand standing . 14 bungalows lacustres et un grand bungalow, le «Fare Jeune» (5 chambres doubles et 2 chambres simples) . restaurant . bar . boutique . billard . transferts hôtel/aéroport/hôtel inclus dans les tarifs.

High class hotel resort . 14 polynesian style over-water bungalows and a large bungalow, the «Fare Jeune» (5 double rooms and 2 single rooms) . restaurant . bar . boutique . billards . Airport/hotel transfers and return included in the rates.

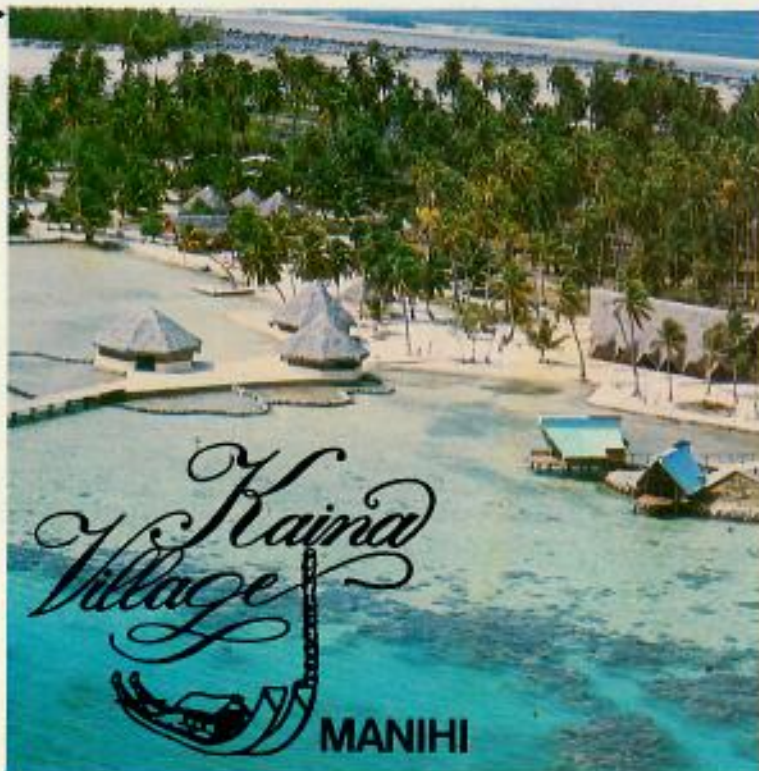
ACTIVITES ET DETENTE / ACTIVITIES AND ENTERTAINMENT

Activités gratuites : promenades sur le lagon en pirogue ; excursion sur le récif, plongée avec masque et tuba, chasse sous-marine, pêche dans le lagon (coquillages, oursins), démonstration de la pêche des nacres, visite d'une ferme perlière, visite du village de Turipaoa.

Free activities : Outrigger canoeing on the lagoon, reef excursion, snorkeling, spear fishing, pearl diving demonstration, fishing in the lagoon (shells, sea-urchins), visit to a black pearl farm, visit to the native village of Turipaoa.

Activités payantes : ski nautique, plongée avec bouteilles, pêche en haute mer, pêche à la traîne, safari photos sous-marines avec guide, safari de pêche sur l'Atoll de Ahe (2 ou 3 jours), pique-nique de la journée sur un motu.

Optional activities : water skiing, scuba diving, deep sea fishing, sub-marine safari photos with a guide, fishing trip to Ahe island (2 or 3 days), picnic on a motu. (one day).



L'étoile.



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De chez vous en Afrique, il vous est facile de rejoindre Paris. Air France relie directement 24 grandes villes africaines à Paris et, au départ de la plupart d'entre elles, assure également des liaisons avec 8 grands centres régionaux français.

Des autres points du continent africain, pour vous rendre à Paris, vous disposez bien sûr des vols de l'UTA et de ceux de toutes les Grandes Compagnies Aériennes Africaines.

Air France c'est également l'Amérique du Nord, les États-Unis, le Canada, le Mexique. 10 grandes villes sont desservies par des vols le plus souvent directs, assurés exclusivement en B 747 ou en Concorde.

Air France, c'est aussi toute l'Europe à votre disposition avec 69 villes desservies, 1580 vols par semaine. En voyageant avec Air France, le monde est à vous.



AIR FRANCE 

Le meilleur de la France vers le monde.

en Polynésie Française

Adresse / Address : KIA ORA HOTELS - B.P. 706 - PAPEETE
TEL. 28.672 - KIAORA

SITUATION / LOCATION

Implanté dans l'archipel des «Tuamotu», sur un des plus grands atolls du Pacifique, à moins d'une heure de vol de Tahiti.

Located in the «Tuamotu» Archipelago, on one of the largest atoll in the Pacific, less than an hour from Tahiti.

LES SERVICES DE L'HOTEL / HOTEL FEATURES

Complexe hôtelier de grand standing . 25 bungalows de style polynésien construits directement sur la plage . restaurant . bar . boutique . location de bateaux avec matelot.

High class hotel resort . 25 Polynesian style beach front bungalows . restaurant . bar . shop . boat rental with sailor.

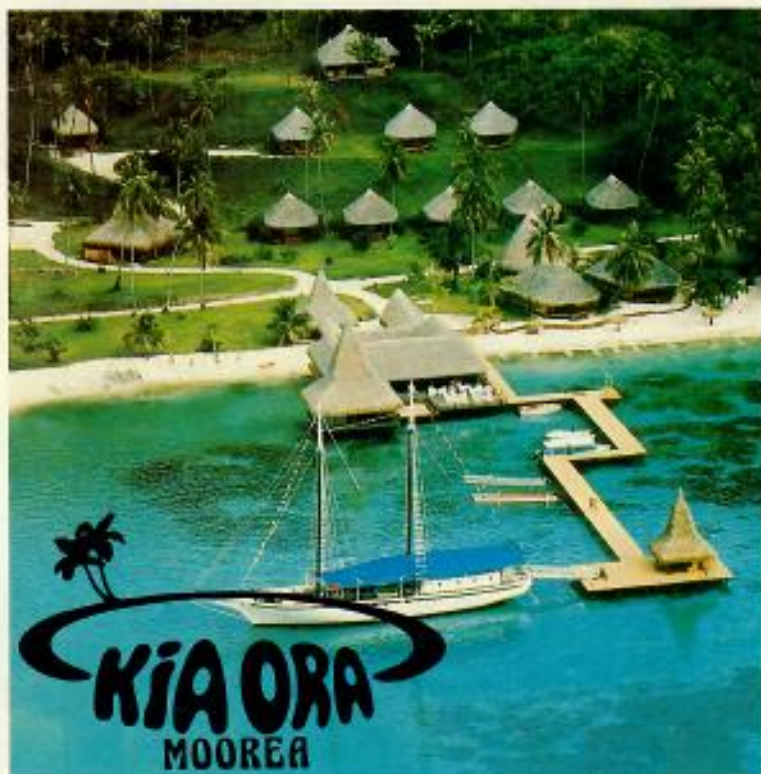
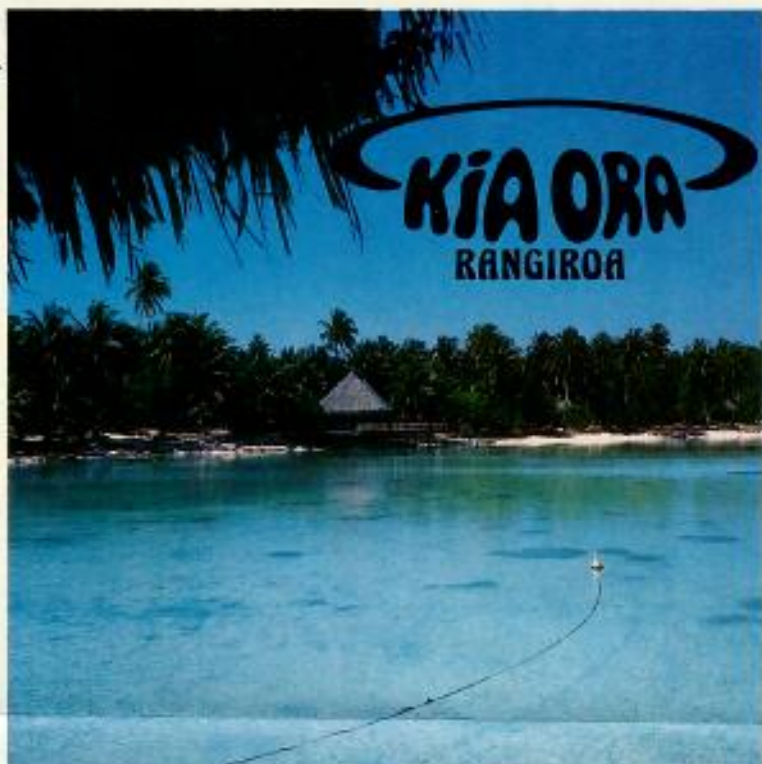
ACTIVITES ET DETENTE / ACTIVITIES AND ENTERTAINMENT

Activités gratuites : promenades sur le lagon en pirogue, bateau à fond de verre, voile, pêche au lancer, pêche aux coquillages, pique-nique sur un îlot privé, visite des villages de Tiputa et Ava Toru, «baptême de la passe».

Activités payantes : ski nautique, plongée avec masque et tuba, plongée avec bouteilles, pêche en haute mer, excursion d'une journée à «l'île aux oiseaux» ou sur un motu.

Free activities : Outrigger canoeing on the lagoon, glass bottom boat excursion, sailing, fly casting, shelling, picnic on a private island, visit to the villages of Tiputa and Ava Toru, initiation to the «pass».

Optional activities : water skiing, snorkeling, scuba diving, deep sea fishing, one day excursion to the «Island of birds» or on a motu.



Adresse / Address : KIA ORA HOTELS - B.P. 706 - PAPEETE
TEL. 28.672 - KIAORA - MOOREA : TEL. 61.290

SITUATION / LOCATION

Implanté dans l'île de Moorea, long de la plage de «Temea», face à Tahiti et à 10 mn de vol et 40 mn par bateau de Papeete.

Located in Moorea island, along the idyllic beach of «Temea», facing Tahiti. 10 minutes flight and 40 minutes by boat from Papeete.

LES SERVICES DE L'HOTEL / HOTEL FEATURES

Complexe hôtelier de grand standing . 50 bungalows de style polynésien . 2 restaurants . 2 bars . boutiques . location de voitures . et bicyclettes . appontement et solarium . night-club aménagé dans une ancienne goélette.

High class hotel resort . 50 polynesian style bungalows . 2 restaurants . 2 bars . shops . car and bicycles rental . wharf and solarium . night-club arranged in an island schooner.

ACTIVITES ET DETENTE / ACTIVITIES AND ENTERTAINMENT

Activités gratuites : Promenades sur le lagon en pirogue, voilier ou bateau à fond de verre, plongée avec masque et tuba, pêche, pêche aux coquillages, tennis, ping pong, volley ball, pétanque, pique-nique, visite d'un village traditionnel, danses folkloriques et «Tamaaraa» (cuisine tahitienne) à l'hôtel.

Activités payantes : Tour de l'île de Moorea en minibus, ski nautique, plongée avec bouteilles, pêche en haute mer, croisière de la journée autour de l'île de Moorea.

Free Activities : Outrigger canoeing on the lagoon, glass bottom boat excursion, sailing, fishing, shelling, tennis, ping-pong, volley ball, petanque, picnic, visit to a native village, Tahitian dances and «Tamaaraa» (Tahitian cooking) in the hotel.

Optional activities : Circle Moorea island tour by minibus, water skiing, scuba diving, deep sea fishing, daytime sailing cruise around Moorea.

CARTES POSTALES DU PASSE

FADING POSTCARDS

Du fiacre au 15 tonnes, on progresse... mais convient-il de s'en féliciter et ne devrions-nous pas plutôt regretter que le « chapardage » d'autrefois qui faisait sourire nos grands parents se soit maintenant transformé en « grandes manœuvres » du vol ?

Avant hier, un cocher de fiacre un peu ivre s'endormit sur son siège, étant stationné sur la place de la rue de Condé ; des hommes adroits, qui sans doute l'épiaient depuis longtemps, lui enlevèrent d'abord sa montre d'argent, puis le petit et modeste sac de toile contenant la recette du jour, enfin ses souliers. Alors, voyant que tout allait au mieux, ils ne perdirent pas courage : ils descendirent le cocher de son siège, le déposèrent dans le coin d'une borne et sans autre forme de procès s'emparèrent du fiacre qu'on cherche encore.

*Journal des Voyageurs et des Etrangers
(7 août 1827)*

Ici la progression arithmétique est de plus en plus forte : 4 contre 13 autrefois, 1 ou 2 contre 350 maintenant. De la diligence d'hier à l'autobus volant d'aujourd'hui. Serait-ce cela aussi le progrès !



Plusieurs vols de grand chemin ont eu lieu en plein jour dans différentes contrées. Il y a environ une semaine qu'une diligence a été arrêtée sur la route de ... à... Quoique les voyageurs fussent treize contre quatre, ils ont mieux aimé se laisser dépouiller que d'opposer quelque résistance. Un Français est parvenu à sauver une montre de prix en la cachant dans sa botte.

*Journal des Voyageurs et des Etrangers
(18 juillet 1827)*

From the fiacre to the 15 ton bus... one may call that progress. But is that cause for satisfaction alone? Or should we not regret rather that the petty thieving of yesteryear, which brought a smile to our great-great grandparents' lips, has also progressed - to become organized crime?



The day before yesterday, a slightly tipsy coach driver fell asleep on his seat, being parked in the Rue de Condé. Some light-fingered men, who had doubtless been observing him for some time, removed first his silver watch, then the small and modest linen bag containing the day's takings, and finally the man's shoes. Then, seeing that things weren't going at all badly, they took heart and removed the coach driver from his seat, propped him up against a bollard, and then without more ado, drove away with the coach, which is still being sought high and low.

*Journal des Voyageurs et des Etrangers
(7 August 1827)*

Today, one has the impression arithmetical progressions are becoming exponential. It used to be 4 against 13, while today it has become more like 1 or 2 against 350. From the diligence of the last century to the flying bus of today. Who's made any progress?

Several highway robberies have taken place in broad daylight in different parts of the country. About a week ago, a diligence was held up on the road between... and... Although the travellers outnumbered their assailants by thirteen to four, they preferred to be let themselves be despoiled rather than offer any resistance. A Frenchman managed to save a valuable watch by hiding it in his boot.

*Journal des Voyageurs et des Etrangers
(18 July 1827)*

ISLANDS	AVERAGE ANNUAL		YEARS OF RECORD	SOURCE
	RAINFALL, INCHES			
Gilbert Islands:				
Little Makin	100.23		16	13
Butaritari	121.50		16	13
Marakei	71.17		16	13
Abaiang	73.58		16	13
Tarawa	64.02		15	13
Maiana	57.32		16	13
Abemama	53.04		15	13
Kurea	48.57		11	13
Aranuka	49.72		12	13
Nonouti	43.18		13	13
Tabiteuea	40.98		16	13
Beru	45.29		14	13
Nikunau	42.10		14	13
Onotoa	45.83		18	13
Tamana	50.39		13	13
Arorae	52.30		13	13
Ellice Islands:				
Nanumea	121		4	12
Niutao	119		5	12
Nanumanga	92		1	12
Nui	123		5	12
Vaitupu	124		5	12
Nukufetau	117		1	12
Funafuti	133		5	12
Nikulaelae	145		2	12
Nurakita	141		1	12
Tuamotu Islands:				
Hikueru	55		4	14
Takarua	59		4	14
Mopilia	73		4	14
Raroia	46		1	15
Makatea (raised atoll)	58		4	14

SOURCE:

1. Fosberg (1956).
2. U. S. Navy (1944).
3. Stone (1951).

4. Murphy (1950, p. 61).
5. U. S. Navy (1952).
6. U. S. Navy (1943).
7. Gressitt (1952).
8. U. S. Weather Bureau (1955; 1956).
9. New Zealand Meteorological Service (1956).
10. New Zealand Meteorological Service (1955).
11. New Zealand Meteorological Service (1957).
12. New Zealand Meteorological Service, Annual Meteorological Summary, Suva, Fiji, 1950-1955.
13. Sachet (1957).
14. Service Meteorologique No. 22/MET, as contained in a letter to the author from J. Hubet, Secretary General to the Governor of French Polynesia, January 25, 1960.
15. Danielsson (1955).

CABLE ADDRESS:
"SOUTH PACOM," NOUMEA
TELEPHONE: 26-20-00

ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE:
"SOUTH PACOM," NOUMEA
TELEPHONE : 26-20-00

SOUTH PACIFIC COMMISSION

POST BOX D.5
NOUMEA CEDEX
NEW CALEDONIA

PRO 7/3/26

PRO 7/14

PRO 7/3/7

In reply, please quote
PLEASE ADDRESS REPLY TO
THE SECRETARY-GENERAL



COMMISSION DU PACIFIQUE SUD

BOITE POSTALE D.5
NOUMEA CEDEX
NOUVELLE-CALÉDONIE

8 September, 1978

Mr George H. Balazs
University of Hawaii at Manoa
Hawaii Institute of Marine Biology
P.O. Box 1346
Coconut Island
KANEHOHE,
Hawaii. 96744 U.S.A.

Dear George,

I acknowledge with many thanks receipt of the very interesting document on the hawksbill turtle in Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore. Thanks also for your letter dated 9 August and dealing with the recovery in the Solomon Islands of a turtle tagged in French Polynesia and the attached letter.

2. I agree when you say that it would be good if the authorities in Tahiti would assemble all of their data on turtle research and write it up for publication. I hope to be successful enough in obtaining this from the Fisheries Division there, but I will have to wait for some months for reasons on which it would be too long and too difficult to elaborate in this letter.

3. Keeping in mind that the SPC will hold a workshop on marine turtles at the end of 1979, during a few days before or after the Fisheries meeting, I think that this will be a good opportunity to put some kind of gentle pressure on French Polynesia to obtain all relevant data, and maybe a paper.

4. As I understand, but I am not certain about it, the tagging programme carried on by French Polynesia some years ago was initiated by the now defunct SPIYDA (South Pacific Islands Fisheries Development Agency: organization co-sponsored by FAO, UNDP and SPC).

5. For your information, please find enclosed all the documentation that I have on the turtle farming experiments in French Polynesia as well as copies of recent letters on turtle recaptures.

.../2

George, in case you think that it is necessary to urge Tahiti to provide the data, please let me know and I will do my best. On the other hand, if you think that the information they have is not a matter of urgency, I would prefer to wait a couple of months before undertaking any action.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'R. Grandperrin', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

R. Grandperrin
Fisheries Adviser

Encl:

RG/vmr.

Papeete le 12 décembre 1977

SS/HM

LE CHEF DU SERVICE DE LA PÊCHE

A

Monsieur le DIRECTEUR des PÊCHES
de la Commission du Pacifique SudNOUMEA

Objet : Remboursement d'une prime de 5 dollars US pour la récupération d'une
marque de tortue par un pêcheur des Fidji.

Monsieur le Directeur,

Dans le cadre du programme de marquage des tortues dans la région du Pacifique Sud, préconisé par la Commission du Pacifique Sud, le service de la Pêche de la Polynésie Française a procédé durant les années 1972-1973 au marquage de 475 tortues de l'espèce Chelonia mydas.

A l'heure actuelle 12 tortues ont été repêchées tout le long d'un axe Est-Ouest dont l'île de Scilly en Polynésie Française se trouve à l'Est et les Salomons à l'Ouest. Les récupérations des tortues marquées ont été faites dans l'île Vavau aux Tonga, l'île Wallis, les îles Rabi, Kadavu, Drun-drua et Viti Lavu aux Fidji, les îles Malicolo et Anatom aux Nouvelles Hébrides, la baie Gomen et au Phare Amédée en Nouvelle Calédonie et enfin l'île Salomon.

Les distances parcourues par les tortues venant pondre en Polynésie Française sont importantes puisque l'une d'elle a été repêchée à plus de 3 500 milles de distance de son lieu de marquage. Il s'agit là d'une très grande performance, d'autant plus qu'elle a été réalisée par une jeune tortue provenant d'une récolte d'oeufs mis en incubation et dont la portée a été élevée en bassin à la station du Service de la Pêche de Rangiroa. Lâchée le 3 août 1973 à l'âge de 15 mois elle ne pesait que 6,700 kg.

Par contre, ce qui est navrant, c'est qu'aucune de celle qui a été marquée en Polynésie Française n'a été repêchée dans les eaux de ce Territoire.

Faut-il penser que les tortues qui pondent chaque année en Polynésie Française ne reviennent jamais ?

Ou faut-il penser que les malheureuses tortues qui sont protégées et qui se reproduisent en Polynésie Française sont implacablement pourchassées et tuées par tous nos voisins de la région ?

Cette étude aurait l'avantage de se poursuivre durant quelques années pour obtenir de plus amples informations sur la migration des tortues marines dans la région du Pacifique Sud, mais il faudrait que tous les pays de la région en fassent autant et qu'ils élaborent très rapidement des mesures de sauvegarde à l'égard de cette espèce marine.

Je joins à votre intention une copie de la note adressée à Monsieur Krishna Swamy de Suva en vous priant de bien vouloir satisfaire sa requête.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de ma considération distinguée.





PRO 7/3/77

Nouméa, le 5 janvier 1978

Ref. votre SS/HM No. 1014/Pêches
de 12/12/1977

Monsieur le Chef de Service de la pêche
Boite postale 20
PAPETÉ, Tahiti, Polynésie française

c/c de Monsieur le Haut-Commissaire
de la République en Polynésie française
Papeete, Tahiti, Polynésie française

c/c de Monsieur le Secrétaire Délégué français
à la Commission du Pacifique Sud
Nouméa, Nouvelle-Calédonie

Monsieur,

Suite à votre lettre citée en référence, et dont je vous remercie vivement, j'ai fait la nécessaire auprès du Service des pêches de Fidji pour que la récompense de 250 dollars accordée à la capture d'une tortue marquée en Polynésie française soit versée au pêcheur fidjien. Vous avez d'ailleurs dû recevoir une copie de la lettre de transmission, datée du 28 décembre 1977, adressée à M. Brian Swaney.

En ce qui concerne le problème auquel vous faites allusion, c'est-à-dire l'absence de recapture de tortues marquées par vos services, dans les eaux de Polynésie française, je ne saurais me prononcer en faveur de l'une ou l'autre des hypothèses que vous avancez.

Afin, une fois encore, de sensibiliser l'ensemble de la région à des mesures de sauvegarde, qui sont d'ailleurs prises dans certains territoires, je me permets de soumettre à votre avis trois actions que je pourrais éventuellement entreprendre:

Dans le cas où l'une ou l'autre, ou les trois solutions préconisées recueilleraient votre accord, je vous serais particulièrement reconnaissant de me le faire savoir au plus tôt afin que j'entrepreneue une action immédiate.

Je puis vous assurer que la Commission du Pacifique Sud est pleinement consciente de l'énorme effort fourni par vos services lors des opérations de marquage. Les résultats en sont particulièrement spectaculaires et mériteraient, d'ailleurs, d'être largement diffusés.

Dans l'espoir de vous lire prochainement, je vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de ma considération distinguée.

René Cra Ligorio
Conseiller aux pêches

p.j. lettre circulaire du 7/10/77

RG/mb

some very notable work in the near future, if, as seems now very possible, the French Government can be prevailed upon to give these earnest native teachers a free hand to help their Hawaiian brothers in the rescue and civilization of the fast-perishing Marquesans, whose present lamentable condition is a fearful anxiety to thoughtful statesmen of the Land of the *Fleur-de-Lys*.

2. SOME ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES ON THE NATIVES OF TAHITI, THE PAUMOTUS AND THE MARQUESAS

The Tahitian men are generally fine stalwart fellows, some six feet in height, and even when they fail to reach this standard they are beautifully proportioned, and most of them might stand for sculptor's models. They are about the fairest complexioned of the Polynesian races, much more so, indeed, than their neighbours of Rarotonga, whilst the Tahitian presents somewhat of an Aryan type of feature, probably derived from some Java-Malay admixture — have retained a certain Persian or Arabian expression, coarsened a little by admixture with some rough and rude early non-Polynesian race stock. The Tahitian women, of whose charms some early voyagers have written so extravagantly, are pleasing rather than dazzlingly beautiful. The national disposition of both men and women alike is most kindly and amiable. They are most hospitable to strangers, and very fond of children, whether their own or other people's—it does not seem to matter much. From what I have seen of them, I should say that they appear to have a very good memory for a kindness shown, and a very happy and most laudable facility for dismissing the memory of a discourtesy, slight, or an injury done. And this, considering how much these simple folk have suffered from the white man in time past, I think is a very beautiful trait in their character. The Paumotans, of whom the wily Makatea voters and sober industrious Fakarava pearl divers are characteristic types, are a good deal darker in colour,

Eastern Pacific Islands
Tahiti
and the
Marquesas Islands

1910

269p

loc. Dv870
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By F. W. Christian
London: Robert Scott

shorter and more wiry, and in character hard and prosaic, excellently practical in work and in business, and, as Stevenson very truly remarks, with a trace of something very much like religious asceticism in their nature, quite foreign to their indolent and pleasure-loving Tahitian cousins.

The King Pomare, about the time of the French Revolution, raised and supported a strong bodyguard of Paumotan islanders to strengthen his rule, and it became quite the fashionable thing in Tahiti to borrow words from the language of these Low Archipelago life-guards and royal-musketeers, as having something of a wild, impressive, barbaric ring, like a rolling Prussian adjective in the mouth of a dapper Parisian. For instance, the old word 'Ura, for red, was dropped, and 'Ute, the nearest a Tahitian could get to the Paumotan *Kute*, was substituted. It became no longer *comes à l'aide* to call the night *Po*. The Paumotan *Ruki* was called on to do duty in its place, and with the usual dislike of the Tahitian for "K," whether at the beginning or in the middle of a word, the new word was pronounced by the courtly jargonists and their imitators *Ru'i*. This is the extraordinary custom called *Te Pi*, or "sprinkling," which has made modern Tahitian into quite a strange new tongue. This, however, by the way. The Tahitian language has absorbed some Japanese words, probably from the crew of some shipwrecked junk. (Cf. *Poke*, to die; Japanese *Boss*, Samoan *Poss* id.; *Okure*, the hind-quarters, Japanese *Okure* id.) With their national tendency to luxury and a sort of culture, we may call the Tahitians the French or Greeks of the Pacific.

Leaving these queer, pawky Paumotan people, the Lowland Scotchmen of the Pacific, we come to the Marquesans, who, from the stern, wild mountainous configuration of their country, their wealth of striking tales full of gloomy horror and grandeur, their shy, shrinking, fiercely modest sense of honour and independence, may well be called Polynesian Highlanders. The men are great, tall, strapping carles, 5 feet 10 inches to 6 feet high, with faces tattooed

in gridiron pattern, blue on brown. Their complexion is a shade or two more towards yellow than the Tahitian olive. Crook, the missionary of Tahuata, calls them *lawry*. Herman Melville speaks of "a great yellow Marquesan." I should say that there was really a slight Japanese or Indo-Chinese mixture here, whether ancient or modern it is impossible to say. I noticed five Japanese words in their common speech, the first three of which are quite different to their equivalents in other Polynesian dialects.

Kakii. Ancient. (Japanese *Kyu*, id.)

Tai. A generation. (Japanese *Dai*, id.)

Uta. A song, ballad. (Japanese *Uta*, id.)

Take. Depth. (Japanese *Take*, id.)

Paepae. A platform, pile of stones. (Japanese *Hae*, *Bae*, id.) The Marquesan women are much smaller than the men, comely of feature, rather than positively lovely. But in figure they are delicately and beautifully moulded, like an old Greek model. Like their Tahitian brothers, the Marquesans are terribly afraid of the dark. Their fancy peoples the forest wilderness, the sites of old houses, and ancient high places, with murderous cannibal spectres, like vampires and ghouls, laying wait, like the wood-fiends and fen-fiends of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, to spring upon and wring the necks of the unwary. All the Eastern Polynesian men used to tattoo their bodies, especially round the loins, in patterns mostly taken from the coconut palm leaf. The Maoris of New Zealand tattoo their faces in spiral patterns, the Marquesans in three broad straight lines. The Marquesan women, like those of the Eastern Bedawin Arabs, tattoo their lips with a sort of gridiron pattern, in a tint like blue-black writing-ink.

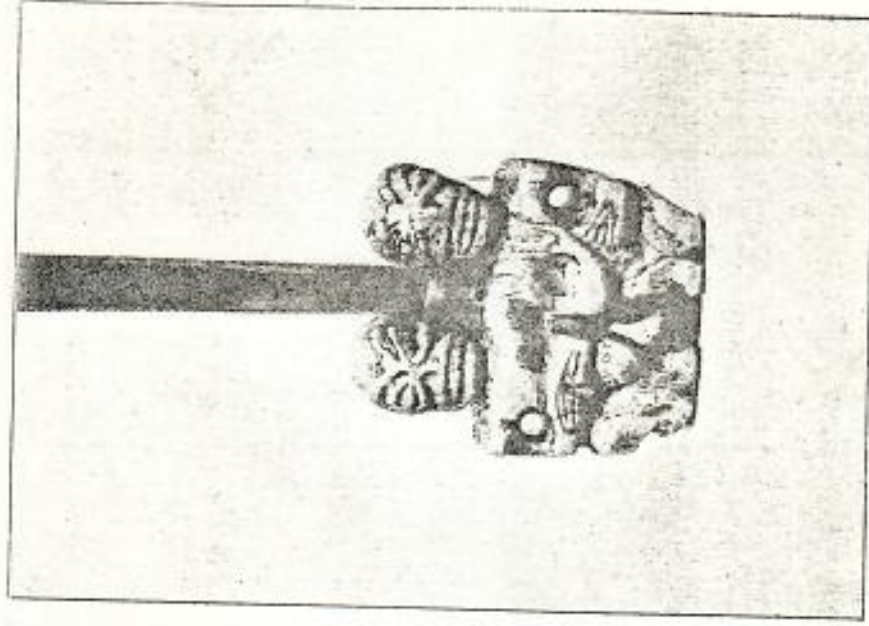
Like the Tahitians, the Marquesans, hating to burn or bury the bodies of the notable dead, used to lay them to dry on scaffolding. The dried body, or mummy, was called in Tahitian *Tupapa'u*, in Rarotongan *Tupapaku*. The Parsees of Bombay have a like custom, exposing their dead to the open sky in their *Towers of Silence*.

It is interesting to note the different kinds of clothing in use in these three Eastern Polynesian groups of islands. In Tahiti, the dress of the men and women alike was a *Tiputa*, or upper garment of grey, white or tinted native cloth, like a cape, with a hole left for the head to go through, resembling the *Poncho* or *Arauco* in Southern Chili. The lower garment, dropping from waist to mid-leg, considerably longer for women than for men, was called a *Parau*, or *Perene* (Sanskrit, *Pahrewa*, *Pabrava*, clothes, garments).

On festivals, the women used to wear a sort of turban composed of some thirty feet of fine thin cables of human hair wound round and round their heads. This was called *Tamui* or *Tonu*. The Tahitian name for native cloth was *Ora'a* (Rarotongan *Oroaga*). It was made of the beaten-out bark of the *Ao* or banyan tree, or of that of the paper-mulberry. The Marquesans called this cloth *Tapu*, and wore it either pure white, or tinted cream colour or bright yellow by a decoction of wild ginger root, or of the bark of the Morinda tree. The Samoans used to print their paper-mulberry cloth in beautiful patterns of black and white, by *U'peti*, or blocks. The Tahitians dyed and stained their cloth in pretty designs by hand alone, obtaining a splendid crimson dye from the yellowish berries of a tree called the *Mati*.

For ordinary work on the plantations, or out fishing in the lagoons, the Tahitians, Rarotongans and Marquesans alike wore a narrow waist band, or T-cloth of the Indian fig-tree or paper-mulberry bark, or else a more primitive covering still, of the long leaves of the *Dracaena*, strung so as to make a rough kilt. This they call *Maro* or *Ma'o*.

The Paumotan islanders, living on sun-scorched atolls, where the banyan and paper-mulberry were hardly ever seen, had to fall back on that good kind tree, the coconut palm, and like the Caroline islanders in the north, make shift with primitive kilts and plaited overalls made of the oven-baked and shell-slit filaments of the coconut palm leaf. This was universally the case in the remoter islets. Now and then, of course, Tahitian double canoes would run down



CHARACTERISTIC MARQUESAN PATTERN IN CARVING.

to places like Hao, Anaa or Makatea, and bring quantities of native cloth for barter. But as the enormous wealth of the Low Archipelago in pearl-shell became better and better known, more and more trading schooners, under half-casté or European captains, came down from Tahiti into these dangerous labyrinths, this maze of imperfectly charted coral reefs and rings, scattered over hundreds of leagues of ocean, bringing increasing cargoes of trade goods of every kind. The Paumotan islander, from Makatea to Mangareva, now has developed new tastes. The rarely-obtained luxuries of his forefathers have become his necessities. Sea-chests, coarse blue sailors' shirts and trousers, hammers and chisels, nails and long knives, all are well within his reach. And he works on at his pearl fisheries, well content, not always very eager to pay his debts, but in the main a thriving, hard-working, sober and industrious fellow.

In 1839 Commander Wilkes, of the U.S. exploring expedition, noticed a great difference between the rough rude people of Disappointment Island in the north-east, and in Raraku and Anaa nearer Tahiti, where native Protestant teachers had already introduced a very noticeable half-civilization. In those days the islands east of Hao were inclined to the murder of shipwrecked crews and to cannibalism. But now the old dark days have passed away.

It may interest artists to know that there is a pattern of leg and thigh tattooing in Anaa different from that of the other atolls. The design is very beautiful, and consists of faithfully rendered representations of sea-urchins and quaint zoophytes just like plates out of a naturalist's album.

3. TAHITIAN CANOES

When Europeans came to Tahiti, there were three sorts of vessels in use:—

(1) The *Va'a* or ordinary canoe of small size, called in other island dialects *Vaka* or *Waka*.

N.B.—In Java, a junk is called *Wangkang*. In Fiji, a canoe is *Wanga*, and in the Philippines *Bangka*.

Asplenium horridum, Kaulf.

" *membranaceum*, Mett. (?)

" *aristatum*, S.W.
MOSSES.

Lycopodium cernuum, L.

Selaginella mensiesii, Spring.

9. NOTES ON (a) AREA AND POPULATION OF (1) TAHITI, (2) THE PAUMOTU OR LOW ARCHIPELAGO, AND (3) THE N. AND S. MARQUESAS. (b) CLIMATE AND PREVAILING WINDS OF THESE THREE GROUPS

(a) AREA AND POPULATION STATISTICS

- (1) Tahiti, 104,215 hectares, or 260,530 acres.
Perimeter of island 191 kilometres, or about 113 miles.
Population.—9,300 natives and half-castes.
600 French officials, and settlers and garrison.
350 other Europeans.
200 Americans.
300 Chinese.

10,750

The principal town is Papeete. Population (native and European), 4,150.

Moorea. Native population about 1,600.

Of the 104,215 hectares in Tahiti, 489 (i.e., about 1,220 acres) are under cultivation, viz., 186 (about 465 acres) in vanilla, 133 (332 acres) in sugar-cane, 129 (322 acres) in cotton, and 41 (102 acres) in coffee.

In Moorea 169 hectares (about 420 acres) are in cotton, 18 (45 acres) in coffee, 5 (12½ acres) in vanilla. Total 192 (about 480 acres).

Three times in the year from the port of Bordeaux, sailing vessels belonging to the important trading firm of Tandonnet leave for Tahiti via the Cape of Good Hope



THE LATE QUEEN POMARE OF TAHITI.

or Cape Horn, taking three or four months on their journey. They load up with coal, timber, wines, provisions and cotton goods, etc., and bring back copra, vanilla and mother-of-pearl for the European markets.

(2) The Paumotu, Tuamotu, or Low Archipelago is about 250 leagues in length, and contains some eighty islands of low coralline formation, surrounded by fringing reefs of every possible shape between the broken circle, the oval and the horse-shoe form. In 1899, Agassiz in the U.S. *Albatross* (Commander Mower) visited Rairoa, Tikehau, Mataiwa, and Makatea, where he particularly notices the tertiary limestone formation, which in time past seems to have formed a sort of natural sea-wall on the northern side of these islands, of which now in most cases only traces remain. According to Agassiz, the island of Makatea, the westernmost of the Paumotu group, is composed of the very same elevated coralliferous limestone so characteristic of the petrology of the islands of Mango, Thithia, Kambara, and Vatu Vara in the Fiji Group.

It is a remarkable geological fact that the two extreme points in a group of such exceedingly low-lying islets as the Paumotus, viz., Makatea, an elevated island of tertiary limestone (nearly 200 feet high) on the west, and the Gambier Group, a bunch of basaltic islands of considerable height on the east, should offer such a striking contrast in formation to the islands lying between.

The population of the Paumotu or Tuamotu Group is some 4,000, some of whom are Catholics, some Protestants, and some of the Mormon persuasion.

Fakarava or Wittgenstein Island (200 inhabitants) is the centre of government.

Anaa (pop. 480), is the most thickly inhabited. The pearl-shell is poor. Copra mainly exported.

Rairoa or Rangiroa atoll is 75 kilometres in length, and is rich in pearl-shell of a fine quality.

Other islands on which pearl-shell is abundant and good are Kaukura, Hikuera, Makemo, and Hao.

In 1903 a terrible cyclone, accompanied by a great tidal wave, burst over the Paumotus, destroying hundreds of lives, causing grievous destruction to the buildings and houses and uprooting a great part of the coconut palms, from the effects of which the islands are only just recovering. At the eastern extremity of the Paumotus lies the Gambier Group, comprising four inhabited and six uninhabited islands of volcanic formation. The names of the former are Mangareva, Taravai, Hakamaru and Aukena. They are under a separate administration.

The population is about 580. Principal port Rikitea (on Mangareva). Mangareva was the scene of the labours of that great Christian hero, the Catholic Bishop Axiéri, for the love of whom, the congregation of the principal church, by their united labour, adorned it with a magnificent altar wholly composed of mother-of-pearl—a wonderful monument of native taste, skilled workmanship, and devoted gratitude.

(3) The Marquesas Islands.

Area some 12,500 square kilometres.

Nuku-Hiva 32 k. long, 19 k. broad, 100 k. in circuit.

Hiva-Oa, 39 k. from east to west, 19 k. from north to south.

Highest peaks *Moune-Oa* (Hiva-Oa), about 3,780 feet

A hill on Uapou 3,570 "

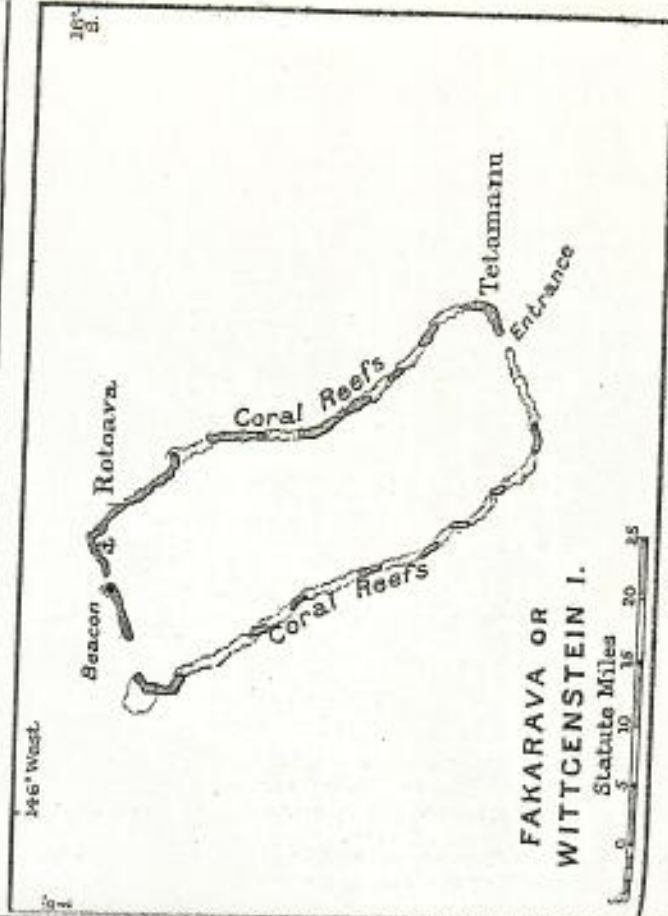
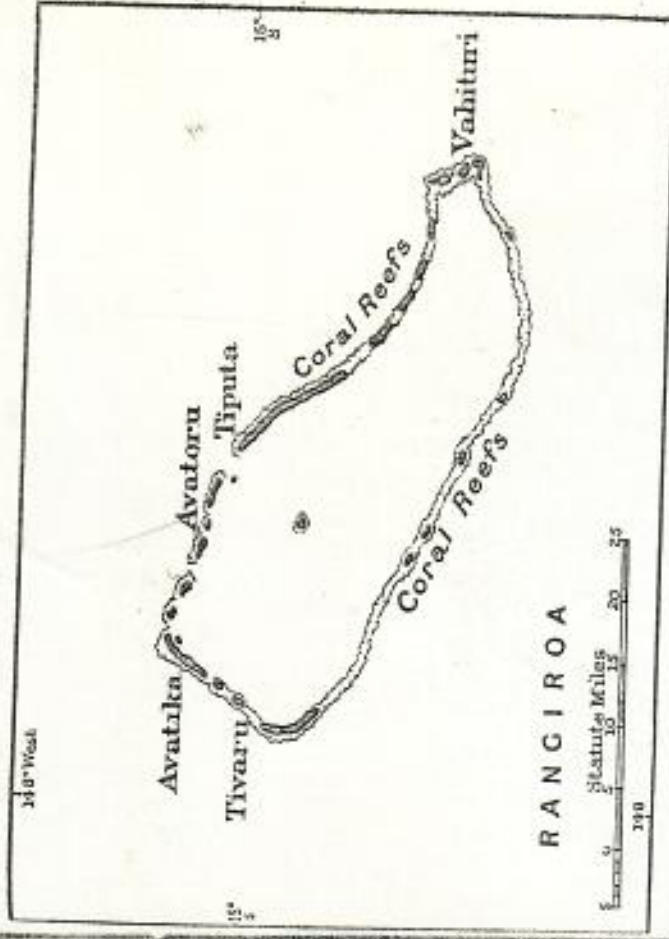
A hill on Nuku-Hiva 3,534 "

Four years ago the population was about 4,300, of which 60 are French officials and settlers, and 60 other Europeans and a few Chinese traders. There are about 600 nominally Protestant natives in the Marquesas, under the care of three Hawaiian native teachers, two on Hiva-Oa and one upon Uapou.

(b) METEOROLOGICAL DATA

Climate and Prevailing Winds in Tahiti.

Period of Hot and Moist Season.—January to the end of April, characterized by calms and frequent heavy rains.



RANGIROA AND FAKARAVA.

(Fakarava Lagoon is an excellent place for crossing a vessel for repairs.)

Swimming Crab

Paumotu	—
Marquesas	—
Gilbert Is.	—

Cf. Marianne Island, *Alimasag*, the *Cancrejo pintado* or blue-spotted crab; *Almangao*, *Admangao*, *Adimangao*, the swimming crab; Tagal (S. Philippines), *Alimang*, the swimming crab; Panay (S. Philippines), *Almango*, id.; Ponape (E. Carolines), *Alimang*, id.

The word is evidently the Philippine verbal-form *Lamang*, *Lang*, to swim (with infix *m*); verbal root, *Langoi*, swimming; verbal infix, *Lumangoi*, to swim; cf. *Lakko*, exit; verbal infix, *Luunakko*, to go out.

Surely the name of this curious creature retained in such distant places as Ponape and Samoa, is proof positive of the visit of *Barangai* or large ocean-going galleys of the civilized Philippine islanders sailing through the San Bernardino Strait, passing through Micronesia, and penetrating into the Western Pacific area.

Twistle

Conger-Eel

Rarotonga	'Onu	Koiro
Samoa	Laumei, Volu, Fonu (the old word)	Ilo, a worm
Tahiti	Honu	Oiro
Mangareva	Honu	Koero, Koeru
Paumotu	Honu	Koiru
Marquesas	Hono, Honu, Fonu	Koe'o
Gilbert Is.	On, Won (the green turtle), Tabaki (the hawksbill turtle)	—

Cf. Caroline Islands, *Won*,
Wol, *Wel*, the green turtle;
Javanese, *Pesyu*, a turtle; root,
Pen, *Pen*, roundness, fulness.
With *Tabaki* cf. Ponape
Chopak, the hawksbill turtle

Root *Vil*, to twist, writhe. *Ko*
is the Polynesian class-prefix.
Cf. Arauco (S. Chili), *Villia*, a
snake.

THE TUAMOTU SURVEY¹

By KENNETH P. EMORY

The 70 coral islands of the Tuamotuan archipelago are scattered over ocean midway between the Society Islands and the Marquesas Islands, stretch far away to Mangareva in the southeast. They lie scattered belt 900 miles long and 300 miles wide. Politically Mangareva is not of the Tuamotus, and culturally it lies outside. All the Tuamotuan islands, at one time or another, have been inhabited by people of Polynesian culture but exhibiting striking variations in dialect, culture, and physical appearance. The present population consists of about 4,000 natives. There is a little admixture of white blood, except in the very west. The people of such islands as Napuka, Takoto, and Reao have only in this generation begun to mix with their neighbors.

The dangers to navigation in these waters, the hostility of the natives, the more alluring commercial prospects of the "high islands" and the ever harvest they held for the missionaries so held up the advance of western civilization to the Tuamotus that there are natives today, in the eastern part of the region, who reached adolescence before missionary order had effected any important change in their ancient mode of living. However, the phenomenal rise of the copra trade and the trade in pearl shell and pearls in the Tuamotus, rendering the natives comparatively wealthy, have effected a sweeping change in their material culture and social organization since 1900. The rising generation will be as completely Europeanized as the present-day Tahitian. But as long as natives of such far islands as Ngataua, Vahitahi, and Reao, born in the '70's and '80's are still alive, it will be possible to hear ancient chants exactly as they were handed down from generation to generation in the past, and to learn how their ancestors lived. This is fortunate, for we have been in ignorance concerning the lives of this atoll world, and a knowledge of each of the dialects, of the physical types dominant in each part, and of details of the cultures of each language and physical group is certain to illuminate immeasurably our understanding of the ancient background of the Tahitians, the Hawaiians, and the aorais. For centuries the Tuamotus have served as a refuge area for those who have been refractory to the constant changes taking place in Polynesia's great cultural center, the Society Islands.

¹ The Tuamotu Survey was organized by Bernice P. Bishop Museum for general anthropological studies in the little-known Tuamotuan archipelago. The scientific party consisted of Kenneth P. Emory, Ethnologist and leader of the Survey; J. Frank Stimson, Research Associate in Linguistics; and H. L. Shapiro, Research Associate in Anthropology. (See Annual Report of the Director for 1928, 1929, 1930.)

Any Tuamotuan atoll is likely to harbor some archaic remnant of physical type, culture, or language, which at one time held full sway in Tahiti. The constant movement of people in the Tuamotus kept alive, until the very end of the last century, the ancient arts of shipbuilding and navigation which enabled the Polynesians to comb the vast Pacific as far as Easter Island.

The Tuamotu Survey was fully under way by April, 1929, and was brought to a close in December, 1930. Active preparations, however, were begun as early as September, 1928, when J. Frank Stimson, then newly appointed Research Associate in Linguistics, commenced at Papeete, Tahiti, a study of the Tuamotuan dialects.

Our mission was cordially welcomed by Monsieur J. L. Bouge, Governor of l'Établissements Français de l'Océanie, and by F. Hervé, Administrator of the Tuamotus. M. Bouge addressed a letter to the chiefs of the Tuamotus, which gave us official recognition and insured the full cooperation of the chiefs in securing the confidence and help of the natives. M. Bouge is himself a student of Polynesia. He was instrumental in the founding of the Société des Études Océaniques (1917) and has published papers on the ethnology of the Society Islands (B. P. Bishop Mus., Occ. Papers IX, 2). M. Hervé for the past sixteen years of his residence in the western part of the Tuamotus has been a collector of genealogies, chants, and lore. He has most generously put his large collection of notes at our disposal.

For the whole-hearted support of M. Bouge and M. Hervé and all others connected with the French Administration with whom we came in contact during the Survey, we owe a great debt of thanks. No less are we grateful to the Société des Études Océaniques, and Presidents E. Rougier and E. Ahnne.

In the western Tuamotus we were greatly aided by letters of introduction from the heads of the Mormon Mission and the Adventists' Mission. For the eastern Tuamotus, where the natives are completely under the care of the Catholics, our work was immeasurably lightened by a gracious letter from Monsigneur Hermel, head of the Catholic Mission at Tahiti, and by the kindly reception given us at Napuka by Father Amcède and at Vahitahi by Father Paul Mazé.

I arrived in Papeete on March 1, 1929, and Shapiro at the end of the month. Stimson had already made an exhaustive study of the transportation situation, the greatest obstacle we had to meet in going through the Tuamotus in the time at our disposal. As the most satisfactory solution of the problem it was decided to build and equip a small powered cutter instead of chartering local trading schooners, and, while the boat was being

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rueted, to make a field trip into that part of the Tuamotus where we most depend on trading vessels.

Our 29-foot yacht, powered with a 30-H.P. Universal Marine Motor and with a horizontal keel, was launched at Papeete in July, 1929, and after a trip westward to Raiatea was ready for her long sea voyage. From on we were quite independent as to our movements, except for the vicissitudes of weather. This sturdy craft, which we named *Mahina-i-te-pua* (m-of-the-Bow-Wave) in commemoration of a traditional Tuamotuan voyaging canoe of that name, successfully weathered all shocks of reefs and seas in covering some 4,000 miles in our service. We are indebted to Charles Nordhoff for her design and for his voluntary superintendence of construction. To the hardihood and skill of our Engineer-Captain, Alph Tinau, for the cruise of 1929, and Vanaa Gooding, for the cruise of 1930, we owe our safe delivery from the hazards of travelling through the "Archipel Datgereux" of Bougainville.

The granting by the French Government of authorization to operate a radio post by which we were enabled to keep in touch with schooners with Papeete during the last half of 1930, relieved us of much anxiety and greatly facilitated our work towards the end.

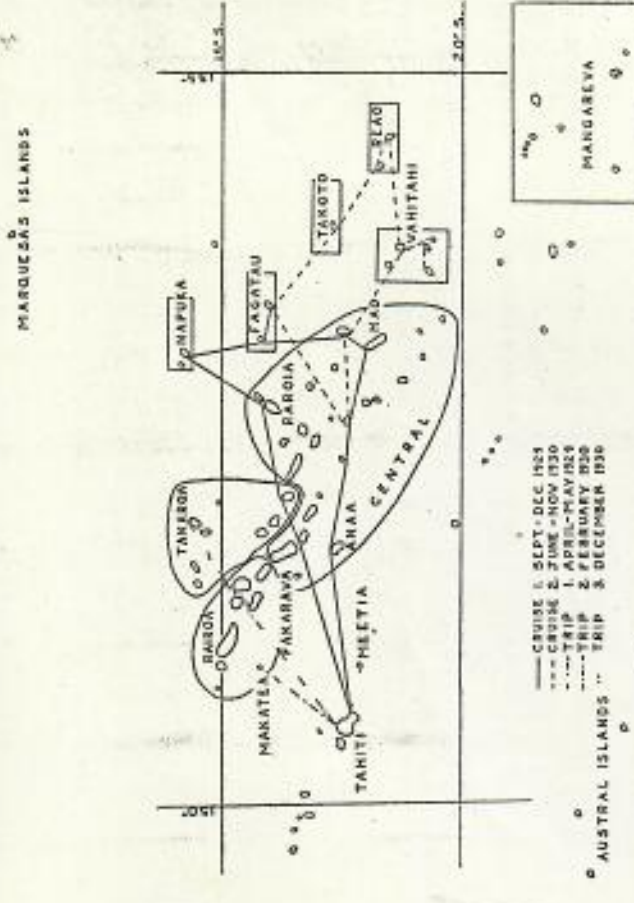
We used the *Mahina-i-te-pua* throughout the 17 months of field work following her launching, except for the hurricane season (December-March) of the two months following, when an accident to my foot detained us in Papeete. During this stay at our base, we were fully occupied putting the material collected in 1929 in order and working with Tuamotuan informants at Papeete.

While in the Tuamotus we limited ourselves to the gathering of such material as could not be obtained equally well from Tuamotuan natives in Papeete. Between trips, and in the months preceding and following the period of field work, we were able to collect as much data in Papeete as in the islands, which meant a great saving in time and expense. Upon the termination of our field work in December, 1930, I remained in Papeete until May, 1931, to attend to the disposition of equipment and material and to collaborate with Stimson, who lives in Tahiti, on the presentation of our work to America in January, 1930.

On the accompanying map I have grouped the islands of the Tuamotus, except a number of outliers which were unoccupied at the opening of the nineteenth century, into eight areas which are more or less readily distinguishable from each other because of differences in culture, language, and racial type. The boundaries in the west should not be taken too literally. For example, the great Central Area of 31 islands had three important centers, Anaa, Fakahina, and Hao, and perhaps a fourth, Rairoa. Whatever

differences may have existed between them are now very difficult to discover. As the study of our material goes on, we will be able to determine these cultural areas with more assurance.

In summing up our survey of the Tuamotu Islands, I shall touch briefly on the outstanding characteristics of each of the eight areas.



Sketch map of the French possessions in eastern Polynesia (Établissements Français de l'Océanie) showing the cultural areas in the Tuamotu archipelago and its position in relation to the Society Islands, Marquesas Islands, Austral Islands, and Mangareva. The two "cruises" and trip 3 were made in the yacht *Mahina-i-te-pua*; trips 1 and 2, by commercial vessels. The cruises were supplemented by travel on schooners whose routes are not indicated. The second cruise started from Tahiti and followed the route of the first cruise via Anaa as far as Hikueru.

RAIROA AREA

Rairoa, or Rangiroa, the largest atoll in the Tuamotu Archipelago, appears to have been the cultural center of the western Tuamotus, and Makatea, a connecting link between the Society Islands and the Tuamotus. The region was, and continues to be, thoroughly saturated with Society Islands influence. Hence, from our point of view, this part of the Tuamotus was the least deserving of our time.

However, the report coming to my ears that in the exploitation of the phosphate deposits at Makatea marae ruins were being excavated and numerous stone implements unearthed, I decided to take advantage of the

kind invitations extended by the Makatea Phosphate Company to visit the island. During ten days in February, 1930, I studied the marae, the existing collections of stone implements, and the situation under which these were found. Talks with the leading Makatea natives convinced me that they still possessed a store of genealogical and traditional material of real value.

I spent a day and a night ashore at Kaukura, Arutua, and Apataki. As all marae within reach had been completely destroyed, I devoted my time on these islands to recording the plans of stone fish-weirs and miscellaneous observations.

We have been spared the burden of recording the genealogies and traditional material of the Rairoa Area through the labors of M. F. Hervé. We are grateful to Captain V. A. Brisson for presenting us with a typewritten copy which he made of a large part of M. Hervé's material.

TAKAROA AREA

Takaroa was once the seat of a powerful tribe, the Vahitu or Ahitu, who dominated all of the islands in the neighborhood. Owing to conquest in about 1810 by the warriors of Anaa, the original character of the culture of this area has been very much obscured. However, from its accessibility, Takaroa proved an ideal point at which to break into the Tuamotus while we awaited the launching of our little yacht which would carry us into the difficult regions of the east.

Every family of Takaroa has jealously guarded manuscript books of its genealogies and its chants. Stimson's efforts to obtain the loan of these to make a typewritten copy for our records were, after three futile weeks, crowned with success. To complete the work of copying these, Stimson stayed on a full month after Shapiro and I had left. The 429 pages of copied material deliver into our hands all the important genealogies of Takaroa, going back 20 to 80 generations, in addition to a great body of central and western Tuamotuan traditional material.

Shapiro, with our assistance, measured 127 natives, almost the entire adult male and female population of the two atolls, Takaroa and Takapoto. I made the circuit of each island for a record of the marae.

CENTRAL AREA

Fakarava, a great atoll to the north of Anaa, but one having comparatively little arable land, was anciently called Havaiki. The highest ranking chiefs of the western half of the Tuamotus trace their lineage back to the ancestors of the Fakarava chiefs. Pomare I, of Tahiti, on his father's side was of extraction from this Fakarava stock.

However, the island of Anaa, with its shallow lagoon almost entirely inclosed with a broad belt of fertile sand, became very populous and powerful. In 1835 it had not less than 1,500 inhabitants. The Anaa warriors at the commencement of the nineteenth century raided through the Tuamotus as far east as Hao, and in the west threatened even to invade Tahiti.

We touched at Anaa several times and would have stayed had it not been our fortune to find living in Papeete a native scholar of Anaa traditions who probably has a greater knowledge of them than any other living man. This sage, Paca, occupied himself the greater part of a year writing for us all he knew and could gather concerning the traditions of the Tuamotus. His manuscript comprises 632 pages.

At Raroia, the northern extremity of the Central Area, we stopped nearly a week, as much to interrogate the famous sage, Teihotepogi, as to measure the natives and prepare the yacht for the month she would not be able to lie in the quiet waters of a lagoon. Aside from Teihotepogi, the natives of Raroia seem poorly acquainted with their Polynesian heritage. A man of exceptional energy, Teihotepogi has drilled the young people in the classical Tuamotuan songs, but these have been recast in the form of the Tahitian *hinehine*, and the young people sing them with little awareness of their meaning. As Teihotepogi could be sent for to come to Tahiti at any time, there was no need of prolonging our stay. This promising source still remains unworked.

Coming down from Napuka and Fagatau in October, 1929, we spent more than a week at Amanu, an atoll some 20 miles north of Hao. We paused here another week while cruising eastward in 1930. This island has the most protected and comfortable harbor for small boats in the Tuamotus. Coming from the north, it was our first atoll with a pass to the lagoon, and, going to the east, it was the last. Hence we called here mainly to reprovision and put our yacht in shape.

The chief of Amanu guards a great book in which the name of every native is kept and his ancestry traced back eighteen generations. Over 3,000 names appear in this island genealogy. We had the opportunity to copy the important lines.

Hao is acknowledged as the stronghold of native learning in the eastern part of the Central Area. A number of its great chants were written down as early as 1842 by natives themselves, and three or four old men have kept much of the ancient knowledge alive. Stimson had the opportunity of working with them nearly two months (November and December, 1929), when he and Shapiro stayed on in Hao waiting for a schooner to take them to the islands to the east. The schooner passed the island without stopping, and Stimson and Shapiro thought themselves lucky enough to board a schooner bound for Tahiti before the end of the year.

After a little more than a week at Hao, which enabled me to make a survey of its maraes, I returned with our yacht to Papeete. The propeller shaft having gotten out of alignment, we dared not risk the *Mahina-i-te-pua* in the rough seas and unsheltering islands windward during the bad season. Shapero came back with a series of 197 measurements from the Central Area. Measurements were secured at the islands Faite, Katiu, Raroia, Amanu, Hao, and Marokau.

For having preserved its traditions, the island of Taenga, 80 miles southwest of Raroia, deserves mention. We met its chief in Papeete and attempted to call there on the way to Napuka. A great surf breaking across its pass and stormy weather forced us to pass it by.

NAPUKA AREA

By reason of its isolation, Napuka and its satellite, Tipoto, have preserved or developed curious peculiarities in language, physical type, and culture. The native material culture has survived here more than anywhere else in the Tuamotus, except perhaps Reao. Hence I devoted all the time I could spare to collecting, and to studying this culture. By the time I had covered the houses and canoes and visited a number of maraes, it was necessary to move on in order to meet our schedule. Our ten-day stay in September, 1929, gave Shapero ample opportunity to examine 65 adult natives out of about 75 then on the island of Napuka.

Stimson was disappointed in finding no old men of consequence. However, he was able to list some 1500 words of their language, and to begin recording chants. Those we procured indicate that with a little more time a surprising amount of rich material might have been obtained from the minds of these simple people.

Stimson gives the following words, illustrative of the striking differences of some of the Napukan words from standard Polynesian words:

NAPUKAN	TAHITIAN	ENGLISH
1. maofa	1. va'a	1. canoe
2. marohoa	2. avae	2. leg
3. gaiere	3. paha	3. Tridacna
4. niganiiga	4. one	4. sand
5. kōāi	5. mimi	5. to urinate
6. rofika	6. aua	6. fire

FAGATAU AREA

Fagatau, the poetic name of which was Maropua, was a great storehouse of ancient learning for the Tuamotus. In a list of thirteen Tuamotuan islands given the Spaniards in 1775 by the natives of Tahiti as the names

of the islands with which they were acquainted, the only island mentioned in the whole eastern part is Maropua.

We have a chant commemorating the rediscovery at Fagatau, twelve generations before 1900 (that is, about 1600 A.D.), of the *vanaga* (sacred learning), which, through the dying of the great repositories of this learning in other parts of the Tuamotus, had become practically lost to them. The *ariki*, so the tradition goes, joined together in a desperate search for some family which had received and preserved this *vanaga*. On Fagatau the chiefs found Mahinui, the chief of that island, who proved that this learning had been handed down to him. Mahinui was able to continue the fragments of ancient chants with which the searching *ariki* were familiar.

Living at Fagatau when we arrived in September, 1929, were two great sages, cousins, Temiro a Pahoā, born in 1841, and Kamake a Ituragi, born in 1858, both descendants of Mahinui. Temiro was the one man we met who had witnessed with adult eyes the full flourishing of pure native culture, even to the various ceremonies held on the maraes. Kamake was the most learned native we encountered.

Fully intending to return to Fagatau the following year, Stimson began laying the foundations for what we intended to be a thorough culling of the minds of these two sages. We were immensely helped by Faria a Makitua, a young and brilliant sage of Hikueru, who had married the daughter of Temiro. We had made the acquaintance of Faria a Makitua while he was on a visit to Tahiti. He was one of the first to grasp and appreciate what we were doing, and the word he carried of us through the Tuamotus turned native opinion in our favor.

While Stimson was engaged studying the Fagatau language and writing down chants and traditions, I made a survey of the remarkably well preserved Fagatau maraes. Shapero found that the 37 Fagatau natives he measured were of a uniform, very Caucasoid type. This, coupled with the fact that their language is old Tahitian rather than the Tuamotuan of the central Tuamotus, makes them a most interesting group.

While at Fagatau, Shapero and I sailed over to Fakahina for a visit of four days. This gave us ample time to measure the 24 adult male inhabitants of pure blood, and to study the maraes, which we found to be the same as those on Fagatau. The Fakahina people have lost the knowledge of their traditions, but the Catholic missionary, Hervé Audran, recorded their genealogies and many of their traditions about in 1910, a time when they could be procured. These are in the archives of the Catholic Mission and will doubtless one day be available.

Not being able to return to Fagatau in 1930, I had Faria come to Papeete to help me, and to help Stimson with the difficult Fagatau chants.

He arrived in April, 1931, accompanied by his wife, Reva. They proved of such invaluable assistance that Stimson kept them in Papeete until November, 1931. Through them we were able to record the Fagatau songs on the dictaphone, and to obtain a full version of the legend of Maui and Tālaki. Stimson has obtained from Fariua his most complete data concerning the Tuamotuan belief in the creator, Kīho-tumu.

VAHITAHĪ AREA

The Vahitahi Area has been occupied, for an unknown number of generations, by a group of people speaking a language very closely allied to the Māori. Favored by isolation, such aspects of native culture as songs, dances, ceremonies, and navigation have clung to them with greater tenacity than to any other of the peoples of eastern Polynesia.

From our entry into the Tuamotus, we had heard of the Vahitahi people. Failing to reach the island on our first cruise, we shaped our course directly for it on the second. From the first of July to the end of October, 1930, Stimson worked steadily recording the great *īpōva* festival which the people performed for our benefit. This festival was anciently held only in times of famine, to secure an even distribution of existing food and to hearten the people. Although famines have ceased, it has been repeated at intervals down to the present time. Most of the Vahitahi songs and dances were woven into the festival around several magical ceremonies, an elaborate feast, and the formal prayers addressed to the gods at such a time. The festival, as we witnessed it, occupied three continuous days and nights.

Every chant and formal speech employed was taken down by Stimson and translated with the help of the ablest natives. The chants were recorded on the dictaphone, and the dances, spear exhibitions, and some of the ceremonies on cinematographic film. This furnishes a record of many phases of Polynesian life, for which, heretofore, we have had no adequate or reliable data. With all we were able to do in the time of our visit, we do not believe we have reached as yet the heart of some of the ceremonies, or the real meaning of many of the chants. Stimson feels that another two months' study with the sages of the Vahitahi area would clarify most of the obscure points in the chants and enable him to make a clear exposition of most of the customs and traditions involved in this great festival.

At Vahitahi are the last of the seagoing, built-up canoes. Although, since 1880, the double sailing canoe has given way to the single canoe with a wide beam so as to sail without outrigger, the technique of constructing and manner of handling are very much the same. The bow, stern, keel, and many of the side pieces of these crafts were taken from famous double canoes of the past. Through the joint effort of the Tuamotu Survey and

the French Government, one of the Vahitahi canoes which had been abandoned on the island of Akiaki is now preserved in the Papeete Museum. Bow, stern, and keel pieces of another are in Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

While Stimson remained entrenched at Vahitahi, I visited all the islands of the group and ran down to Papeete on a passing schooner, for a few days, to obtain supplies and equipment for the continuation of our field work.

Although we felt keenly the need of more time at Vahitahi, it was imperative that we reach Reao before turning our backs on the Tuamotus.

REAO AREA

The people of Reao and Pukarua have excited much comment. They can readily be distinguished in a crowd of Tuamotians from the other islands. Most of them could be described as small, pug-faced, timid, and non-Polynesian in appearance. As Shapiro failed to reach Reao, Stimson and I measured every Reao and Pukarua native we could find in Tahiti or in the employ of the trading schooners, in all, 15. When we reached Reao on our last cruise, I measured 34 males, about three-fourths of the adult males then on the island.

After I had made a study of the Reao canoes, houses, and marae, and recorded a series of chants and songs on the dictaphone, our time was up. Stimson, meanwhile, had made considerable headway on a vocabulary and had written down a number of chants and traditions.

On the way to Tahiti we had an entire day on Pukarua, which lies 40 miles northwest of Reao. It has half the population of Reao and is much less important. I made a circuit of the island in search of marae while Stimson became acquainted with the people and recorded the place names.

We were greatly impressed by the primitiveness of the people of Reao and Pukarua. They have scarcely emerged from their former state. All this, however, will be quickly changed because the young men are becoming sailors on Tahitian schooners. Tractable, hardy, and readily available, they form part of almost every crew. Several hundred Reao people have recently migrated to Mangareva.

TAKOTO AREA

While returning to Tahiti in August, 1930, our schooner stayed two and a half days at Takoto. In November, 1930, Stimson and I had a day and a half on the island. This gave me sufficient time to make a circuit of the island for marae and to study their interesting canoes, which have a raised stern post like certain canoes of the Cook Islands.

The people of Takoto are distinct in language, physical type, and culture and deserve a special study. They were the greatest warriors and navigators of the eastern Tuamotus, and the exploits of their ancestors are vividly preserved in unwritten traditions and songs. We met the daughter of a Takoto warrior and cannibal, who, about 1865, was himself killed and eaten while on a raiding expedition to the islands south of Vahitahi.

CONCLUSION

As a result of our survey, we have in hand sufficient material to work out the different cultural areas in the Tuamotus and to determine some of the important relationships between them. The content of our record is, however, very uneven, due to the varied ways in which the native culture is breaking down in different parts of the archipelago, and to our unequal opportunities to observe and collect.

The time we were able to spend with the Napuka, Fagatau, Takoto, Reao, and Vahitahi people was inadequate for the recording and understanding of the traditional learning, social organization, and material culture. Because this material can be procured from these islands to a degree quite unparalleled elsewhere in Polynesia today, and because it can be obtained with comparative ease, it is to be hoped that our study will be viewed as preliminary to a year or more of intensive research.

Table of Dates Showing Stays at Islands Visited by the Tuamotu Survey

(E. = Emory; S. = Stimson; Sh. = Shapiro)

Akiaki, July 4-7, 1930 (E.); Amanu, Oct. 28-Nov. 4, 1929 (E. S. Sh.); Nov. 12, 1929 (E.); June 22-28, 1930 (E. S.); Aug. 16, 1930 (E.); Anaa, June 20, 1930 (E. S.); Aug. 22-23, 1930 (E.); Sept. 7, 1930 (E.); Nov. 11-12, 1930 (E. S.); Apataki, Sept. 6, 1930 (E.); Arutua, Feb. 9, 1925 (E.); Fagatau, Oct. 5-12, 1929 (E. S. Sh.); Oct. 13-16, 1929 (E. S.); Oct. 17-27, 1929 (E. S. Sh.); Fakahina, Oct. 13-16, 1929 (E. S.); Nov. 8, 1930 (E. S.); Faite, Sept. 11-12, 1929 (E. S. Sh.); Hao, Nov. 5-11, 1929 (E. S. Sh.); Nov. 12-Dec. 21, 1929 (S. Sh.); Aug. 18, 1930 (E.); Hikuera, Nov. 13, 1929 (E.); E. S. Sh., 1930 (E. S.); Aug. 20, 1930 (E.); Sept. 8-9, 1930 (E.); Nov. 9-10, 1930 (E. S.); Katiu, Sept. 13-15, 1929 (E. S. Sh.); Kankura, Feb. 8, 1925 (E.); Sept. 5, 1930 (E.); Makatea, Feb. 18-28, 1930 (E.); Makemo, Aug. 21, 1930 (E.); Marokau, Dec. 22-3, 1929 (S. Sh.); Aug. 19, 1930 (E.); Meesia, Dec. 13-17, 1930 (E., Skinner); Nanaia, Sept. 21-Oct. 4, 1929 (E. S. Sh.); Nukutavake, Sept. 26-28, 1930 (E.); Pihaki, Sept. 27, 1930 (E.); Pukarua, Nov. 5, 1930 (E. S.); Raroia, Sept. 16-20, 1929 (E. S. Sh.); Reao, Oct. 16-Nov. 4, 1930 (E. S. Sh.); Takapoto, May 3-9, 1929 (E. S. Sh.); 'Akaraa, Apr. 18-May 2, 1929 (E. S. Sh.); May 10-June 21, 1929 (S., also part of this time at Takapoto); Takoto, Aug. 13-15, 1930 (E.); Nov. 6-7, 1930 (E. S.); Vahitahi, June 20-July 3, 1930 (E. S.); July 4-7, 1930 (S.); July 8-Aug. 12, 1930 (E. S.); Aug. 13-Sept. 10, 1930 (S.); Sept. 11-25, 1930 (E. S.); Sept. 26-28, 1930 (S.); Sept. 29-Oct. 5, 1930 (E. S.); Vairatea, Sept. 28, 1930 (E.).

NOTES ON THE INSECT FAUNA OF THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS

By E. P. MUMFORD and A. M. ADAMSON

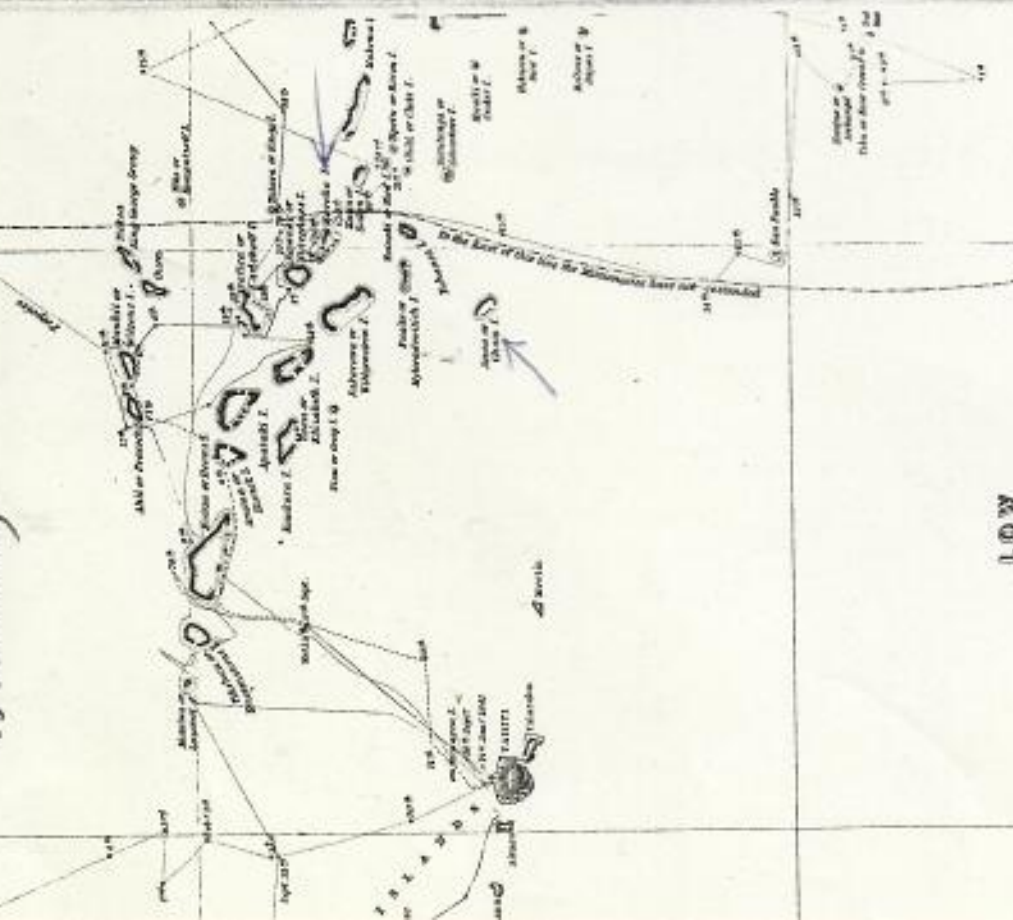
The general features of the Marquesan insect fauna are, as might be expected, typical of high islands in the central Pacific. The endemic species are, in greater or less degree, restricted to high elevations. Small size, inconspicuous coloration, and obscure habitats predominate. A few families have a relatively large development. A large number of families, super-families, and even entire orders appear to be absent.

Among the insect groups on which sufficient information is at present available, species formation has been most active in the Hemipterous families Lygaeidae, Cicadellidae (Jassidae), Cixiidae, and Delphacidae, in the genus *Rhyncogonus* and the subfamilies Cryptorrhynchinae and Cossoninae among the Coleoptera, and in the Dipterous family Sapromyzidae. Most of these have likewise attained a high degree of development in the Hawaiian islands. After these the following may be mentioned as among the most interesting groups in the Marquesan insect fauna: the Acrididae, Tetrigidae, and Gryllidae among the Orthoptera; the termites; the Psocids; the Heteropterous families Lygaeidae, Nabidae, and Miridae (Capsidae); the Psyllidae; the Lepidopterous families Noctuidae, Phycitidae, Pyraustidae, Cosmopterygidae, and Tortricidae; among the numerous families of Coleoptera, the Staphylinidae, Nitidulidae, Cucujidae, Lathridiidae, Hydrophilidae, Elateridae, Proterhinidae, and above all, as indicated above, the Curculionidae. Species appear to be numerous among some of the lower superfamilies of Hymenoptera. The Nematocerous families Tipulidae, Chironomidae, and Simuliidae contain interesting species, most of them endemic; the other families of Diptera known to include endemic forms are mostly in the series Acalyptratae.

Most of the insect groups absent from the endemic Marquesan fauna are absent also from the endemic fauna of Hawaii. The following groups, which form an important part of all continental faunas, appear to be absent from the Marquesas or to be represented there only by introduced species: the entire aquatic orders Plecoptera, Ephemeroptera, and Trichoptera and the order Mecoptera; all of the aquatic families of Hemiptera-Heteroptera constituting the suborder Cryptocerata; the Homopterous families Cicadidae, Ceroptidae, Membracidae, and—with, at present, one doubtful exception—the Aphididae; all but two of the numerous families of the Fulgoroidea; most of the families of the Neuroptera; numerous great families of Coleoptera, such as the Tenebrionidae and Chrysomelidae, and the entire group Lamellicornia, apparently without endemic species in the Marquesas

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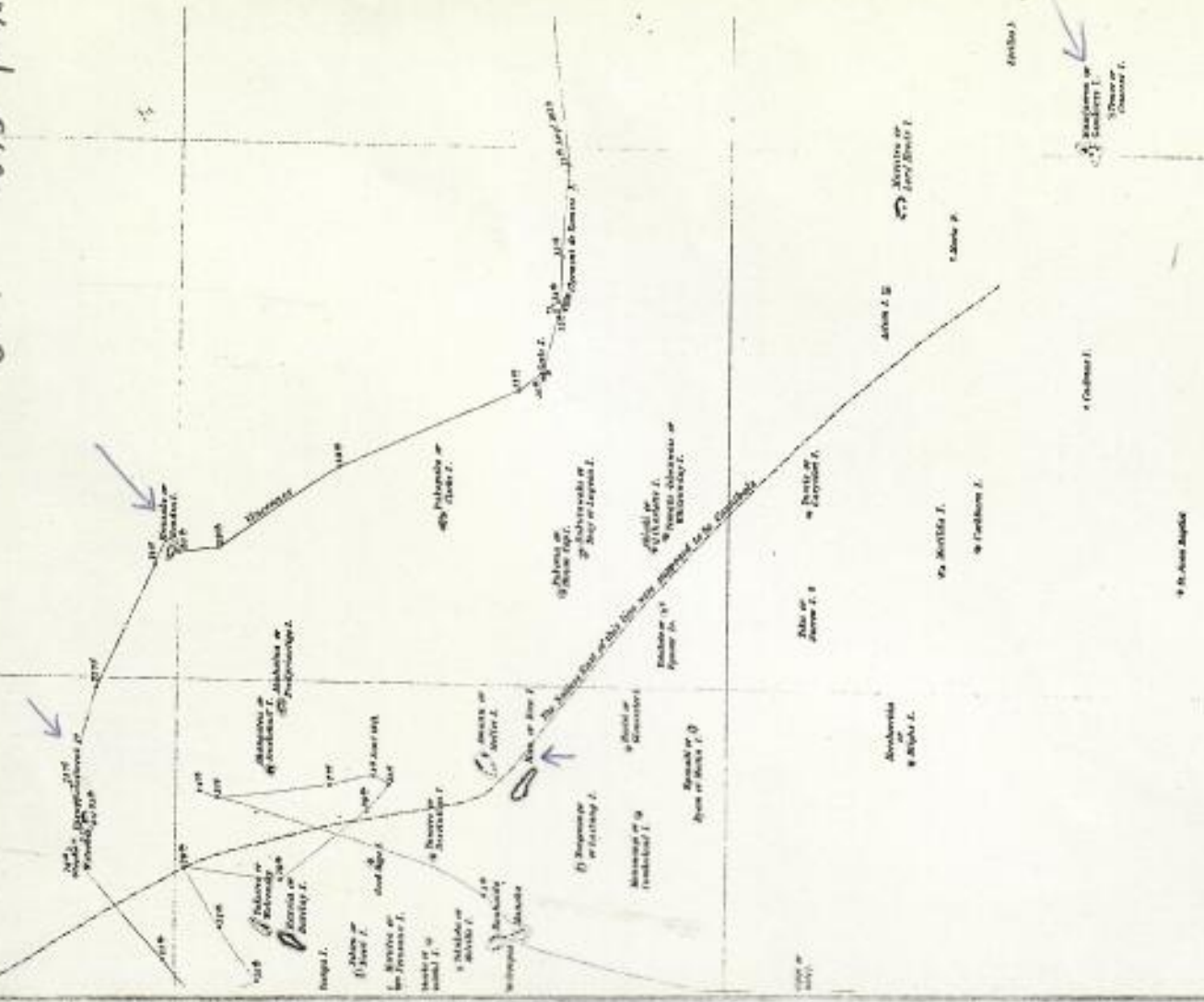
Vol. 1 by Charles Wilkes
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LOW
 ARCHIPELAGO
 OR
 PAUNOTU GROUP

BY THE
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be prepared for an early landing; but during the night, the officer of the deck of the Porpoise (Acting Master Sinclair) ran into the Vincennes, and did both vessels some injury, smashing the starboard quarter boat, which broke adrift, cutting off our backstays, and losing some of the head-spars of the Porpoise. By this accident we lost our position, and in the morning found ourselves so far to the leeward, that I knew it must occupy much time—which we could not afford to lose—before we could regain the island. I therefore reluctantly bore away to the northward, to pass over the localities of one or two doubtful islands, on our way to that of Honden.

On the 19th of August we made Henuake, Honden, or Dog Island, and came up with it about noon. The boats were at once despatched, in order to ascertain if a landing could be effected, and the ships began the surveying operations. The surf was found very heavy on the beach, but the boats notwithstanding succeeded in landing. The number of birds seen hovering over the island was an indication that it was not inhabited, which proved to be the case. Several turtles were caught, and a number of specimens obtained. The survey of the island not having been completed, I lay by all night, and early in the morning despatched boats to complete the examination of it, and to effect a landing. The greatest part of the day was spent on the island. Near the place where we landed, there has been a channel to the small lagoon in the centre of the island, and there is another of a similar character on the opposite side. They were both dry, and the seawater can only communicate with the lagoon at very high tides. From our observations of the day, the usual neap tide is three and a half feet, and it would give high water at full and change of the moon, at 2 P. M.



SECTION OF CORAL ISLAND.

There are many blocks of compact coral, just at high-water mark, quite black on the outside, but on fracture they showed the white coral. The white coral shelf over which the sea flows at high water was two hundred feet broad, the low water falling two feet below its surface; it is quite level, but there are many holes and large longitudinal cracks in it. On this lies the compact coral above spoken of, extending

beneath the coral sand. It is about ten or twelve feet wide. The coral-sand beach above the compact layer has eight feet perpendicular rise, and lies at an angle of 47°. On the top of this are small pieces of coral, which have been thrown up by the sea, around the roots of trees and shrubs, growing to the height of from fifteen to twenty feet. We found the water in the lagoon quite salt, and very warm. Its bottom for a long distance was filled with a fine deposit of calcareous mud, about six inches in depth. The water had apparently evaporated from the lagoon, and to the taste was much saltier than the ocean. Purslane (*Portulaca*) was found growing in a thrifty state in this deposit. Where the lagoon was deeper, some fine specimens of corals were observed and obtained. No traces of inhabitants were perceived on this island. The state of nature in which the birds were found, and other indications, gave proof that it had not been inhabited, at least for some time. There were a great many sharks, both in the lagoon and outside, which were so ravenous that they bit at the oars. It was by no means pleasant to have to swim through the surf to the boat with these dangerous animals so numerous around us.

The landing on a coral island effectually does away with all preconceived notions of its beauty, and any previous ideas formed in its favour are immediately put to flight. That verdure which seemed from a distant view to carpet the whole island, was in reality but a few patches of wiry grass, obstructing the walking, and offering neither fruit nor flowers to view; it grew among the rugged coral debris, with a little sand and vegetable earth.

The principal trees and shrubs are the *Pandanus*, *Boerhaavia*, and *Pisonia*. It is somewhat surprising that a few trees forty or fifty feet high should have found sufficient soil to protect their growth. Most of the trees, however, are of stunted size, being not more than ten to fifteen feet in height, and eighteen inches in diameter.

Van Schouten and Le Maire visited this island, 10th April, 1616, some two hundred years before, and it was even then clothed with vegetation. If their description is an accurate one, the island appears now to be rather higher, as they report "from what they could judge, the greater part of the island is overflowed at high water;" this is certainly not the case now. The centre of the island is in latitude 14° 55' 40" S., longitude 138° 47' 36" W.

The number of birds on the island was incredible, and they were so tame as to require to be pushed off their nests to get their eggs. The most conspicuous among them was the frigate-bird (*Tachypterus aquilus*); many of the trees were covered with their nests, constructed of a few sticks. The old birds were seen, as they flew off, inflating

their blood-red pouches to the size of a child's head, and looking as if a large bladder were attached to their necks. The gannets, sooty terns, and the beautiful tropic-bird, were in countless numbers; the former guarding their eggs, (which were laid on the ground without a nest,) with care, remaining by them, and even suffering themselves to be captured without resistance. Their hoarse croaking was quite deafening.

Some droll sights were seen of crabs walking off with snakes, and both again seized by some stout bird and borne away. Armies of soldier or piratical crabs (Paguri) were seen moving in all directions with their shells. We enjoyed ourselves much, and found no use for our guns, powder, and shot; as many specimens as we could desire were taken with the hand, both old and young. In some cases the tropic-birds were taken off their nests, and from others their eggs were taken without disturbing them; indeed, I have never seen any barnyard fowls half so tame.

The various snakes, the many-coloured fish, the great eels, enormous and voracious sharks, shells, large molluscs, spiders, with the curious lepidoptera, seemed to have quiet possession, their webs stretching in every direction, and occasioning us much annoyance: all gave a novelty to the scene, that highly interested and delighted us. In the afternoon we returned on board, loaded with specimens; and the survey being completed, we bore away on our course.

There are no cocoa-nut palms on the island, as has been reported by Captain Fitzroy, in his voyage; nor is there any fresh water to be found. Some of our gentlemen saw on the beach some broken oars and remains of a boat, but nothing could be identified.

Pandanus trees exist on the south side.

On the 23d of August we made the Disappointment Islands of Byron: they are two in number, called Wytoohce and Otooho. On the same day, I was informed by Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold, of the Porpoise, that George Reynolds, ordinary seaman, had died of chronic pneumonia; the chaplain went on board in the afternoon, and performed the last offices.

On the morning of the 24th we were off the northwest end of the island of Wytoohce, which lies in latitude $14^{\circ} 09' 30''$ S., longitude $141^{\circ} 17' 50''$ W. Many canoes came off to the ship: as they approached the vessels, the natives were heard, while at some distance, singing; and, as they drew near, the clamour increased, accompanied with much laughing, and many gesticulations; but none of them could be induced to come on board, and they were not willing to part with any thing but some pieces of old matting. An attempt was made to

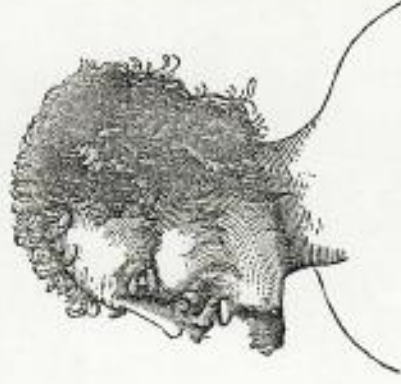
get some of their paddles, but they rather ridiculed the idea of parting with them.



CANOE OF WYTOOHEE.

The canoes were quite small, being only from twelve to fifteen feet long. They generally contained two and sometimes three natives. Each canoe had an out-rigger, and a projecting point, both before and behind, by which they get into them from the water. They are formed of strips of cocoa-nut wood sewed together. Two persons can carry them. Their paddles were curved backwards.

In order to dispel their fears, articles were given them gratuitously, and by way of showing their gratitude, they began a monotonous song or chaunt. They would occasionally stop, look up, and return the laugh of the crew by a grin; apparently enjoying the sport as much as any of them.



NATIVE OF WYTOOHEE.

These natives are peculiar, and appeared totally distinct from any others we met with in this group, having strong wiry beards and mustaches, and a different physiognomy. The portrait by Mr. Drayton, gives a very correct idea of them.

I sent one of the boats to the shore, with the interpreter, under Lieutenant Case, but they refused to allow them to land. No actual

On Raraka we soon discovered a party of natives, near the entrance to the lagoon, waving a Tahitian flag, three horizontal stripes, red, white, and red. They were partly dressed, some in shirts, without hats, others with vests, and others again with trousers of all colours. I joined the schooner, stood in for the mouth of the lagoon, and landed.

Nothing could be more striking than the difference that prevailed between these natives and those of the Disappointment Islands, which we had just left. The half-civilization of the natives of Raraka was very marked, and it appeared as though we had issued out of darkness into light. They showed a modest disposition, and gave us a hearty welcome. We were not long at a loss as to what to ascribe it: the missionary had been at work here, and his exertions had been based upon a firm foundation; the savage had been changed to a reasonable creature. Among the inhabitants was a native missionary, who had been instrumental in this work. If the missionaries had effected nothing else, they would deserve the thanks of all those who roam over this wide expanse of ocean, and incur its many unknown and hidden dangers. Here all shipwrecked mariners would be sure of kind treatment, and a share of the few comforts these people possess. No savage mistrust and fear were seen here. The women and children came about us, receiving our trifles. They showed much joy and curiosity at the sight of us, and were eager to supply our wants. The chief was an old man, much tattooed about the breast and arms, which gave him the appearance of a blue and brown checker-board; others had large rosettes on their legs, and horizontal bands on the back, passing a considerable distance on each side of the spine, elaborately executed in various patterns.

This is believed to be the tattooing peculiar to the inhabitants of Anaa or Chain Island. They frequent the different islands of the group, and are generally employed by those engaged in the shell-fishery.

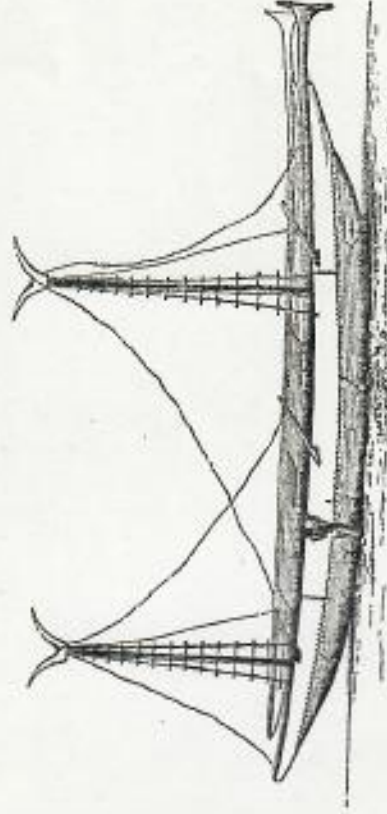
I was particularly struck with the modest and quiet behaviour of the native missionary, who was a Tahitian. He kept himself aloof, whilst all the others were crowding round to partake in the presents we were distributing, and seemed much gratified and astonished when I selected him out as the recipient of a present similar to the one I had given the chief.

All the males' heads were shaven, somewhat after the fashion of a Dominican friar. This practice is said to have been adopted by the missionaries at Tahiti, for the sake of cleanliness, and also to dis-



TATTOOING.

tinguish the Christian from the heathen party. The women have theirs cut close, and some are clothed in a pareu, consisting of three or four yards of cotton, others in a loose gown. They were any thing but good-looking; but the men were tall and well made. The variety of apparel was droll enough. As for the children, I have seldom seen finer; all were well formed, and as cheerful as they could be. They were for the most part naked. About two hundred inhabitants were counted on the island, most of whom belonged to Tahiti and Anaa, or Chain Island, and were here on a shelling voyage. They had arrived in two double canoes, such as are used in navigating from island to island; they were now drawn up on the beach. These vessels were apparently well taken care of, and in this situation we had a good opportunity of examining them. The annexed is a faithful representation of a double canoe.



DOUBLE CANOE OF THE PAUMOTU GROUP.

They are thirty-five feet long and four and a half feet wide, connected together by a strong framework, on which is placed a deck, and a temporary hut is erected on their voyages. Every part is neatly put together, and well secured with twine and sennit made of coconut fibres; no iron or metal of any kind is used in their construction; they have two masts, supported by vines in place of ropes, and are enabled to spread large mat sails; they steer with a large oar. After examining them, one can easily account for the long voyages which the natives have been sometimes able to accomplish. They find no difficulty in navigating them, and are now learning the use of the compass, but I am informed they still prefer sailing by the stars and sun, and seldom make any material error. Navigating as they do from island to island, they have not unfrequently been overtaken by storms, and some have been lost, while others have taken refuge or

been wrecked upon other islands, and have been absent from their own several years. These gales they say come from the northwest. They live here in small huts, which are rather an improvement upon those of the islanders we had already seen; these dwellings are formed of poles, with a mat covering, and are carried with them on their voyages.

Though scarcely able to protect them from the weather, yet these huts are clean, and lined with mats. Their persons seemed cleanly also, and they showed a great disposition to oblige us. Some attention was paid to cultivation, as was evinced in the plantation and care of their cocoa-nut groves, as if wishing to provide for their future wants. The trees of the young plantations were all carefully staked around. Their food consists of dried fish, somewhat similar to a whiting, of which they had a good and plentiful supply, and also of the masi, a preparation of the bread-fruit, which they were keeping for their return voyage.

This was the first island on which we observed the dawning of Christianity and civilization. The native missionaries, although they are yet ignorant of most of the duties enjoined upon a Christian, still do much good in preparing the way. Many learn to read, and some even to write, under their tuition; yet they have many impediments thrown in the way of their efforts by the introduction of spirits by the whites. The old chief, and others, are much addicted to the use of it, and the vessels resorting here for the pearl-fishery generally employ native divers, and pay them for the most part in rum or whiskey. We found here an Englishman who had belonged to a schooner engaged in the pearl-fishery. He told me he had been left there sick by his captain, and had been kindly treated during his stay of three months on the island. I was in hopes of obtaining some information from him, but he knew little or nothing of the language, and was, moreover, a stupid fellow. I gave him a passage to Tahiti, whither he was desirous of going, in the tender.

Having some business on board, I invited the chief to go off with me: he first inquired if all the boats and men were to stay; on my telling him they were not, he said he would go on board if I would also take his wife, and her brother; to which I consented.

The chief had lost one hand, which he informed me had been bitten off by a shark whilst employed in diving for shells. We became great friends, and he thought it necessary to be at my side the whole time. He was an odd old man, and proved before we left him that he had become acquainted with some of the vices of civilization.

We all embarked, soon reached the tender, and bore away for the

ship, some three or four miles distant. The old one-handed chief now came up to me in a very mysterious manner, and untying a knot in the tail of his shirt (which was the only garment he wore besides his maro,) with no small difficulty, with one hand and his teeth, drew from it a small dirty piece of linnin, tied up as a bag; this he produced with great form, and evidently expected to astonish me. The contents proved to be a few small discoloured pearls; these he begged me to accept, but I declined to receive them. We now reached the ship, and I ordered every thing to be shown them. Their surprise was very great. While on board, Messrs. Drayton and Agate succeeded in getting a most accurate portrait of him.



PORTRAIT OF THE ONE-HANDED CHIEF. P. A. C. A. K. A.

The natives were much amused with the ship, and surprised at the number of men on board. Many small presents were given them. When they were about taking their departure, the old chief complained of being quite sick, and his whole air and manner showed that he was much dissatisfied. The reason could not be imagined. The vessel had so little motion, it was thought it could not originate from sea-sickness. I therefore told the interpreter to inquire of him what was the matter. No answer was given for some time, but they consulted much among themselves in a low tone. The question was repeated, when the old chief's wife answered, "that I had not returned the present that had been offered me, and that the chief was not pleased; for, according to their customs, the offering a present to me entitled him to receive one in return." As very many gifts had been made him already, this amused me not a little. On asking what it was they wanted, they at once signified whiskey, which they said was

but the two that went to land at the village, found the surf too high to attempt it.

The north shore of Arutua Island was surveyed, when they bore away, and connected it with Nairsa or Dean's Island, along which they ran the whole length of its south side by daylight. The last named island is for the most part a washed reef, with no opening. The compact coral blocks showed themselves here more conspicuously and in greater numbers than before seen.

The following sketch, by Mr. Agate, will illustrate their appearance.



After making the west end of Nairsa, Captain Hudson sighted Krusenstern's Island, and then stood for Metia Island, to the southward, on which the officers landed the next day on its western side. Their examination confirmed the facts already given, relative to its appearance.

Mr. Dana found some recent shells embedded in the limestone, but they had lost their texture.

On this island, the magnetic observations were made, with the Peacock's instruments. Captain Hudson also sounded with the deep-sea thermometer, when within a mile of the island, in six hundred fathoms; the temperature at the surface of the water was $80\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, that below, $44\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. The next day they made Tetuaroa, to the northward of Tahiti, formerly celebrated as the resort of the Tahitians, for the purpose of recovering from the bodily diseases brought on by their debaucheries, &c. It is a low island, about six miles long, with a few trees upon it, and a reef off its southern end, extending half a mile. It is plainly to be seen from the high ridges of Tahiti.

On the 14th, the Flying-Fish arrived. She had visited and surveyed King George's Group, which appeared well inhabited, and have entrances to their lagoons on the west side. The native name of the two islands, is Tiokea and Oura. The southwest end of Tiokea is in latitude $14^{\circ} 31' 12''$ S., longitude $145^{\circ} 09' 30''$ W.; Oura bears S. 68° W., distant four and a half miles. Then the tender passed to Manihii and Ahii, round the north side of Nairsa, or Dean's Island, to Tahiti.

Little appears to be known of the history of the Paumotu Islands, or their inhabitants. At Tahiti I obtained some information from one who had been much among the group, and believe that it is as authentic as can be obtained, and may be relied on.

The Island of Anaa, or Chain Island, has been the principal seat of power, the natives of which had frequently waged war on the others, and succeeded in conquering all to the west of Hau or Bow Island, with which they have frequently fought.

In the reign of the first Pomare, under Tomatiti, they even attempted the conquest of Tahiti, and succeeded in overcoming the small peninsula of Taiarabu. The story is, that they were about to continue their attack on the larger island, when Tomatiti received a written letter from Pomaro, which caused hostilities to be suspended; and after further negotiation, finally led to Tomatiti's retiring from the island with a large present of hogs, tapa, &c. Notwithstanding this, the Chain Islanders remained nominally under the government of Tahiti, and now acknowledge their dependence on it.

Anaa, or Chain Island, is one of the smallest, yet it is the most thickly-peopled island of the whole group. It is said to contain five thousand inhabitants, which large number is accounted for by the conquest of the other islands, and taking their inhabitants off as captives. In the list of the islands and their population, it will be seen how few remain on the other islands in comparison with this number. The whole island is one cocoa-nut grove, and the principal food is fish and cocoa-nuts. The former are caught in large quantities in the lagoon.

A great change has been brought about in the character of these islanders within the last twenty-five years, during which the Tahitian missionaries have been established at Anaa. Before this period, the inhabitants were cannibals. Since the residence of the missionaries, they have imbibed better tastes; and the Christian influence has also made them more peaceful. This change was first evinced by the treatment of their captives, whom they allowed to return, if they chose, to their own island; but very many of them had married at Anaa, and became permanent residents there, and few have taken advantage of the permission to return. Notwithstanding the numerous population, they are said to have an abundance of food. The people of Anaa still consider the inhabitants of the eastern islands as cannibals; but their statement in this respect is little to be depended upon, for they have no communication whatever with those whom they class under this denomination, seldom extending themselves beyond Hau or Bow Island.

The Paumotuns are considered more warlike than the Tahitians, for which reason Pomaro I. kept a body-guard of them in preference

to his own subjects. They have the reputation of being an honest and trustworthy race.

These islanders are certainly not all from the same stock, and those of the Disappointment Group, whom we were much struck with at the time of our visit, in particular differ from the others. Since we have seen all the different Polynesian groups, these appear, however extraordinary it may be, to resemble the Feejee Islanders more than any other.

By all accounts, they speak a different dialect from that of the Tahitian nation. The difference is, however, not great, for I was told that it required but a few weeks for any of the natives to acquire it. Mr. Hale met several Paumotuans at Matavai Bay, and among them he found one by the name of Tuoni, who confirmed the accounts I have detailed above.

The population of this group I have nowhere seen given; I have therefore endeavoured to obtain the most satisfactory information in relation to it: the whole amounts, in round numbers, to about ten thousand, as follows:

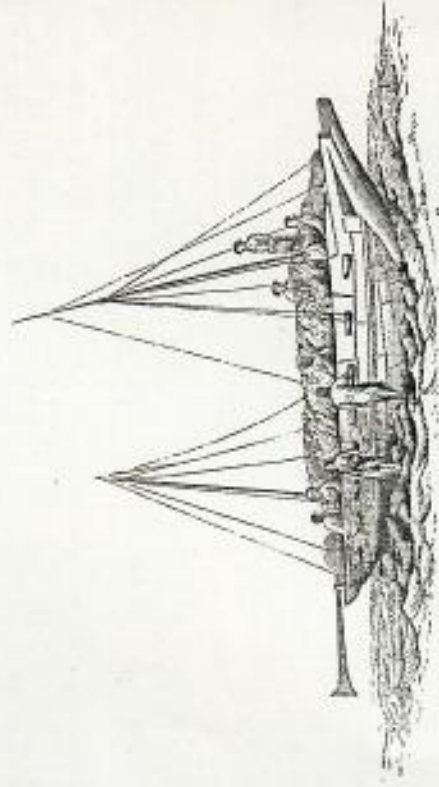
Anaa	5,000
Mahii	100
Aratika	60
Nairaa	70
Metia	350
Rarick	500
King George's	700
Vincennes	30
Karaka	40
Wytoohoo	70
Otoohoo	40
Bow Island	60
Manga Reva, or Gambier Island	2,000
Serle Island	30
Clermont de Tonnerre	120
	8,870
Rest of the group	1,130
	10,000

On the map of this group it will be seen to where the line of cannibalism extends, according to native accounts. It may be said to divide them into two divisions, the Christians and Heathens, or perhaps, more properly, the eastern and western; the whole comprise sixty-five islands. Although there is little doubt that the natives of this group have been addicted to this horrible barbarity, yet it is believed that it is not now practised.

The advancement of civilization by their intercourse with the whites, together with the missionary influence, will put an end to this practice, and promote peace among all the islanders of the group; not only ameliorating the condition of the natives, but protecting the unfortunate mariner who may be wrecked within this dangerous archipelago.

From what has been said of the Paumotu Group, it is evident it can afford but few advantages for commercial enterprise; the only article which of late years has been sought for among the islands, is the pearl oyster-shell, of which considerable quantities have been obtained. The return will be noticed under the commerce of Tahiti, of which it forms a part. The vessels engaged in the fishery belong to foreigners, who reside at Tahiti. The mode of taking the oysters is by natives, who are employed as divers, for a very small compensation. It is much to be regretted, that the traders should have recourse to the demoralizing effects of spirits, in stimulating their exertions.

The natives themselves carry on a small trade in their double canoes, which it will be seen by the wood-cut below, have already undergone some modifications from that already given on a previous page, as formerly in use. These are principally the Chain Islanders, who supply themselves at Tahiti with various small articles, in exchange for their cocoa-nut oil and dried fish.



TRADING DOUBLE CANOE.

Following are the chants of the true epochal series commencing with the chant of Kio-mua.

FACU NO KIO-MUA

Ei mua!
Ko Kio-mua vau nei!
He tavana-noho-papa vau,
No te Po-rukiruki, no te Po-tagotago!
E hore ana vau i te papa-hauri o te Po nei e!
E ko vau, ko Kio-mua e!

CHANT OF KIO-THE-PRECURSOR

Let me come before!
I am Kio-the-precursor!
I am a crimson-tailed-tropic-bird^a poised
on a ledge of rock,
I come from the Night-of-deep-darkness,
from the Utterly-black-Night!
I course o'er the gloom-darkened rock-
foundations of the Night-realm!
It is I—I am Kio-the-precursor!

FACU NO KIO-ROTO

Ei roto!
Ko Kio-roto vau nei!
E nohoga nei au i raro i te papa-hauri
o te Po-rukiruki, o te Po-tagotago!
Ka aroha tama vau nei—
E tagi ai au ki te taha o te Po nei e!
E ko vau, ko Kio-roto nei e!

CHANT OF KIO-THE-INTERMEDIATE

Let me come between!
I am Kio-the-intermediate-in-time!
I dwell beneath the gloom-dark rock-base
of the Deep-Night, of the Black-
Night!
Tender love as for a child stirs within
me—
Wherefor I go, mourning, o'er the meas-
ureless reaches of the Netherworld!
It is I—I am Kio-the-intermediate!

FACU NO KIO-MURI

Ei muri!
Ko Kio-muri au nei!
E noho ana i te papa-hauri i te Po,
He mapuna tumu no te Po nei e—
E ka vau, ko Kio-muri e!

CHANT OF KIO-THE-SUCCESSOR

Let me come after!
I am Kio-the-successor!
Dwelling immemorially on the gloom-
shadowed foundations of the Spirit-
world
Wherein the primal waters seep—^a
It is I—I am Kio-the-successor!

FACU NO KIO-TE-HAKAHOPE-HAGA

Ko Kio-te-hakahope-haga vau nei!
No raro mai au i te Po-rukiruki, i te
Po-tagotago—
Ka mate, ka mate ra vau nei,
Ko ora, ka ora nei au e ki te Po,
ki te papa-hauri noku;
E ko vau, ko Kio-te-hakahope-haga e!

CHANT OF KIO-THE-TERMINATOR

I am Kio-the-completer-of-all-things!
I come from the Night-of-darkness,^a
from the Night-without-a-gleam-
of-light—
I died—I who chant died indeed,
Yet I live—now I live in the Night-realm
on the gloom-darkened foundations
belonging to me;
It is I—I am Kio-the-terminator!

MISCELLANEOUS CHANTS

FACU NO KIO-HIRINAKI

Ka tika ra tuku ununahi!
Ke hirinaki au ki te tau tau,
Ke hirinaki au ki te tau aro!
Ka tika, ka tika ra tuku ununahi!
E ko vau, ko Kio-hirinaki!

CHANT OF KIO-THE-LEANING-BACKWARD

Be vertical, my thrusting!
May I lean toward the back,
May I lean toward the fore!
Be vertical, be upward, my thrusting!
It is I—it is Kio-the-leaning-backward!

CHANT OF THE UP-THRUSTING OF THE NIGHT-SPHERE BY KIO

Push along, shove along,
That (the spheres) touch, that (they) be
utterly expanded!
Push hither, nudge hither,
That (the heavens) adhere, that (they)
swerve to the north,—
A mighty overlord is Kio!

CHANT OF THE HUMAN SOUL

Assign the human soul^a to the darkness
of night
For the offspring of Kio to live there;
An open-rock-expanse suitable for my
spirit—
A wide-rock-foundation!
Assign the soul of man to the night!

INVOCATIONS

INVOCATION FOR THE TEMPLE OF KIO^a

Commence the invocation! All is Kio's!
It is the temple of Kio—the temple of
Kio!
It belongs to my little child—to my little
child!

Give some food that my little child may
enjoy it!

Hail! Hail! Hail! Hail! Hail!

(Kio would be invoked, for his was the
temple, that he give some food so that
the little child might eat pleasantly.)

INVOCATION TO KIO FOR TURTLES

Go! Go, Togahiva!
Thou art as the migratory bird—'tis the
petrel flying away!
Dawn breaks; the rat starts to creep into
the canoe-shed;
Crooked-up are thy feet (O Togahiva)!
All is Kio's!

REGIONS OF THE NIGHT-SPHERE

HAVAHIKI-TUMU

Ko rari non iho Havaiki ta ku i haka-
rogo, na to ku tupuna vahine i hakaite
mai ki a ku, e taua Havaiki nei ra, ko te
tumu ia o te Po, e to na igoa, ko Havaiki-
tumu ia, e tahi igoa o taua henua purotu
nei ra, ko Orovatu ia.

HAVAHIKI-THE-SOURCE

I have heard of only one Havaiki; it
was my grandmother who told me, and
that Havaiki of which I speak was at
the base of the Night-realm, and its
name was Havaiki-the-source (or Havaiki-
the-foundation); and another name for
that wondrous land was Gishing-mur-
mur-of-waters.

Te ia nei, kua hoepi hoki te hnga a Kio; e kua hoki kua ki tena gahi ki Hawaiiki-tumai moemoe ai.

Now indeed were the deeds of Kio concluded; and he returned to his abode in Hawaiiki-the-source, there to sleep.

Thus concludes Tuhiragi's account of the creation up to the time when Oatea took over from Kio the god's crimson-girdle together with the magic powers inhering in its possession.

Tuhiragi's account of the building of the two-upper-spheres (Ragi-hou) is even more elaborated and perhaps equally impressive, but in keeping with the plan of the present study it has been left for publication at a later date.

A few *faga* and invocations concerning Kio have been recovered from Tuhiragi's fading memory, and these are given below; the first of these is Tuhiragi's version of the Oatea-Fakahotu chant which—although not directly concerning Kio—is here given for purposes of comparison with the Paea and Raea versions. It is probable that Tuhiragi's version is the most authentic of the three.

MISCELLANEOUS CHANTS

FAGU NO VATEA RAUA KO FAKAHOTU

Ko Vatea te i ruga,
Ko Fakahotu te i raro,
Ariari kua e rehire!

Ka unuhi te tama i te manava!

CHANT OF OATEA AND FAKAHOTU

Oatea was over,
Fakahotu was underneath,
The womb was distended with the unborn babe—oh!
Thereupon the child slipped forth from the womb!

FAGU NO KIO-MUA

Te ia Kio, ko ia hoki, ko Kio-mua, e noho ana ia i te Po-hauriuri, i te Po-haeaea.

Te i muri nei tama fagu ra:

Hauriuri!
Haeaea!
Hapoto-rea!*

CHANT OF KIO-THU-PRINCIPLES

This (phrase of) Kio, that is to say, Kio-the-first-in-time, dwelt in the Night-of-deep-gloom and in the Night-shot-with-faint-streaks-of-light.

The chant itself follows:

Gloomily-dark!
Shot-with-faint-gleam-of-light!
Gleaming with the white light of the Moon!
Adorned with leaves of the Pandanus,
obedient,
Thou dost flee to thy inclosing boundaries,
Thou dost escape to thy remote encircling horizons!

Ko te akuaku hnga ia o ga tamariki.

Ko Te-paia ka mahora iaku kai,

Pokia e Tu-nui i te fakake-ekaga,
To Kio!

It was the banishment of the children.
Te-paia* was he who laid out my food upon the mats,
Covered over by Tu-the-mighty whilst being set up upon the food-stage,—
All is Kio's!

FAKATARA NO KIO-TIPAPA

Ko Hawaiiki-ki-te-nuku-papa-i-faga,

CHANT OF KIO-WHO-LIES-ON-HIS-BACK
It is Hawaiiki-of-the-curved-rock-foam-ation,

Ka topa—ka tau i te hema moe-tipapa,—

Fakaaraa ana i te moe o Kio!

FAKATARA NO KIO-TUTURI

Taku turi ka topa e!

Ka hihī ai i te nōkanoka,—

Ka hihī ai he tagata, e Kio!

Note by Tuhiragi: "Mai te mea ra paha ko Vahia-raro te i hihia tena turi." "As if, perchance, the knee of Cleaver-below had become entangled (in the tendrils of a vine)."

FAKATARA NO KIO-HIRINAKI

Ka tika ra taku unuuna!

Ka hirinaki au ki te tau tua,

E ka hirinaki au ki te tau aro!

E ka hirinaki,—

No ku, e Kio!

FAKATARA NO TE VAI-TUMU I TE PO

Mapunaro te vai e pu!

Te vai e gare!

Garegare te vai i Atu-hema,—

No u, e Kio!

CHANT OF KIO-THE-LEANER*

Be erect, my leaning-staff!

I lean to the rear,

And I lean to the fore!

And I lean,—

For me, O Kio!

CHANT OF THE ORIGINAL-WATERS IN THE NIGHT-REALM

Welling up into view are the gushing waters!

The limpid waters!

Unsoiled are the waters of the Primal-foundation-land,—

Thine, O Kio!

INVOCATIONS

KO-MUA-HAGA PURE NO KIO

Ka higo mai e Kio o mata nua!

Ka higo mai e Kio o mata muri!

Ka iu mai i to aro!

To Kio!

PROLOGUE TO PRAYER TO KIO

Let thine eyes-before regard me, O Kio!

Let thine eyes-behind regard me, O Kio!

Turn thy face toward me!

All is Kio's!

According to Tuhiragi the above prologue to prayer to Kio was of the utmost sanctity; it was highly tapu, and was obligatory prior to all invocations of the highest ritual. He adds that, by substituting the name of Tane-nui-a-Atea, the god of the upper skies, it could become the proper introduction to prayers of equally high ritual when addressed to him.

PURE I A KIO NO TE HONU

Ko koe hoki e Honu!

Kua itiraga koe ki a Manahoa-tagarua!

Kotia to farona!

Tuakia to gakeau!

Tahetahe to toto!

Kua huri hia koe ki ruga i te unu-rau-toto!

Kua mate koe!

To Kio!

INVOCATION TO KIO FOR TURTLE

It is indeed thou, O Turtle!

Thou hast been turned over on thy back (as a sacrifice) to Manahoa-the-long-billed!

Slit is thy gullet!

Disembowled thy entrails!

Gashing away thy blood!

Thou art rolled over upon the blood-absorbing oven!

Thou art sacrificed (dead)!

All is Kio's!

MARQUESAS

Mathias says that in the Marquesas they knew the morning and evening stars, and their names had those meanings¹; and Jardin says the name of the morning star was Fetu-oatea, and that of the evening star Fetu-mahona-puipui-i-te-ahiahai, and that they were both the planet Venus². I imagine the first name means "the star of (the god) Atea." The Pleiades were called Mata-iti or Maka-iki, which Mathias translates as meaning "little eyes³." According to Jardin the stars of the Belt of Orion were called Taotohu⁴; but Mathias says that they were called Ta-tuitui-hohoe, which, he says, apparently means "a chief's paddle⁵." The story of the fish-hook of Tongareva had evidently reached the Marquesas, for von den Steinen, having great difficulty in persuading a chief's family to sell him the carved tortoise-shell hook "with which Maui fished up the island of Tongareva," succeeded in doing so by reminding them that, according to their own tradition, Maui had hurled his hook into the firmament, where it became the constellation Scorpio—thus shaking their belief in the relic⁶. The Milky Way was called Vao-fetu, or "band of stars?" It is said that meteors were believed to be the excrements of—apparently—the sun and moon⁷. They were also associated with the souls of men⁸.

According to Mathias the people knew a great number of constellations and gave them names, also some stars¹⁰. Jardin says that the voyages which they made from one island to another of their archipelago had made them observe the stars and distinguish the principal constellations; they identified about twenty-five [stars and constellations?]¹¹. Von den Steinen says the months received their names and were distinguished according to one or more fixed stars which appeared at each new moon; thus there was a Sirius, an Orion, and a Pleiades month¹².

¹ Mathias, p. 210.

² Mathias, p. 212. Cf. Jardin, p. 206. The *r* is not pronounced in the Marquesas.

³ Jardin, p. 206.

⁴ Von den Steinen, *V.G.E.* vol. xxv, p. 501.

⁵ Jardin, p. 206.

⁶ Des Vergnes, *R.M.C.* vol. LI, p. 727.

⁷ Mathias, pp. 209 sq.

⁸ Von den Steinen, *V.G.E.* vol. xxv, p. 498.

⁹ Jardin, p. 206.

¹⁰ Mathias, p. 210.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 207.

¹² Jardin, p. 206.

PAUMOTU

The people of the island of Mangareva believed that the stars were fixed to the sky¹. Stevenson says that Venus played a great part in the tales and customs of all the islands of the group. Among other things it regulated the season for good fish, which were poisonous in the lagoon with Venus in one phase, and valued articles of food when it was in another. The white men explained these changes by phases in the coral². According to Caillot, when in Hao Island a male turtle was caught the people shouted out "Takerol!" but if a female was caught they cried "Matariki!" It is explained that each of these names signified a star, that the two stars rose in the east about May, and that the people attributed to these stars the south-east gales which blew at this period³. It will be noticed that the latter of these names is that commonly given to the Pleiades.

NIUE

We have only a scrap of information from the island of Niue. Smith says that he could not learn from the present generation whether they had the same knowledge of the stars, etc., as had most other branches of the race. Venus, as the morning star, was called Fetu-aho, and as the evening star Tu-afiafi. There was also a constellation called Mataliki, but he could not learn whether, as in other islands, it was the Pleiades⁴.

FOTUNA

Grézel refers in his Dictionary to the practice in the island of Fotuna of naming some of the months of the year from the stars and constellations⁵. I shall quote him with regard to this when dealing with months and seasons. He also gives the following names of known stars and constellations; and in repeating them I shall in each case introduce the page in the Dictionary into my tabulated list instead of in a footnote⁶:

p. 128	<i>Fetaungapape</i>	two small stars near the Southern Fish
p. 129	<i>Fetuu</i>	year, star
	<i>Fetuu ao</i>	morning star (Venus)
	<i>(Fetuu aasoa</i>	Jupiter or Saturn (planet)
	<i>Fetuu ea</i>	

¹ *A.P.F.* vol. XII, p. 67. Cuzent, *V.I.G.* p. 38.

² Stevenson, *S.S.* p. 158.

³ Caillot, *Mythes*, p. 68 and note i.

⁴ Smith, *J.P.S.* vol. XI, p. 217.

⁵ Grézel, *parisvr.*

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Tuamotuan Religious Structures and Ceremonies

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INTRODUCTION

On the scattered atolls of the Tuamotuan Archipelago, which lies 14° to 22° south of the equator and stretches from north of Tahiti, 800 miles to the southeast, ruins of coral platforms and upright slabs mark the sites of the marae, or places of worship, of the Polynesian inhabitants before they were Christianized. Although half to a full century has elapsed since ceremonies took place upon these marae, the names of many of them are still cherished, and they figure prominently in the songs, chants, legends, and stories still heard.

While recording the marae ruins in 1929, 1930, and 1934, during the Bishop Museum ethnographic survey of the Tuamotus (16, 26),¹ I became especially interested in their original appearance and in their function. This monograph contains what I have been able to gather from the meager but helpful published literature and from the field work of the two Bishop Museum expeditions, described in my report of the Tuamotuan Survey (16) and in the report of the Mangarevan Expedition (26, pp. 61-67).

It requires only a brief acquaintance with the older generation of Tuamotians to realize that the life of their predecessors revolved about the marae and that the marae, more than anything else in the culture, bound the members of each group together and anchored them to a past which profoundly influenced their present.

I have dealt with the physical appearance of the marae in considerable detail for two reasons: the marae ruins in the Tuamotus serve to mark the original extent of locally distinct cultures, which now have merged and largely lost their identity; and marae ruins survive throughout a large part of Polynesia and furnish a concrete basis for comparative study.

FIELD WORK AND SOURCES

During the first Bishop Museum expedition to the Tuamotus, from the early part of 1929 to the early part of 1931 (16), chants, songs, and prayers used in connection with the marae were taken down from dictation or copied from native manuscripts in existence before our arrival. This work was done mainly by the linguist of the expedition, J. Frank Stimson. In a number of the islands I learned the terms for various parts of the marae and gained some idea of their function. At Fagatau, in 1929, we encountered Te Miro a Pahoa,

¹ Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 100.

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Women were taught native prayers and chants, but purely as repositories of this lore.

The head of a family or kindred was entitled to be the priest of the marae, but in the case of tribal maraes, some other member of the chief's family might hold the office. According to Montiton (35, p. 379), the high priest had an assistant, (*huhuki*), who stood on his right, and two assistants (*fakafau* and *hukuri*), who were on his left. Audran speaks of only two lesser priests, also of royal blood and called *huhuki* (1, vol. 28, p. 234); and my informant at Napuka. Te Uru, said the priest or chief was assisted by two men whose designation he could not remember.

Montiton's information, which he said was gathered from the eastern Tuamotus, is from Tatakoto, Fagatau, or Fakahina, for at no other eastern islands did he stay long enough to gather his knowledge of maraes. Prior to the publication of his article on Tuamotuan religion, he had remained for nearly six months, just before October 16, 1870, at Fagatau (34, p. 284) and from November 5, 1870, to July 16, 1871, or a little over nine months, at Tatakoto, where he was much occupied building a church and a calvary (34, p. 286). At Fakahina he stayed four months prior to 1872 (34, p. 376).

Audran (1, vol. 28, p. 234), drawing on information from Fakahina, says of the high priest:

In the Tuamotu Group the chief officiating priest, who conducted, so to speak, divine worship, and represented the archpriest in our cathedrals, was known as the *kanauka*. He was a great personage and very holy. Further, he enjoyed the highest privileges. He was exempt from ordinary work and from that forced labor, at times so troublesome, such as cooking and the preparation of the turtle, for which the common people were liable. The smoke from the ovens was not to come near him or to touch him. Throughout the whole island there was but one authority (that of the king) superior to his, while at times his influence was as powerful as even that of the king. He alone was responsible for the ordering and carrying out of everything that concerned the celebration of the annual festival and the performance of the religious ceremonies on the marae. All these were under his sole jurisdiction. It was the *kanauka* whose duty it was to regulate them as he thought fit, providing that he preserve the ancient usage.

At Fagatau, *tu-haga* was the term used for the high priest.

OCCASIONS FOR CEREMONIES

The capture of turtle, porpoise, or large fish of the sacred class was the most frequent occasion for the use of the marae. The importance of turtle feasts upon the marae is obvious, for far more detail is remembered about them than about any other marae ritual. During the off-season for turtle, most maraes at Napuka lay idle.

About July, at the approach of the time when female turtles came ashore to lay their eggs and both male and female turtles appeared around the island, the principal maraes of a tribe were meticulously weeded and cleared of all rubbish (*parapara*). This was done at Napuka by the *tabi haga karava*

(seekers of bits of coconut fiber), who were grey-headed men. After clearing, the maraes were decorated for the rites, the purpose of which was to insure a large catch of turtle during the season, July to December or January. The first turtles captured at the beginning of the season were offered to the gods with the most elaborate ritual (2, p. 130).

Cannibal feasts no doubt furnished occasions for the use of maraes reserved for that purpose. In a legend we collected from the Vahitahi area, marae ceremonies were held before setting out on a voyage, to insure protection against a god named Ruu. Upon the safe arrival at land, the chief immediately repaired to the marae to acknowledge the protection given by his gods (44, p. 189). Famines called forth special marae ceremonies. At the first pregnancy of a woman of the *ariki* family, prayers were said at the marae (35, p. 491). The navel cord of the chief's son might be buried at the marae with some ritual. In the chant of the Hao chief Te Hau-o-Rogo, occurs: "[K]a koti te pito ko [= o] Tagihia, ka tanu ki roto ki Maruata" (Sever the navel cord of Tagihia, bury it at marae Maruata).

The succession of a chief to the position of *ariki* called for a very important ceremonial, about which we have no details except that it sometimes took place upon the founding of a new marae for this chief. Upon the death of a chief, his body was carried to the marae before final disposition of the remains on the land or in the sea. If he were to receive the honor of apotheosis, some of the ceremonies involved took place upon the marae.

Terms for other important ceremonies have been remembered, such as *pohe* at Tatakoto, *te ahu pōpōre*, and *te unu tapikōpiko*, a three-day ceremony, at Fagatau.

THE TURTLE FEAST CATCHING THE TURTLE

The eve and day of the sacrifice of a turtle at the marae, the men who were to partake of the flesh observed continence, says Montiton (35, p. 367), whose information is from Fagatau, Fakahina, or Tatakoto. "They ordinarily slept near their canoes, to launch them as soon as day appeared, for turtle hunting, for bonito trolling or for fishing for other large fish. The man who caught the victim detached the brightest scale and offered it to the god whose image was on the bow of the canoe, designating and consecrating the victim by this chant." (The native text of the chant is Montiton's, but for the translation I have substituted one of Stimson's, which I regard as more accurate.)

Ka [k]ohiti mai te tai,	Now the tide rises,
Tupa ruga,	It sweeps to the east,
Tupa raro,	It sweeps to the west,
Tupa uta,	It swerves toward the land,
Tupa tai.	It swings out to sea.
E pana i mua,	It rises before,
E pana i roto,	It rises between,
E pana i muri,	It rises behind.

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

Myth of turtle and fowl

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

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

Karibi the elder and Karibi the younger leaped into the fire to provide food. That part of them which was not consumed by the flames turned into maggots. Those from Karibi the elder became turtle and bonito; those from the younger became *Pitara* fish and frigate birds. When they met, Turtle and Bonito said to Pitara and Frigate Bird: "They shall all become sacred to Te Fatumoa, a trumpet will sound for them, a drum shall loudly beat, a feast must shall be spread, a prayer recited, and their bones shall be neatly piled" (*Ei tu ratou ki te Fatumoa, e pu to ratou e tagi, e uure e uure e uure his, e tapukun e auhara, e pure e oti, e auhara his to ratou au*). But Pitara and Frigate Bird demanded for themselves these privileges. Thereupon Turtle and Bonito prophesied that no conch would blow for them, no drum would sound, no mat be spread, and their bones would not be gathered up.

In Tahiti, the turtle says to the fowl (30, p. 381), when one contends for prestige above the other, "You are common, you will be eaten by women and children, but I shall be sacred to the gods, I shall leap into the god's house." An old Reao native recounted to Scurat (43, vol. 21, p. 125) the following tale of the cock and the turtle:

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

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

Tuainio e!
Tiriti, tarara!
E haroga ma'i oi taua ika nei,
He ika nei, he ika iti;
Ko mea ra te tagata i roaka ai taua
ika oka nei.
He ika paku, he ika tavake, he
ika heko.

He ika parapan-e-ra :

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

Hoi o! hania te pekau o {Takeru
Matariki.

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

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

Toinoio e!
E rahi te tupa i raga nei,
E ika te i raro nei.
Ko uhuuio, akia, makere hoki,
Taua ika te pitika hoki, te pitara.
Hoi, hoi, tuene, tuene e.
Ka taua reporepo his
na haa, na kohaga,
na ruahine.
Ka taua reporepo his i
Bury all smeared with dirt!

CARRYING TURTLE TO MARAE

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

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

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

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

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

Hoi o! Broken is the slipper of {Takeru
Matariki.

Aku paru te vai nini ra i Raurua,*
He ho!

My fish at Raurua,
Ho!

PROVERBS

A mau tena pa!†
Hio! hi ho!‡
Let [the note of] that trumpet be prolonged!
Hio! hi ho!

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

† Ueue nini i rupe Te Raurua.

‡ Poi nini i aku takake.

§ Kitega te niriipi o taku manava.

¶ E aku aku takaki.

As the *u* in *pu* is extremely short, the translation may be wrong; the line may be actually "a mau te rapu." This calling out by the people is termed *hi* (*Aus M. de Tagata*).

Stirring upon Te Raurua.

Carry [the fat of] my armlets.

The flesh of my breasts shall be known.

How delicious is [the flesh of] my neck.

As the *u* in *pu* is extremely short, the translation may be wrong; the line may be actually "a mau te rapu." This calling out by the people is termed *hi* (*Aus M. de Tagata*).

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

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

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

ARRIVAL OF TURTLE AT MARAE

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

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

Io kere roa,
Io kere poto,
Io kere tatuatua,
A huri, ka ru a i
Io te ho [= uho ?].

Te Mae's VISION

There in the darkness stretching out,
There in the darkness restricted,
There in the darkness bound round,
Arise, ah! i
There where is the divine essence.

Te Uru's VISION

[In] that land [or darkness] of far extent,
[In] that restricted land,
[In] that land bound round,
Turn [hither].
[The gods] voyage to the realm of light.

* Considering the possibility that it might here be a name, I sounded out Te Mae on the subject. He bore a god named Io. Toward the last of my stay at Napuka, in 1914, I consulted Te Mae with the verified account of Kihou written by Porius of Paganu (46). He remarked, "This teaching is not new."

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

INVESTITURE OF CHIEF

Montiton (35, p. 378) writes that the chief took up his position "with his back to the marae" (*adossé au marae*), that is, with his back to the *ahu* platform of the marae, for Te Uru and others at Napuka mention this as being the first position taken by the chief or presiding priest. Furthermore, Montiton says that the chief faced the *tuturi* kneeling at the back of the marae while the warriors, seated to the right and left on stools, formed two parallel lines. Montiton speaks of the *tuturi* in the singular number, but this, I believe, may not be a term for some officer, but a descriptive term applying to those exclusive of the warriors who sat or knelt directly on the ground at the far end of the court.

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

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

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

† The staff of Mahinui, high chief of Paganu, was called a *tururua*, and was named *Tere-tite*.

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

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

Tagarua iau, ka (a)kei
Ka palautu iau!
Ko te ahu e i
Te hura, hura te vaka!

Tagarua there with you, slight!
Fly out to you!
It is the gathering together!
The tribe appears!

When the chief had been invested with his *fau* and staff, according to Montiton (35, p. 379), the *huhuki* took a bunch of leaves (probably one of the whips, *rau toutou*) and struck the "pavement" to awaken and call the gods. The chief then turned toward the *ahu* and, with "grand contortions and deafening yells" (Montiton, 35, p. 379), invoked all the gods. Montiton gives the following list, in which most of the names are recognizable on our Fagatau genealogies, and many occur in genealogies from Fakahina (Audran, J. p. 234): Tauruhua, Kai-nuku, Puniava, Ruamuku, Tu-te-no-tea, Tu-makino-kino, Tohutika, Rua-fatoga, Tu, *te ati* Tu (the clan of Tu), *te ati* Rogo (the clan of Rogo), *te ati* Tane (the clan of Tane), Tama-tu-hau, Tama-ariki-tahi, Tavake, Ruafatu, Mahinini, Te Moana-tai-hia, Tama-tea, Hoga, Marere-kogakoga, Rua-kai-atun, Mutuni-uta, Mapu, Mahaga, Koarua, Okea, Tabuka.

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

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

Atua e* faharo mai i te rahi.
Ko te ipo e,
Ka tu ia, rahire.
Ko Rogo-nui, faharo mai i te rahi,
the abode of the gods,
Beloved one,
Grace this place with thy presence.
Be present.
O Rogo-nui, come sweeping hither from
the abode of the gods,
Beloved one,
Grace this place with thy presence.

The verse is repeated for Toëne, Itupava, Puniava, Tohitika.

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

AWAKENING OF THE GODS

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

In 1931, Reva, daughter of Te Miro, gave me a chant for the awakening of the gods (*no-te fakaaarua atua*), which Stimson came across three years

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

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

1
Fakaaraha ki te po roa!
Ka ehe ki te vaka ni[hi]ami[h]a a Tane!
Ko vai [i]i tapa i fanau ai koe e te rakau?
Ko Tu-ruma-rakau, ko Taraga-nui-o-
nere!
Ka tupu ia Tane!
E taku aitu—e ara!
E ara [e] Tupua,^b
E ara i [= e] Te Iri,
E ara i [= e] Te Fatu,
E ara e Tane, e ara!
E ka hura ariki,
Ki tai tupu, ki tai rito, ki tai kao;
E Rua-toka-nuku, e Rua-toka-ragi.

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

2
E Hiro e, ka tara [faul] io rouru;
Ka hoki au io korero.
Ko Ru i huakina te papa ki raro,
Ko Haumakamu te tagata i verohia[aji]
te ara i Hira [= Hiva].^c
Ka tu ki Vai-he-nuku,
Ka takoto ki Vai-be-rari [= rari].
Nifanifa Te Toki!
Ko Takurusu.

2
O Hiro, your hair is untied by me;
I now cast out your words.
It was Ru by whom was uncovered the foundations below,
the road to Hiva.
Stand up at Vai-he-nuku [the star Castor],
Lie down at Vai-he-rari [the star Pollux].
Fierce is The Adz!
It was Takurusu [Sirius].

* According to Paea of Anaa, Taraga-nui-o-Mere is a bright star employed as a guiding star from Tahiti to Korohere, but we have not come across Tu-ruma-rakau as a star name.
* Yapa is supplied from Reva's version.
* An, from Reva's version.

* Hira in the text, but obviously from Reva's text, a mistranscription for Hiva. In the chant for the chief of Raihu, he is called a powerful child of the land who died struck down (*pa hira*) on the "ara tai hira" a "Yapa" (the dark sea road of Tane).
* Te Toki (The Adz) is the name of a star in a list of star names from Fagatau, and next to the name Vai-he-nuku.

Aku paru te vai nini ra i Raurou.^a
He ho!

PROSE

A mau tena poi?^b
Hio! hi ho!

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

Ueue ma i ruqa Ye Raurou,
Poi ma i aku takake,
Kitepa te paitipiri o tahu mamava,
E aha aku takaki.

Stirring upon Ye Raurou.

Carry [the fat of] my armlets,

The flesh of my breasts shall be known,

How delicious is [the flesh of] my neck.

^b As the *a* in *pu* is extremely short, the translation may be wrong; the line may be actually "a mau to mau."

^c This calling out by the people is termed *hi* (*pu* *hi* *te* *te* *te* *te*).

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

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

ARRIVAL OF TURTLE AT MARAE

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

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

TE MAE'S VERSION

There in the darkness stretching out,
To kere poto,
There in the darkness restricted,
To kere taitaua,
A hiri, ka ru a i
There where is the divine essence,
Arise, *giti*!

TE URU'S VERSION

[In] that land [or darkness] of far extent,
[In] that restricted land,
[In] that land bound round,
Turn [hither].
[The gods] voyage to the realm of light.

To kere roa,
To kere poto,
To kere taitaua,
A hiri, ka ru a i
To te ho [= uho ?].

In kere roa,
In kere poto,
In kere taitaua,
A hiri a.
Te kere te ao.

^a Considering the possibility that *te* might here be a name, I sounded out Te Mae on the subject. He bore of no god named *te*. Toward the end of my stay at Napuka, in 1934, I obtained Te Mae with the unverified account of Kihō written by Faria of Fagatau (43). He remarked, "This teaching is not *te*."

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

INVESTITURE OF CHIEF

Montiton (35, p. 378) writes that the chief took up his position "with his back to the marae" (*adossé au marae*), that is, with his back to the *ahu* platform of the marae, for Te Uru and others at Napuka mention this as being the first position taken by the chief or presiding priest. Furthermore, Montiton says that the chief faced the *tuturi* kneeling at the back of the marae while the warriors, seated to the right and left on stools, formed two parallel lines. Montiton speaks of the *tuturi* in the singular number, but this, I believe, may not be a term for some officer, but a descriptive term applying to those exclusive of the warriors who sat or knelt directly on the ground at the far end of the court.

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

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

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

^b The staff of Mahina, high chief of Fagatau, was called a *faruru*, and was named *Tevahia*.

Takuru e tu nei,
Ko Fakamata-tahi-a-miien.¹
Ko Fakamata-tahi-a-rigi.
Ruru ki Te Pua,
Ruru ki te aro o Fanihi.

Tu tabaga i te aro o Takurus ma Takero.²
Mabariki ko tei raga.
E talua ko tei raro—

E ara, e ara!

¹ Takuru at Fagatau was called "king of the stars" (*teki no te kapa keteke*), and among his epithets occur, *Takurus-mata-maku* (Takurus-crowned-head), *Takurus-mata-rigi* (Takurus-growth-of-sty), *In Tahiti*, under the name *Takurus-mata-maku*. Takurus was called (20, p. 363) creator of children (*te'ara'i*), in the sky and on earth. *Takurus* is addressed as, or calls himself, *Matahi-maku*, *Matahi-rigi* in his most important chant at Tahiti, beginning, "Tu aia raga, iau tana raga, iau here toa te iau o Takuru, ko Matahi-maku, ko Matahi-rigi."
² In the Tahitian account (20, p. 363) of the birth of the heavenly bodies, the heavens were believed with stars to be brought into the presence of Takurus (*te aro o Takurus*), to assemble as a host (*te'ara'i*) in the presence of Te'era.

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

NO TE FAKAMATUA HAGA EI ARIKI

Ara mai, ara marie!
Ara mai o mata i te po,
Ara mai o mata i te ao!
Ara mai, ara marie!
Ara mai e Tupua, e Tahito;
Ara mai e Mahiri, e Manatu;
Ara mai e Pava, e Gagana;
Ara mai e Tane, e Uho!
Ara mai i te rua, ara marie!
Ara mai i te ata,
Tu mai i te ata,
Matike mai i te ata.
Haere i te ata, kia horo,
Kia moega taua ki te heiau e.³

Ara mai, ara marie!

¹ In a section of Fagatau mythical genealogy, Tupua is the wife of Tahito, and Gagana is their grandchild (21, p. 70).
² The line is obscured by the difference in the native text, one version has *hia moega ki taua ki te heiau e*.
³ Another has *hia moega o taua ki te heiau e*.

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

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

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

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

¹ Takuru at Fagatau was called "king of the stars" (*teki no te kapa keteke*), and among his epithets occur, *Takurus-mata-maku* (Takurus-crowned-head), *Takurus-mata-rigi* (Takurus-growth-of-sty), *In Tahiti*, under the name *Takurus-mata-maku*. Takurus was called (20, p. 363) creator of children (*te'ara'i*), in the sky and on earth. *Takurus* is addressed as, or calls himself, *Matahi-maku*, *Matahi-rigi* in his most important chant at Tahiti, beginning, "Tu aia raga, iau tana raga, iau here toa te iau o Takuru, ko Matahi-maku, ko Matahi-rigi."
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FOR THE CONSECRATION OF A CHIEF

Awaken, become wide awake!
Let your eyes open in the world of night,
Let your eyes open in the world of light!
Awaken, become wide awake!
Awake, O Tupua, O Tahito;
Awake, O Mahiri, O Manatu;
Awake, O Pava, O Gagana;
Awake, O Tane, O Uho!
Awake in the abyss, become wide awake!
Awake in the clouds,
Abide in the clouds,
Come to life in the clouds,
Arise in the clouds.
Move in the clouds, that you hasten,
That we two may sleep in the heiau [god house].
Awaken, become fully awake!

Awaken, become fully awake!

¹ In a section of Fagatau mythical genealogy, Tupua is the wife of Tahito, and Gagana is their grandchild (21, p. 70).
² The line is obscured by the difference in the native text, one version has *hia moega ki taua ki te heiau e*.
³ Another has *hia moega o taua ki te heiau e*.

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

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

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

Ka tahi nei ka taea Ria e,
No te fare i mota.
Ruru na te tagata,
Na Nihitu, na Tuho, na Te Hakukiri.
Te igoa te vaka, ko Te Kaha-mata-
mata-*ini*.
Ka lave ki uta, ki uta te henua,
Ki uta Te-Aroero.
Ka tau metua, ko Te Ao,
ko Te Tama, ko Te Ahu-o-Toga.
Hakaara ko te mata, te mata o te atua!
Ko Te Taurira, ko Te Miki, ko Te Piriana,
Ko Te Tachaea, ko Te Tai-maeva,
ko Te Tai-rutua.
Te Moko-inu-tai, ko Te Matahao, i i.

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

1
Tei hea taku tira?
Tei hea mai nei taku tira.
Te hea taku tira?
Te hea mai nei taku tira,
E uiui mai nei taku tira.
E tuku atu ki te tira a Ruahatu,
Ki taea te moana,
Ke fakaruru atu.
Tiraira te moana!
2
Hauoa te moana, taia te moana,
Kiriria te moana.
Ka tuku atu i te tira a Ruahatu,
Ki taea te moana,
Ke fakaruru atu.
Tiraira te moana.

¹ Te Ufi also chants the line, "Ke fakaruru e tu e."

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

It is the first time Ria appears,
For the house cut off.
The people assemble,
The Nihitu, the Tuho, the Hakukiri.
The name of the canoe is Te-Kaha-mata-
ini (The Myriad-eyed-spirits).
It is borne ashore, up onto the land
Upon the marae Te-Aroero.
The parents descend, Te Ao,
Te Tama, Te Ahu-o-Toga.
Cause the eyes to open, the eyes of the gods!
Te Taurira, Te Miki, Te Piriana,
Te Tachaea, Te Tai-maeva,
Te Tai-rutua,
Te Moko-inu-tai, Te Matahao, i i.

1
Where is my tira?
My tira comes running.
Where is my tira?
My tira gleams (?),
My tira inquires.
Now is loosed the procreative power of
Ruahatu,
That it reach the ocean.
That it be thronged.
Exalt the ocean!
2
The sea is covered with great waves,
the sea is whipped by winds,
The sea is beaten down by the storm.
Now is loosed the procreative power of
Ruahatu,
That it reach the ocean.
That it be thronged [with fish].
Exalt the ocean.

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

DEDICATION OF TURTLE

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

[H]u-u-u-oo!

Te ika no Tauruhua!

Hi-u-u-oo!

The fish of Tauruhua!

All the warriors chanted after him:

Hika te ahi a Tauruhua

Ki te rahi tatapa!

Tukua te rahi ora matoru.*

E-i-i-ia! Aue!

[H]uro kia a[k]e!

Tukua te rahi ora matoru.

I hia e [= la e ?]

Huru-u-u-u-u-a!

Kindle the fire of Tauruhua

In the . . . sky!

The life-giving-sky of far extent is left behind.

There! At last!

Shout till he appears!

The life-giving-sky of far extent is left behind.

There now!

Thunder rolls!

* The call at the beginning of a prayer, as I have heard it from Te Miro and Te Mae (both participants in heathen ceremonies), is a long, drawn-out, vigorous *Ho-oo-oi* Henry (36, p. 456) translates it in meters as "lowering sky." In a Transition chant we have "te rahi rova, te rahi teni, te rahi piri" (the floating sky, the lowering sky, the clinging sky).

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

OFFERING OF TURTLE

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

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

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

E nia, e nini, e nini maru!¹
O nia, o emblem of the gods, o sacred stone offering protection!

Ia [= na] [v]a? te ika o tai
I te moana hohoua?
For whom is the fish from the depths of the ocean?

[K]ia topa i te aro o Tauruhua,
May it fall in the presence of Tauruhua,

[K]ia topa i te aro o Kaimuku,
I te aro o Puniava,
May it fall in the presence of Kaimuku,
in the presence of Puniava.

This followed by an enumeration of all the gods.

E nui te ika [a] te nui,²
String up the fish of the sacred stone,

Pakale[i] te ika i te kupuga.
Entangle the fish in the net.

E haru [i] te ika i te vanaga mai!
Seize the fish through the power of words!

Haru tia te ika nui nei,
The great fish is firmly grasped,

[K]ia mate.
That it die.

* It is noteworthy that the bringer of the sacred stone called a *nui*, a word ordinarily meaning *coconut*, is himself called a *hakari*, the common Tauruhua term for a coconut.
* Montiton translates it as "for whom," but "for whom" is "na vai." If he has translated correctly then a mistake has been made in reproducing the text. Or this may be "[K]ia i te ika o te moana" (May the fish of the sea populate).
* In Montiton's text, *fa* is grouped with *ku*, which follows. But "*fa*" only, not "*fakabe*," could mean sacred. Montiton's translation of the line is: "lay the sacred stone on the fish." Perhaps *fa* of *fakari* should be separated as modifying *nui*. *Nui-fa* would then have more in common with *sofofa*. In Fagatau mythology, *Nui-fa* is the name of some place, thought by Puniava to be a village in Vavau in the neighbor world.

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

NAPUKA CHANT AT THE LAYING ON OF THE TOKIWA

Ho . . . !¹

E nui kae,² ko nui maru ika!³

O nui by which sacrifices are consecrated,
charm over creatures of the sea!

Ka tu mai [i] taku pe!⁴
Attend my chant!

Taku nui ko te ran maeva.⁵
My nui, representation of my god, is
welcoming feathers.

E tiria, e fakia i te tokerau!

There is thundering, appearing [of gods]
in the north!

E nia, e nia kai [= kae?]⁶

O nui at whose touch food is consecrated!

Mahiri,⁷ Koro, Tapakia!⁸
Mahiri, Koro, Tapakia!

¹ A long drawn out *ho . . .* is the recognized method of obtaining the attention of the gods. Te Mae gave this preface only once, and that was when he chanted the ceremony for me.
² I take this *kae* to be the equivalent of *kae* in the line "Marai Tapakia ki te kae" (Te Ufi) occurring in a Haa chant beginning "Marai Haorangi" and of *kae* in "the ika ni moana, te moa, kia he ki te ranau takato ki Haorangi" in an Aava chant beginning "ko ika takara ika."
³ Te Mae first gave "nui maru ika" but in chanting it over he gave "nui maru ika," as it is in his recording on the dictation. This is also Te Ufi's rendering.
⁴ For this line Te Ufi gave, "tuku ake taku nui ko te pe" and continued with "ko te ran maeva."
⁵ Probably a reference to the bunch of leaves or feathers (*tokiwa*) employed in the Napuka ceremony. However, Te Mae told me that the turtle was placed in the oven on a bed of *otara* leaves, and these leaves were called "te ran maeva." A Fagatau chant has, "tenu tuheima heif ai ki te kaha utara ki te ran maeva, ki te ran mahara, ki te aro (o) Puna nui" (that placenta cut off with the lambso knife, at the welcoming leaves, the spread-out leaves, before the face of Puna and his people). *Ran-maeva* is secure as an ancestral god name or epithet along with *Tolama*, *Koa-te-fanaga*, *Upepe*, etc., in the Raa offering prayer, which follows this one.
⁶ At Napuka, the *hakari* and several other internal organs of the turtle, were consumed on the marae itself by the chief and elders. This *mahiri*, therefore, may not be a personal name and may belong with *ka* in the preceding line. However, *Mahiri* does appear as a god name in a call to the gods (p. 68).
⁷ Koro certainly refers to Koro-paga, or Koro-masuna, and Tapakia to Rambahata-tapakia, occurring in other prayers.

Kokokoki, kokokoki,
Ke taparā māi kara,
Ke taparā māi noa,
Ke taparā māi.

Hāpūpū ake e nei e.

Hāruru a, hāititī,

Hāruru a, hāititī, gaturo a.

Hāurōki matagi hāra,

Hāra taku vai Te Matiuaka

[= Ra-tu-nuku ?].

Matani [= matagi ?] hāra.

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

IMMOLATION OF TURTLE

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

Kaki tai[k]a, [k]a topa—

[K]a topa i te aro o Tauruhua!

[E:] atua i te [h]iku-ēira,* ko

Kainuku—

[H]ao, kai māi!

[E] atua hāva no [= ko ?] Puniava—

[H]ao, kai māi!

[E] atua] fakagāgi no

Ruanuku—

[H]ao, kai māi!

Tu-manihini no te fatitiri—

[H]ao, kai māi!

[E] atua hāu, ko Tohitika—

[H]ao, kai māi!

[E] atua [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—

[H]ao, kai māi!

[E] atua [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—

[H]ao, kai māi!

[E] atua [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—

[H]ao, kai māi!

[E] atua [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—

[H]ao, kai māi!

[E] atua [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—

[H]ao, kai māi!

[E] atua [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—

[H]ao, kai māi!

[E] atua [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—

[H]ao, kai māi!

[E] atua [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—

[H]ao, kai māi!

[E] atua [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—

[H]ao, kai māi!

[E] atua [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—

[H]ao, kai māi!

[E] atua [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—

[H]ao, kai māi!

[E] atua [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—

[H]ao, kai māi!

[E] atua [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—

[H]ao, kai māi!

[E] atua [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—

[H]ao, kai māi!

[E] atua [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—

[H]ao, kai māi!

[E] atua [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—

[H]ao, kai māi!

Let the gods be called,
Just call.

Now them be called,
Now lift up.

Rumble continuously, thunder,
Rumble continuously, thunder, crash on.

The blowing wind drives [all before],
blow where I am [at] Te Ra-tu-nuku.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

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Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Steady blowing wind.

Tuaci [H] te po, tagi [i] te ao,

Hura taua pa i i katua e,*

Kia mate!

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

* In ka i karua I am reminded of Ja-kata, which Montion gives for an assistant of the priest.

In Tahiti, Tu is Ta'arua's divine assistant in the nether world (po), and Ra'i (= Ragi, in Tuanotuan), under the name Ra'i-tupua-nui, is associated with the upper world (ao) as the "growth" of the ao, the "unfolding" of the ao, and the "budding" of the ao (30, p. 356).

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

Ka mama ru e,

Ka uama raro,

Ka mama te hetu,

E ka mama te marama.

Ka mama te mata o te ika.

Ho ki te mata ika,

Mata honu tena.

Ho ki te ma i.

Tagi te pu, tagi te ao,

Tagi te ao Humariki-ora.

Horoga tu!

Tapu, hakamotu!

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

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

Ko koe hoki, e honu!

Kua tiraga koe ki Manahoa-Tagarua.

Koia to farona!

Taukia to gakai!

Tabetahe to toto!

Huritia koe ki ruga i te

umu-rau-toto!

Kua mate koe!

Tokio!

* Tokio, shouted tokio . . . e, is an ending employed in a number of chants, not all religious. The people of Vahitahi maintain that it is just an ending and that they know no meaning for it. Among recorded endings are kiko, kaho, hoto, eho, io, o, ho, and hio.

Sounding in the nether world, sounding in the upper world,

Their trumpet is heard on the right,

Heralding the death of the victim.

Free from restrictions above,

Free from restrictions below,

Free the stars from restriction,

Free the moon from restriction,

Free the eyes of the fish from restriction,

Offer the eyes of the fish,

Those are eyes of a turtle.

Give the eyes.

The trumpet sounds, sounds in the day,

Sounds in the day [the trumpet]

Humariki-ora.

Give!

Cut, sever!

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

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

It is you indeed, o turtle!

You lie on your back on marae

Manahoa-Tagarua.

Cut is your throat!

Disembowelled are your entrails!

Your blood flows away!

You are turned over upon the oven

of first cooking!

You are dead!

Tokio!

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

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

Tu[ai]* te pepē,
Tuai te tahai.
Tara tēi, tara mai haki [= Hiti 3].*

Mai te kura Tamareu [i] Hiti,*
Poi mai te noe!¹
Tera mai tē kōva tahai,
Nau te atuā,
Te atuā e nūho, te atuā e hāere,
Nā Tara, nā Kaipoa, nā Varoa, nā Te
Ariki-pūtai, nā Haroa-mai-te-rangi;
Nā Muna-iti, Mumariki;
Tera mai te kōva tahai,
Nau te atuā,
Ka kai!
Tiallaki ti te po.*

Ka kai!
Ka kai!
Toki a i!
Toki o ha i!

* Te Ufi gave *tōi te pepē*.
Te Mae gave *tara mai haki*; Te Uru gave *terā* instead of *terā* and Te Ufi, *tara mai haki*.

Te Ufi gave, which I believe to refer to Tamara-hā, the healing god, figures in a Fagatau chant, "Tāgata rā tani hiki (3) i e te rana mai o Atea, Tamarua," and also in a chant from Hāo, "Tamarua e mai i te pō i Atea." On a geostrophic from the western Tuamotus, he is represented as the son of Atea.

* *Kai mai te noe* was given by Te Ufi. Te Uruo had in his place *e haki te noe*.
Te Ufi gave, *te i te ho (= ho)*, *te i te po* (it is there with the necessary *terā* in the other world).
Te Uruo and Gibe (Te Mae's wife) gave *toki a*, and Te Ufi gave *oh*.
The *o* or *e* in the previous text balances with the *o*, in a manner very pleasing to the Tuamotuan ear. Thus we get in a Vahitahi prayer, "tara e, tara o, matara," and in calling out to a person, "Tahaki e, Tahaki o." Te Uruo gave *hōi-ō-ō*.

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

The long prayer (*pure*) is headed, "Hakamatua hāga i te honu kia tuhiga hā i ruga i te marae i Poureva e i te tahū atu hāga marae e vai i Hāo nei"

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

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

Mikumiko tahai tens,
Ko i Nōma,*
Ko i Hāo.

That here is flesh of turtle,
It is [offered] at Nōma,
It is [offered] at Hāo.

The above is then repeated with *toga* (south), *raro* (west), and *tōkerau* (northwest) appearing in place of Hāo.

Ko i Tokerau-e-rito.

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

Ko i Ru-matike, ko i Ru-lagahaga,
[Ko i Ru-pepe, ko i Ru-takoto].
Tuki uta, tuki tai,
Moti a rere.

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

Ka kai kura, ka kai rei,
[Tama-putu-rua].*

Tama-putu-rua.

Teva rā hōki te mutahaki.*
Te matalaki,
Ko i Nōma,
Ko i Hāo.

That here is indeed the consecrated food.
The consecrated food,
It is [offered] at Nōma,
It is [offered] at Hāo.

Ko i Hāo, ko i Poureva,
Muna-pareā, Te Hono-kai-taua,*
Hāhāe-toga, Te Mouri-o-kela no
Fare-ao,
Te Ariki-mai-hiva.*

At Hāo, at marae Poureva.
Muna-pareā, Te Hono-kai-taua,
Hāhāe-toga, Te Mouri-o-Kela of
Fare-ao.

Tera rā ka tagi te kura,*
Tagi te ao.

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

* Hauata, who dictated the chant to me at Mangarua in 1921, gave *ko i ana mai* (before him who comes) instead of this line, and followed by *rape* instead of *Hāo*. We did not learn of any place named Nōma.

* These names given by Hauata only.

* This name is from Hauata; Te Uira gave *Tapa-putu-rua*. Tamara-rua figures in the Napuka prayer. Possibly this is another name for Tamara-hā, god of healing.

* Te Uira gives *matohi* instead of *mutahaki*. Te Aku gives *pera hōki te moti* (he, he mate kai). At Vahitahi Sinivas learned that *Am-mā-ke-ga* was a term for a woman who ate food consecrated to the gods.

* Te Hono-kai-taua, father of Muna-nui, high chief of Hāo 14 generations before 1900.

* Fare-ao, the skull house at marae Poureva at Hāo. Te Mouri-o-Kela was Muna-nui's great-grandson.

* Te Ariki-mai-hiva was the grandfather of Te Mouri-o-Kela.

* Te Aku and Hauata give *rape* in place of *hāro* and following *rape* Hauata has *Vahu-ō-ō*, as if it were the name of the *rape* (pigeon).

[Mahu-ariki],
 Mēhaki te kēga' kai.
 Kia o ra to kava
 hōro i te rāpi,^a
 Mamahia' mā te rau e.
 Tokiōhō!^b

^a Māhō-ariki is from Te Aha's manuscript. Hamaia gave Vahu-ariki in her dictated version, and Te Uira gave Māhō-ariki.
^b Hamaia gave Te Aha's version in his list of 14 to kava kōi. Hamaia gave him 9 to Te Uira M. This line in Te Aha's manuscript is: hōro i te rāpi. Te Uira omits the line.
^c Te Aha has māhō-ariki in place of māhō-ariki; Hamaia had māhō-ariki; and Te Uira, some 20 years later, has māhō-ariki. Te Aha, Hamaia, and Te Uira end the chant with tokiohō. Hamaia, when I asked her the meaning of tokiohō replied, "It means that the food was to be withheld from the people."

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

HAKA MATUA HAGA I TE HONU I TE
 MARAE I POUREVA

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

CONSECRATION OF THE TURTLE AT THE
 MARAE POUREVA

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

1*

Mikoe, mikoe tahai tena,
 Ko i ana mai,
 Ko i ruga, ko i raro,
 Ko i uta, ko i tai,
 Ko i te kava,
 E miro,^a e lau, e mahora,
 E mata iku, e mata hai tena,
 Ko i ana mai.
 Mikoe na koromatua' hōki,
 Matus i uta—na Uehono, na Irakau,
 Matus' i tai—na Hau, na Mahora,
 Koropaga-(i)-te-moana.^b
 Na Tuhea, na Tavahia, na Tari-topa-pahea.

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

^a The divisions of this prayer are mine; the chant, as given, has none.
^b *Uniro* leaves were substituted for kava leaves in marae ceremonies at Tahiti (20, p. 161).
^c I have translated *koromatua* as spirits, following the Tahitian meaning of *koromatua* (ghosts of the dead supposed to be transmitted into inferior gods who were much feared).
^d The word *uniro* originally means to consecrate, but here I think it is simply an abbreviation for *koromatua*, as in Tahiti (20, p. 173).
^e Koropaga-te-moana would seem to be equivalent to 'Upou's in Tahiti, called *Ud* of the ocean (20, p. 165, 344).
 (See *moana*) and powerful spirit of the ocean (20, p. 165, 344).

1. Tagaroa-tu-tiri,¹
 Mikoe, mikoe, mikoe tahai tena,
 Ko i ana mai.
 Ko i raro, ko i raro,
 Ko ia Kama, ko ia Pōhe,
 Ko ia Kumukumu-maroro,
 Pere hōki te mata iku, te mata hai
 tena,
 Ko i ana mai.
 Ko i ruga, ko i ruga,
 Ko ia Te Tuki, ko ia Te Honu.

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

3. Pera hōki te mata iku, te mata
 hai tena,
 Ko i ana mai.
 Ko i te tara i toga,
 Ko i toga, ko i toga-nui, ko i
 toga-amaua,
 Ko i Toga-haro-pito.
 Pera hōki te mata iku, te mata
 hai tena,
 Ko i ana mai.
 Ko i te tara i tokerau,
 Ko i tokerau.
 Ko i Tokerau-o-rito.
 Ko ia Ru-matike, ko ia Ru-takoto.
 Ko ia Ru-pepeke-te-uru, ko i a
 Ru-hagahaga.
 Tuki uta, tukia tai,
 Mui a zere.
 Ka kai kura, ka kai honu.

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

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

¹ Tagaroa-tu-tiri is an ancestral name occurring far back on the royal genealogy of Hao, but here the reference is undoubtedly to the god Tagaroa.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Tagaroa-tu-tiri is an ancestral name occurring far back on the royal genealogy of Hao, but here the reference is undoubtedly to the god Tagaroa.

Kia haiti tana, ka muna,
 Ka ma raga, ka ma roro,
 ka ma ua, ka ma tai,
 ka ma te po ma te ao.
 [Maha-ariki] hakauna i
 Tupere, ikitiki, tupere
 fakatoka.
 Hakatuna, hakatana!

* This name is omitted in Rogerson's manuscript, but Mou-ariki occurs in the chant copied at Vahitahi. This is evidently a misreading for Maha-ariki. Huatai, in her dictated version, gives Vaho-ariki, which Te Aho's manuscript has Maha-ariki. Huatai, in her dictated version, gives Vaho-ariki.

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

E tapena, e tapena, e tapena ika,
 E tapena hoani.
 E tapena, e tapena, e tapena,
 Te na hoki te mata ika,
 Mata homu tana,
 Mai te mai!
 Farona homu tana,
 Ka kai koutou,
 Ki mua i te marae nei e,
 No te atua Makai-kino.
 Te na hoki te mata ika,
 Te mata hoani.
 Ko i uta, ko i tai,
 Ko i te ihu vaka na Tapakia ia.

Ia e, fano!
 Te na hoki te mata ika
 Te mata homu tana.
 Mai te mai!
 Tahua tu roa,
 Tere te keiga kai,
 Mamahu te run e;
 Tokio!

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

Tagi te pu, tagi i te ao.
 Ga ariki ora.*
 Horega [a]tu i tuku fakamoo.*

* I believe this may refer to the two priests, Te-mesia and Te Aniki-u-a-mea mentioned in the Vahitahi feast prayer (p. 49). "Horega ato" is place of "horega [a]tu," and then units the next three lines, the last two of which, however, are given in the earlier part of his version. Stimson translates *to'u fakamoo* as "my sleeping god."

That darkness be dispelled, the restrictions are lifted.
 Free from restrictions above, below, inland, seaward,
 the world below and the world above,
 Maha-ariki (god of the mist?) stand forth!
 Eat [fill the belly be] distended, eat till the belly be rounded.
 Establish, bestow power!

Stimson's version has "tagiga tu atu, te terega ga tai" in place of this line.
 * For this line one may substitute "horega ato tana."
 * Stimson's version has "ka kai ma ki mua i te marae."
 † Yutaina, Tagi, Tahirangi, Roca, and Takaoa give Makai-kino as the name of the god; but Huatai and a Nukutavake informant of mine, Tapahi, gave Mata-kino.

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

Kura iroiro tana,
 Ka kai ana koe i te marae
 No Te Atua-ma-kai-kino.
 Hu ki te mata e, mata hoki tana!
 Hakakite mai e!
 Ma te po, ma te ao!
 Ka hano, tu atu,
 Teretere te reiga kai,
 Horo ki te marae,
 Manuhū i te rua.
 That here is bonito flesh,
 Partake [of it] in the fore-part of the marae
 For Te Atua-ma-kai-kino.
 Give the eye, that indeed is the eye!
 Make known!
 Make free of restriction the nether world and the upper world!
 Fly, stand up,
 The feast-company gets under way,
 Hasten to the marae,
 Steam the oven.

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

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

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

The trumpet resounds, resounds in the light world.
 The food offerings pile up like coral heads in the lagoon.
 Hasten to the marae,
 Prepare the oven.
 That is uncooked flesh,
 Partake of it in the fore-part of the marae,
 For the god Mata-i-kino.

Tagi te pu, tagi i te ao.
 Tahua tu ai te terega kai.*
 Horo ki te marae,
 Mamahu i te rua.
 Koca atoia tana,
 Ka kai ki mua i te marae,
 Na te atua Mata-i-kino.*

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

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

Noa e Rua,
E Rua i te tuki,
E Rua i te hono
E Rua i te arai.
Arai [i] te moana,
Te moana tahi [= tahia], te moana tagia.

Taki tai, e kurike tai,
E kare fanau a pi,
Fanau a rogo,
Tahi maragai,
Maragai kokoke,
Ke tu a kokokea i
Ke hiki ana,
Ke rere a maunu
Ke re[re] a taketake,
Ke puke [= peke?] to hukaa,
Ke ataka te korogo,
Ke ka teunutu o kamea.¹

¹ Versions of Tuhiragi and of Tahiri's Puru begin with this line.
² This is also in Tuhiragi's version; but in Tahiri's, Te Uira's, and Te Ragi's versions.
³ This phrase is omitted by Tuhiragi but is given as te moana tagia by Tahiri, Te Ragi, and Tuhiragi.
⁴ In place of this line the other versions have e tai e pu, e tai e rogo.
⁵ Tuhiragi has te hiki ana; Tahiri and Te Ragi have te hiki ana; and Te Uira, te hiki ana.
⁶ This line omitted by others.
⁷ In place of this line, Tuhiragi has te moana tagia; Tahiri has i na timoana, and Te Ragi has hio ho teunutu.
⁸ Tahiri has o ka moana, and Te Ragi has to ka moana.

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

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

Tija horo te vaka o Rua na,
Ho tui, ho notu te tere a
Tagarua.
Ko te vaka e! E pu!

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

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

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

Nou e Tane,
Tane-tuke, Tane-rere,
Mahoua i te tuki,
Taki o Tane.
Tane-paku, Tane-haruru,
Tane-i-te-hihiri, Tane-i-te-rarama,
Koe i ramarama,
Koe a i te fa ki te rahi
no Tane-ma-Ruauktu.

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

THE FIRST OVEN

Monton says at this stage of the ceremony (35, p. 379): "The immolation (*tapena*) and the last offering of the victim (*rogi*) are finished. All that remains is the muddification or Communion."

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

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

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

tefite tinaia at Napuka—*mau rau toto*, at Anau and Takarua; and *mau firikana*, at Vahitahi.

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

A o hia, a o hia,
 A o hia te rena,
 Te rena tiritiri-take rari e.
 Turehu ia i mate.
 Eaha tahu na hana ka ho atu kau-
 tira, ananoo;
 Tiritiri-take rari e,
 Turehu ia i mate.

Dig out, dig out,
 Dig up a ridge.
 The ridge [of earth] thrown out.
 Scrape out [the oven] that [the turtle] die.
 Let not my labors give . . .
 Throw out [the earth].
 Scrape out [the oven] that [the turtle] die.

Songs sung while turtle was cooking

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

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

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

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

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

E so Tohutika ariki,
 Fakiaimu to kava;
 Fakiaimu to kava i to
 Maragai-tu.
 A tu[k]u re,
 E kava, te kava a Tohutika;
 E tu[k]u kia Vavao [= Vava'u],
 kia Havaiki.

Come chief, Tohutika,
 Drink your kava;
 Drink to satiation your kava of your people
 the Maragai-tu.
 Grant victory.
 A kava, the kava of Tohutika;
 Give it to Vava'u,
 to Havaiki.

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

by Paia of Anau, and a dictated version from Huaré of Vahitahi, and another from her sister, Rucu. Sourat (42, p. 439) gives a part of the chant. The chant evidently refers to Maui's offering of kava for Raka-mau-rere, presumably his tutelary god. Maui's magic adz, *Naiia*, by which Havaiki was chopped free and pulled to the surface of the sea, is mentioned, as well as his victims *Uel* (Tuua), Pearl-shell (*Uhi*), and Clam (*Korora*).

PHŪG NO TE HAGA KAVA
 Pepenu
 CHANT OF THE KAVA [OFFERINGS] OF MAUI
 Introduction

Te kava!
 Na Raka-mau-rere te kava.
 Na Raka-mau-rere te kava male e.
 Na Raka-mau-rere te kava, ere ui i.
 Hua

The kava drink!
 For Raka-mau-rere is the kava.
 For Raka-mau-rere is the death [soliciting] kava.
 For Raka-mau-rere is the kava, ere ui i.
 Chorus

Te kava!
 [Na] Raka-mau-rere te kava,
 Na Raka-mau-rere te kava mate;
 Na Raka-mau-rere te kava.
 Ko te toki hoki Naiia [= Naiia].^a
 tuatua kia [te tunu i Havaiki].^b
 Ka higa, ka takoto [ki] Hau-maunu-hia,
 Ka pae ki Fatu-marigirigi.

The kava drink!
 For Raka-mau-rere is the kava,
 For Raka-mau-rere is the kava mate;
 For Raka-mau-rere is the kava.
 It is the adz Naiia, by which
 the foundations of Havaiki were severed.
 Expiring, stretching out at Hau-maunu-hia,
 Flooting to Fatu-marigirigi [Flashing]
 surface-of-the-sea).

Tinaia te ika o Maui,
 Tuna-te-vaerua.
 Na Maui hoki iira, ea.
 Na Raka-mau-rere te kava,
 Na Raka-mau-rere te kava mate;
 Na Raka-mau-rere te kava!
 Karu

The victim of Maui dies,
 Tuna—the-evil-spirit.
 For Maui, indeed, is this.
 For Raka-mau-rere is the kava,
 For Raka-mau-rere is the death kava:
 For Raka-mau-rere is the kava!
 Verse

Te ahi e[i] ka i te tun o Vatea,
 Tinaia te taona [or, taone] ki
 te unu-ruu-toto.
 Ahiihi kakana tia na,
 Na Hoa-ragi hoki, ea.
 Na Raka-mau-rere te kava, . . .
 Karu

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

[Ko] Te Uhi[te-aro]!
 e tu i te ara au hia ra,
 Korua turei, ea [= korora tere iha]!^a
 Ko Te Pata-oi [or, Patau],^b ea.
 Na Tu hoki, ea.
 Na Raka-mau-rere te kava, . . .

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

^a According to Huaré, *Naiia* was the name of the adz of Maui, and so the name is spelled in her version and that of her sister.
^b The words in brackets are from Huaré and Rucu's versions.
^c In place of *te taone*, the other manuscript version has *ki toa*.
^d The versions of Huaré and Rucu have in place of this line, *toi of babasa te ananoo*.

Removal from first oven

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

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

At Vahitahi—according to an account received from Ruca, Huarai, and Takaona, the former chief of the island—after the turtle had had the cut-plastron (*anali o te unu*) removed, the breath (*oko*) from its throat (*farona*) put into a basket (*kete*) and carried before the marae, and after it had been baked (*keu*). "The priests went to the side of the cooking fire (*kua haere te pupu taua ki te pae o te rega*) to *tokio* the turtle seaward or by the side of the sea (*e tokio te hou ki tai*). Here, *tokio* may mean "to consecrate" or it may be equivalent to *tokioro* in the Vahitahi *nihinihi* dance (*Ko te marae ko tokioro*), in one version of which *tokioro* was abbreviated to *tokio* and *oko*. This, Ruca told Mazé, meant "the dragging of a turtle" (*kamega tifa*). This was the chant (*teia tonu korero*), delivered when the turtle was "tokio-ed":

Haere, haere te vahine Tui-

fakahakahaka;

Tui te haere,

Haraga noc;

E ka totoro te kiore¹ ki roto i te hornu.

Pipiki o vuvuvu, vaevae kikiriri

Tokio!

Tuitui tahanga tako takere,

Puta te gnhaki,

Tokio!

The woman Land-plover-sneaking-along

goes, goes along;

Like the land plover is her going.

It is the breaking of dawn;

The rat creeps into the canoe shed.

Draw up your legs, legs like the black tern!

Tokio!

Piercing and piercing again . . .

The coconut shell is pierced,

Tokio!

¹ Kiore (rat) frequently refers, metaphorically, to the phallus, hence it would seem that the act of copulation is the theme of this chant. But why this should be brought in here is not clear.

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

Ko te marae, ko tokioro [repeated],

Koia te i taku fagogo [repeated],

Ho ake te tahi kia kai taku matakeinaga.

Ho ho ho ho ho!

It is the marae, it is the dragging [repeated],

It is for my child [repeated],

Give something that my people eat.

Ho ho ho ho ho!

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

Ko te marae, ko tokioro [repeated],

Ec aha? Koia te i taku fagogo.

Ho ake tahi iari na taku fagogo.

Ho ho ho ho ho!

It is the marae, it is the dragging [repeated],

What? It is for my child.

Give some bit for my child.

Ho ho ho ho ho!

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

Ko te jorunui, ko te vaeve [repeated],

Koia te i taku Tavania [repeated],

Ho ake te tahi kia kai taku

matakeinaga.

It is the road, it is the sweeping [repeated],

It is for my Governor [repeated],

Give some [nourishment] that my people

may eat.

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

THE SECOND OVEN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VARIOUS FEAST PRAYERS

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

Fakahahauga kai!
 Garue te tannu o te fenua!
 Tane i hooia ki² te Atu-papa-roroa!
 Ko taha i noko hia ai te nobaga
 o ga tahaga.³
 Ke turia te kai nei,
 Kia maluku,
 Kia aga hia mai e Te Ariki-tu-a-mea.
 Ka muma ia rana hono.⁴

Tu-a-metua,⁵
 Haha ki te tuni!
 Haha kaha [= kia].⁶
 [Ke ui e].⁷
 O! Fakahahauga kai!

Fakahahauga kai!
 I kaha mai i te hitihiga o te ra,
 te tobaga o te ra!
 Kia hapauna ki raga,
 Kia tukuu ki raru,
 Ka tu ko te haga nui!
 Ka muma ia rana hono.
 Tu-a-metua,
 Haha ki te tuni!
 Haha kaha [= kia].
 Ka rau kai mui!
 Tokio!⁸

Fakahahauga kai!
 Ko maatira,⁹ ko maofaofa,
 ko tikitiki.
 Ko pehe vaka a uta,
 ko pehe vaka a tai,
 Kia tu-patiki te horo o tena vaka.
 Fakahahauga kai!
 I kaha mai i te hitiga, etc.
 Fac!

¹ Te Hega gives the introductory line as *Io et. Hahauga kai!* Fakarago, of Nukutavake, as *O . . . 4* Fakahahauga kai! (45, p. 54) drops the *ki* before *te hitihiga-roroa*, but this is present in the Tagi version. ² Which he used and in all our versions. ³ In a manuscript of Tama, *hahauga* appears in place of *haha ki* ei. Te Hega gives *te taha* *haha* *te nobaga* o ga tahaga. As given by Tagi the line is: *taha* *haha* *te nobaga* o ga tahaga. ⁴ Fakarago of Nukutavake has *te rana* *te rana* *hahauga*. ⁵ Stinson interpreted *te* before *Tu-a-metua* in presenting Tagi's version (Stinson, 45, p. 55). ⁶ Tagi gave the line as *hahauga* *haha*, obviously adding a *haha* after *hahauga* and *haha*. In a manuscript of Tama, and in Te Poa's manuscript the line is rendered *hahauga*. ⁷ Te Poa's manuscript has *te ui e*. Fakarago and Te Kura of Nukutavake have *haha ki e*. Tagi has *te ui e*. ⁸ The inhabitants of Vahitahi are unanimous in explaining *te taha* as "simply the ending (*tapokau*) *haha*." Tagi thought that *taha* in *te taha* meant to fetch; Roca thought that *taha* was short for *hahauga*, "to drag a turtle to the marae." Stinson's interpretation of the ending as *te taha* (all is *haha*) was based on the assumption that there was a god named *Kio* who was addressed in this prayer (45, pp. 59, 118). ⁹ *Maatira* is rendered *matira* by Te Hega. ¹⁰ Te Hega ends the chant with *te rana*. *O . . . 4*

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

2 Tu-the-parent,
 Shout to the god!
 The shouting is done.
 Let there be questioning.
 Ho! The feast!

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

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

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

PURE TAPAKAU NO TANE*

Haha tapakau hamanai!
 Haha tapakau hamanai!
 Tapakau a Tane!¹
 Tukia hau noa,
 Niu' pae a rugi,
 Ma te rau' mahohoa.
 Ke mo to toki e Tane'²
 te tua o Atea.
 [K]i[a] tūia ai, to tapakau [ma ta]!³
 Tagarou-i-te-ua, [Tagarou-i-te-tai],⁴

Tagarou-i-te-a-tarere:

Ko i te matau i fatia i ravca,⁵
 Ko i te nuku mau [k]i roto,
 Ko i te hoe tara mai ki hea,
 Te nei i rua' ai to tapakau,
 Kia haki ai to tapakau,
 Ka raka i mua. Fae!⁶

PRAYER FOR THE FOOD MAT FOR TANE

Glorify aloud the smoothed-out mat!
 Glorify the smoothed-out food mat!
 Food mat of Tane!
 Smoother of the free realm,
 Support of the land,
 Support of the sky,
 With [consecratory] leaves spread out.
 May your aid be free of restrictions, O Tane
 the god of Atea.
 That your freed food-mat be lifted up for
 Tagarou-in-the-rain, [Tagarou-in-
 the-sea],
 Tagarou-in-the-flying-cloud:

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

* In a manuscript of Tama a Tama, the chant is headed *te ahava i te rugi* (the spreading out of the object).
¹ Some versions have *o* in place of *a*. As first dictated to us by Tagi at Vahitahi in 1930, there followed this line and the next, "Eia! Tapakau Tapakau o Tane." The Te Pua manuscript, as well as one other version, omits the first two lines of this chant.

² In a version from Tahiti this is *Tane* for *a* sake.
³ In the version of Tahiti-o-Pua, and in one other version, *rau'* appears in place of *rau*.
⁴ The Te Pua manuscript has *ke mo to toki e Tane*, Tagi's version has *ke mo to toki e Tane*, or *ia Tane*. *Mato'* in Tahiti means "to give a present or bribe to gain an end" (14, p. 147). This may be the meaning here of *mo to toki*.
⁵ The Te Pua manuscript has: *ke i teie [a] i te tapakau maters e*. Tagi gave the line: *ke i teie [a] i te tapakau noa*.

⁶ The book may be a reference to the famous book instrumental in Tagarou's rescue of Hina-arau-raki, wife of his son Turi, in the Nukutavake tradition of Turi. *Ma*; Tagi has *to i te hoe tara maua*, *Rua* giving *hae* in place of *horo*; and Tama has *to i hoe tara maua*.
 Some informants thought that *rau* here meant to doubt, or to duplicate. I believe the mat was given to Tane to present to Tagarou.
⁷ Te Pua's manuscript has *ke rau kai moa, hae*. Another version has *ke rau kai moa, hae*. Tama's manuscript has *ke rau kai moa, fae*. Takero a Mahaga gave the same chant as Te Hega but ended *ke rau' moa, fae*.

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

I totia [a] i tapakau,
 Te Tui-i-te-riri, Te Tui-i-te-hoe,
 Te Tui-tata-i-Hiti,
 E hiti i te po ma te ao.
 Ka hitu riki.

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

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

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

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

FAKIGA TAPAKAU RA Toga

Kia e! He tapakau!
 Tapakau ra Toga.
 Ko te aha ra Toga, te roki na Toga.
 Tuahivi atu, tuahivi mai,
 Manava'i atu, manava'i mai,
 Ka heto atu, ka heto mai,
 Ka heto to,
 Ko i te ara heto to,
 Ko i te mauri retere [a] i na Toga.
 I te nei' i-rua ai to tapakau,
 Ke faki ai to tapakau.
 Ka raka i mua. Haca!

CONSECRATION OF THE FOOD MAT OF Toga

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

* The Te Pua manuscript begins with "a e"; Tama's version begins with "haha tapakau hamanai."
¹ Both Te Pua and Tama have *maua* in place of *mauri* in this line, and Te Pua ends the chant with this line. Another version has "ko i te mauri retere faea."
² Tama has *manava'i* in place of *i-rua*, another version has *ini*.
³ Tama has "ka rau kai moa, fae," in place of this line.

PURE NO FAKAHOTU

Ka raga Fakahotu ki tana tapakau,
 Matobe rira.
 Toro e, toro e,

PRAYER FOR FAKAHOTU

Fakahotu has plaited her feasting mat,
 With corners firmly lsd.
 Stretching, stretching.

Peka e, peka e,
Na Tu e.
Hio!

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

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

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

Tapena, tapena, tapena!

Kai!

Na Tapua, na Tahito,

Na Te Iri, na Te Fatu, na Te Tuama,

Na Te Toro, na Te Aka, na Te Ahi,

na Te Reva.

Kai raga! na!

Kai tapaiti te fahi no koutou,

Kia kaikai mai o koutou haga tapena.

1
A sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice for the gods!

Eat!

It is for Tapua, Tahito,

Te Iri, Te Fatu, Te Tuama,

Te Toro, Te Aka, Te Ahi,

Te Reva.

Eat you chiefs there!

Eat . . .

That your sacrificed offerings be consumed.

2

A sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice for the gods!

Partake of the sacrifice!

Partake of the sacrificed dog.

The sacrificed pig.

The sacrificed fowl.

The human sacrifice!

May there be more sacrifices.

There where are your friends, your people,

There where are your guests!

The ancestral gods appear!

My people gather 'round!

Tapena, tapena, tapena!

Kai tapena!

Kai tapena kurio,

Tapena puaka,

Tapena moa,

Tapena tagata!

Kia tapena atu,

I o koutou hua, i o koutou tagata,

I o koutou marihini!

[K]a hira ana maaitu!

[K]ae taku ragaitira!

^a I am assuming that raga is here used in the Hawaiian sense of "heavenly one," "chief." But Mottison (24, p. 375) gives raga as a term for "victim" or "sac offering of a victim."

The turtle is not mentioned in this prayer and perhaps the prayer was intended for offerings of dog, pig, fowl, and man.

A Hao manuscript book contained the following food blessing (*pure no te hoi haga katiga*):

Mata-caca, ko maia ruro,

Ta, tu uai, mai te haga ana.

E, nubo ana na ruahine, ko Atamaa,

ko Te Kopu-hui-ariki.

Opening-eyes, O . . . god,

Arise, stand . . .

The two old women, Atamaa,

Te Kopu-hui-ariki.

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

Ka eoto hoo, ka eoto ake.

Hiorahia te keiga,

Kai tataru Te Moko-hui-tara.

Ka takanini.

Fakatu Te Fare-ariki,

Takere raga no Hao.

Meitake te keiga kail

^a The royal clan of Hao.

Dwell within, without.

Spread out the feast.

Te Moko-hui-tara eats . . .

Gather around.

Let the Fare-ariki clan assemble.

The royal foundation of Hao.

Excellent is the feast!

CANNIBAL FEASTS, HUMAN SACRIFICE

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

The heads or skulls of enemies killed at Takapoto or Takaroa were sent to marae Hitiaga at the northern extremity of Takaroa. South of the marae was a pit called Ruripou, where the skulls were buried (18, p. 34).

According to a Hao manuscript copied by us, Poureva, the principal marae of the great island of Hao, had a "place for heads" (*vai ra'a upo'o*), named Fare-ao. The manuscript of Te Poa mentions for marae Kura-kakea, their principal marae, a "head house" (*fare upoko*).

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

The natives of Hao were among the most notorious cannibals in the Tuam-

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

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

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

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

EEL FEASTS

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

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

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

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

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

OFFERINGS AT THE RUAHATU

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

Te Urupo said that offerings of young coconut in the stage called *rehi* were left on the *ruahatu* to insure the coming of turtle. Such an offering was called a *pu'ua koi*. The *komata* or stem end of the coconut was broken open, the soft flesh (called *kamokano*) was scraped (*pioru*) and left inside with the water. Such an offering might also be left at the shore, in a little stone shelter called a *karuru mana*.

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

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

...bed another flat rock called "te moe o Faka-aho" and said that I
like Rualhutu, was an important god. In a list of marae features give.
Ruea four years previously, mention is made only of the fact that *pukakana*
(branch coral) as well as *pakana toroio* (small *Tridacna* shells) were to be
seen at the marae. At the best preserved marae ruin of the area, marae
Aturona, Vairaatea Island (18, fig. 51) I saw a pile of branch coral along
one side of the court, exactly like the *ruakatu* of Fagatau.

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

BURIAL RITES

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

Tikaro, tikarohu!
Ka mohora ki mua i Maruofa, rife.
Plus, ka garo, rife!
Plus, ka garo, ka tukua,
Ka tukua ki uta i te henua.
Kau mai i te tai o Pékahi, rife.
Plus, ka garo, rife!
Plus, ka garo, ka tukua!
Let him be wrapped up [in his burial mat]!
Let him be laid upon Maruofa [his marae].
Shrouded, lost, alas!
Shrouded, lost, set down,
Set down inland [upon his burial platform].
The flooding seas of Pékahi flow hither.
Rolled up in his shroud, lost, alas!
Shrouded, lost to view, let down [into the
grave]!

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

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

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

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

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

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

Teretere tau, e kaitohoi tagata.
He teretere tau, he kaitohoi tagata.

This is repe-
re now all be-
in single file!
marae. The prs.
form in a semic-
The priest stands
"Hovi! Hovi! Pupu,
-pu!"

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

Kura poi Kura poi
Mati hoi, mati hoi
Here hoi! Here hoi!
Pupu! Pupu!

They now enter the marae in two files, the priest leading. One file takes up its position
along the right wall, headed by the second priest; the other file takes its stand on the left.
Prior to the ceremony a number of torches (*rawa*) have been prepared and deposited
in the *ana*. The number of these torches must be sufficient for each member of the cortege
to have one. They resemble somewhat a broom, the handle being made of *fosatou*. Around
one end is attached a cluster of dry twigs of *kobara*. The *ana* is a four-walled repository
which contains sacred ceremonial objects.

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

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

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

Ka ka i to ahi, ka i raga!
Hikaia ma veteveve,
Taurakaha,
Tagegel Tagegel

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

The torches are now held down against the ground until extinguished. The priest
chants again, "Hikaia ma veteveve, . . ." This is taken up by the people who repeat the
chant until all the torches are extinguished. The priest now gathers up the dead torches,
beginning at the right, and carries them to the *ana* where they are deposited. He now
shouts to all those assembled within and without the marae: "Those without, file into
the marae, whether of noble blood, or commoners" (*ka roro mau to vaho ki roto; fore
ariki nos [o]tu, te i ki ro noa [o]tu*).

Next, the priest takes the *koufava*,⁴ which had been properly sanctified, out of the
growth from the top of a pandanus bush and was very carefully wrapped up in specially prepared white
pandanus leaves. It was not bound with semis. A Reao native told J. F. G. Stokes in 1921 that when
the turtle was placed at the marae about 20 *evete* sticks were set up. These were sticks with pandanus
leaves, *noa* (*Lepidium*, or scurry grass) leaves, and coconut leaves.

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Tuamotuan Religious Structures and Ceremonies

By KENNETH P. EMORY 1947
BISHOP MUSEUM

INTRODUCTION

On the scattered atolls of the Tuamotuan Archipelago, which lies 14° to 22° south of the equator and stretches from north of Tahiti, 800 miles to the southeast, ruins of coral platforms and upright slabs mark the sites of the marae, or places of worship, of the Polynesian inhabitants before they were Christianized. Although half to a full century has elapsed since ceremonies took place upon these marae, the names of many of them are still cherished, and they figure prominently in the songs, chants, legends, and stories still heard.

While recording the marae ruins in 1929, 1930, and 1934, during the Bishop Museum ethnographic survey of the Tuamotus (16, 26).¹ I became especially interested in their original appearance and in their function. This monograph contains what I have been able to gather from the meager but helpful published literature and from the field work of the two Bishop Museum expeditions, described in my report of the Tuamotuan Survey (16) and in the report of the Mangarevan Expedition (26, pp. 61-67).

It requires only a brief acquaintance with the older generation of Tuamotuans to realize that the life of their predecessors revolved about the marae and that the marae, more than anything else in the culture, bound the members of each group together and anchored them to a past which profoundly influenced their present.

I have dealt with the physical appearance of the marae in considerable detail for two reasons: the marae ruins in the Tuamotus serve to mark the original extent of locally distinct cultures, which now have merged and largely lost their identity; and marae ruins survive throughout a large part of Polynesia and furnish a concrete basis for comparative study.

FIELD WORK AND SOURCES

During the first Bishop Museum expedition to the Tuamotus, from the early part of 1929 to the early part of 1931 (16), chants, songs, and prayers used in connection with the marae were taken down from dictation or copied from native manuscripts in existence before our arrival. This work was done mainly by the linguist of the expedition, J. Frank Stimson. In a number of the islands I learned the terms for various parts of the marae and gained some idea of their function. At Fagatau, in 1929, we encountered Te Miro a Pahoa,

¹ Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 100.

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Women were taught marae prayers and chants, but purely as repositories of this lore.

The head of a family or kindred was entitled to be the priest of the marae, but in the case of tribal maraes, some other member of the chief's family might hold the office. According to Montiton (35, p. 379), the high priest had an assistant (*huhuki*), who stood on his right, and two assistants (*fakatau* and *hakari*), who were on his left. Audran speaks of only two lesser priests, also of royal blood and called *huhuki* (1, vol. 28, p. 234); and my informant at Napuka, Te Uru, said the priest or chief was assisted by two men whose designation he could not remember.

Montiton's information, which he said was gathered from the eastern Tuamotus, is from Tatakoto, Fagatau, or Fakahina, for at no other eastern islands did he stay long enough to gather his knowledge of maraes. Prior to the publication of his article on Tuamotuan religion, he had remained for nearly six months, just before October 16, 1870, at Fagatau (34, p. 284) and from November 5, 1870, to July 16, 1871, or a little over nine months, at Tatakoto, where he was much occupied building a church and a calvary (34, p. 286). At Fakahina he stayed four months prior to 1872 (34, p. 376).

Audran (1, vol. 28, p. 234), drawing on information from Fakahina, says of the high priest:

In the Tuamotu Group the chief officiating priest, who conducted, so to speak, divine worship, and represented the archpriest in our cathedrals, was known as the *kanuhū*. He was a great personage and very holy. Further, he enjoyed the highest privileges. He was exempt from ordinary work and from that forced labor, at times so troublesome, such as cooking and the preparation of the turtle, for which the common people were liable. The smoke from the ovens was not to come near him or to touch him. Throughout the whole island there was but one authority (that of the king) superior to his, while at times his influence was as powerful as even that of the king. He alone was responsible for the ordering and carrying out of everything that concerned the celebration of the annual festival and the performance of the religious ceremonies on the marae. All these were under his sole jurisdiction. It was the *kanuhū* whose duty it was to regulate them as he thought fit, providing that he preserve the ancient usage.

At Fagatau, *tu-kaps* was the term used for the high priest.

OCCASIONS FOR CEREMONIES

The capture of turtle, porpoise, or large fish of the sacred class was the most frequent occasion for the use of the marae. The importance of turtle feasts upon the marae is obvious, for far more detail is remembered about them than about any other marae ritual. During the off-season for turtle, most maraes at Napuka lay idle.

About July, at the approach of the time when female turtles came ashore to lay their eggs and both male and female turtles appeared around the island, the principal maraes of a tribe were meticulously weeded and cleared of all rubbish (*paropara*). This was done at Napuka by the *tabi kaga karava*

(seekers of bits of coconut fiber), who were gray-headed men. After clearing the maraes were decorated for the rites, the purpose of which was to insure a large catch of turtle during the season, July to December or January. The first turtles captured at the beginning of the season were offered to the gods with the most elaborate ritual (2, p. 130).

Cannibal feasts no doubt furnished occasions for the use of maraes reserved for that purpose. In a legend we collected from the Vahitahi area, marae ceremonies were held before setting out on a voyage, to insure protection against a god named Rua. Upon the safe arrival at land, the chief immediately repaired to the marae to acknowledge the protection given by his gods (44, p. 189). Famines called forth special marae ceremonies. At the first pregnancy of a woman of the *ariki* family, prayers were said at the marae (35, p. 491). The navel cord of the chief's son might be buried at the marae with some ritual. In the chant of the Hao chief Te Hau-o-Rogo, occurs: "[K]a koti te pito ko [=o] Tagihia, ka tanu ki roto ki Maruata" (Sever the navel cord of Tagihia, bury it at marae Maruata).

The succession of a chief to the position of *ariki* called for a very important ceremonial, about which we have no details except that it sometimes took place upon the founding of a new marae for this chief. Upon the death of a chief, his body was carried to the marae before final disposition of the remains on the land or in the sea. If he were to receive the honor of apotheosis, some of the ceremonies involved took place upon the marae.

Terms for other important ceremonies have been remembered, such as *pokure* at Tatakoto, *te ahu pokure*, and *te unu tapikopiko*, a three-day ceremony, at Fagatau.

THE TURTLE FEAST CATCHING THE TURTLE

The eve and day of the sacrifice of a turtle at the marae, the men who were to partake of the flesh observed continence, says Montiton (35, p. 367), whose information is from Fagatau, Fakahina, or Tatakoto. "They ordinarily slept near their canoes, to launch them as soon as day appeared, for turtle hunting, for lounito trolling or for fishing for other large fish. The man who caught the victim detached the brightest scale and offered it to the god whose image was on the bow of the canoe, designating and consecrating the victim by this chant." (The native text of the chant is Montiton's, but for the translation I have substituted one of Stimson's, which I regard as more accurate.)

Ka [k]ohiti mai te tai,	Now the tide rises.
Tupa raga,	It sweeps to the east,
Tupa raro,	It sweeps to the west,
Tupa uta,	It swerves toward the land,
Tupa tai,	It swings out to sea.
E pana i mus,	It rises before,
E pana i roto,	It rises between,
E pana i muri,	It rises behind.

Tagareo—

Kai ki ruga!
Kai ki raro!
Ko i to pito,
Ko i to uutu,
To pito ka moe,
E pito no te vai,
Ka moe.

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

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

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

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

Toinoio e!
Tiriri, tiriri,
Tarara, tarara!
Ei maro piri, ei maro reva,
Takai, takai ki te maro no Tu!
(Ko te maro tena i) huakia
mai ai, takina mai ai,
Te papa o Tongareva,
Ei puga-mui, ei paita, ei
ororeva,

Ka kapa ra taua manu i ruga nei,
E tora huru kore.
Ko mica ra te tagata i rave
ai i taua ika nei.
E ika nui, e ika rau,

* From a version given by Te Tuma of Faite.

† From Te Aho's manuscript and is a version from Te Mas of Napuka.

O Tagareo—

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

Grappled by my mighty hook presided over by
Ruhahatu.

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

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

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

Myth of the Belt of Orion and the turtle

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

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

Kua hakatau Matariki-te-uru-rega
ki tana iho ariki,
I kobua ai te rahi kapukapu o Atea.
Kaore e hokiga.
Matariki-of-the-flaming-brow . . . harkens
to her ancestors,
Who clouded the many-domed sky of Atea.
There will be no returning.

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

Kia tiki kis koe,
Kia taka hoki [i] tau marae,
Ka tiraga hoki koe
ki mua i te marae o Tagarao,
Kia fakateuiceni hia,
Kia raka hoki [i] tou marae.
Let [the people] be well fed by you,
Let [them] be filled till their bellies
are rounded on your marae,
You will indeed lie on your back upon the
fore part of the marae of Tagarao,
That you be eulogized,
That you be sanctified upon your marae.

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

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

Myth of turtle and fowl

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

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

Karibi the elder and Karibi the younger leaped into the fire to provide food. That part of them which was not consumed by the flames turned into maggots. Those from Karibi the elder became turtle and bonito; those from the younger became *Pitara* fish and frigate birds. When they met, Turtle and Bonito said to Pitara and Frigate Bird: "They shall all become sacred to Te Fatuanoana, a trumpet will sound for them, a drum shall loudly beat, a feast must shall be spread, a prayer recited, and their bones shall be neatly piled" (*Ei tua ratou ki te Fahu-noanoa, e pu to ratou e tagi, e uniere e uniere hia, e tapuhau e mahara, e pure e oli, e puhaka hia to ratou ivi*). But Pitara and Frigate Bird demanded for themselves these privileges. Thereupon Turtle and Bonito prophesied that no cochin would blow for them, no drum would sound, no mat be spread, and their bones would not be gathered up.

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

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

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

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

It is the heralding of a catch

Tairiri, tarara
Tairiri, tarara
E taraga mai ai taua ika nei,
A great fish, a little fish;
He ika mai, he ika iti;
So and so is the person who discovered the speared victim here.
Ko mau ra te tagata i roaka ai taua ika oka nei.
It is a turtle of the kind called *puhi*, of the kind called *sepoa*, of the kind called *haka*.

He ika heko,
He ika heko,
He ika paraparau-e-ra;
It is a turtle of the kind called *haka*.
He ika paraparau-e-ra;
Bind on, bind on, bind on,
It is the girdle of Tu and his clan,
Tabai, takai, takai,
It is for you [the person who caught the turtle].
Takai ko te hune no Tu ma,
Hol o! Broken is the hipper of {Takeru Matariki.Nau e [te ika o te tagata].

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

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

Toinoio e!
E raga te tapu i raga nei,
A chant announcing a catch!
E ika te i raro nei.
It is a heaven which spreads above,
It is a fish which lies below.
Ko uhiuhibo, akia, makere hoki,
...
Tua ika te pitika hoki, te pitara.
That fish is a *pitika* indeed, a *pitara*.
Hol, hoi, tuene, tuene e.
...
Ka tanu reporepo hia
na hua, na kohinga,
Bury smeared with dirt . . .
na ruahine.
Bury all smeared with dirt!

Ka tanu reporepo hia!
Bury all smeared with dirt!

CARRYING TURTLE TO MARAE

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

LEADER

Haraa ki toga,
Haraa ki tokeraa;
Ka piri, ka pokipoki,
Encircled in the south,
Encircled in the north;
Closed-in, covered over,

Aku paru te vai mai ra i Raurua,^a
He ho!

My fish at Raurua,
Ho!

PEOPLE

A mau teua pu!^b
Hio! hi ho!

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

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

Uoe mai i raga Te Raurua,
Poi mai i aho aheke,
Kitega te piopoi o toku manava,
E aho oho takaki.

Striving upon Te Raurua,
Carry [the fat of] my anoints,

The flesh of my breasts shall be known,
How delicious is [the flesh of] my neck.

^b As the *u* in *pu* is extremely short, the translation may be wrong; the line may be actually "a mau te uae."^c This calling out by the people is termed *hi* (*hio* as *hi* *to* *to*).

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

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

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

ARRIVAL OF TURTLE AT MARAE

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

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

Io^o kere roa,
Io kere potu,
Io kere taitaua,
A hifi, ka ru a i
Io te ho [= uho ?].

TE MAU'S VERSION

There in the darkness stretching out,
There in the darkness restricted,
There in the darkness bound round,
Arise, stir!
There where is the divine essence.

TE URU'S VERSION

Io kere roa,
Io kere potu,
Io kere taitaua,
A huri a.
Te tere fa ao.
[The gods] voyage to the realm of light.

^a Considering the possibility that *io* might here be a name, I sounded out Te Mau on the subject. He knew of no god named *io*. Toward the last of my stay at Napuka, in 1924, I acquainted Te Mau with the swartified account of Kiko written by Paria of Fagatau (56). He remarked, "This teaching is not here."

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

INVESTITURE OF CHIEF

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

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

According to Montiton (35, p. 379), to the chief's right was the spearer (*huhuki*) charged with giving him his headdress (called a *fa*) and putting into his hands a staff surmounted by a little image. To his left was the *fabatau* and the *hakari*. Montiton described the *hakari* as the bringer of the "sacred stone . . ." but he says nothing about the *fabatau*. However, *katou* means right, and the *hakari* was stationed at the right of the *ariki*, as viewed by those attending the ceremony; *fa* probably refers to *tokio-fa*, which at Napuka is the name of the object fetched by the *hakari*. Hence, I believe *fa-katou* (sacred-object-on-the-right) was simply another name for the *hakari*. At Napuka the term *fa-katou* for one officiating at the marae recalled nothing, but the *hakari* was remembered by Te Uru as the man who went the length of the island chanting a charm to induce turtle to come.

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

^c The staff of Mahini, high chief of Fagatau, was called a *terehere*, and was named *Tere-here*.

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

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

Tagarua iau, ka (a)he! Tagarua there with you, alight
Ka mahuta lau! Fly out to you!
Ko te aha e! It is the gathering together!
Te hura, hura te vakai! The tribe appears!

When the chief had been invested with his *fau* and staff, according to Montiton (35, p. 379), the *huhuki* took a bunch of leaves (probably one of the whips, *rai toatou*) and struck the "pavement" to awaken and call the gods. The chief then turned toward the *ahu* and, with "grand contortions and deafening yells" (Montiton, 35, p. 379), invoked all the gods. Montiton gives the following list, in which most of the names are recognizable on our Fagatau genealogies, and many occur in genealogies from Fakahina (Audran, 3, p. 234): Tauruhua, Kai-nuku, Puniava, Ruanuku, Tu-te-ao-tea, Tu-makino-kino, Tohuitika, Rua-fatoga, Tu, *te ahi* Tu (the clan of Tu), *te ahi* Rogo (the clan of Rogo), *te ahi* Tane (the clan of Tane), Tana-tu-hau, Tana-ari-ki-tahi, Tavake, Ruafatu, Mahinui, Te Moana-tai-hia, Tapa-tea, Hoga, Marere-kogakoga, Rua-kai-atan, Mutuai-uta, Mapu, Mahaga, Koaroua, Okea, Tahuka.

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

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

Atua e,* faharo mai i te rahi. O gods, soar hither from the heavens.
Ko te ipo e, Beloved ones,
Ka tu ia, rahire.* Be present!
Ko Rogo-nui, faharo mai i te rahi, O Rogo-nui, come sweeping hither from
the abode of the gods,
Beloved one,
Ka tu ia, rahire. Grace this place with thy presence.
The verse is repeated for Toicnie, Itupava, Puniava, Tohitika.

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

AWAKENING OF THE GODS

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

In 1931, Reva, daughter of Te Miro, gave me a chant for the awakening of the gods (*no-te fakaarara atua*), which Stimson came across three years

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

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

1
Fakaaraha ki te po roa! Awake in the long night!
Ka eke ki te vaka mihi [ami] a Tane! Float forth in the handsome canoe of Tane!
Ko vai [i]i] tupa i fanau ai koe e te Who designated [?] that you should be
rakau? born, and all plant life?
Ko Tu-ruma-rakau, ko Taraga-nui-o- It was Tu-ruma-rakau (Gloom-of-Forest), it
mere! was Taraga-nui-o-Mere!
Ka tupa ia Tane! Arise through Tane!
E tuku ahu-e ara i Oh my gods—awake!
E ara [e] Tupua,* Awake, Tupua,
E ara [e] Te Iri, Awake, Te Iri,
E ara [e] Te Fatu, Awake, Te Fatu,
E ara e Tane, e ara i Awake, O Tane, awake!
E ka hura ariki, And appear, lordly one,
Ki tai tupa, ki tai rito, ki tai At the sea developing, the sea swelling,
kao; the sea bursting forth:
E Rua-loka-nuku, e Rua-toka-ragi. O Rua-rock-of-the-land, O Rua-rock-of-
the-sky.

2
E Hiro e, ka tara ifau* io rouru; O Hiro, your hair is untied by me;
Ka huki au io korero. I now cast out your words.
Ko Ru i huakina te papa ki raro, It was Ru by whom was uncovered the
foundations below,
Ko Haumakamu te tagata i verolia[a]i Haumakamu was the man who illuminated
te ara i Hua [= Hiva].* the road to Hiva.
Ka to ki Vai-be-nuku, Stand up at Vai-be-nuku [the star Castor],
Ka takoto ki Vai-be-rari [= ragi]. Lie down at Vai-be-ragi [the star Pollux].
Mitanila Te Toki! Fierce is The Adz!
Ko Takurua, It was Takurua [Sirius].

* According to Paia of Anaa, Taraga-nui-o-Mere is a bright star employed as a guiding star from Taarua to Kirahore; but we have not come across Tu-ruma-rakau as a star name.
* Tupua is supplied from Reva's version.
* *Ah*, from Reva's version.
* Hua in the text, but obviously from Reva's text, a mistranscription for Hiva. In the chant for the chief of Kaitia, he is called a possessed child of the land who died struck down (*yo hia*) on the "aru tai Munkua a Tane" (the dark sea road of Tane).
* Te Toki (The Adz) is the name of a star in a list of star names from Papeete, and next to the name Vai-be-nuku.

Takurua e tu nei,
Ko Fakamata-tahi-a-nuku,
Ko Fakamata-tahi-a-ragi.
Ruru ki Te Pua,
Ruru ki te aro o Fanui.

Tu tahanga i te aro o Takurua ma Takero.
Matariki ko tei raga.
E tabua ko tei raro—
E ara, e ara!

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

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

Takurua of Fagatau was called "king of the stars" (ariki as te hoga ariki), and among its epithets occur, Takurua-mata-mau (Takurua-growth-of-land), Takurua-mata-ragi (Takurua-growth-of-sky), in Tahiti, under the name Takurua-mata-mau, Takurua was called (J.B. P. 362) creator of children (le'ava), in the sky and on earth. Taparua is addressed as, or calls himself, Matahi-nuku, Matahi-ragi, in his most important chant at Vahitahi, beginning, "Tu hia raga, iau tamo raga, iau here roa te iau o Taparua, ko Matahi-nuku, ko Matahi-ragi."

The Tahitian account (J.B. P. 362) of the birth of the heavenly bodies, the heavens were beautified with stars, to be brought into the presence of Takurua (i te aro o Takurua), to assemble as a host (or ancestor) in the presence of Takurua.

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

NO TE FAKAMATA HOGA KI ARIKI
Ara mai, ara marie!
Ara mai o mata i te po,
Ara mai o mata i te ao!
Ara mai, ara marie!
Ara mai e Tupua, e Tahitio;
Ara mai e Māhiri, e Manatu;
Ara mai e Pava, e Gagana;
Ara mai e Tane, e Uho!
Ara mai i te rua, ara marie!
Tu mai i te ata,
Oho mai i te ata,
Matike mai i te ata.
Haere i te ata, kia horo.
Kia moxga tana ki te heiau e.
Ara mai, ara marie!

FOR THE CONSECRATION OF A CHIEF
Awaken, become wide awake!
Let your eyes open in the world of night,
Let your eyes open in the world of light!
Awaken, become wide awake!
Awake, O Tupua, O Tahitio!
Awake, O Māhiri, O Manatu;
Awake, O Pava, O Gagana;
Awake, O Tane, O Uho!
Awake in the abyss, become wide awake!
Awake in the clouds,
Abide in the clouds,
Come to file in the clouds,
Arise in the clouds,
Move in the clouds, that you hasten,
That we two may sleep in the heiau [god house].
Awaken, become fully awake!

In a section of Fagatau mythical genealogy, Tupua is the wife of Tahitio, and Gagana is their grandchild (31, p. 70).
The line is obscured by the differences in the native text, one version has his moxga ki tana ki te heiau e. Another has his moxga e tana ki te heiau e.

Lines five to nine inclusive occur in this version only. It is probable that here might be inserted the names of any of the particular ancestral gods it was desirable to call upon.
A Reao chant for the awakening of the gods at the beginning of a ceremony upon the marae was given to us as a "chant for the turtle, when eaten

upon the marae of Te Aterro" (pehe-no te honu i kai hia ki raga i te marae i Te Aterro). In this, the gods addressed were called aisa tagata, immediate ancestors. The familiar figure of the canoe bringing the ancestral spirits to attend the feast reappears:

Ka tahi nei ka taia Ria e,
No te fare i motu.
Ruru na te tagata,
Ma Nihitu, na Tuho, na Te Hakukiri.
Te igoa te vaka, ko Te Kaha-mata-tini.
Ka have ki uta, ki uta te henua,
Ki uta Te-Aterro.
Ka tau metua, ko Te Ao,
ko Te Tamu, ko Te Ahu-o-Toga.
Hakaara ko te mata, te mata o te atua!
Ko Te Taurua, ko Te Miki, ko Te Piriamu,
Ko Te Tachacia, ko Te Tai-mavea,
ko Te Tai-rutua,
Te Moko-inu-tai, ko Te Matahao, i i.

It is the first time Ria appears.
For the house cut off.
The people assemble,
The Nihitu, the Tuho, the Hakukiri.
The name of the canoe is Te-Kaha-mata-tini (The Myriad-eyed-spirits).
It is borne ashore, up onto the land
Upon the marae Te-Aterro.
The parents descend, Te Ao,
Te Tama, Te Ahu-o-Toga.
Cause the eyes to open, the eyes of the gods!
Te Taurua, Te Miki, Te Piriamu,
Te Tachacia, Te Tai-mavea,
Te Tai-rutua.
Te Moko-inu-tai, Te Matahao, i i.

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

Tel hea taku tira?
Te horo mai nei taku tira.
Tel hea taku tira?
Te horo mai nei taku tira,
E uui mai nei taku tira.
E tuku atu ki te tira a Ruahatu,
Ki taia te moana,
Ke fakaruru atu.
Tiraia te moana!

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

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

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

[K]a pou a ika [ki] Mana[hu]-Tagara. The sacrifice shall be entirely consumed at Manaha-Tagara [marae of the gods].
 E aro [= haru] te ika i i [= te] niu I seize the victim through the power of the niu
 E aro te ika i te vanaga-vanaga I seize the victim through the power of the ritual
 E aro te ni [= te ika niu] I seize the great animal here,
 Kia mate I That it die!
 E aro te ni, I Seize the great fish here,
 Kia ho! I That it be consecrated!

^a From Montiton's prayer it is plain that aro here should be haru.
^b Here Te Mae's version has apparently abbreviated "te ika niu nei" to "te ni."
^c This is the ending given by Te Aka in dictating the prayer to me. However, in chanting it, he changed his to te ika. He seems to be a variant of ka (sacred) but it may stand for aro or ika.

At "kia ho," Te Mae volunteered, the *tokiofa* was taken from the breast of the turtle and carried back to its resting place on the marae (p. 21).
 In writing of the marae ceremonies at Napuka, Audran (2, p. 130) says of the *tokiofa* and its function:

... before the sacrifice, one of the two *tokiofa*, amulets of great importance made of two decorated sticks and ornamented with tresses of coconut leaf, was placed on the victim which was thereby sanctified, then taken back to its original place while the chants, gestures, and rhythmic prayers accompanied these preliminaries.
 Then, the designated executor, assisted by the *parangi*,^a the man charged with the ritual of the ceremony, cut the throat of the turtle which was finally placed on a native fire prepared in advance. And during the long hours of its cooking, the chants and prayers never ceased.

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

In another place (1, vol. 27, p. 135), in going over the same ceremonies, Audran gives us a clearer picture of his conception of the *tokiofa*:

In the middle of the open space [the court] were two kinds of amulets covered with garlands. These were two little decorated sticks, *te tokiofa*. As soon as the throat of the turtle was cut one of these little sticks was brought and laid on the victim, as if to consecrate it. After the sacrifice the little stick was returned to its place. The ceremony was accompanied by songs and rhythmic prayers. During the cooking the prayers continued. As soon as the turtle was done to a turn it was taken out of the native oven, the *tokiofa* was again placed on it, and the turtle was divided up.

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

It was taken by the assistant of the priest and placed on the breast of the turtle immediately before the chanting of the prayer commencing "E niu, e niu maru ika." The victim was laid on its back, on the rear of the court, the priest stood behind it, facing the *aho* of the marae. On his right hand was the assistant who brought the *tokiofa*, and on his left, the man who cut the throat of the turtle. The bringer of the *tokiofa*, in approaching it, went along the right side of the marae.

A version of the offering chant, recorded at Vahitahi but possibly a Hao chant, begins with *niu* and ends with *mate*, as does the version presented by Montiton. In Davies' Tahitian dictionary (14, p. 155), *niu-mate* is defined as

^a *Parangi* I believe is an error for *paragi*, meaning a sacrifice or a sacrifice. At Vahitahi, Tubiragi gave the term *mae paragi*, as meaning "food sacrificed with prayer." *Paragi* would here, then, be the man who offered the sacrifice, in other words, the *hahahi*.

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

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

VAHITAHU CHANT FOR THE NIU

Taku niu ko rau maeva,
 He niu ke [= kae ?].
 Bahia mataea
 Ke tuku atu ki te tokerau.
 Ko Tara-poti, ko te hau o taku niu matagi [= mata-i ?] pupua ika.
 Para te niu;
 He niu maru ika, taku niu.
 Ko i faga, ko i faga vau aita.
 Ka timu, ka tere!
 Ko i te tokotoko a maunga reva,
 Ko i te nuku a ga tiki putaputu,
 Ko i te tiki fanan a te gatae.
 Ko vai he tiki, tiki hoha?
 He tiki makoha u.
 Koro-i-mapuna te fatu,
 e Rua-nuku te fitu.
 He hohi matau aru.
 Ko i te hakamanamana a te tupua i Tau-reka.
 Para te niu;
 He niu maru ika, taku niu.
 Vavau o te rahi, fakia e tupua o rahi,
 Ko Ru a Atea.
 Turla takere rahi.
 Kai cketu o ika maro.
 Tika he ika nei,
 Kia mate!

My niu, it is welcoming leaves [feathers ?].
 A niu for sacrifice.
 ...
 That it be released in the north.
 Tara-poti is the realm of my originator of turtle pounds.
 The niu touches:
 It is a charm over fish, my niu.
 Whilst I soar, soar afar.
 Fading from view, speeding on!
 There in the branching staff,
 There in the land of images crowded together,
 There in the image born of the *Pisonia* tree.
 What is the image, the sacred image?
 An image of sepnit.
 Koro-i-mapuna is the possessor,
 and Rua-hatu is the possessor.
 ...
 It is that which adds power to the god at Tau-reka.
 The niu touches:
 A charm over fish is my charm.
 Reverberation of the sky, a god from the sky appears,
 It is Ru, son of Atea.
 The foundation of the sky is illumined by rainbows.
 Eat, while embarking, your dry fish.
 A victim is here,
 To be sacrificed!

^a *Niu-mate-para* appears in one of the two preceding chants which are truly for the coconut: *He niu nei he niu-mate-para, he niu nei he niu-mate-para*.

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

He ika na Rogo, te ika tapu I
 Te ika a Turi-nui nei. I
 E ika rau. I
 Mamata te ika tapu, te ika roa I
 [a] Rua-hatu, Toiana, Kiripoo, I

A fish for Rogo is this sacred fish here!
 The fish [captured by] Turi-nui here.
 A fish grasped.
 Prepare the sacred victim, the long fish of Rua-hatu, Toiana, Kiripoo,

Rua-te-fa-toga, Rai-matava, Rogo.
 ...
 Let the gods be called,
 Just call.
 Let them be called.
 New lift up.
 Rumble continuously, thunder,
 Rumble continuously, thunder, crash on.
 The blowing wind drives [all before].
 Blow where I am [at] Te Ra-tu-muku,
 Steady blowing wind.
 Mataani [= matagi ?] hara.

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

IMMOLATION OF TURTLE

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

Kaki ta[k]a, [k]a topo—
 [K]a topa i te ara o Tauruhua i
 [E] atua i te [h]iku-tira,* ko
 Kainuku—
 [H]ao, kai mai!
 E atua hiva no [= ko ?] Puniava—
 [H]ao, kai mai!
 [E] atua [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—
 Ruanuku—
 [H]ao, kai mai!
 Tu-mamahini no te fatitiri—
 [H]ao, kai mai!
 E atua han, ko Tohitika—
 [H]ao, kai mai!
 E atua [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—
 [H]ao, kai mai!
 Approach, partake of this food!
 Tu-the-hospitable, abiding in the thunder—
 Approach, partake of this food!
 A god of peace, thou art Tohitika—
 Approach, partake of this food!
 A god of the ship's stern ornament,
 thou art Tavaka—
 Approach, partake of this food!

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

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

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

Ka ma te po, ka ma te ao.
 Koia Tu, koia Ragi;
 Mata-iki, Mata-ho.

The nether world, the upper world is freed
 of restrictions.
 There is Tu, there is Ragi;
 Mata-iki, Mata-ho.

Tagi [i] te po, tagi [i] te ao,
 Hara raua pu ha i hatau e,
 Kia mate!

* Mata-aho in New Zealand is a personification of lightning. Mata-iki in this line may be an allusion to Mata-ho in Vahitahi prayers.
 * In *ha i hatau* I am reminded of *fa-hatau*, which Momiua gives for an assistant of the priest.

In Tahiti, Tu is Ta'arua's divine assistant in the nether world (*po*), and Rai (= Ragi, in Tuamotu), under the name Ra'i-tupua-nui, is associated with the upper world (*ao*) as the "growth" of the *ao*, the "unfolding" of the *ao*, and the "budding" of the *ao* (30, p. 356).

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

Ka muma ru e,
 Ka muma raro,
 Ka muma te liti,
 E ka muma te marama.
 Ka muma te mata o te ika.
 Ho ki te mata ika,
 Mata houa tena.
 Ho ki te ma i.
 Tagi te po, tagi te ao,
 Tagi te ao Huariki-ora.

Horoga tu!
 Tapa, hakamota!
 Give!
 Cut, sever!

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

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

Ko koe hoki, e honu!
 Kua tiraga koe ki Manahoa-Tagarao.
 It is you indeed, o turtle!
 You lie on your back on marae
 Manahoa-Tagarao.
 Cut is your throat!
 Disemboweled are your entrails!
 Your blood flows away!
 You are turned over upon the oven
 of first cooking!
 You are dead!
 Tokio!

* Tokio, shouted *tokio* . . . , is an ending employed in a number of chants, not all religious. The people of Vahitahi maintain that it is just an ending and that they know no meaning for it. Among recorded endings are *hiva*, *hohio*, *hote*, *ote*, *te*, *he*, *ho*, and *hio*.

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

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

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

Tufai] te pepe,
Tua'i te tahai.
Tara tui, tara mai haki [= Hiti]:^a

Mai te kura Tamarua [i] Hiti,^b
Poi mai te noe!^c
Tera mai-té hōka tahai,
Nau te atua.

Te atua e nōho, te atua e hāere,
Nā Tara, na Kaipoa, na Varoa, na Te
Ariki-pūtai, na Haroa-mai-te-ragi;

Na Muna-iti, Mumariki;
Tera mai te kora tahai,
Nau te atua,

Ka kai!

Ti'haki ti te po.^d

Ka mai

Toki a!

Toki o ha!

^a Te Ufi gave *tua'i te pepe*.

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

tara noi hi.

^c Tamarua, which I believe to refer to Tamo-tuhau, the healing god, figures in a Fagaitan chant,

"Tuhau ra ihi his (G) i e te rima mani o Atea, Tamarua," and also in a chant from Hilo, "Tamarua

e mīri i te pō o Atea." On a genealogy from the western Tuamotus, he is represented as the son of

Atea.

^d *Kai*, *mai te noe* was given by Te Ufi. Te Uruupo had in its place *e hōka te po*.

^e Te Ufi gave, *te i te ao (= iho)*, *te i te po* (it is here with the uncertainty, there in the other world).

^f Te Uruupo and Gāhe (Te Mae's wife) gave *hōka* *e*, and Te Ufi gave *ohi e*.

^g The *o* is drawn out with emphasis. The *o* or *e* in the previous *toki* balances with the *o*, in a

manner very pleasing to the Tuamotuan ear. Thus we get in a Vahitahi prayer, "tara e, tara o, mātara,

and in calling out to a person, "Tahaki e, Tahaki o." Te Uruupo gave *toki-o-fo*.

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

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

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

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

Mikemiko tahai tena,
Ko i Nona,^a
Ko i Hao.

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

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

Ko i Tokerau-e-rito.

It is [offered] at [the stone slab named]

Tokerau-e-rito.

Ko i Ru-matike, ko i Ru-hagahaga,

[Ko i Ru-pepe, ko i Ru-takoto].^b

Tuki uta, tuki tai,

Mōi a rere.

Ka kai kura, ka kai rei,

[Tama-putu-rua].^c

Tena ra hoki te matahaki.^d

Te matahaki,

Ko i Noma,

Ko i Hao.

Ko i Hao, ko i Poureva.

Muna-pareu, Te Hono-kai-taua,^e

Hachue-toga, Te Maura-o-kaha no

Pare-ao,^f

Te Ariki-mai-hiva.^g

Tena ra ka tagi te kura,^h

Tagi te ao.

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

At Hao, at marae Poureva.

Muna-pareu, Te Hono-kai-taua,

Hachue-toga, Te Maura-o-Kaha of

Pare-ao.

Te Ariki-mai-hiva.

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

^a Hauata, who dictated the chant to me at Mangareva in 1931, gave *ko i eua mai* (before him who comes) instead of this line, and followed by *rape* instead of *Hao*. We did not learn of any place named Noma.

^b These names given by Hauata only.

^c This name is another name for Tama-pu-hau, god of healing.

^d Te Ufi gives *matahaki* instead of *mata-haki*. Te Aku gives *para haki te mata hā*, *te mata hā*.

^e At Vahitahi Simon learned that *hai mata-hoko* was a term for a woman who ate food consecrated to the gods.

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

^g Fagatau, the chief house at marae Poureva at Hao. Te Maura-o-Kaha was Muna-nui's great-grandson.

^h Te Aku and Hauata give *rape* in place of *tara* and following *rape* Hauata has *Vahu-uriki*, as if

it were the name of the *rape* (pagoda).

[Mahu-ariki],
Maitaki te konga' kai.
Kin o ra to kava
horo i te rupa,
Mamahi' ma te rau e.
Tōkioho!

¹ Māhu-ariki is from Te Aka's manuscript. Hauata gave Vahua'aki in her dictated version, and Te Uira gave Māhu-ariki.
² Hauata gave Māhu-ariki: kava is a poetic form of kōpua.
³ This line is the line.
⁴ Te Uira gave Māhu-ariki in place of Māhu-ariki. Hauata, when I asked her the meaning of Māhu-ariki, Hauata, and Te Uira said the chant with tālofo. Hauata, when I asked her the meaning of tālofo replied, "It means that the food was to be withheld from the people."

The longer prayer from Hao is from Te Aka and was checked against an identical version in a Hao book at Vahitahi. The book at Vahitahi (obviously a copy) has a note that the chants contained therein were written down in 1842.

This prayer begins with what is evidently a summons (*kōrero*) to the people to come to the marae for the ceremony in which the turtle is to be offered in sacrifice.

HAKA MATUA HAUA I TE HONU I TE
MARA E POUHEVA

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

1*

Mikoe, mākoē tahai tena,
Ko i ana mai,
Ko i ruga,
Ko i ruga, ko i raro,
Ko i uta, ko i tai,
Ko i te kava,
E miro, e lau, e mahora,
E mata iku, e mata hai tena,
Ko i ana mai,
Mikoe na koromatua' hoki,
Matua i uta—na Uehono, na Irakau,
Matua' i tai—na Hau, na Mahora,
Koropaga-(i)-te-moana.
Na Tuhua, na Tavaha, na Tari-topa-pahua.

* The dictations of this prayer are mine; the chant, as given, has none.
¹ Hiro leaves were substituted for kava leaves in marae ceremonies at Tahiti (10, p. 163).
² I have translated koromatua as spirits, following the Tahitian meaning of 'orematua (ghosts of the dead).
³ The word matai ordinarily means to consecrate, but here I think it is simply an abbreviation for koropaga, as in Tahiti (10, p. 173).
⁴ Koropaga-te-moana would seem to be equivalent to 'Orepa's in Tahiti, called lord of the ocean (fata moana) and powerful spirit of the ocean (fata mana i te moana) (10, pp. 165, 166).

2

Tagarua-tu-tiri,
Mikoe, mikoe, mākoē tahai tena,
Ko i ana mai,
Ko i raro, ko i raro,
Ko ia Kama, ko ia Pohe,
Ko ia Kumukamu-maroro.
Pere hoki te mata iku, te mata hai
tena,
Ko i ana mai,
Ko i ruga, ko i ruga,
Ko ia Te Tuki, ko ia Te Honu.

3

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

4

Pera hoki te mata iku, te mata
hai tena,
Ko i ana mai,
Ko i te tara i toga,
Ko i toga, ko i toga-nui, ko i
toga-anuana,
Ko i Toga-haro-pito.

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

5

Pera hoki te mata iku, te mata
hai tena,
Ko i ana mai,
Ko i Hao, ko i Pouteva,
Tane-te-niu, Tane-ma-Ruamuku e,
Ka hāia tuma, ka mama.

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

2

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

3

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

4

Thus it is with the consecrated food,
the proffered food is that there,
Placed before him who comes.
It is before the stone upright standing on the
south end of the platform,
It is before the south wind, the strong
south wind, the cold south wind,
It is before the stone slab in the south,
called Toga-haro-pito.

Thus it is with the consecrated food,
the proffered food, is that there,
For him who comes.
It is before the sacred stone slab in the north.
It is before the north wind.
It is before the stone upright Tokerau-o-rilo.
It is before Ru-matike, it is before Ru-takoto.
It is before Ru-pepeke-te-uru, it is before
Ru-hagahaga.
Thrusting up inland, thrusting up seaward,
That [land and sky] be completely severed.
The gods eat, partake of the turtle.

5

Thus it is with the sacred food, the
proffered food is that there,
For him who comes,
It is at Hao, at marae Pouteva.
Tane-te-niu, Tane-ma-Ruamuku,
That darkness be dispelled, the tapa is lifted.

Kia haitā tonua, ka māra.

Ka mā ranga, ka mā raro,
ka mā ūa, ka mā tai,
ka mā te pō mā te ao.

[Mahu-ariki] i te haka
Tupere pūāiki, tupere
haka.

Hakamā, haka māra.

* This name is omitted in Ropata's manuscript, but Māori occurs in the chant copied at Vahitahi. This is evidently a mistranscription for Māori-ariki given by Te Uira in the short haka chant, in which Te Aua's manuscript has Mahu-ariki. Haka, in her dictated version, gives Vahu-ariki.

In the Nukutavake manuscript of Te Pōa is a chant which is evidently the Vahitahi equivalent of the *kōka hākara*, or offering of raw flesh prayer at Napuka. It is headed: "No te kaitiā paragi, e homu taua mā'a in pupa hia i to ratou āua; te parau i mā iho" (Concerning the food offering, a turtle was that food offered to their god; the chant for it was):

E tapena, e tapena, e tapena ika,

E tapena homu.

E tapena, e tapena, e tapena,

Tena hōki te unata ika,

Māa homu tena,

Māi te māi!

Farona homu tena,

Ka kai koutou,

Ki mā i te marae pēi e,

No te āua Makai-kino.

Tena hōki te mata ika,

Te mata homu.

Ko i ūa, ko i tai,

Ko i te hū vaka mā Tapakia ia.

Ia e, fano!

Tena hōki te mata ika.

Te mata homu tena.

Māi te māi!

Tagi te pō, tagi te ao,

Tāhuna i roa,

Tere te keiga kai,

Māmaha te ran e;

Tōkio!

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

Tagi te pō, tagi te ao.

Ga ariki ora.

Hōroa [a] i tuku fakamoe.⁸

* I believe this may refer to the two priests, Te-mōua and Te Arikū-ū-ō-ō-ō mentioned in the Vahitahi feast prayer (p. 89). "Hōroa ora" is in place of "hōroa [a] i tuku" and then omits the next three lines, the last two of which, however, are given in the earlier part of his version. Simeon translates *teku fakamoe* as "my sleeping god."

Tagi te pō, tagi te ao.

Tāhuna i roa i te tereiga kai.⁹

Horo ki te marae,

Māmaha i te rua.

Kōka otaota tena,⁶

Ka kai ki mā i te marae,⁷

Na te āua Mata-i-kino.⁸

* Simeon's version has "hāhanga tu āua, te terega mā" in place of this line.
⁶ For this line one may substitute "hōroa homu tena."
⁷ Simeon's version has "ka kai mā hō ki mā i te marae."
⁸ Te-tūina, Te-pū, Te-hirangi, Rōka, and Tapaka give Makai-kino as the name of the god; but Huarai and a Nukutavake informant of mine, Tapahi, gave Mata-i-kino.

In the legend of the turtle and the frigate bird, as given by chief Takaoa at Vahitahi and by Rūea and her sister, Huarai, it is said that when the bonito was carried before the marae, this was its offering prayer (*teka tonā pure*):

Kōka iroiro tena,

Ka kai āua kōe i mā i te marae

No Te Atua-ma-kai-kino.

Hō ki te mata e, māta hōki tena!

Ifakaitē māi e!

Mā te pō, mā te ao!

Ka hano, tu ātu,

Tētere te reiga kai,

Horo ki te marae,

Māmaha i te rua.

That here is bonito flesh,

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

For Te Atua-ma-kai-kino.

Give the eye, that indeed is the eye!

Make known!

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

Fly, stand up,

The feast-company gets under way,

Hasten to the marae,

Sicam the oven.

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

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

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

The trumpet resounds, resounds in the
light world.

The food offerings pile up like coral heads
in the lagoon.

Hasten to the marae,

Prepare the oven.

That is uncooked flesh,

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

For the god Mata-i-kino.

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

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

Nou e Rua,
E Rua i te tuki,
E Rua i te hono
E Rua i te arai.
Arai [i] te moana,
Te moana tahī [= tahia], te moana tagiā.
Tokī tai, e karīke tai,
E kare fanau a pi,
Fauau a rogo.
Titī maragai,
Maragai kokeka,
Ke tu a kokeka
Ke hiki ana.
Ke rere a manu
Ke re[re] a taketake.
Ke puke [= puke] to huka.
Ke ataka te korigo,
Ke ku tenutenū^a o kamea.¹

For you Rua,
Rua the striker,
Rua the joiner,
Rua the warder-off,
Warding off the ocean,
The swept seas, the moaning seas,
...
A wave born of the rising sea,
Born of fame.
Land-plover of the stormy wind,
The stormy wind blowing fiercely,
Let it blow!
Leaping,
Flying as a bird flies,
Flying like the white tern,
Let your white foam fly.
Let the pupil of the eye . . .
Let the gills open and shut.

^a Versions of Tuhiragi and of Tahirī a Fara begin with this line.
^b This is *taoia* in Tuhiragi's version; *taoia* in Tahirī's, Te Uira's, and Te Ragi's versions.
^c This phrase is omitted by Tuhiragi but is given as *te moana tagiā* by Tahirī, Te Ragi, and Tuhiragi.
^d In place of this line the other versions have *o tai e pu, o tai e rogo*.
^e Tuhiragi has *ke hiki ana*; Tahirī and Te Ragi have *ke hiki ana*.
^f Tuhiragi has *ke puke*; and Tahirī and Te Ragi have *the puke*.
^g This line omitted by others.
^h In place of this line, Tuhiragi has *ke moapanapanā*; Tahirī has *te timimimā*, and Te Ragi has *hio ho tenutenū*.
ⁱ Tahirī has *o ka ueramea*, and Te Ragi has *to ka ueramea*.

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

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

Tīpa horo te vaka o Rua na,
Hō tūri, hō notī te tere a
Tagarua.
Ko te vaka e! E pa!

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

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

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

Nou e Tane,
Tane-tuke, Tane-rere,
Mahoua i te tuki,
Taki o Tane.
Tane-paka, Tane-haruru,
Tane-i-te-hihiri, Tane-i-te-rarama,
Koe i ranarama,
Koe a i te fa ki te rahi
no Tane-ma-Ruanuku.

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

THE FIRST OVEN

Montiton says at this stage of the ceremony (35, p. 379): "The immolation (*tapeno*) and the last offering of the victim (*rogi*) are finished. All that remains is the muddification or Communion."

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

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

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

tohihi *tiava* at Napuka: *man ran tohi*, at Anaa and Takana: *and man firi-kana*, at Vahitahi.

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

A o hia, a o hia,
 Dig out, dig out,
 A o hia te rena,
 Dig up a ridge.
 Te rena firi-tiri-take rari e.
 The ridge [of earth] thrown out.
 Turehu ia i mate.
 Scrape out [the oven] that [the turtle] die.
 Eaha taku na haga ka ho ana kau-
 Let not my labors give . . .
 tara, moeoa;
 Throw out [the earth].
 Tiri-tiri-take rari e,
 Scrape out [the oven] that [the turtle] die.
 Turehu ia i mate.

Songs sung while turtle was cooking

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

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

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

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

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

E ao Tohuitika ariki,
 Fa'kajainu to kava;
 Fakakau to kava i to
 Maragai-tu.
 Come chief, Tohuitika,
 Drink your kava;
 Drink to salutation your kava of your people
 the Maragai-tu.
 Grant victory.
 A tu'k]u re,
 E kava, te kava a Tohuitika;
 E to'k]u k]a Vavao [= Vavau].
 Give it to Vavau,
 to Havahiki.

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

by Paeta of Anaa, and a dictated version from Huarai of Vahitahi, and another from her sister, Kua. Seurat (42, p. 439) gives a part of the chant. The chant evidently refers to Maui's offering of kava for Raka-mau-rere, presumably his tutelary god. Maui's magic adz, Naia, by which Hawaiki was chopped free and pulled to the surface of the sea, is mentioned, as well as his victims Eel (Tuna), Pearl-shell (Uhi), and Clam (Korora).

PAETA NO TE HAGA KAVA

Pepeua

Te kava!
 Na Raka-mau-rere te kava.
 Na Raka-mau-rere te kava mate e.
 Na Raka-mau-rere te kava, ere ui i.

Hua

Te kava!
 [Ma] Raka-mau-rere te kava,
 Na Raka-mau-rere te kava mate;

Na Raka-mau-rere te kava.
 Ko te toki hoki Naie [= Naia].^a
 tuatua kia [te tunu i Hawaiki].^b
 Ka higa, ka takoto [k]i Hau-mauro-hia,
 Ka pue ki Fata-marigirigi.

Tinaia te ika o Maui,
 Tuna-te-vaerua.

Na Maui hoki tena, ea.
 Na Raka-mau-rere te kava,
 Na Raka-mau-rere te kava mate;
 Na Raka-mau-rere te kava!

Karu

Te ahi e[si] ka i te tua o Vaten,
 Tinaia te taona [or, taone] k]i
 te unu-rau-toto.
 Ahihi kakana dia na,^c
 Na Hoo-ragi hoki, ea.
 Na Raka-mau-rere te kava, . . .

Karu

[K]o] Te Uhi[te-ara]i]^a
 e tu i te ara au hia ra,
 Karua ture, ea [= korora tere ihea]?^b
 Ko Te Pata-oi [or, Patau] ea.
 Na Tu hoki, ea.
 Na Raka-mau-rere te kava, . . .

CHANT OF THE KAVA [OFFERINGS] OF MAUI

Introduction

The kava drink!
 For Raka-mau-rere is the kava.
 For Raka-mau-rere is the death [soliciting]
 kava.
 For Raka-mau-rere is the kava, ere ui i.

Chorus

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

For Raka-mau-rere is the kava.
 It is the adz Naia, by which
 the foundations of Hawaiki were severed,
 Expiring, stretching out at Hau-mauro-hia,
 Floating to Fata-marigirigi [Flashing-
 surface-of-the-sea].

The victim of Maui dies,
 Tuna-the-eel-spirit.

For Maui, indeed, is this,
 For Raka-mau-rere is the kava,
 For Raka-mau-rere is the death kava;
 For Raka-mau-rere is the kava!

Verse

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

Verse

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

^a According to Huarai, Naia was the name of the adz of Maui, and so the name is spelled in her version and that of her sister.
^b The words in brackets are from Huarai and Kua's versions.
^c In place of *te taona*, the other manuscript version has *te toya*.
^d The versions of Huarai and Kua have in place of this line, *rai at takana te a-ava*.

Removal from first oven

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

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

At Vahitahi—according to an account received from Ruea, Huarai, and Takaoa, the former chief of the island—after the turtle had had the entoplastron (*uanahi o te uua*) removed, the breath (*aho*) from its throat (*foroua*) put into a basket (*hete*) and carried before the marae, and after it had been baked (*hete*), "the priests went to the side of the cooking fire (*hua haere te pipu taura ki te pae o te rega*) to *tokia* the turtle seaward or by the side of the sea (*e tokio te honu ki tai*). Here, *tokia* may mean "to consecrate" or it may be equivalent to *tokioro* in the Vahitahi *nihihihi* dance (*Ko te marae ko tokioro*), in one version of which, *tokioro* was abbreviated to *tokia* and *okio*. This, Ruea told Mazé, meant "the dragging of a turtle" (*kinuaga ifai*).

This was the chant (*teia tonu korero*), delivered when the turtle was "tokio-ed":

Haere, haere te vahine Titi-

fakahakabeha;

Titi te haere,

Haroga noc;

E ka totoro te kiore* ki roto i te horna.

Pipiki o vacvac, vacvac kikiriri!

Tokia!

Tuitui tahaga tako takere,

Puta te gahaki,

Tokia!

The woman Land-plover-sneaking-along,

goes, goes along;

Like the land plover is her going,

It is the breaking of dawn;

The rat creeps into the canoe shed.

Draw up your legs, legs like the black tern!

Tokia!

Piercing and piercing again . . .

The coconut shell is pierced,

Tokia!

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

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

Ko te marae, ko tokioro [repeated],

Koia te i taku fagogo [repeated],

Ho ake te tahi kia kai taku matakeniaga.

Ho ho ho ho ho!

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

Ko te marae, ko tokioro [repeated],

Ec aha? Koia te i taku fagogo.

Ho ake tehi tari na taku fagogo.

Ho ho ho ho ho!

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

Ko te paruru, ko te vacre [repeated].

Koia te i taku Tavana [repeated].

Ho ake te tahi kia kai taku matakeniaga.

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

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

THE SECOND OVEN

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

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

At Napuka, according to Te Uru, the heart of the turtle (*upoupo*) was placed at the upright slab marking the place of the heart (*pofofa vai raga upoupo*). Te Uru and Te Ufi said that only the head of the turtle (*pa gata*) and the internal organs—the heart, the *mahiri* (small intestines), and the *fanigahiro* (2)—were eaten on the court of the marae and only by the chief and the old men (*pa'u*).

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

PURE TAPAKAU NO TANE*

Haha tapakau hamanāi!
Haha tapakau hamanāi!
Tapakau a Tane!¹
Tukia hau moa,
Niu' pae a nuku,
Niu pae a rāgi,
Ma te rau' mahaha.
Ke mo to toki e Tane²
te tau o. Atea.

[K]iā i tūia ai, to tapakau [ma tā]³
Tagarōa-i-te-ua, [Tagarōa-i-te-tai],⁴

Tagarōa-i-te-a-tarere i;

Ko i te matau i fatia i ravca,⁵
Ko i te nuku mau [k]i roto,
Ko i te hōe tara mai ki hea,⁶
Te nei i rau' ai to tapakau,
Kia haki ai to tapakau,
Ka raka i mua. Fae!⁷

PRAYER FOR THE FOOD MAT FOR TANE

Glorify aloud the smoothed-out mat!
Glorify the smoothed-out food mat!

Food mat of Tane!
Smoothen of the free realm,
Support of the land,
Support of the sky,
With [consecratory] leaves spread out.
May your ads be free of restrictions, O Tane
the god of Atea.

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

Tagarōa-in-the-flying-cloud;
That where the hook is broken, is taken,
There where the hosts are confined within,
There where . . .

Now your mat is presented,
That it be consecrated,
That is sacredness before. The prayer is
ended!

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

¹ In a version from Tahiti this is *Tane fae a nuku*.

² In the Te Pōa manuscript has *ke mo to toki e Tane*. Tagi's version has *ke mo to toki e Tane*, or *te tau o. Atea*.

³ The Te Pōa manuscript has *ke mo to toki e Tane*. Tagi's version has *ke mo to toki e Tane*, or *te tau o. Atea*.

⁴ The Te Pōa manuscript has *ke mo to toki e Tane*. Tagi's version has *ke mo to toki e Tane*, or *te tau o. Atea*.

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³⁰ The Te Pōa manuscript has *ke mo to toki e Tane*. Tagi's version has *ke mo to toki e Tane*, or *te tau o. Atea*.

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

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

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

FAKIGA TAPAKAU RA TOGA

Kia e! He tapakau!
Tapakau ra Toga.
Ko te ahū ra Toga, te roki na Toga.
Tuaahivi atu, tuaahivi mai,
Manavai atu, manavai mai,
Ka hēto atu, ka hēto mai,
Ka hētoto,
Ko i te ara hētoto,
Ko i te mauri rereva [a]i na Toga.
I te nei i-run ai to tapakau,
Ke faki ai to tapakau.
Ka raka i mua. Haea!

* The Te Pōa manuscript begins with "ia e"; Tama's version begins with "haha tapakau hamanāi."
Both Te Pōa and Tama have *mana* in place of *mana*, in this line, and Te Pōa ends the chant with this line. Another version has "ko i te mauri rere *faea*."
* Tama has *ahūhū* in place of *i-run*, another version has *hū*.
* Tama has "ka rau kai moa, fae," in place of this line.

CONSECRATION OF THE FOOD MAT OF TOGA

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

PRAYER FOR FAKAHOTU

Fakahotu has plaited her feasting mat,
With corners firmly tied.
Stretching, stretching.

PURE NO FAKAHOTU

Ka raraga Fakahotu ki tana tapakau,
Matobe rire.
Toro e, toro e,

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

I tūia [a]i tapakau,
Te Tūa-i-te-riri, Te Tūa-i-te-hoe,
Te Tūa-tata-i-Hiti,
E hūi i te po ma te ao.
Ka hitu rāhi.

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

Faka e, paka e,
Na Tu e,
Hio!

Crossing over, crossing over,
For Tu
Hio!

* As given at Vahitahi, this line was "aku e" (for me). The version here is from Tama of Nukunono.

* Tama of Nukunono gives "ka taraga na" in place of "hio." Hio is a common ending of Tu-moana chants.

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

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

Tapena, tapena, tapena!

Kai!

Na Tupua, na Tahito,

Na Te Iri, na Te Fatu, na Te Tumu,

Na Te Toro, na Te Aka, na Te Agi,

na Te Reva.

Kai rahi! na!

Kai tapaitia! te fahi no koutou,

Kia kaikai mai o koutou haga tapena.

1 A sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice for the gods!

Eat!

It is for Tupua, Tahito,

Te Iri, Te Fatu, Te Tumu,

Te Toro, Te Aka, Te Agi,

Te Reva.

Eat you chiefs there!

Eat . . .

That your sacrificed offerings be consumed.

2

A sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice for the gods!

Partake of the sacrifice!

Partake of the sacrificed dog.

The sacrificed pig.

The sacrificed fowl.

The human sacrifice!

May there be more sacrifices.

There where are your friends, your people,

There where are your guests!

The ancestral gods appear!

My people gather 'round!

* I am assuming that rahi is here used in the Hawaiian sense of "heavily one," "chief." But Mendenhall (25, p. 379) gives rahi as a term for "victim" or "last offering of a victim."

The turtle is not mentioned in this prayer and perhaps the prayer was intended for offerings of dog, pig, fowl, and man.

A Hao manuscript book contained the following food blessing (*pure no te kai haga katiga*):

Mata-caca, ko maitu roro,

Tu, tu mai, mai te haga ana.

E, toho ana na ruihine, ko Atanua,

ko Te Kupu-hi-ariki.*

Opening-eyes, O . . . god,

Arise, stand . . .

The two old women, Atanua,

Te Kupu-hi-ariki,

* Atanua stands at 12 generations from 1900, on Hao genealogies; Te Kupu-hi-ariki is her daughter.

Kia rono hio, ko toto ake.

Houahua te keiga,

Kai tutara Te Moko-hi-tara.

Ka takanini.

Fakatu Te Fare-ariki,

Takere rahi no Hao.

Mehake te keiga kai!

* The royal clan of Hao.

Dwell within, without.

Spread out the feast.

Te Moko-hi-tara cuts . . .

Gather around.

Let the Fare-ariki clan assemble,

The royal foundation of Hao.

Excellent is the feast!

CANNIBAL FEASTS, HUMAN SACRIFICE

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

The heads or skulls of enemies killed at Takapoto or Takaroa were sent to marae Hitiaga at the northern extremity of Takaroa. South of the marae was a pit called Riuipou, where the skulls were buried (18, p. 34).

According to a Hao manuscript copied by us, Poureva, the principal marae of the great island of Hao, had a "place for heads" (*vai ra'a up'o'o*), named Fare-ao. The manuscript of Te Poa mentions for marae Kura-kakea, their principal marae, a "head house" (*fare upoko*).

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

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

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

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

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

EEL FEASTS

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

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

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

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

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

OFFERINGS AT THE RUAHATU

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

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

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

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

Faka e, puka e,
Na Tu e*
Hio!

Crossing over, crossing over,
For Tu
Hio!

* As given at Vahitahi, this line was "suku e" (for me). The version here is from Tama of Nukunavake.

* Tama of Nukunavake gives "ka ranga na" in place of "hio." Hio is a common ending of Tuatoua chants.

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

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

Tapena, tapena, tapena!
Kai!

Na Tupua, na Tahito,
Na Te Iri, na Te Fata, na Te Tama,
Na Te Toro, na Te Aka, na Te Agi,
na Te Reva.

Kai rahi! na!
Kai tapatia! te fahi no koutou,
Kia kaikai mai o koutou hoga tapena.

1 A sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice for the gods!
Eat!

It is for Tupua, Tahito,
Te Iri, Te Fata, Te Tama,
Te Toro, Te Aka, Te Agi,
Te Reva.

Eat you chiefs there!
Eat . . .
That your sacrificed offerings be consumed.

2 Tapena, tapena, tapena!
Kai tapena!

Kai tapena kario,
Tapena puaka,
Tapena moa,
Tapena tagata!

Kia tapena atu,
I o koutou hua, i o koutou tagata,
I o koutou marihini!
[K]a hua ana ma!tu!
[K]ac taka ragatira!

A sacrifice, a sacrifice, a sacrifice for the gods!
Partake of the sacrifice!

Partake of the sacrificed dog,
The sacrificed pig,
The sacrificed fowl,
The human sacrifice!

May there be more sacrifices,
There where are your friends, your people,
There where are your guests!
The ancestral gods appear!
My people gather 'round!

* I am assuming that *ragi* is here used in the Hawaiian sense of "heavily one," "chief." But Montano (15, p. 379) gives *ragi* as a term for "victim" or "last offering of a victim."

The turtle is not mentioned in this prayer and perhaps the prayer was intended for offerings of dog, pig, fowl, and man.

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E noho ana na ruahine, ko Atanua,
ko Te Kupu-hai-ariki.*

Opening-eyes, O . . . god,
Arise, stand . . .
The two old women, Atanua,
Te Kupu-hai-ariki,

* Atanua stands at 12 generations from 1900, on Hao genealogies; Te Kupu-hai-ariki is her daughter.

Ko rano hio, ko rano ahe,
Horahia te keiga,
Kai tutara Te Moko-hai-tara,
Ka takamini,
Fakatu Te Fare-ariki,*
Takere rahi no Hao,
Meitake te keiga kai!

* The royal clan of Hao.

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

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The natives of Hao were among the most notorious cannibals in the Tu-

vided another flat rock called "te moe o Faka-also" and said that 1. . . like Kualhatu, was an important god. In a list of marae features given. Ranea four years previously, mention is made only of the fact that *puhākāna* (branch coral) as well as *puākāna toroio* (small Tridacna shells) were to be seen at the marae. At the best preserved marae ruin of the area, marae Aturona, Vairaatea Island (18, fig. 51) I saw a pile of branch coral along one side of the court, exactly like the *ruahatu* of Fagatau.

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

BURIAL RITES

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

Tikaro, tikarohi!
 Ka mohora ki mua i Maruofa, rite.
 Pua, ka garo, rite!
 Pua, ka garo, ka tukua,
 Ka tukua ki uta i te henua.
 Kau mai i te tai o Pekahi, rite.
 Pua, ka garo, rite!
 Pua, ka garo, ka tukua!
 Let him be wrapped up [in his burial mat]!
 Let him be laid upon Maruofa [his marae].
 Shrouded, lost, alas!
 Shrouded, lost, set down,
 Set down inland lupon his burial platform].
 The flooding seas of Pekahi flow hither.
 Rolled up in his shroud, lost, alas!
 Shrouded, lost to view, let down [into the grave]!

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

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

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

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

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

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

Teretere tau, e kōhōhōi tagata.
 He teretere tau, he kōhōhōi tagata.

This is repeated now all together in single file! The priest now commands, "E roro!" (Advance marae. The priest strictly in single file, is continued until they approach the side of the marae, at the end of the marae where is the *oku faga*. The priest stands in a prayer (not recalled). The people respond, "Hovi! Hovi! Pupu."

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

Kura poi Kura poi
 Mai nei! Mai nei!
 Here! Here! Here! Here!
 Pupu! Pupu!

They now enter the marae in two files, the priest leading. One file takes up its position along the right wall, headed by the second priest; the other file takes its stand on the left. Prior to the ceremony a number of torches (*vaevaeva*) have been prepared and deposited to have one. The number of these torches must be sufficient for each member of the cortege. They resemble somewhat a broom, the handle being made of *koatou*. Around one end is attached a cluster of dry twigs of *kokuru*. The *ona* is a four-walled repository which contains sacred ceremonial objects.

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

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

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

Ka ka i te ahi, ka i vaevaeva
 Hikai ma vaevaeva,
 Tuarakahi,
 Tagaga! Tagaga!

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

The torches are now held down against the ground until extinguished. The priest chants again, "Hikai ma vaevaeva. . . ." This is taken up by the people who repeat the chant until all the torches are extinguished. The priest now gathers up the dead torches, beginning at the right, and carries them to the *ona* where they are deposited. He now shouts to all those assembled within and without the marae: "Those without, file into the marae, whether of noble blood, or commoners" (*ka roro mai to toko ki roto; fore ariki nos [o]ta, te i kiro nos [o]ta*).

Next, the priest takes the *henua*, which had been properly sacrificed, out of the *ona*. This *henua* was supposed to contain the *vaevaeva* of the dead chief. It was the soft which grew from the top of a *Tomotomou* bush and was very carefully wrapped up in specially prepared *vaevaeva* leaves. It was not bound with tenniti. A Reao native told J. F. G. Stokes in 1921 that when the *henua* was placed at the marae about 20 *vaevaeva* sticks were set up. These were sticks with *pauidana* leaves, *sea* (*Lepidium*, or scurvy grass) leaves, and coconut leaves.

He holds it up before the assembled multitude and prays to it. . . . is handed by the high priest to the second priest, who, holding it on the both hands, advances in turn to every person within the marae, to each of whom he holds it up to be *hagi* (smelled or embraced). This rite supposed to be of the utmost importance, not even a babe in arms could be passed After each individual had smelled or embraced the *kaufara*, the priest would pass his hand over it before holding it out to the next in turn, in order to remove the odor (*kauga*) of the preceding person. The second priest then returned the *kaufara* to the first, who then recited a prayer, afterwards replacing the *kaufara* in the *ata*.

The first priest next conferred his *mana* upon the second, who then commanded the people to follow him out of the marae. He led the way over every path in the village, and past each habitation. As each person arrived before his own dwelling, he left the cortege and entered therein. Thus all the people returned to their homes, after which the ceremony was considered over.

CEREMONY OF APOTHEOSIS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If the chief or leading warrior was to be converted into a *moitu*, the body was left on the scaffold support (*pahele*) to dry and desiccate (*tufata*) in the sun. A *fare heiau* or *fare moitu* was then built to receive the corpse. The house was small and contained an *ana* or four-walled stone inclosure for the corpse (*ivi mate*); this enclosure (cist or vault?) could not be entered by the common people or even by the relatives of the defunct unless of *fahega* or *toara* rank.

When the body was sufficiently desiccated a funeral cortege was formed, led by the *fahega*, which proceeded to the marae. There, prior to removing the corpse from its *pahele* the high priest recited the following *pare* (given by Tagi a Tanehoala).

HE KURA TAGATA, HE KURA MANU

Te ia ahi nei iaku kura
I te tau o te rahi
Ke hiave, ke mahaveave,
He aroaro.
Kia topa te hahai,
Kia topa te manao.
Hahake te ana Te Uho-wiki e,
Te hua i ahi nei.
Kia! He kura!

AN ANCESTOR GOD, A KURA MANU

My *hara* abides everywhere
In the remotest abode
Let the gloom gather, threatening clouds,
Let the rain fall,
That the rain fall,
That it cease,
The god Te Uho-wiki stands forth in splendor,
The hero above here.
Behold! A kura!

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

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

Tomo atu ra ha ki roto e!
Ki roto i te fare koe,
Ki roto i te ana koe,
Val atu ra ha ki roto,
Ki roto o te fare koe.
E mahate (= mate) lei!

Enter within!
Enter thou within the house,
Enter thou into the grove,
Remains thou there within,
Within the house,
Thou, the dead!

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

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

SHORTENING A MARAE CEREMONY

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

Irihan e, nuku mau tori,
Tapae i te rahi o Tu,
Ko Rogo, Te Iri, ko Te Fatu,
Tupua, ko Tohitiha,
Mama iau i ei!

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

* This chant was called at Nukunuku a "pare raka o te kura mana" (sacred prayer of the *hara mana*).

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