

'Tuamotuan Religious Structures and Ceremonies

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BISHOP MUSEUM

1947

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 Pahou,

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 *kuanaku*. 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 *kuanaku* whose duty it was to regulate them as he thought fit, providing that he preserve the ancient usage.

At Fagatau, *tu-kaj* 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 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 *pohe* at Tatakoto, *te auu pohe*, and *te auu 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,	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 mua,	It rises before,
E pana i roto,	It rises between,
E pana i muri,	It rises behind.

Tagara—

Kai ki raga!
Kai ki raro!
Ko i to pito,
Ko i to uua,
To pito ka moe,
E pito no te vai,
Ka moe.

O Tagara—

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.

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, *tausa* (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 *ragi-hae* at Napuka, though a *ragi-hae* 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 (*kotu*), 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 ei

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 pouga-mi, ei pata, ei

ororeva,

Ka kapa ra taua manu i ruga nei,

E toroa huru kore.

Ko mea ra te tagata i rave

ai i taua ilka nei,

E ilka nui, e ilka rau,

It is the intoning of the chant announcing a catch!

Tiriri, tiriri,

Tarara, tarara!

Let [it] be a clinging girdle, a hanging girdle,

Wrap round, wrap round the girdle of Tu!

That is the girdle through which was uncovered,

brought to view,

The foundation of Tongareva.

As a large coral, a shelf of soft coral, a

hard limestone rock.

That bird above flaps [its wing],

A plover without feathers [a human bearer of news],

So-and-so is the person by whom this fish

was taken

A great fish, a fish taken on the grapple,

* From a version given by Te Tumu of Fakal.

* From Te Aku's manuscript and in a version from Te Mar of Napuka.

Rau ki taua maua nui na

Ruahatu.

Huahu[e]a] atu pera hoki,

Fatia te pekau o { Matariki.

{ Takero.

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 Takero, 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-man-tagata (*ki te kopu o Atea-man-tagata*). They were dwelling in the shades of Havaiki (*ki te mau o Havaiki*). Takero slipped off alone to the land of Nuku-man-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 tahi*), 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 haka tau Matariki-te-uru-rega

ki tena illo ariki,

I kohua 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 matou e peke tau*), until he came to the turtle. The turtle answered, "I indeed will follow you."

Takero replied:

Kia tiki kia koe,

Kia taka hoki [i] tau 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 Tagara,

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 Mac, "When the star sign (*hareiga*) 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 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:

Kariki the elder and Kariki 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 Kariki 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 Fatumocana, 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 tau ratou ki te Fatumocana, e pa to ratou e togi, e umere e umere hia, e topanau e umere, e pure e oti, e pahuia hia to ratou ihi*). But Pitara and Frigate Bird demanded for themselves these privileges. Thereupon Turtle and Bonito prophesied that no couch 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" (*e tau ra e higa is tau ki Manaha-o-Tagaroa, e ro[go] tohu*).

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 (*taketa*), by seizure under water (*tage*), by spearing (*oka*), or by grabbing the turtle on shore (*neke noa*).

It is the heralding of a catch!

Tieri, 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 *paku*, of the

kind called *terake*, of the kind called

heko.

It is a turtle of the kind called

parapara-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 {Takero

{Matariki.

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 *puki*

(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 *hona* 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 *pahoro* in Tahiti).

Toinoio e!

E raga te tapu i raga nei,

E ika te i raga nei.

Ko uluonihio, akia, makere hoki,

Taua ika te pitika hoki, te pitara.

Hoi, hoi, tuene, tuene e.

Ka tau reporepo hia

na hua, na kohaga,

na ruahine.

Ka tau reporepo hia!

Bury all smeared with dirt!

Bury smeared with dirt . . .

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Aku paru te val mai ru i Raurua,^a
He ho!

My fish at Raurua,
Ho!

PEOPLE

A mau tana pa?^b
Ho! hi ho!

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

^a 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.

Ucua mai i rura Te Raurua,
Poi mai i aku takake,
Kitega te pitipiti o tuka manava,
E ala oia takaki.

Sliding upon Te Raurua,
Carry [the fat of] my armoils,
The look of my breasts shall be known,
How delicious is [the flesh of] my neck.

^b As the *u* in *pa* is extremely short, the translation may be wrong; the line may be actually "a mau te mau."
^c This calling out by the people is termed *hi* (taa hi te tagata).

Paimu 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 (*toatoa*) with leaves attached (a *ruu toatoa*). This whipping was kept up until the turtle arrived at the marae. Then, says Paimu, the whips were stuck in the ground at the marae. The whipping was to insure that the marae would be crowded (*ruu*) 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 *takaitai*, entwined strips of pandanus or coconut leaf (fig. 13) to the neck or flippers of the turtle. The *takaitai* 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^a kere roa,
Io kere potu,
Io kere tatutaua,
A hui, ka ru a!
Io te ho [= who?].

TE MAE'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

[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.

^a Considering the possibility that *Io* might here be a name, I sounded out Te Mae on the subject. He kept on and named *Io*. Toward the last of my stay at Napuka, in 1934, I acquainted Te Mae with the somewhat account of Kilo written by Parson of Fagatau (46). He remarked, "This teaching is not new."

At the end of the chant, the *takaitai* 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 *tohi-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 Mabinui, high chief of Fagatau, was called a *huhuki*, and was named *Tura-hu*.

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)ka!
Ka mautu iau!
Ko te ahia e!
Te hura, hura te vaka!

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 toatan*) and struck the "pavement" to awaken and call the gods.

The chief then turned toward the *ahia* 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, 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-ari-tahi, Tavake, Rua-fatoga, Mahini, Te Moana-tai-hia, Tama-tea, Hoga, Marere-kogakoga, Rua-kai-atua, Mutui-uta, Mapu, Mahaga, Koaroa, 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 raga.
Ko te ipo e,
Ka tu ia, rahire.^b
Ko Rogo-nui, faharo mai i te raga,
the abode of the gods,
Beloved one,
Grace this place with thy presence.
The verse is repeated for Toine, Iupava, Puniava, Tohitika.

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

AWAKENING OF THE GODS

In Tahiti, on the evening of the day after the wedding of the marae, came the "awakening of the gods" (*fo'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 fakarara atua*), which Simson came across three years

later in a book at Nukutavake. Farua, 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 Farua (p. 92), the gods called upon in the *fakara* chant reappear: Tupua, Te Iri, Te Fatu, 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
Fakarabia ki te po roa!
Ka eke ki te vaka ni(h)ani(h)a a Tane!
Ko vai (i) tapa i fannu ai koe e te raka?
Ko Tu-ruma-rakan, ko Tunga-nui-o-mere!
Ka tuia i Tane!
E taku aitu—e ara!
E ara i Te Tupua!
E ara i (=e) Te Iri,
E ara i (=e) Te Fatu,
E are 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.
2
E Hiro e, ka tara i(au)* io rouru;
Ka haki au io korero.
Ko Ru i hukaia te papa ki raro,
Ko Haunakama te tagata i verohia(a) i te ara i Hui (=Hiva).
Ka tu ki Vai-he-nuku,
Ka takoto ki Vai-he-rari (=ragi).
Nifanifa Te Toki!
Ko Takurua,
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,
Haunakama was the man who illuminated the road to Hiva.
Stand up at Vai-he-nuku [the star Castor],
Lie down at Vai-he-ragi [the star Pollux].
Fierce is The Adze!
It was Takurua [Sirius],

* According to Paes of Assa, Tunga-nui-o-Mere is a bright star employed as a guiding star from Turea to Ravahere, but we have not come across Tu-ruma-rakan as a star name.

^b *Tupua* is supplied from Reva's version.

^c *Hiva* 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 powerful child of the land who died struck down (*ka ka*) on the "ara tai hivaia a Tane" (the dark sea road of Tane).

^d *Te Toki* (The Adze) is the name of a star in a list of star names from Fagatau, and next to the name Vai-he-nuku.

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-u-u!
Te ika no Tauruhua!

Hu-u-u-u-u!
The fish of Tauruhua!

All the warriors chanted after him:

Hika te ahi a Tauruhua
Ki te rahi tatapa!
Tukua te rahi ora matoru.^a
E-i-i-ia! Aue!
[H]uro kia a[k]e!
Tukua te rahi ora matoru.
I hia e [= Ia e ?]
Haru-u-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!

^a 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-u-u-u-u!* Henry (30, p. 456) translates *ra'i* in *matoru* as "lowering sky." In a Tauruhua chant we have "te rahi rova, te rahi toru, te rahi piri" (the floating sky, the lowering sky, the clinging 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 aha tai tui." 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 (*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 *una raku*, 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 *tuturi* chants the following prayer offering up the turtle:

E niu, e niu, e niu maru!^a
Ia [= na] [v]ai^b te ika o tai
i te moana bobona?
[K]ia topa i te aro o Tauruhua,
[K]ia topa i te aro o Kainuku,
i te aro o Puniava.

O niu, o emblem of the gods, 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 tui te ika [a] te niu,^c
Pakahel[i] te ika i te kapega.
E haru [i] te ika i te vanaga mai!
Haru tia te ika nui nei,
[K]ia mate.

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.

^a It is noteworthy that the bringer of the sacred stone called a *niu*, a word ordinarily meaning coconut, is himself called a *hakari*, the common Tauruhua term for a coconut.
^b 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 ai te ika o te moana" (May the fish of the sea copulate).
^c In Montiton's text, *fa* is grouped with *ha* *ha*, which follows. But "*fa*" only, not "*hakari*," could mean sacred. Montiton's translation of the line is: "May the sacred stone on the fish." Perhaps *fa* of *hakari* should be separated as modifying *niu*. *Niu-fa* would then have more in common with *tohi-fa*. In Tauruhua mythology, *Niu-fa* is the name of some place, thought by Farina to be a village in Vava'u in the other 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 TOKIUSA

Ho . . . il!^a
E niu kae,^b ko niu maru ika!^c
Ka tu mai [i] taku pe!^d
Taku niu ko te ran maru.^e
E tiria, e fakia i te tokerau!
E niu, e niu kua [= kae?]
Mahiri,^f Koro, Tapukia!^g

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

^a A long drawn out *ho . . .* is the recognized method of obtaining the attention of the gods. Te Mae gave this word only once, and that was when he enacted the ceremony for me.
^b I take this to be the equivalent of *ka* in the line "Takarua ki te kae o Tu" occurring in a Haa chant beginning "Maua i Haaaga" and of *ka* in "he ika te moana, ka mate, ka kae ki te raurau taku ki Haaaga" in an Aua chant beginning "ho ika taku ika." It is also in his rendering on the disyllable. This is also Te Ufi's rendering.
^c For this line Te Ufi gave, "Tupu ake taku niu ko te pe," and continued with "ho te ran maru."
^d Probably 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 *gata* leaves, and these leaves were called "te ran maru." A Fagatau chant has, "Tena pukea kua ai ki te kobe aiaia, ki te ran maru, ki te ran maru, ki te aro (o) Puniava" (that placenta cut off with the bamboo knife, at the welcoming leaves, the spread-out leaves, before the face of Puniava and his people). Rau-mara occurs as an ancestral god name or epithet along with Tolana, Rai-te-tapea, Rago, etc., in the Rano offering prayer, which follows this one.

^e At Napuka, the *maihiri* and several other internal organs of the turtle, were consumed on the marae itself by the chief and others. This *maihiri*, therefore, may not be a personal name and may belong with *kai* in the preceding line. However, *maihiri* does appear as a god name in a call to the gods (p. 48).
^f Koro certainly refers to Koro-paga, or Koro-mapuna, and Tapukia to Rukutu-tapaki, occurring in other prayers.

[K]a pou a ika [ki] Mana [in] Tagara.
 E aro [= haru] te ika i ti [= te] nia!
 E aro te ika i te vanaga-vanaga!
 E aro te ni [= te ika nui]!
 Kia mate!
 E aro te ni,
 Kia ho!

The sacrifice shall be entirely consumed at
 Manaha-Tagara.
 Seize the victim through the power of the *niu*!
 Seize the victim through the power of
 the ritual!
 Seize the great animal here,
 That it die!
 Seize the great fish here,
 That it be consecrated!

From Mead's prayer it is plain that *aro* here should be *hara*.
 Here Te Mae's version has apparently abbreviated "te ika nui nes" to "te ni."
 This is the ending given by Te Mae in dictating the prayer to me. However, in chanting it, he
 changed *kie ho* to *kie ho*. He seems to be a variant of *kie* (sacred) but it may stand for who or *ho*.

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 *paragui*,^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 con-
 secrate 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
 chin 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 approach-
 ing 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 *Paragui* I believe is an error for *paragi*, meaning a sacrifice or a sacrifice. At Vahitahi, *Tuhiragi*
 gave the term *magu paragi*, as meaning "food sacrificed with prayer." *Paragi* would here, then, be the
 man who offered the sacrifice, in other words, the *hohahi*.

"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 *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 *niu*, "a head
 of Tuna [i.e., a coconut]; a charm (*taumaha*) 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.

VAHITAH CHANT FOR THE NIU

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

... 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 squid.
 Koro-i-mapuna is the possessor,
 and Rualatu 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* appears in one of the two preceding chants which are truly for the coconut: *He tane*
na Niu-mate-i-pua, He tane na Niu-mate-i-erik.

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.

A fish for Rogo is this sacred fish here!
 The fish [captured by] Turi-nui here.
 A fish grappled.
 Prepare the sacred victim, the long fish
 of Ruahatu, Toiana, Kiripoa,

[a] Ruahatu, Toiana, Kiripoa,

Ra-ra-te-la-toga, Ra-ra-maeva, Roro.
 ...
 Let the gods be called,
 Just call.
 Let 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,
 Steadily blowing wind.

THE FAMILIES associated with each of the gods in this list.

IMMOLATION OF TURTLE

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

Kaki [k]a, [k]a topa—
[K]a topa i te aro o Tauruhua i
[E] atu i te [h]iku-tira,* ko
Kainuku—
[H]ao, kai mai!
E atu a hiva no [= ko ?] Puniava—
[H]ao, kai mai!
[E] atu i fukaangiagi no
Ruanuku—
[H]ao, kai mai!
Tu-nuanuhini no te fatitiri—
[H]ao, kai mai!
E, atu hua, ko Tohutika—
[H]ao, kai mai!
E atu [h]iku vaka, ko Tavaka—
[H]ao, kai mai!

* *It's-a-lira* is defined by Davies' Tabinian dictionary (14, p. 106) as a "sort of temporary idol fitted on for a heering expedient; 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 Te'oulen, Penava and Tohiitika, 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 eel-jaw knife, by order of the priest, at the first words of the following chant:

Ka ma te no ka ma te ao.

Koia Tu, koia Ragi;
Mata-iki Mata-ho.⁸

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

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

"Taqi [i] te po, taqī [i] te ao,
 Ifua tava pu la i katau e,^b
 Kāia mate!

* Matsuko in New Zealand is a personification of lightning. Matsuko in this line may be an abbreviation for Matsukino in Valitahi prayers.

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

From Hoga of Nukutavake, Mazé took down the following chant recited upon cutting the throat (*farona*) of the turtle upon the marac. 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 māna ru ē,
 Ka māna raro,
 Ka māna te heta,
 E ka māna te mārama.
 Ka māna 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 Hemaiki-ori.
 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
 Offer the eyes of the fish,
 Those are eyes of a turtle.
 Give the eyes.
 The trumpet sounds, sounds in t
 Sounds in the day the trumpet!

Horoga tu!
Tamu, 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 maras; then, to the first oven (*auahi piri-kaoa*); then, after cutting up, to the second oven (*auahi kaoa*); and finally, to the opening of the oven.

At Vahitahi we were given a prayer which, according to Tuhiragi, came before the general feast beginning *hakehaunga 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-Tagaroa.
 It is you indeed, o turtle!
 You lie on your back on maeae
 Manahoa-Tagaroa.

Kotia to farona !
 I fukia to gaku !
 I fabetane to toto !
 I furihia koe ki raga i te
 unu-ru-toto !
 Kua mate koe !
 Taku !

^a Tebio, shouted tak-i-o . . . o, is an ending employed in a number of chants, not all religious. The people of Yakutsk maintain that it is just an ending and that they know no meaning for it. Among seeded endings are Ah-ho, kook-koo, koo-ko, koo-ko, koo-ko, koo-ko, ko-ko, ko-ko, ko-ko, ko-ko.

I was told at Napuka that the priest's assistant cut a small piece of flesh (*koea*), 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 koea 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 Urupe, who had eaten of turtle at the marae. I give Te Mae's chant:

Tu[ai]* te pepe,
Tuai te tahai.
Tara titi, tara mai haki (= Hiti ?)*
from Hiti.
Mai te kura Tamarua [i] Hiti,*
Poi mai te noe !
Tera mai te koea tahai,
Nau te ahui,
Ka kai !
Te atua e naho, te atua e haere,
Na Tara, na Kaipoa, na Varoa, na Te
Ariki-potai, na Haroa-mai-te-ragi;
Na Muna-titi, Munariki;
Tera mai te koea tahai,
Nau te atua,
Ka kai !
Teiaki ti te po.*
Ka na !
Toki ai !
Toki o ha !

* Te Ufi gave *tuai te pepe*.
* Te Mae gave *tara mai haki*; Te Uru gave *tara mai* in his incomplete fragments and Te Ufi, *tara mai ka*.
* Tamarua, which I believe to refer to Tamarua-ban, the healing god, figures in a Fagatau chant, "Tagata ra ian hia (a) i e te rima mani o Atea, Tamarua," and also in a chant from Hao, "Tamarua e miri i te po o Atea." On a genealogy from the western Tuamotus, he is represented as the son of Atea.
* *Koea mai te noe* was given by Te Ufi. Te Urupe had in his place a *haka te noe*.
* Te Ufi gave, *te i te ho (= ho)*, *te i te po* (it is there with the ancestors, there in the nether world).
* Te Urupe and Gato (Te Mae's wife) gave *toki o*, and Te Ufi gave *oki o*.
* The *o* is drawn out with emphasis. The *o* or *e* in the previous *teki* balances with the *o*, in a manner very pleasing to the Tuamotuan ear. Thus we get in a Vahitahi prayer, "tara o, tara o, mata, mata," and in calling out to a person, "Tahaki o, Tahaki o." Te Urupe gave *toki o-ha*.

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, "Hakumatua haka i te houm kia tuhiga hia i ruga i te marae i Poureva e i te tuhiti atu haka 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, "parua no te tokioho, oia hoki, 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 *tokiofo*, as does the Napuka version of the prayer given when first offering flesh of the turtle. Te Miro of Fagatau told me that *tokiofo* 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 Noma,*
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-rifo.

It is [offered] at [the stone slab named]
Tokerau-e-rifo.

Ko ia Ru-matike, ko ia Ru-hagahaga,
[Ko ia Ru-pepe, ko ia Ru-takoto].*

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

Who thrust up inland, thrust up seaward,
Completely separating [sky from earth].

Partake, sacred one, eat, venerated one,
Tama-petu-rua.

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-pareva, Te Hono-kai-taua,

Hachue-toga, Te Mauri-o-Keha of

Pare-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 Mangareva in 1924, gave *ko i esa 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.

* These names given by Hauata only.

* This name is from Hemaia; Te Uira gave *Toga-petu-rua*. Tamarua figures in the Napuka prayer.

* Possibly this is another name for Tamarua-ban, god of healing.

* Te Uira gives *marae-ahia* instead of *marae-haki*. Te Aku gives *pare hoki* to *marae haki*, to *marae haki*.

* At Vahitahi Simon learned that *hai mata-hoia* 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.

* Pare-ao, the skiff house at marae Poureva at Hao. Te Mauri-o-Keha was Muna-nui's great-grandson.

* Te Aku and Hauata give *rape* in place of *kura* and following *rape* Hauata has *Vahu-ariki*, as if it were the name of the *rape* (pigeon).

[Mahu-ariki],^a
 Aicahāi te keiga^b kua.
 Kin e ra to kava
 hōro i te rāpi,^c
 Mamahia^d ma te rau e.
 Tokioho!^e

^a Mahu-ariki is from Te Aka's manuscript. Hauata gave Vahariki in her devoted version, and Te Uira gave Mam-ariki.

^b Hauata gave kava. Aron is a poetic form of kava.

^c This line in Te Aka's manuscript is her line e ra to kava kiki. Hauata gave kua o ro to kava kiki.

^d Te Uira omits the line.

^e Te Aka has *mau-aka* in place of *mau-kiki*; Hauata had *mau-kiki*; and Te Uira, *mau-ka*.

^f Te Aka, Hauata, and Te Uira end the chant with *tokioho*. Hauata, when 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 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 (*koreo*) 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 HONO I TE

MARAE I POURA

He utu e! He utu, he utu!
 Tu mai! Tu mai! Tu mai! Tu mai!
 Haere mai! Haere mai ki te pure!
 E, hau pure!
 E pure, e pane-kiri,
 E rogo maga hau i mate ai hōro e
 No te atra i te riri.

1^a

Mikoe, mikoe 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,^a e fau, e mahora.
 E mata iku, e mata hai tena,
 Ko i ana mai.
 Mikoe na koromatua^b hōki,
 Matua i uta—na Uehono, na Irakau,
 Matua^c i tai—na Hau, na Mahora,
 Koropaga-(i)-te-moana.^d
 Na Tūhea, na Tavahe, na Tari-topa-puha.

^a The divisions of this prayer are mine; the chant, as given, has none.

^b Miro leaves were substituted for kava leaves in some ceremonies at Tahiti (30, p. 161).

^c I have transcribed *koromatua* as spirits, following the Tahitian meaning of *koromatua* (ghosts of the dead supposed to be transmuted into inferior gods who were much feared).

^d The word *matua* ordinarily means to consecrate, but here I think it is simply an abbreviation for *koromatua*, as in Tahiti (30, p. 173).

^e Koropaga-i-te-moana would seem to be equivalent to 'Oro-pa'a in Tahiti, called lord of the ocean (Jahu moana) and powerful spirit of the ocean (torua manu i te moana) (30, pp. 165, 244).

2

Tagaroa-tu-tiri,^a
 Mikoe, mikoe, mikoe tahai tena,
 Ko i ana mai,
 Ko i raro, ko i raro,
 Ko i Kana, ko i Pobe,
 Ko i Kumukumu-maroro.
 Pere hōki te mata iku, te mata hai
 tena,
 Ko i ana mai,
 Ko i ruga, ko i ruga,
 Ko i Te Tuki, ko i Te Hōna.

3

Tagaroa-nua,
 Pera hōki te mata iku, te mata
 hai tena.
 Ko i ana mai,
 Ko i te paepae,
 Paepae mai, paepae hōni.
 Ka raga to mata,
 Ka raga [= rogo] to fai tariga.

4

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-mui, ko i
 toga-amana,
 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-rifo.
 Ko i Ru-matike, ko i Ru-takoto.
 Ko i Ru-pepeke-te-ura, ko i a
 Ru-hagahaga.
 Tuki uta, tukia tai,
 Mui a rere,
 Ka kai kura, ka kai hōni.

5

Pera hōki te mata iku, te mata
 hai tena,
 Ko i ana mai,
 Ko i Hao, ko i Pourera.
 Tane-te-nia, Tane-na-Ruanuku e,
 Kia hatai turna, ka nana.

^a 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 Kana, before Pobe,
 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 Hōna.

3

Tagaroa-nua,
 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-ura, 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 Pourera.
 Tane-te-nia, Tane-na-Ruanuku,
 That darkness be dispelled, the tapu is lifted.

^a 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 hūtai tūma, ka nūma.

Ka nūa rupa, ka nūa rano,
ka nūa nūa, ka nūa tai,
ka nūa te po nūa te ao.

[Māhū-ariki] hūkatama!

Tupere pūhiki, tupere

takataka.

Hakataua, hakataua!

* This name is omitted in Bonifacio's manuscript, but Mōorōriki occurs in the chant copied at Vahitahi. The version given by Mau-ariki is given by Te Uira in the short *Ilao chani*, in which Te Aka's manuscript has Māhū-ariki. Hūma, in her dictated version, gives Vāhū-ariki.

In the Nukutavake manuscript of Te Poa is a chant which is evidently the Vahitahi equivalent of the *kōa hūkara*, or offering of raw flesh prayer at Napuka. It is headed: "No te katiga paragi, e honu taua nūa ia pupu hia i ratou atua; te parau i nūa 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 hōki te mata ika,

Mata honu tena,

Mai te mai!

Parona honu tena,

Ka kai koutou,

Ki nūa i te marae nūi e,

No te atua Makai-kino.

Tena hōki te mata ika,

Te mata honu.

Ko i uta, ko i tai,

Ko i te iho vaka na Tapakia ia.

Ia e, fano!

Tena hōki te mata ika.

Te mata honu tena.

Mai te mai!

Tagi te po, tagi te ao,

Tahua tu roa,

Tere te keiga kai,

Mamahu te rua e;

Tekio!

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

Tagi te po, tagi te ao.

Ga ariki ora.*

Hōroga [a] i tū taku fakamoe."

* I believe this may refer to the two priests, Te-mata and Te Ahi-tu-a-mua mentioned in the Vahitahi feast prayer (p. 85).
† Shimizu's version gives "Hōroga aho!" in place of "Hōroga [a] i tū," and then omits the next three lines, the first two of which, however, are given in the earlier part of his version. Shimizu translates *taku fakamoe* as "my sleeping god."

Tagi te po, tagi i te ao.

Tahua tu ai te tereiga kai.*

Horo ki te marae,

Mamahi i te rua.

Kōa otaota tena,*

Ka kai ki nūa i te marae,*

Na te atua Mata-i-kino.

* Shimizu's version has "hōroga tu ai, te tereiga kai" in place of this line.

* For this line see my substitute "hōroga honu tena."

* Shimizu's version has "Ka kai nūa i te marae," which is the name of the god; but Huaré and a Tukitau informant of mine, Tagahi, gave Mata-i-kino.

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

Kōa iroiro tena,

Ka kai ana koe i nūa i te marae

No Te Atua-ma-kai-kino.

Hō ki te mata e, mata hōki tena!

Hakakite mai e!

Ma te po, ma te ao!

Ka hano, tu ai,

Tereira te reiga kai,

Horo ki te marae,

Mamahi 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 Tuhiragi 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 Poa'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

That darkness he dispelled, the restrictions are lifted.

Free from restrictions above, below,

inland, seaward,

the world below and the world above.

Māhū-ariki! Gods of the mist?!, stand forth!

Eat [fill the belly be] distended, eat till

the belly be rounded.

Establish, bestow power!

The trumpet resounds, resounds in the world of light.

Lords of life,

Grant my . . .

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 Aten. 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 rera i na pure o Rua te feia taura, oia ho'i te feia mana*):

Non e Rua,
E Rua i te tuki,
E Rua i te horo
E Rua i te arai.
Arai [i] te moana,
Te moana tahi¹ [= tahia], te moana
tagia.²
Taki tai, e kurike tai,³
E kare fauau a pi,
Fauau a rogo.
Titit maragai,
Maragai kokeka,
Ke tu a kokeka!
Ke hiki ana,⁴
Ke rere a manu
Ke re[re] a taketake,
Ke puke [= peke] to huka.⁵
Ke ataka te koriko,⁶
Ke ka temutema⁷ o kumua.⁸

¹ Versions of Tuhiragi and of Tuhiragi a Pura begin with this line.
² This is *reia* in Tuhiragi's version; *reia* in Tuhiragi's, and Te Ragi's versions.
³ This phrase is omitted by Tuhiragi but is given as *te moana tagia* by Tuhiragi, Te Ragi, and Tuhiragi.
⁴ In place of this line, the other versions have *te tai e pu, e tai e rogo*.
⁵ Tuhiragi has *te kiki au*; Tuhiragi and Te Ragi have *te kiki au*; and Te Uira, *te kiki au*.
⁶ Tuhiragi has *te puke*; and Tuhiragi and Te Ragi have *te puke*.
⁷ This line omitted by others.
⁸ In place of this line, Tuhiragi has *te moana tagia*; Tuhiragi has *te moana tagia*, and Te Ragi has *te moana tagia*.
⁹ Tuhiragi has *te moana tagia*, and Te Ragi has *te moana tagia*.

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-turupuna of Vahitahi, whose presence meant disaster to voyagers and who, therefore, had to be exorcised from a ship before it undertook a voyage. We have this *faga* (song) from Te Uira, in which the Rua mentioned may be the same:

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

The canoe of Rua there heels on its side,
Tagarua voyages dipping out of sight,
rising.
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 Ruanuku.

Nou e Tane,
Tane-tuke, Tane-rere,
Malua i te tuki,
Tuki o Tane.
Tane-puku, Tane-haruru,
Tane-i-te-lalari, Tane-i-te-rarama,
Koe i rarama,
Koe 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-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 (*tapena*) and the last offering of the victim (*ragi*) are finished. All that remains is the mundification 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

te hika hika at Napuka; *man ran toto*, at Anau and Takarua; and *man pūkaka*, 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-ran-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 rena,
 Te rena tiritiri-take rari e.
 Turehu ia i mate.
 Eaka taku na haga ka ho atu kau-
 tana, moeoa;
 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 *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,
 Tatara to gagae, e pu ana ke, e,
 Tatara to gagae, 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.

Moniton (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 Tohutika ariki,
 Eajlaimu to kava;
 Fakaka to kava i to
 Maragai-tu.
 A tuliku re,
 E kava, te kava a Tohutika;
 E tuliku kin Vavau [= Vavau],
 kin Havaki.

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 Vavau,
 to Havaki.

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 Amanu manuscript copied

by Paen of Anau, and a detailed version from Huarei of Vahitahi, and another from her sister, Ruca. Seurat (42, p. 439) gives a part of the chant. The chant evidently refers to Maui's offering of kava for Raka-man-rere, presumably his tutelary god. Maui's magic adz, *Nala*, by which Hawaiki was chopped free and pulled to the surface of the sea, is mentioned, as well as his victims *Hel* (Tuna), Pearl-shell (Uhi), and Clam (Korora).

PEHE NO TE HAGA KAVA
 Pepeua
 Te kava!
 Na Raka-man-rere te kava.
 Na Raka-man-rere te kava male e.
 Na Raka-man-rere te kava, ere ui i.
 Hua
 Te kava!
 [Na] Raka-man-rere te kava.
 Na Raka-man-rere te kava mate;
 Na Raka-man-rere te kava.
 Ko te toki haka Naie [= Nala].
 teatua kia [te tunu i Hawaiki].
 Ka higa, ka takoto [ki] Haa-manu-hia,
 Ka pae ki Fatu-marigirigi.
 Tinaia te ika o Maui,
 Tuna-te-vaerua.
 Na Maui hoki tona, en.
 Na Raka-man-rere te kava,
 Na Raka-man-rere te kava mate;
 Na Raka-man-rere te kava!
 Karu
 Te uhi e[!] ka i te tua o Vatea,
 Tinaia te taona [or, taone] ki
 te unu-ran-toto.
 Ahiahi kakana tia na,
 Na Hoa-ragi hoki, en.
 Na Raka-man-rere te kava, . . .
 Karu
 [Ko] Te Uhi[te-ara]!
 e tu i te ara au hia ra,
 Korua turei, en [= korora tere hena] ?
 Ko Te Pata-oi [or, Patau],
 Na Tu hoki, en.
 Na Raka-man-rere te kava, . . .

CHANT OF THE KAVA [OFFERINGS] OF MAUI
 Introduction
 The kava drink!
 For Raka-man-rere is the kava.
 For Raka-man-rere is the death [soliciting] kava.
 For Raka-man-rere is the kava, ere ui i.
 Chorus
 The kava drink!
 For Raka-man-rere is the kava,
 For Raka-man-rere is the kava [bringing] death;
 For Raka-man-rere is the kava.
 It is the adz Nala, by which
 the foundations of Hawaiki were severed.
 Expiring, stretching out at Haa-manu-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-man-rere is the kava,
 For Raka-man-rere is the death kava;
 For Raka-man-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 Hoa-ragi, indeed, is this.
 For Raka-man-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-man-rere is the kava, etc.

* According to Huarei, Nala was the name of the adz of Maui, and so the name is spelled in her version, and that of her sister.
 The words in brackets are from Huarei and Ruca's versions.
 e in place of it, tona, the other manuscript version has ki.
 The versions of Huarei and Ruca have in place of this line, ui i kava te ara-ra.

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

second of the two *tokio* 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 Ruca, Huarai, and Takaoa, the former chief of the island—after the turtle had had the carapace (*unahi o te una*) removed, the breath (*aho*) from its throat (*faroua*) put into a basket (*hete*) and carried before the marae, and after it had been baked (*heu*), "the priests went to the side of the cooking fire (*kua haere te pupu laura ki te pae o te rega*) to *tokio* the turtle seaward or by the side of the sea (*e tokio te hona ki tai*). Here, *tokio* 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 *tokio* and *akio*. This, Ruca told Mazé, meant "the dragging of a turtle" (*kunaga tiai*).

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

Hae, hae te vahine Titi-

fahakakakaka;

Titi te haere,

Haraga noe;

E ka tokoro te kioro ki roto i te horau.

Pipiki o vaevae, vaevae kikiriri!

Tokio!

Tutui tabaga tako takere,

Putu te galaki,

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!

* *Kioro* (rat) frequently refers, metaphorically, to the glutton, 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 Tutuina, Tamatoa a Makehu, 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 taku matakeina.

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],

Ho ake? 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; *matakeina*, people; *tokete*, brothers; and so forth). A well-known parody on the above facilitates its understanding:

Ko te puruana, ko te vaere [repeated],

Koia te i taku Tavara [repeated],

Ho ake te tahi kia taku

matakeina.

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), Tamakelin, 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 *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 (*porofatu vai raga upoupo*). Te Uru and Te Ufi said that only the head of the turtle (*pa gifu*) and the internal organs—the heart, the *makiri* (small intestines), and the *koukono* (?)—were eaten on the court of the marae and only by the chief and the old men (*pa ku*).

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 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 Hao, the first tasting of food by one man before the others could eat was called *paoreu*. In a *Haao* chant for Moeava, this act, in connection with the head of Tagihia-ariki, his nephew, who was killed and eaten at Takaroa, 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 (*vefe o te katiga*) to those present, says Te Ufi, was done just behind the marae court, where the turtle was eaten. Audran (2, p. 131) learned that each one received his part "on leaves of the gatue [*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 Mokio, 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 (*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 Poa's manuscript, in giving the chant after the *tapakau* chants for Tane, Toga, and others, gives the order followed in ancient times.

Fakahahanga kai!
Garae te tunu o te feua!
Tane i haina ki te Ata-papa-roa!

Ko tala i naho lina ai te nohoga
o ga tahuga.
Ke taria te kai nei,
Kia mahaki,
Kia aga lina mai e Te Arika-tu-a-mea,
Ka mana ia raua hono.

Tu-metua,
Haha ki te tua!
Haha kila [= kila].
[Ke u e].
O! Fakahahanga kai!

Fakahahanga kai!
I kaila mai i te lailihaga o te ra,
te tohaga o te ra!
Kia hupaina ki ruga,
Kia tukua ki raro.
Ka tu ko te haka nei!
Ka mana ia raua hono.
Tu-metua,
Haha ki te tun!
Haha kila [= kila].
Ka rau kai mau!
Tokio!

Fakahahanga kai!
Ko matira, ko maufoafa,
ko tukituki.
Ko pehe vaka a uta,
ko pehe vaka a tai,
Kia tu-pitiki te horo o tena vaka.

Fakahahanga kai!
I kaila mai i te hitiga, etc.
Fae!

* Te Hega gives the introductory line as *Ia ia!* Hauhanga kai! Fakarogo, of Nukutavake, as *O . . .* Fakarogo kai!
Stimson (45, p. 58) drops the *Ia* before *te Ata-papa-roa*, but this is present in the Tagi version, which he used, and in all our versions.

* In a manuscript of Tama, Nukutavake appears in place of *ko kila* at. Te Hega gives *ko kila* now *te nohoga o ga tahuga*. As given by Tagi the line is: *taki nohoga te nohoga o ga tahuga*. Fakarogo gives *taki te nohoga o ga tahuga*.

* Stimson interpolated *o* before *Tu-metua* in presenting Tagi's version (Stimson, 45, p. 59). Tagi gave the line as *Fakarogo kai*, obviously adding a *u* after *fakaha* and *kia*. In a manuscript of Tama, and in Te Poa's manuscript the line is rendered *hahahi*.

* Te Poa's manuscript has *ka u e*. Fakarogo and Te Kara of Nukutavake have *kia u e*. Tagi has *te u e*. The inhabitants of Vahitahi are unanimous in explaining *taki* as "simply the ending (*hahahi* *pehe*). Tagi thought that *taki* in *taki*, meant to fetch; Roca thought that *taki* was short for *toboro*, to drag a turtle to the marae." Stimson's interpretation of the ending as *te kila* (all is *kila*) was based on the assumption that there was a god named *kila* who was addressed in this prayer (45, pp. 59, 118).

* Te Hega ends the chant with *ka rau kai mau*. *O . . . tehi . . .*

Give forth savory odors of food!
The foundation 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 Arika-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!

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!

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.
Fae!

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'atua*) was the food mat, *tapakau*, which was the receptacle (*toriki*) for the food when it was laid out (*hia*). When the food mat was spread out (*hava 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 hamania!
Haha tapakau hamania!
Tapakau a Tane!^a
Tukia hau uoa,
Niu' pae a nuku,
Niu' pae a rahi,
Ma te rau' mahaha,
Ke mo to toki e Tane

te tua o Atea,
[K]i[a] tutia ai, to tapakau [ma ta]^b
Tagarua-i-te-ua, [Tagarua-i-te-tai],^c

Tagarua-i-te-a-tarere;
Ko i te matau i faia i rava,^d
Ko i te nuku mau [k]i roto,
Ko i te hoe tara mai ki hea,^e
Te nei i rau' ai to tapakau,
Kia hoki ai to tapakau,
Ka raka i mua. Fae!^f

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 land,
Supporter 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
Tagarua-in-the-rain, [Tagarua-in-
the-sea],

That where the book 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!

^a In a manuscript of Tama a Tama, the chant is headed *te hahara i te rahi* (the spreading out of the sheet).
^b 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, "Ehei! Tapakau! Tapakau o Tane." This *Te Pua* manuscript, as well as one other version, omits the first two lines of this chant.

^c In a version from Tahiti this is *Tane pae a nuku*.

^d In the version of Tagi at Nukutavake, and in one other version, *rai* appears in place of *rau*.

^e The *Te Pua* manuscript has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi's version has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane, or *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi's version has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane, or *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane.

^f The *Te Pua* manuscript has: *te raka [o] te tapakau seitea a*. Tagi gave the line: *te raka [o] te tapakau seitea a*.

^g The *Te Pua* manuscript alone gives this name.

^h The *Te Pua* manuscript may be a reference to the famous book instrumental in Tagarua's rescue of Hina-a-rau-riki.

ⁱ The *Te Pua* manuscript has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane.

^j The *Te Pua* manuscript has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane.

^k The *Te Pua* manuscript has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane.

^l The *Te Pua* manuscript has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane.

^m The *Te Pua* manuscript has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane.

ⁿ The *Te Pua* manuscript has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane.

^o The *Te Pua* manuscript has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane.

^p The *Te Pua* manuscript has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane.

^q The *Te Pua* manuscript has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane.

^r The *Te Pua* manuscript has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane.

^s The *Te Pua* manuscript has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane.

^t The *Te Pua* manuscript has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane.

^u The *Te Pua* manuscript has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane.

^v The *Te Pua* manuscript has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane.

^w The *Te Pua* manuscript has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane.

^x The *Te Pua* manuscript has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane.

^y The *Te Pua* manuscript has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane.

^z The *Te Pua* manuscript has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane. Tagi has *te rau* to *rahi* a Tane.

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-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 "Tagarua-i-te-ua" to "mi ki hea." In the second verse, the above chant is followed except that from "ko i te matau" to "mai ki hea," one hears, "kan tuna, kau hoki, ko te hana, ka mate." After "haehae tapakau, hamanai 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*. Takaia, 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

Kin e! He tapakau!
Tapakau ra Toga.
Ko te alua ra Toga, te roki na Toga.
Tuhivi atu, tuhivi mai,
Manava! atu, manava! mai,
Ka hoto atu, ka hoto mai,
Ka hoto, o,
Ko i te ara hoto,
Ko i te mauri rereva [a]i na Toga.^a
I te nei i ruu ai to tapakau,
Ke faki ai to tapakau.
Ka raka i mua. Haea!^b

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!

^a Both *Te Pua* and *Te Pua* have *mauri* in place of *mauri* in this line, and *Te Pua* ends the chant with this line. Another version has "Ko i te mauri rere *mauri*."
^b Tama has *hahara* in place of *hahara*, another version has *hahara*.
^c Tama has "ka rau kai *mauri*, fae," in place of this line.

PURE NO FAKAHOTU

Ka raraga Fakahotu ki tana tapakau,
Matohe rite.
Toro e, toro e.

PRAYER FOR FAKAHOTU

Fakahotu has plaited her feasting mat,
With corners firmly tied.
Stretching, stretching.

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 hia ai* to the beginning of the line *te nei i ruu ai*, it has:

I tutia [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 hira riki.

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

Akela 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. The version at Nukunono gives "la tangata" in place of "aku." Hio is a common ending of Tongan chants.

The same chant was repeated in a slow drawl, rising from a low to a high pitch and then falling away, for Tahauni and Kunitoga, 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 manumaka ko tei riro ei alua no te mags e no te topekou*). All three are represented as daughters of Tane on the Vahitahi genealogies.

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

Tapena, tapena, tapena!

Kai!

Na Tapena, na Tahito,

Na Te Iri, na Te Fata, na Te Tuma,

Na Te Toro, na Te Aka, na Te Agi,

na Te Reva.

Kai raga! na!

Kai tapatiati te fusi 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 Tuma,

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 *aga* is here used in the Hawaiian sense of "heavenly one," "chief." But Nordenskiöld (18, p. 359) gives *aga* as a term for "victim" or "lost 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 hui haga katiga*):

Maia-caca, ko maia roro,

Tu, tu mai, mai te haga ana.

E, moko ana na rualine, ko Atanua,

ko Te Kopu-hai-ariiki.*

Opening-eyes, O . . . god,

Arise, stand . . .

The two old women, Atanua,

Te Kopu-hai-ariiki.

* Atanua stands at 12 generations from 1900, on Hao genealogies; Te Kopu-hai-ariiki is her daughter.

Ko roro ilo, ko roro ake,
Hicahia te keiga,
Kai tufara Te Moko-hai-tara.

Ka takanini.

Fakatu Te Fare-ariiki,

Takere raga 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-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 Takaroa were sent to marae Hitiaga at the northern extremity of Takaroa. 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 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 Tagihia-ariiki, nephew of the great warrior Moeava, was baked is a large hollow some 50 yards from the marae at Ragihoa, at Matiti-narunaru on Takaroa 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 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 Tua-

motus, 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 moori [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

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 (*vaahi 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 Uruupo 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 *puhi kai*. The *konaka* or stem end of the coconut was broken open, the soft flesh (called *konokano*) 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 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 *pukakana* 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 Uruupo said a prayer was offered when the coconut was left, but Te Mae contradicted this statement.

Tana 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 *aha*, which he called the *aha-taga*.

...died another flat rock called "te mae o Fak-a-aho" and said that I...
like Rualatu, 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 *ruahatu* of Fagatau.

At a marae on Tem-⁴gi atoll, in 1857, Cailet (9, p. 232) saw "a pile
formed of stones whic"⁴ 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 (*fagu*) delivered by the high priest
(translation by Stimson).

Tikaro, tikarohu!
Ka mohora ki mua i Maruofa, rife.
Pina, ka garo, rife!
Pina, ka garo, ka tukua,
Ka tukua ki ula i te henua.
Kau mai i te tai o Pekahi, rife.
Pina, ka garo, rife!
Pina, ka garo, ka tukua!
Shrouded, lost, set down,
Set down inland [upon 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 *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 *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:

Tereere lau, e kaitohi tagata.
He tereere lau, he kaitohi tagata.

This is repeat
re now all but
in single file!
marae. The pri
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 aki, mati aki
Here hia! Here hia!
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 (*ramu*) have been prepared and deposited
in the *ava*. 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 *kofova*. The *ava* 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 *ava togo* and is lower than it. The priest
now takes the torches from the *ava*, handing one to each member of the cortege. He now
addresses them as follows, "Ka ka i 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 hika
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 roto
hika ma vetete,
Taurakahi
Tagare! Tagare!

The people respond by repeating the same chant. The priest says, "Kopatu ki mua
henua" (Face the *henua*). The people face the *henua* while the priest repeats the chant,
"Hika ma vetete, . . ." 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, "Hika ma vetete, . . ." Then he
has them facing each other again, saying, "Ka ka i 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, "Hika ma vetete, . . ." 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 *ava* 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 roto mo to vaho ki roto; fare
ariki noa [a]ha, te i kiro noa [a]ha*).

Next, the priest takes the *kufova*,⁴ which had been properly sanctified, out of the
⁴ This *kufova* was supposed to contain the *vaevae* of the dead chief. It was the soft, which new
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. P. G. Siders in 1921 that when
the turtle was placed at the marae about 20 *kufova* sticks were set up. These were sticks with *Pandanus*
leaves, not (*Lepidocarpus*, or *scurvy grass*) leaves, and coconut leaves.

He holds it up before the assembled multitude and prays to the

... 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 *kasafara*, the priest would pass his hand over it before holding
it out to the next in turn, in order to remove the odor (*kasaga*) of the preceding person.
The second priest then returned the *kasafara* to the first, who then recited a prayer,
afterwards replacing the *kasafara* in the *ana*.

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 worshipped 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 sup-
posed to have been kidnapped by the long-haired demon, Tane-mata-tinao,
Te Fao, 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 *maifu* (ancestor-god), or he might himself decide as to the

spouster

... day, particularly if he w

that case he would be considered... 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 *maifu*, the body was left
on the scaffold support (*paikata*) to dry and desiccate (*tufofo*) in the sun. A *fare heiau*
or *fare maifu* 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 [ist or
vault ?] could not be entered by the common people or even by the relatives of the defunct
unless of *tohuaga* or *taura* rank.

When the body was sufficiently desiccated a funeral cortege was formed, led by the
tohuaga, which proceeded to the marae. There, prior to removing the corpse from its
paikata the high priest recited the following *pure*^a (given by Tagi a Tanehoia).

HE KURA TAGATA, HE KURA MANU

Te to ati nei taku kura
i te ana o te rahi
Ke hiva, ke nūa-avekare,
ke roro-avekare,
Kia togi te alihai,
Kia togi te anūa-avekare,
Hikahia te ana o te Uho-avekare,
Te kura i raga nei,
Kia! He kura!

AS ANCESTOR GOD, A KURA MANU

My kura abides everywhere
in the remote alief
Let the gloom gather, threatening clouds,
stormy clouds!
That the rain fall,
That it clear,
The god Te Uho-avekare stands forth in splendour.
The kura above here,
Behold! A hero!

The *ivi mate* (corpse) was then transported upon a specially prepared *siraga*
(stretcher), or *au-koio*, 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 *maifu*.

Tomo atu ra ha ki roto e!
Ki roto i te fare koe,
Ki roto i te ana koe,
Vai atu ra ha ki roto,
Ki roto o te fare koe,
E mabate (= mate) i e!

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

Those seeking the support of the *maifu* 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 *rakēhia* or *rakēhia* (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 ruihine*).

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 tofi,
Tapase i te rahi o Tu,
Ko Rogo, Te Iri, ko Te Fata,
Tupua, ko Tobitika,
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 *kopu*, "to cut
short a prayer on the marae."

^aThis chant was called at Nukunuku a "pure raka o te kura manu" (sacred prayer of the kura
manu).

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Tuamotuan Religious Structures and Ceremonies

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1947

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 Pahoā,

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