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THE WORK OF THE GODS IN TIKOPIA

Volume I

by
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We, The Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia; and Primitive Polynesian Economy.

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The aim of this series of Monographs is to publish results of modern anthropological field-work in a form which will be of primary interest to specialists.

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INTRODUCTION.

The Tikopia ritual cycle known as the Work of the Gods was the most spectacular of my discoveries in this isolated community in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. Although a few of the rites had been briefly mentioned by the Rev. W.J. Durrad, and by Dr. W.H.R. Rivers, who used Durrad's valuable material, there was no hint in these accounts that the rites were anything but isolated performances. It was only indeed some months after my arrival in Tikopia that I realised the complexity and highly organised character of the ritual.

A knowledge of the cycle of the Work of the Gods is of basic significance for the understanding of Tikopia Culture. It is one of the most elaborate expressions of the system of rank and of the religious beliefs of the people; it has important economic aspects; it is related to their institutions of marriage; it sets the formal seal on their most fundamental form of recreation; and provides sanctions for many of their most basic values. From the point of view of comparison with other Polynesian cultures the Work of the Gods is of great interest since its analogies with such rites as the **makahiki** of Hawaii and **inasi** of Tonga suggest interpretations of them which cannot be inferred from the existing fragmentary and obscure accounts.

In this monograph (which is to be followed by a second concluding part) I have concentrated on giving an ethnographical account of the phenomena, leaving for later publication the major part of the theoretical interpretation. This course has been dictated by the bulk of my material.

In the account I have drawn a distinction between the events which I witnessed, those which took place during my stay but which through other occupation I could not see, and those which were formerly part of the cycle but have now been abandoned. Those rites which I did not see I discussed with a number of informants, particularly with the Ariki Kafika, the Ariki Tafua, and their sons. Since it was only a decade after the abandonment of the rites of Tafua, the reconstruction of them by the original participants may be regarded as substantially accurate.

It will be seen from the account that I was a participant and not merely an observer when I attended the Work of the Gods. This naturally facilitated my investigations, though in a few cases the rules of **tapu** by which I was bound prevented me from examining closely the material objects used. In addition to my personal observation, I had many conversations about the organisation and the meaning of the ritual with the most prominent participants. My principal informants here were the chiefs and members of their families, and the elders Pa Rarovi, Pae

Sao, and Pa Fetauta. I also had many discussions with other men not in positions of rank, who gave me therefore other points of view. But in particular I owed a great deal to the premier chief, the Ariki Kafika, who after his initial suspicion had been allayed invited me to participate in all his ritual and imparted to me a great deal of his unique knowledge. Without his co-operation and that of his eldest son Pa Fenuatara my work would not have been possible. This is particularly the case in regard to the texts of the formulae used. I obtained these from each chief and elder who was responsible for a rite and checked them from other informants, but since so many of them were recited by the Ariki Kafika alone it was only with his help that I could obtain a full account. Most of these formulae were recited during the ritual in tones too low for the audience to hear. The correspondence between the different versions I obtained, however, leaves no doubt as to their substantial correctness. But it must be emphasised that all these formulae quoted are representative since they are recited as free formulae, absolute adhesion to a traditional set of words not being required. To save space I have not given the original Tikopia text in cases where it is substantially the same in several successive formulae; in such cases the translation is taken from a native text in my notebooks. All material in quotation marks throughout the account is a translation of native statements recorded on the spot, in nearly every case in the vernacular. It may be noted that the first draft of this monograph was written in 1929/30, soon after I returned from Tikopia when the events were still fresh in my mind.

The account presents a great mass of detail. This has been included because it is most significant to the people themselves, and to the structure of the ritual cycle as a whole. In particular it shows the degree to which small items of behaviour have been integrated into a consistent scheme, and also how this integration still allows of the exercise of individual and small-unit privileges within the workings of the major institution. This involves a theoretical problem which I hope to discuss in a later publication.

I am indebted greatly to Mr. E.R. Leach for making the drawings from my original sketches, and to the Rockefeller Research Fund Committee of the London School of Economics for a grant which has assisted materially in the preparation and publication of the manuscript.

Raymond Firth.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE WORK OF THE GODS

The aim of this chapter is to give a synoptic view of this Tikopia ritual cycle, with some general observations on its character. It will be realised from the detailed descriptions which follow that this synopsis is not merely an anthropological abstraction, but is a coherent scheme recognised by the natives themselves.

To assist the reader it may be pointed out that the rites fall into several main divisions: a symbolic act to initiate the cycle; a re-sacralisation of canoes; a re-consecration of temples; a series of harvest and planting rites for the yam; a sacred dance festival; several memorial rites on the sites of vanished temples; and in the trade wind season, the ritual manufacture of turmeric.

All this ritual is integrated under the name of the Work of the Gods. This concrete title embodies two concepts, first that of a religious sanction behind the ritual, and secondly that of the ritual as a series of obligations, involving the expenditure of goods and of time. The religious sanction lies in the fact that the ritual cycle is believed to have been instituted primarily by one deity, the principal god of Kafika, who at the same time is worshipped by the chiefs of the other three clans. But into the scheme are drawn also other gods and chiefly ancestors. There is no elaborate system of mythology to explain how the ritual cycle came into being. The Tikopia state simply that the deity of Kafika instituted the rites, and that they themselves are perpetuating his traditional doings. But this attribution, slender as its foundation may seem, imbues them with a strong reverence for the ritual and the sacred objects connected with it. Such attitudes of respect are described in the later chapters. They are linked with definite beliefs that the rites are essential to maintain the fertility of crops and success in fishing, as well as the general welfare of the island as a whole. But apart from the reverence shown to specific objects and at specific moments of the ritual, the Tikopia show a very matter-of-fact attitude. The ritual involves a great deal of preparation of food and other work in plaiting mats, making thatch, repairing canoes, and cleaning the scene of operations, and these tasks are carried out much as ordinary events are, with a great deal of talk, joking and grumbling, with some dilatoriness and evasion of obligations. The Ariki Kafika said to me "It is truly work, friend". He himself displayed considerable devotion to his duty, in staying for a long time in Uta, deprived of company, and in rising early to perform his rites. But associated with this "business" attitude is an element of great interest and some pleasure; the people as a whole look forward to the time when the Work of the Gods will begin, and nowadays Christians as well as pagans enquire eagerly when the Firestick will be thrown. From this point of view the most attractive aspect of the ritual is undoubtedly the sacred dance festival. Before I realised the full meaning of the Work of the Gods and had heard this title I was told about the

Taomatangi, the dance to quell the wind, by people who were obviously looking forward to it, and I thought for a time that this was actually the name for the whole cycle and the centre of it. So strong is the inducement to participate that a few of the more daring young men who have joined the Christian faith sometimes let their hair grow - a sign of unregeneracy - and attend the dance. One such case occurred when I was there. The young man was then barred from church for several months, but was finally readmitted by making a formal apology to the Christian teacher, accompanying it in Tikopia style with a basket of food.

FIXING THE TIME FOR THE RITUAL

A question of some importance is the basis on which the decision to begin these seasonal rites on any given day is taken. The Tikopia have no fixed calendar and no names for the months or for the days or nights of the month. They count moons or nights of the moon for specific purposes, as in estimating pregnancy or periods between events, but they use no tallies to assist them in this. The term **tau**, meaning literally 'a measurement' or 'count' is used for a season and sometimes for a year as a whole, but has no great precision. It is said that some **tau** have six months and others seven, or that after six months have elapsed the **tau** goes on into the seventh. It is in fact a seasonal period rather than a calendar period and refers primarily to the most marked climatic phenomenon in the island, namely the alternation of the trade wind with the monsoon period.

This seasonal change, which is accompanied by changes in economic pursuits such as fishing, is the main basis for the seasonal ritual, as is shown by the fact that the ritual is called by the names of "the Work of the Trade Wind" and "the Work of the Monsoon", respectively. About April the wind, after veering through several points, settles down to blow steadily with moderate force from the south-east or east-south-east and continues thus with hardly any intermission for about six months. (Since I was in Tikopia only twelve months I cannot say how much variation there is in the advent of the seasonal wind, but I gather that there may be several weeks.) During this period the temperature is often lower than in the other part of the year, clouds drift across the sky, and sometimes obscure it for hours together. During the turmeric manufacture, for instance, a day of bright sunshine was a novelty. About October the trade wind dies away and is replaced by a variable period of normally light winds alternating with flat calms. The days are often very hot and cloudless. Occasionally the wind, which may have come from any direction from south-west to north, suddenly sets in strongly from the north-west and may rise to gale force for a few days. Rarely, perhaps once a decade, it becomes a hurricane which destroys houses and crops. Such a hurricane occurs only in the **raki**, - the monsoon, and never in the **tonga** - the trade wind season. This is alluded to in a traditional song, and it is said that though in the monsoon the noise of the rising wind makes a man wake and go out in anxiety to strengthen his house, in the trade wind season he sleeps soundly.

Though the main index for the "Work of the Gods" is thus given by the seasonal change it is correlated with and corroborated by other factors. The Tikopia have no sidereal calendar but they do use astronomical observation to some extent as an aid in their time reckoning. Thus it is said that when the Pleiades rise then "the ocean has begun to bite" - that is, the fish rise and are plentiful. At this time also birds and rats raid the food crops, man

sets traps for them, and himself feels hunger. It is said that turmeric manufacture is sometimes regulated by the rising of the Pleiades (this is a **fakatauranga**) but that it is usually arranged without such reference - "it is made haphazard simply". But the position of the stars is used as a general guide. The Ariki Kafika said that when the Pleiades appeared above the sea in the east, in the dawn, then that was a signal for the Work of the Trade Wind to begin. At this time Taro, another star, still stood high up at dawn, but by the time it had descended in the heavens then the work was in full swing. Again it was said that the rising of Taro gave a signal for the approach of the work.

The Work of the Monsoon is also so guided. When it is seen that Manu, a bright star, has passed the zenith in the evening, then the time to throw the firestick for this season's work has arrived. Saraporu, another prominent star, stands midway in the western heavens in the evening at this time; towards the end of the Work, when the dance festival begins, Saraporu has gone below the horizon in the evening.

The Tikopia thus do not use these stars as definite determinants for the beginning of their rites but as general indicators and controls; their most important function is in giving the signal to prepare for the work rather than actually to begin the work.

Another token of the approach of the Work in the monsoon season is given by the arrival of the migrant turnstone (**turi**). This bird comes from northern latitudes every year about October. The Tikopia are ignorant of the real nature of the migratory phenomenon and hold that the turnstone comes from the sky where it has been staying during the trade wind season. Its habitation there is called the Heavens of the Turi. "The **turi** come; they come down from the skies; an ancient tale in this land". The Tikopia have observed that in the trade wind season there are hardly any of these birds about, save a few who "dwell constantly", staying all the year round; but that when the monsoon comes they arrive in crowds. I was told "now the **turi** is a token of the monsoon. As men sleep, the Ariki Kafika hears the **turi** crying from above. The turi have come down and fly wailing above in crowds. Then the Ariki Kafika says 'Man of the monsoon has cried. Nights there you are also'. Then he does the things in Uta here". The 'nights' and the 'things' are the rites of the Work of the Gods.

The condition of vegetation is also an important guide. The **Erythrina**, known as **ngatae** or **kalokalo**, changes its appearance with the seasons. It is the tree of the principal deity of Kafika to whom most of the ritual is dedicated, and when its red flowers begin to appear then it is the time for the Work of the Trade Wind to begin. When the flowers are fully out in a blaze of flame then this is the correct time for turmeric making. Since the blood-red turmeric is the pigment of the deity the symbolism is clear. A general token of the approach of the ritual season is given also by the maturity of the yam. When the first leaves which the vine has put forth, known as **rau tapu**, sacred leaves, have fallen, then the yam is ready for digging. Then, it is said, the Ariki Kafika goes and throws the Firestick, and the Work proceeds. These factors all help to set the general time for the seasonal rites, but do not decide the actual day of commencement. This lies at the discretion of the Ariki Kafika. He is helped to his decision by the natural phenomena mentioned, but also by certain social phenomena. One of these is the confirmation of his intentions

by his principal god, speaking through a human medium, and another is the general opinion of the other chiefs and the people. Thus before the Work of the Trade Wind in June 1929 his medium Pa Motusio became possessed by the god during a rite held after a thunderstorm. He asked "Will anything happen nowadays, or is it yet some way off?" The chief replied "It is some way off, but it has arrived" - meaning that the time was near. The god answered "Yes indeed, your moon there will stand" - he meant that the ritual should begin in the next month. There was some disagreement at this time between the Ariki Kafika and the Ariki Taumako. The latter had suggested that the Ariki Kafika should hurry up and get on with the Work, and held that the thunderstorm had come because the Ariki Kafika had been staying on in Faea instead of going to Uta to throw the firestick. The Ariki Kafika held that the thunder was simply a mark of the good nature of his deity in clearing up the sky (which is indeed the usual Tikopia interpretation) and pointed to the fine weather which we were then enjoying as proof. Moreover he pointed out to me very strongly that the time for the ritual is quite at the discretion of the Kafika chief. This is the position generally held. In this case he said he would have been willing to let the ritual begin earlier, but he could not do so for fear of the yam, which was not mature until then.

To sum up: there is no fixed date for the seasonal ritual, and the day on which it begins is governed by the decision of the Ariki Kafika who is guided in fixing the time by the various factors mentioned conjointly. It is probable also that the chief takes into account the phases of the moon in fixing the time when the rites should begin, though I did not record any statement on this point. Since flying fish cannot be caught with the aid of torches when the full moon is up, the date is probably fixed so that the **faunga vaka** rites will coincide with a time of relative darkness. This would seem to explain statements relating to the moon such as that mentioned above.

PROGRAMME OF THE RITES.

The order of the rites of the Work of the Gods is traditionally fixed, though the space between them lies to some extent at the discretion of the Ariki Kafika. But any ordinary Tikopia knows the sequence and can visualise it clearly. During the rites of the monsoon season I took down an account of those of the trade wind season from Pa Tarairaki, a man of the chiefly house of Kafika, who however had no responsibility in the matter. I give this account here since by comparison with the programme as actually followed it shows that the sequence of rites is not simply a matter of dictation by the chiefs but is common knowledge to the people as a whole. The account was given to me in running form with no prompting on my part.

"In the nights of the trade wind the firestick is thrown; we dwell and then pluck the **repa** (for the yam rites - there is no **faunga vaka**). The next morning make the kava of the yam; the next morning to Takerekere, the kava of Pu Ma. Waking on another day the seed tubers are prepared (**utu**), that is they are made sacred and the Work of the yam is made to them. After three or it may be four nights the yam cultivation is cleared; the morning after the tubers are cut; the morning after is **soani autaru**. The morning after the mat of Vaisakiri is cut, and the morning after the noonday rite of Vaisakiri is performed. The morning after the temples are re-carpeted, and the morning after come Nukuora and Taumako (temples). The yam is buried. It remains there while the chief dwells counting his nights, it may be two or three. Then the yam cultivation is burned. The morning after the **fakaora** is performed, and

the morning after the yam is planted. The morning after is **soani to**, (a secondary planting rite). Resiake is recarpeted. On the morning of the next day the sacred digging stick is stood up and the noonday rite of Resiake is performed. On the morning of the next day, Kafika is re-carpeted. On the morning of the next day it is Somosomo; we go and clear. He who has prepared his **roi** carries it to Somosomo - he who marries into Kafika makes then his **roi**. In the morning of the next day Pa Rarovi makes his noonday rite. The next morning we, sa Kafika, do so. The next morning it is sa Tavi. In the evening the **roi** is prepared. On the morning of another day the kava is made and we disperse, going then to cut new aqueducts, and go and turn over the sacred turmeric, the name of which is the **akoako**. In the morning we go and make a good head of water - we sa Kafika - while the people of Taumako and Tafua go and turn their turmeric. Then letting pass some days, whatever they may be, when the waters have been increased and the digging out of the turmeric from the woods is finished, then filter sheets are sewn.

On the morning of the next day the turmeric is grated. When grated the next morning it is filtered and its **uruango** is made. The day on which it, the **akoako**, is filtered, is that on which the turmeric of the chiefs of Taumako and Tafua is grated; then on the morning of the next day the turmeric of the Ariki Fangarere and the other chiefs is filtered - they are another company. The next morning the turmeric sleeps in its enclosure. As the night descends it sleeps in the **rotoa**. The next morning the turmeric cylinders are prepared, and in the evening the **akoako** is baked. When the land is dark, it is brought out, and in the morning the chiefs ask if the **akoako** has fallen well or has fallen badly. If it has fallen well it is tied up and hung up above. And the turmeric of the Ariki Fangarere and the other chiefs is baked that night. In the morning, other companies bake theirs and take it out. In the morning it is carried to Kafika and we go and daub. We come then and in the evening set up the **uruango**. In the morning at dawn the spirits fly away, they are invited to go and we beat the canoes and whoop. Then the chiefs go and daub with their turmeric in their houses in Uta. Then we dwell and whatever may be the number of days that pass, Nukuora prepares **roi** - it is the house of the Ariki Fangarere in which the Ariki Kafika makes kava.

The next morning daubing is also done, and in the evening the people go and prepare the **roi** of Marae. The next morning the Marae is cleared and Matangiaso and Rarofiroki are re-carpeted. Then in the evening the **vetu** is performed; it is the day of sa Kafika. The next morning the **vetu** is again performed - it is the day of sa Tafua and sa Taumako together. The next morning it is finished and we lay hands on the intervals between the temples (a rite known as **popo i a vasia faro**). The Ariki Kafika says to Tafua and Taumako that Vakamanongi will fall singly, its **ururenga** will be performed alone. But if not it is done collectively. The canoes of the chiefs are done all together. Then we go to Tai to carry on with the canoes. The next morning the **maro** of the canoes are spread. When this is finished we go to Takarito. When its re-carpeting is finished we come and dwell. One man dwells and then makes the **ururenga** of his canoe, another man dwells and makes the **ururenga** of his canoe. Now it is finished."

This account shows in the first place how a Tikopia man not responsible for the organisation of the rites can carry in his memory a sequence of more than thirty separate days. Reference to the actual programme shows that this is a fairly accurate description of what occurs. Moreover it is a good illustration of the verbal symbolism of the Tikopia. The account is practically unintelligable to the reader - despite the fact that I have translated it to make the technical terms as clear as possible. For almost every ceremony the Tikopia have a cliché, a cryptic reference which cannot be understood without a very full knowledge of the actual procedure and the explanations given by the natives themselves. The meaning of these statements will emerge in the following chapters.

To facilitate reference in the following chapters I give here the programmes for the Work of the Gods in the two seasons, on the basis of what I was told and what I observed. The numbers refer to the sequence of events on separate days though since in some cases the intervals between the rites are variable, the total number of days occupied is usually more than indicated here. The names of the clans given in each case show the chief under whose aegis the ritual is performed. It will be seen that the greatest share is taken by the Ariki Kafika.

A. THE WORK OF THE MONSOON.

I.	Throwing the firestick		Kafika
II.	Preparing **roi**		All clans
III.	Canoe rites; **Faunga vaka.**	Day of the Chief	All clans
IV.	" " " "	Day of Elders	" "
V.	" " " "	Day of **taurukuruku**	" "
VI.	" " "Evil things"		" "
VII.	" " **Fainga vaka.**	Vakamanongi	Fangarere
VIII.	" " **Fainga vaka.**	Taumauri	All clans
IX.	" " " "	Sacred canoes	" "
	Yam rites	Plucking **repa**	Kafika
X.	" "	First fruits	"
XI.	" "	Takerekere kava	"
XII.	" "	Seed tubers **utu** (Ariki Kafika stays in Uta)	"
XIII.	" "	Yam kava	"
XIV.	" "	" "	"

XV.	Yam rites	Yam kava	Kafika
XVI.	" "	**Autaru**; tubers cut	"
XVII.	" "	**Soani autaru**	Kafika
		Resiake perfumes	Taumako
XVIII.	" "		Kafika
		Resiake re-carpeted	Taumako
XIX.	" "		Kafika
		Resiake noonday rites	Taumako
		Vaisakiri mat	Fangarere
XX.	" "		Kafika
		Resiake, oil	Taumako
		Thatch of temples	Taumako & Tafua
		Vaisakiri etc. re-carpeted	All clans.
XXI.	" "	Yam buried	Kafika
	1st night;	premier temples re-carpeted	All clans
		Kafika thatch "stolen"	Kafika
XXII	" "		Kafika
	2nd. night;	Thatch of Kafika	Kafika
		Ara from Taumako	Taumako
XXIII.	" "		Kafika
	3rd night;	Kafika re-carpeted	Kafika
XXIV.	" "		Kafika
	4th night;	Noonday rites of Pa Rarovi	Kafika
XXV.	" "		Kafika
	5th night;	Noonday rites of Taumako	Taumako
		Ara reciprocated	Kafika
XXVI.	" "		Kafika
		Cultivation burned	"
	Freeing the Land		All clans
		Temples re-carpeted in Tai	Taumako & Sao
XXVII.	" "	**Fakaora** of yam	Kafika
		Temples re-carpeted in Tai	All clans
XXVIII.	" "	Yam planted	Kafika
XXIX.	" "	**Soani to.** Ariki Kafika visits Tai	Kafika
XXX.	Mapusanga re-carpeted. Messengers to chiefs		"
XXXI.	Proclamation at Rarokoka. **Roi** made		All clans

XXXII.	Dance festival.	Taomatangi;	day sa Kafika	All clans
XXXIII.	" "	"	day sa Tafua	" "
XXXIV.	" "	"	day sa Taumako	" "
XXXV.	" "	"	day sa Fangarere	" "
XXXVI.	" "	Uranga afi;	night sa Kafika	" "
XXXVII.	" "	" "	night sa Tafua	" "
XXXVIII.	" "	" "	night sa Taumako	" "
XXXIX.	" "	" "	night sa Fangarere	" "
XL.	Popo i a vasia fare			All clans
XLI.	Takarito re-carpeted			Kafika

B. WORK OF THE TRADE WIND.

I.	Throwing the firestick		Kafika
	(Interval of three days)		
II.	Yam rites	Plucking **repa**	"
III.	" "	First fruits	"
IV.	" "	Takerekere kava	"
V.	" "	Seed tubers **uta** (Ariki Kafika stays in Uta)	"
VI.	" "	Yam kava	"
VII.	" "	" "	"
VIII.	" "	" "	"
IX.	" "	**Autaru**; tubers cut	"
X.	" "	**Soani autaru** Mats of Vaisakiri & Sao plaited	Fangarere & Sao
XI.	" "	**Soani autaru** Temples re-carpeted	Kafika Fangarere & Sao
XII.	" "	Yam buried	Kafika
	1st night	Nukuora re-carpeted & lesser temples	Taumako et

XIII.	Yam rites		Kafika
	2nd night;	Mapusanga re-carpeted	"
XIV.	" "		"
	3rd night	" "	"
XV.	" "		"
	4th night	" "	"
XVI.	" "	**Fakaora** of yam; cultivation burned	"
XVII.	" "	Yam planted	"
XVIII.		**Soani to** Tafua & Taumako re-carpeted	Kafika Tafua & Taumako
XIX.	Fiora; thatch made		Tafua
XX.	" "	" day of mats	"
XXI.	" "	" " " sa Tafua	"
XXII.	" "	" " " sa Fusi	"
XXIII.	" "	" " " sa Rarupe	"
XXIV.	" "rubbish" cleared		"
		Resiake perfumes	Taumako
XXV.	Kafika thatch "stolen"		Kafika
		Resiake re-carpeted	Taumako
XXVI.	Kafika thatch		Kafika
		Resiake noonday rite	Taumako
XXVII.	" re-carpeted		Kafika
		Resiake oil	Taumako
XXVIII.	Somosomo; day of mats	Marae cleared	Kafika
XXIX	" noonday rite	Pa Rarovi	"
XXX	" "	" Pa Kafika	"
XXXI	" "	" Pa Tavi	"
XXXII.	Turmeric rites.	**Akoako** turned; aqueducts repaired	All clans
XXXIII.	" "	" dug	" "

XXXIV.	Turmeric rites.	Kafika turmeric begun	Kafika
XXXV.	" "	Other chiefs' turmeric begun	Other clans
XXXVI.	" "	Ariki Kafika daubs turmeric	Kafika
XXXVII.	" "	" Tafua " "	Tafua
XXXVIII.	" "	" Taumako " "	Taumako
XXXIX.	" "	Ariki Fangarere in Nukuora	Fangarere
XL.	**Ururenga** of Marae.	Kafika noonday rite	All clans
XLI.	" " "	Tafua and Taumako noonday rite	" "
XLII.	Muafaitoka kava. Canoe rites	**Popo i a vasia fare** Vaka manongi rite	" " Fangarere
XLIII.	**Taumauri** rites		All clans
XLIV.	Takarito re-carpeted **Fainga vaka** of sacred canoes		Kafika All clans

The programme as presented here represents the full cycle of rites in the traditional form, as they were carried out until about 1918, that is about a decade before my arrival. At this time, however, the Ariki Tafua became a Christian and abandoned his participation in them. Moreover all the elders living in Faea followed his example. Thus in the ritual which I saw certain items were missing. These were principally the reconsecration of the canoes of Tafua and Marinoa, the re-carpeting of the temple of Tafua, the formal proclamation at Rarokoka, and the ritual of Fiora. All of these except the Rarokoka proclamation, however, had their analogies in the rites of the other chiefs and elders, so that with the help of information from the Ariki Tafua and other people it was easy to see how the full cycle had operated. Moreover, the Ariki Tafua had not abandoned his manufacture of turmeric, and when I participated in it carried it through with the full set of rites in respect of his ancient gods, with the exception of the formal making of the kava. It will be noted that the other chiefs have made certain ingenious adjustments to meet this defection of Tafua, as at the dance festival.

The performance of the Work of the Gods is not purely an esoteric activity; it has a definitely exoteric side. The food provided for the ritual serves also the daily wants of the groups concerned, and its preparation is carried out as in ordinary domestic life. For conciseness I have omitted a great deal of this economic and domestic material from my account. Moreover during the ritual cycle family life and kinship relations go on much as usual. When the Ariki Kafika is living in Uta, kept there by his religious ties, his family accompany him. One difference is, however, that because of

their comparative isolation these people are very eager for news. When I arrived in the morning I was usually asked at once "Speech concerning Faea or not?", - meaning, was there any gossip abroad there. And people who came over to attend the rites were asked "Did our village go out torchlight fishing? How many?" and so on.

The fact that the preparation of food is an important adjunct to most rites gives an interesting index for time correlation. As the fire in the oven house begins to burn a white column of smoke ascends from the roof peak and is seen by the people around the margin of the lake. They remark to one another "The oven of the chief (or whoever it may be) has begun to smoke". The houses themselves are hidden by the foliage but the natives know well the location of each. When important rites are in progress a number of these smoke pillars are to be seen from afar and their sequence provides quite an efficient means of correlation when, as often happens, cooked food has to be assembled or exchanged by a number of different households. Other indices to the state of food preparation are the grating of coconut for puddings and the pounding of the pudding in a wooden bowl. Passers-by hear these sounds from a distance and so can advise other groups of comparative progress. Indices such as these obviate the need for any fine measurement of time during the day.

Most of the ritual practices in the Work of the Gods include a kava ceremony. A full analysis of this cannot be given here, but in its full form the kava rite consists of four elements[1]: the offering of bark-cloth to the deities and ancestors; the recital of a long formula to them individually with the stem of a kava plant as the medium; libations of cups of kava to them; and the throwing of offerings of food and betel materials to them. The performance of the kava has, however, many variants according to the ritual with which it is linked, and many of these variants are noted in the following chapters. In brief, they result from the fact that the rite is oriented to different gods and ancestors, or to the different functions which these fulfil in different places and on different occasions.

Certain theoretical problems are raised by the material of this book but their answer can be given here only in empirical terms. One such problem is the type of integration which exists in the relationship of the four clans and their component kinship groups. These clans are politically autonomous, each under its own chief, whose decisions are not governed by any higher authority. In the religious sphere they are ranged in an order of precedence as follows: Kafika, Tafua, Taumako, and Fangarere. But the Ariki Kafika is **primus inter pares** and not the sole controlling authority. The question is then how do the clans and the chiefs maintain effective cooperation when any one of them is theoretically free to break away from the system? The answer, it would seem, lies partly in the religious sanction which attaches to the performance of the Work of the Gods, backed up by the belief that the **Atua i Kafika** is supreme among the Tikopia deities. But this in itself is not enough. In a great measure integration is achieved by the concatenation of the daily events which as it were, carry along with them the chief and people of each

[1]For details see my analysis of Rank and Religion in Tikopia.

clan in the stream. To fail in cooperation at one point would have repercussions at many others, and it is clear that the Tikopia do look upon the Work of the Gods as a coherent system of activities. Moreover at specific points the chief of each clan and even the ritual elders of the most important component groups of each clan have specific privileges which for the time being elevate them to a position of pre-eminence and allow them opportunity for self-assertion and the expression of prestige. Apart from the Ariki Kafika the Ariki Tafua has his proclamation at Rarokoka and his utterance over the kava-house in Marae. The Ariki Taumako has his Resiake rites which he dedicates to the **Atua i Kafika**, and his presentation of the large food basket of the **Ara o Pu** for which he receives compliments from Kafika. The Ariki Fangarere has his pride of place before the temple of **Muafaitoka**. And elders such as Pa Rarovi, Pa Marinoa, and Pa Tavi have each their specific "days". These special privileges are highly esteemed by the people of the group concerned.

In the traditional Tikopia system these forces were powerful enough to maintain cooperation. But nowadays it is true that the Ariki Tafua, under the influence of a powerful external thrust, has broken away from his fellow chiefs. But even in his case the factors mentioned still exert a pull. Though a Christian, he grew angry when told that only a few of the elders of the Ariki Kafika were in attendance on him in Uta; his sons told me with evident pride how their father used to recite the formula in Marae in tones that rang round the hills, and how even the Ariki Kafika had to bend his head in respect on that occasion. And at one point it became a serious question whether the old chief would not abandon his Christianity and go back to take up the rites which he had forsworn.

Another problem which emerges from the material is that of variation in Tikopia ritual. Broadly speaking one can distinguish four types of variation. Firstly there is that which is not culturally significant immediately, being a slight modification introduced by an individual performer, as in the amount of food accumulated or the time allowed to elapse between one performance and another. Secondly there is that which is culturally significant at once and is regarded as an error - as when the Ariki Kafika forgot to include the single "stolen" thatch in the repairing of his temple or to plant the sacred yam tubers. The third type is a variation of cultural significance, but which is classed not as an error but as an improvement - as when the Ariki Tafua suggested the merging of two days of the canoe rites into one and this was agreed to by the other chiefs; or as when Pa Rarovi substituted certain phrases in his kava formula for others. A test here to the Tikopia is given by results. If the crops and the fishing are still successful and no illness or other disaster overtakes the land then the variant is a good one, presumably having received the approval of the gods. The fourth type of variant is that which has presumably occurred in the past and which is now culturally established - as when the house of Mapusanga tie leaves of cordyline on to their sacred canoe when it is being reconsecrated, or as when certain temples have particular sacred objects which must be washed or otherwise treated specially during their ritual. A function of this last type of variant is clearly in giving an individuality to that particular rite and an opportunity for differentiation and special prestige to the group responsible for it. The problem of what constitutes an error and what an acceptable variant in ritual

cannot be examined here. But it is plausible to infer that variations tend to be acceptable, first if they do not invalidate or threaten the whole ritual system of which they are a part; secondly if they do not involve a radical readjustment by other groups as well as that immediately concerned; and thirdly when they represent obvious economic and social advantages. There may be occasions on which variation is introduced on a large scale and cannot be effectively resisted, as in the defection of the Ariki Tafua. Here an attempt is made to meet it by adjustment which in itself involves a further variation. In the course of generations such variation may become part of the traditionally accepted practice. If, for instance, the heathen Tikopia can resist Christianity for another century then the anthropologist of 2028 A.D. may find that the simple assembly of the three chiefs at Rarokoka and the splitting of the clan Fangarere for reciprocal presentations at the dance festival may have come to be regarded as the "original" forms of the ritual. It may be put forward as a proposition for the study of Polynesian cultures that these have been much more flexible in the past than has often been assumed, and that what we have to consider in any single island group is not merely a mixture or fusion of elements from other groups but a very high degree of local variation, arising in part from consciously motivated individual change, and in part from the establishment of errors and defections from traditional practice as recognised cultural forms. To put the point in another way, Polynesian cultures must be regarded not as static arrangements resting upon an original fusion of diverse elements, but as a dynamic arrangement with a tendency to variation perceptible in each generation, and with a selective process by which some at least of these variations are built into the cultural system.

CHAPTER II

THROWING THE FIRESTICK

The opening rite of the ritual season is the "throwing of the firestick" (**te pe o te potunea**). The direction of this event is one of the special duties and privileges of the Ariki Kafika, the principal chief of the community, and the choice of date rests largely in his hands. When he has finally decided to begin the seasonal ritual he rises early in the morning and proceeds to Uta, the district where the most sacred temples stand. He usually has announced his intention a day or so previously to the other chiefs, his elders and the immediate members of his family. If for any reason his decision has been taken hurriedly without warning, he despatches messengers as soon as possible to advise the Ariki Fangarere, the other chief who is associated with him in this rite, and to as many other people as he may think necessary. On such flying missions his sons or grandchildren are usually sent, but any youth who is at hand or whom he meets in the path may be pressed into service. These messages are of an advisory nature, and are not regarded as imperative commands. People who are busy with their own work often absent themselves, a proceeding which is regarded by them as justifiable, though this view the chief did not fully share when I heard him comment on it.

In the **tonga**, the season of the south-east trade winds, the attendance at the ceremony is small. On the occasion of my visit in June 1929 the party consisted of the Ariki Kafika, his wife and grandchildren, one of his principal elders, Pa Porima, and a kinsman of the latter, a simple good-natured fellow who was willing to work. In the previous **raki**, the monsoon season, a much larger group had attended, comprising the chief, his three principal cousins, his sons, his chief elders, including Pa Rarovi, and his co-chief, the Ariki Fangarere.

The first-comers to Uta arrived soon after the sun had risen above the shoulder of the mountain. Without waiting for instructions they proceeded to rake out with their fingers the oven in the chief's kava house, and build a small fire. A long stick was laid in the middle of the fuel to provide the ceremonial brand over which the rite was to be performed, care being taken to arrange it so that its centre portion might be burned through. By this time the Ariki had come and taken his place on the ordinary coconut leaf mat which was his seat at the rear of the house. The oven was in front of him to the left, his private doorway in the corner behind him on the same side, while his elders and other clansmen sat facing him at the other end of the hut by the common entrance. Such was the usual arrangement at any kava ceremony in the building. The **position** of the participants in any piece of ritual is regarded as being of great importance in Tikopia.

Every ceremony has its domestic side as well as its social and religious aspects, and on the efficient provision of small details of equipment by members of the household depends the smooth functioning of the ritual. Food must be cooked and wrapped in readiness, water bottles filled and at hand, mats and other objects produced at the appropriate moment. The

performance of any piece of religious ritual is, in fact, similar to that of a play, an adequate rendering by the actorsbeing conditioned by efficient organisation behind the scenes, and by the presence of a number of assistants who do not appear on the stage. This is seen most clearly when someone's lapse of memory about some purely practical detail threatens to throw the ritual mechanism out of gear. For example, on the first occasion of "throwing the firestick" at which I was present the chief forgot the cincture of bark cloth which he winds around his waist before beginning the recitation of any sacred formula. When he arrived in Uta he found that it had been left in his house in Tai at the beach village over a mile away, and it had to be fetched.

The women and children of the party were settled in the dwelling hut a few yards inland from the house where the firestick ceremony was held. Normally only men and boys take part in the esoteric side of ceremonial; the domestic side, the preparation of food and provision of water, the plaiting of floor mats and arrangement of bedding, are the care of the women. This represents not so much a deliberate and conscious exclusion of females as a traditional division of spheres of interest; each sex has its own duties and responsibilities in the general scheme of religious ritual. Greater sacredness is associated with the work of the men, but whenever their immediate rites are over they return to the common resting place, and the women engage them eagerly in everyday chatter and discussion of the latest news.

After a while the fire began to die down in the pit, and enquiry was made by the Ariki whether the firestick had burnt through yet. "Hey! that thing, has it divided?" he asked. The oven attendant went over to examine it, then laconically replied "Yes!" "Lay it down first and come to rub the charcoal", said the chief.

One end of the firestick was pulled out from the glowing mass; it had burnt through in the centre as desired. The assistant laid it down at the edge of the oven and powdered a little charcoal on a stone. Then he pressed his right forefinger in it, and advancing to where the chief was sitting with folded arms, knelt down before him, and while the latter inclined his head, drew the fingertip lightly down his brow. The resulting black vertical stripe was a sign that the chief was about to conduct an important piece of religious ritual.[1] When the man retired he was careful to observe the ordinary rule of Tikopia etiquette and not turn his back upon his superior. The black stripe is known as the **pani**. I was first told that it was a decoration, but later it was described as "the **pani** of the god", in this case of the supreme deity of Kafika. It was also termed "a token of the **faunga vaka**". The **pani** may not be applied by anyone. The proper person is a kinsman "in good relationship", that is a brother, a maternal uncle or maternal nephew of the chief. If no such man is present then the chief applies the mark himself.

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[1]The chief, being fond of a laugh, on a later occasion purposely jerked his head as the mark was applied, so that it was crooked. This accident gave amusement to the audience, but discomfited the marker.

"Go and lay it down; lay it down outside", said the chief to the assistant with the firestick. It was lifted carefully, being sacred, laid on a freshly cut banana leaf, and set out under the eave of the house, its butt or unburntend pointing inwards. New leaves were spread there beforehand as a carpet for it - a token of respect paid to objects or persons of distinction. A point of spatial significance here was that though the firestick ceremony was described as a type of kava rite, the stick was laid on the mundane side of the house by the oven and not on the more sacred side, as a kava stem would have been.

So far the chief had taken no active part in the proceedings. Now he donned the ritual garment known as the **riri**, winding it in coil after coil about his waist, above his ordinary garment. The **riri** is the special cincture donned for important sacerdotal occasions, but its use is not confined solely to chiefs. It is the simpler counterpart of the robe or vestment of the priest in a fully clothed community, and its object is the same. It serves to mark off the person officiating in ritual matters, while the assumption of the garment is a preparation of the person himself for his approaching communion with an extra-normal sphere of life. The chief then tied on the **kasoa**, a necklet simply made by tearing off a pair of adjacent pinnules from a coconut palm frond. This is again the token of the chief engaged in sacerdotal affairs, since none but he may use the palm frond thus, and even he will not assume it without occasion. This plain V-shaped green necklet projecting stiffly over his breast is a striking piece of regalia, far more impressive in its simplicity than any bizarre arrangement of beads or other gauds. In Tikopia eyes it is the main symbol of chieftainship. At the conclusion of each day's events the necklets - there may be several by then- are removed and hung up by the chief on a bar at the rear of the house above his seating place, where others rest, brown, shrivelled and thick with mould. Being sacred they cannot be left to lie carelessly around.

Now came the most vital moment of the rite. The chief moved from his customary seat to the border of the oven and with legs crossed and hands resting in front of him faced the firestick, looking along it. In high tones, at first clearly audible, then trailing off to a low murmur, he recited the formula, inviting ritually his fellow chief of Fangarere and those of his elders who were present to countenance or confirm this ceremonial act of "throwing the firestick". He concluded with several phrases of invocation to his deities.

The actual text of the formula used, with some supplementary remarks, was given to me by the Ariki Kafika himself, "**E oko atu i te pongipongi, pu ko te umu, tuku atu ko te potu fie ki te umu, na na na, motu. Tera fesiri atu kuou ki te tangata ne pu ko te umu 'Ku motu?' Karanga mai: 'Ku motu.' 'Poi o umu ki tua'.**

Tera umu mai ki tua, kae o tuku ki tuaumu.

Takai toku riri, sasae mai ko te kasoa, tau. Karanga:

"Pa Tafua; Pa Taumako; Pa Fangarere; Pa Rarovi;

Pa Porima; Pa Tavi;

Totou kaupure na fakasaosao ki tenea tapu tenei i tona pongipongi

ka pe atu ki ei i te pui o te fenua.

Turoro ko totou fenua,

Fenua ka tu i a ko tatou.
Marie!
Sise e pe; e tapu; ka e na taranga fuere e fai: "Potunea ne pe nanafi."

Translation:

"Arriving in the morning, someone lights the oven, and lays the stick of firewood in the oven; it is there, there till it parts. Then I ask the man who lit the oven 'Has it parted?'
He calls to me 'It has parted.'
' Go and drag it back.'
Thereupon he drags it back hither, carries and lays it on the oven side of the house.
I wind round my cincture, tear off the necklet, and hang it in position.
I call out:

'Pa Tafua! Pa Taumako! Pa Fangarere! Pa Rarovi!
Pa Porima! Pa Tavi!
Your assembled elders there give countenance to the sacred thing here on its morning will be thrown away for the barring of the land.
Calm be your land.
The land shall stand in obedience to us.
Marie!'

'The firestick is not thrown, it is sacred; but its talk only is made: Firestick was thrown yesterday.'

This statement draws attention to the fact that the firestick is not actually "thrown" (**pe**) as the name of the rite suggests; as already noted, it is merely laid down on a prepared carpet of leaves. It is too sacred an object to be roughly treated. Sometimes it is not even handled by the chief, though apparently it is the custom for him to touch it with his fingers and thus make contact with it before it is finally set out under the eaves.

The meaning of the formula is briefly: the 'barring of the land' refers to the **tapu** on noise and public amusement; the 'calm' is desired to facilitate fishing; the names cited are those of chiefs and elders who by implication concur with the act of the chief in performing the rite. Additional phrases may be added as occasion warrants. Thus when I heard the Ariki recite the formula during the actual ceremony he reinforced it with an invocation for the wind to drop, using the honorific form of words:

"Tuku te kasoa tapu ke me ki raro"

"Lay down the sacred necklet to sleep down below", since a high wind had prevented the canoes from going out to fish for some days past. He then concluded with the appeal

"ni finia mo te kava
ao atu ki te ra ka to na
marie".

"Anything weighty for the kava
Gather together to the setting sun
Marie."

This is one of the characteristic endings of the kava formulae, inviting the gods to remove oppressive influences.

When the recital of the formula was ended the fire-stick was left in position under the eave while arrangements were made to prepare the food without which no ceremony of any importance can ever be carried out. It is essential to make these offerings to the gods.

The quantity of food prepared at these ceremonies was roughly proportionate to the number of people engaged at the time. Thus the Ariki gave orders on this occasion "Get some **masi** (paste of taro etc., mixed with coconut cream) to make a little food bowl for us friends. We are not many, and the portions for offerings are only three".

Usually one of the party is sent off to the orchards to bring back the coconuts required. When it is desired to hasten proceedings, however, or nuts of the right stage of maturity are difficult to obtain, a small reserve store slung in pairs over a beam of the house inside is utilised. This is termed the **fakana** and is regarded as being sacred, in that the nuts are intended for religious purposes only; they are never used to embellish an ordinary meal. When they are taken, fresh nuts are hung up almost immediately to replace them. This was done on the second occasion on which I was present, though coconuts were scarce at the time.

In this case, as in many others, the preparation of the food occupied a long time, and it was not till several hours after the firestick rite that the oven was finally ready for the second part of the ritual.

The second or confirmatory part follows at once upon the completion of the food arrangements. It consists essentially of the ritual of the kava, which is the fundamental feature of all Tikopia religious life. This practice involves a set of offerings to his ancestors by the chief or elder who is entitled to officiate; the recital of their names with appropriate invocations to them; and the association of this with the kava, in the form of a stem of the plant used as a vehicle of the formulae, or of libations of the liquid prepared from the chewed root. The kava ceremony has many modifications and a great variety of **atua** (supernatural beings) to whom it is addressed. In its most general type, however, the kava follows a definite formal order of events, and is intended not so much as an unique specific rite as a confirmation of some other individual ritual act. It sets the seal upon this, places it before the notice of the appropriate deities and thus relates it to the general universe of religious affairs. [1]

On this occasion the kava invocation was very long, since the chief appealed to all his deities and ancestors. A typical phrase that I caught was "**To se raorao mo mailonga o tatou fekau ku fai**", "Let a calm fall for a token of our work that has been performed".

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1. A full description of the kava rite and its variations will be given in **Rank and Religion in Tikopia.**

After tha kava rite a meal was eaten from the food prepared, including the offerings, and the party then dispersed.

THE MEANING OF THE FIRESTICK RITE

The reader will ask what is the meaning of this act of "throwing" the firestick. What is the significance of opening the cycle of the Work of the Gods by burning a piece of wood, and why is it described as "thrown"? It may be said at once that the natives had no specific reply to my queries on these points. They said that it was the custom from of old, and that there was no legend concerning its origin or meaning. One can see a fairly obvious symbolism in burning the stick in two, a symbolic act of **parting**, of separating the sacred from the profane period. But I could get no definite native statement of this general interpretation. Moreover, it is the rite as a whole and not the moment of the burning of the stick that sets the seal of sacredness on the land, nor is the pronouncement of the words "sacred thing" a specific moment at which the interdiction comes into force. The firestick must be regarded as a traditionalised symbol, in which the original meaning has been swallowed up in its present general context.

Nor do the linguistic usages help in further interpretation. The term **potu**[1] **nea** means literally "bit of a thing"; **potu** being a short piece, as **potu mami**, an end of barkcloth, and **nea** being the general word for thing. In ordinary speech **potu nea** is used specifically for a bit of firewood. The word **pe** again, means ordinarily "throw", as **pe ki atea**, throw it away. It has a less violent significance, however, in some cases, as in the expression **pe tua**, "turn one's back". That the general meaning of "throw" is present to the natives in the firestick rite is seen by the explanation of the Ariki Kafika quoted above, when he felt it necessary to tell me that it was only a manner of speaking to say that the stick was **pe**.

Hence the use of the firestick, its burning and its orientation have their meaning for the Tikopia as traditional usages with definite values attached, values in which the sanctity of the occasion, the ritual position of the Ariki Kafika as the premier chief of the island, and the interdiction that follows the rite all form a part.

The meaning of the rite will be better understood after an examination of its immediate effects. The performance of this symbolic act, brief as it is, has now rendered the land **tapu** and formally instituted the period of the sacred ceremonies. From this moment the way of life of the people changes and receives a fresh orientation. They must now act circumspectly: no one is expected to shout or make other loud noise in the whole island, no parties may sit out on the beach and talk, as is their wont, and dancing, the favourite evening amusement, is suspended. At night people are supposed to sit within their houses, and the Ariki Kafika may even periodically patrol the paths to see that this prohibition is observed. As a rule, however, he remains within doors, and the executive control of the island is left to the chiefs of Tafua and Taumako. The Ariki Tafua said to me - even though

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1. The word **potu**, with long **o** is different, and means a village.

he was now a Christian - "The Ariki Kafika merely sits; I and my brother of Taumako guard the land. Not a man may whoop!"

Rather more latitude is allowed to the people of Kafika clan than to others to walk abroad at this time, the reason being that their principal deity is the originator and basis (**tafito**) of all the ritual, and their proprietary rights are therefore stronger.

On the whole, these restrictions are fairly closely observed. To the casual passer-by the absence of folk on the beach and under the trees gives the village the appearance of being almost deserted - the main element of life being provided by children, who are always difficult to restrain completely. In the monsoon season the villagers did not even go to bring in food from the cultivations on the day on which the firestick was ceremonialised. The **tapu** of the trade-wind season is less rigid. During my last month of residence the sacred time came round again, the firestick was thrown, and the land became **tapu**, but the young people still continued to dance in Potu sa Kafika, a village near the south end of the beach. Those in Namo refrained since they were directly across the lake from the quarters of the chief in Uta. But the former hamlet, being round the shoulder of the mountain ridge, was out of his ken, and the beat of their sounding-board in the dance could not be heard. When the chief later came to hear of it he muttered remarks about hurricanes which might come and open the eyes of the disturbers of the **tapu**, but nothing more was done. If he had actually happened upon such a dancing party they would have scattered before him, but discreet enjoyment is allowed unchecked in this season.

To **forua** for any reason, to shout or yell the conventional **Iefui** a shriek of fear or anger, is banned, and a deliberate breach of this rule is regarded as an offence. An illustration may be given. While the party were waiting in the kava house for the firestick to be burnt a screech of "**Iefui**" was heard at a little distance. At once the chief sent off a lad to enquire who was the transgressor and why. After being away for a considerable time the boy returned to announce that it was one of his brothers-in-law in an orchard close by and that he had whooped in anger at having found some of his coconuts stolen. He had set up a **tapu** sign to prevent interference and had returned to find both green and dry nuts taken. "Why didn't he give you a pair of coconuts to bring back?" interrupted the chief - his idea being that a man who yells at such a time ought to offer some compensation. But none was forthcoming. One of the attendant elders grunted: "Didn't he see that the oven in the house here had begun to smoke?". In other words he should have noticed by this token that the ceremony was in progress and refrained from giving vent to his annoyance. All were indignant at his breach of the observance, but this soon passed off in the talk about the prevalence of theft in the cultivations, which was very rife at the time, and which indeed excused the offence.

Any loud noise or report is anathema at this time, particularly in the district of Uta, at the inner corner of the lake, which is the scene of the most sacred rites. On one occasion when I was with him the Ariki Kafika showed some forethought. On his way to Uta in the morning he stepped aside to the house of one of the principal elders of the island, a man not of

his own clan, who had a cultivation in Uta, and told him to go and cut down a sago palm to provide food for himself and children - the firestick was going to be thrown. The ring of his axe could not be allowed to profane the silence of the sacred place once the rite had been performed, so the man hastily obtained assistance and completed the work before the oven in the house of the chief was ready.

SUBSEQUENT ACTIVITY

The throwing of the firestick is a significant event for all the people of the island though so few of them attend the actual ceremony. It means that they must obey certain rules of **tapu**, and it marks the opening of a season of excitement and hard work, of submission to a definite and rigid routine. Hence great interest is always taken in the movements of the Ariki Kafika about this time, and gossip soon passes the word round that he has gone to perform the sacred rite. When once it is learnt that the firestick has been thrown the next question is how many days will be allowed to elapse before the actual work of the ceremonial cycle begins. This lies at the discretion of the Ariki Kafika. At the conclusion of the firestick rite the people ask him "How many days shall we allow to pass over?" He answers formally "Pass over some days to cut dried mats". By this is meant that sufficient time will be allowed for coconut leaf to be cut and plaited into floor mats, which must dry properly for use.

Those people who have to provide mats as part of their duties then set to work to prepare them. The men or boys of the household go out, climb the palms, and cut down the amount of leaf required, then carry it home, four or five of the large leaves being a usual load. The women split each leaf, beginning at the tip, and tear off the two sides with fronds attached, rejecting the thick mid-rib. The two sets of fronds are then laid side by side, and plaited, at first with a twill pattern, but finishing off with a check when within a few inches of the border. The result is a long trapezoidal mat tapering from head to tail in accordance with the taper of the original leaf.[1]

Meanwhile the chief observes the condition of the sea, since it must be calm enough to allow of fishing at the conclusion of the canoe ceremonies. When he judges that the weather is becoming suitable he sends a messenger round to the other three chiefs with the laconic communication: "Your sacred things make **roi** tomorrow" (**'Otou nea tapu e fai roi apongipongi**"). The chiefs assent "**Io!**" "Yes". The reference to "sacred things" is to the objects of high religious importance associated with the canoe ritual. The **roi** is a special type of food used at the kava ceremony which prefaces the lifting down of these objects from their place in the house and the carrying of them to the canoe stations in the beach villages.

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[1] Native etiquette takes account of the form of the mat, and the head (**uru**) is superior as a seating position to the tail (**muri**), a fact which enters into the arrangement and disposal of mats in all social and religious life. The diagrams of ceremonies show the way in which the tapakau are laid. It is a formal feature of the occasion.

The peculiar feature of the **roi** is that the food is prepared and put into the oven in the evening, left to cook throughout the night and then removed the next morning for use in the ritual. On the morning after the reception of the message from the Ariki Kafika the chiefs sent out members of their households and other clansfolk to collect food. This consists of taro and breadfruit. It is brought to the respective chief's houses in Uta, where by custom the **roi** is made.[1] The ground is first carpeted with cocoanut leaves, a mat is then laid on top - the spot is carpeted since the **roi** is sacred. On this are placed leaves of the swamp taro which are large and thick, and above them leaves of limp, scorched banana. These latter are laid crosswise one over the other. Then leaves of **taro**, termed **pota**, are carefully placed on top again, reverse side uppermost. All these leaves are the wrappings of the **roi** and the innermost of them, the **pota**, with **vati**, a kind of spinach, are eaten.[2] Those of banana and swamp taro are unfit for food. During this phase of the work the cocoanuts are grated and converted into cream. A few handfuls of sago flour are mixed with it to thicken it and give body to the food when cooked. Raw taro and breadfruit are sliced into small pieces, which are laid on the leaf pile, and the cocoanut cream is squeezed over the top, care being taken to hold up the edges of the leaves and prevent the liquid from dripping to the ground. The sticky mass is wrapped up firmly and taken to the oven where it is covered over and left to cook. The making of the **roi** is an event of importance since it is associated with one of the most weighty types of kava ritual. The party detailed for the work is usually small, comprising when I saw it four men and a couple of women. The chief himself does not always appear when the **roi** is being made, but delegates the work to some of his kinsfolk. Sometimes he attends, if his other tasks allow, entering into conversation, and even giving assistance, as by seating himself at one end of the mat and holding up a side of the leaf container as the cocoanut cream is being poured over the food.

With the setting of the **roi** in the oven the day's work is ended, and all is now in train for the canoe ceremonies, which begin the following morning.

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[1] On this occasion the chief and people of Fangarere make their **roi** at their own house, instead of combining with Kafika, as they do for many rites. In former days, when Tafua clan took part, they made two lots of **roi**. One lot was eaten in Uta - they were the only clan to do this - and the other was carried in the usual way to the canoe court, at Namo. This was said to be because they had two major sacred adzes instead of one.

CHAPTER III

RITUAL OF THE SACRED CANOES

The seasonal canoe rites of Tikopia comprise three major series of events - the **Faunga Vaka**, the **Fainga Vaka**, and **Anea Pariki** - each of which will be examined in turn.

The canoes of Tikopia are classed ritually into two types, **vaka tapu**, sacred canoes, and **paopao**, secular craft. In this book we shall be concerned only with the sacred canoes, which, however, for ritual purposes are representative of Tikopia craft as a whole. Each sacred canoe has its own spirit guardians (**atua**) and these vessels, their **atua** and their human owners are integrated into a system which follows that of the general social and religious organization. The essence of the rites described in this chapter lies in the re-consecration of the canoes to their work, renewed appeals to their tutelary spirits to stand by and procure fish for them, coupled with offerings to these spirits of the firstfruits of their harvest from the sea.

Sacred canoes are possessed by the chiefs, their ritual elders, and the heads of the most important kinship groups. The ownership of these vessels is complex. Theoretically they are the property of the chief of the clan, despite the fact that the immediate possessor in each case has ordered the building of the craft, paid the craftsmen for it, shelters it in his own canoe shed, has full rights of use over it, and is fully responsible for its upkeep and repair. The native expression is "**Te vaka te Ariki e tau ki Pa Nea**", "The canoe of the chief is resting with So-and-so". This is in accordance with the general principle of centralization of ownership.[1] All valued property of the people of a clan, including their houses, canoes, land and bonito hooks, is held in theory at the disposal of the chief. It is theirs, but ultimately it is his too; in the last resort their interest in it will give way to his. Moreover, in case of crisis the theory becomes actual practice; no member of a clan can hold property against his chief. On the other hand the chief uses his privileges for the benefit of his clan and in popular speech he is identified with his people when it is a question of collective action. In Tikopia eyes his overlordship and control are not only justified but natural, since it is he who is responsible for the people's welfare. He is their principal link with their ancestors and their only link with the supreme gods. He alone can perform the basic kava ceremonies which form the root of Tikopia religion.

From this point of view it is easy to see how the sacred canoes are held. For when a man of some standing in the community is building a canoe which appears to him to be a worthy vessel, he approaches his chief and

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[1] **We, The Tikopia**, 376-385.

with his permission places it under his authority - an act which is described by the term **fakataurongo**. The requisite kava is then performed (**sakasaka kava**) and the chief assigns to the vessel its guardian deities - the **atua tau vaka** - nominating among them as a rule an ancestor of his own. The kava ceremonies for this craft are then performed periodically by the chief and gifts of food are made to him on these and other occasions by the owner of the canoe.

In this manner the threads of the whole nautical and fishing organisation which forms such an important aspect of Tikopia life are drawn together and find their focal point in the chiefs of the four clans. The links are neatly provided by the dual structure of the social and religious system in matters of authority and government, the elders and heads of families deferring to the chief, and in matters of ghostly power the deities of their groups and canoes deferring to his. The structure goes still higher in the institution of the **taumauri**. These represent the acme of sacredness in canoes. They are special craft, held only in the possession of the four chiefs each of whom has two (three in Tafua, perhaps), and have their root, as the natives say, in the fact that they are all under the ultimate control of the one supreme **atua** of the Kafika clan.

Concerning him Pa Motuata, of the chiefly house of Taumako, said "When he departed from this land, then his canoes were made, and obeyed (were dedicated to) him. They were built by the chiefs, who caused his bark-cloth offerings to ascend on to them. He was made the great god of this land. The chiefs performed rites to him, and, as they continued to dwell, the things that were done in this land were his only. So it is with the rites that are done by the chiefs now." And Pa Fenuatara of Kafika said, "Things of the chiefs which are done there, are things which were separated from Kafika, from the one chief, (the Atua). He made the presentation of their sacred adzes, and their **taumauri**".

His primacy among the gods is correlated with that of the Ariki Kafika among men. Hence the chiefs of Tafua, Taumako and Fangarere, each supreme in his own clan, owe allegiance through their possession of the **taumauri** canoes to the Ariki Kafika. The importance of this as a bond in the social and ceremonial life is obvious. It means that through the canoe ritual the Ariki Kafika has ultimate control over the sea-going practices of the whole community.

The **taumauri** are not all equal in ritual importance. Of the eight (or possibly nine) of them, four, Tafurufuru of Kafika, Suakava of Tafua, Te Rurua of Taumako and Vakamanongi of Fangarere occupy pride of place, and are the main object of the **faunga vaka** rites.[1] Moreover, as mentioned later, Vakamanongi is premier even among these. The result is to produce some interesting complications in the ritual system.

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[1] All the remaining canoes are called the **fua riki**, the "little fleet".

Before describing the canoe rites it is necessary to give an account of the highly sacred objects with which they are concerned. There are two sets of these, both emblematic of the most essential canoe-building tools, and closely associated with the sacred canoes by a common system of tutelary spirits. The first objects are the sacred adzes; the second a group of items known as "sacred things", the nature of which will be discussed a little later.

THE SACRED ADZES

The sacred adzes are termed **toki tapu**. They are truly sacrosanct. They are kept on a special shelf at the side of the temple and are handled by no-one but the chief, and then only on ceremonial occasions. By women and children they are not even seen, nor is their very existence divulged to casual observers.

Each of these adzes has a large clam-shell blade, about a foot long, thick and elliptical in section with a sharp edge and slightly tapering butt. It is almost pure white in colour and finished with a very smooth texture. The blade is lashed to a wooden haft of the conventional Polynesian type but larger than that used for an ordinary working adze, and roughly carved in a series of notches extending part-way up the handle. Both this and the sinnet lashing have to be renewed every decade or so. The blades are said to have come down from immemorial antiquity; they represent the type of adze in use before the introduction of European steel tools. But the **toki tapu** are of a different order from the ordinary working blades, being larger and more magnificent, apart from the sanctity attaching to them.

Actually there are two kinds of **toki tapu**, the large type just mentioned being termed the **matua toki**, the "principal adzes", and the other, a smaller type, being their **pipi**, their "protectors". The former only are used in the canoe rites. Nearly all the large **toki** are in the possession of the chiefs, though the elder of Marinoa has one, which he employs in his canoe rites, and the elder of Ngatotiu had another, which, however, I think was never used in public ritual.[1] According to most statements the Ariki Kafika has one adze of the large type, the Ariki Tafua has two, the Ariki Taumako two, and the Ariki Fangarere one. The Ariki Kafika on one occasion told me that the Ariki Tafua and the Ariki Taumako had four each, and the Ariki Fangarere two; but I feel sure that he was including some of the smaller adzes in his reckoning. It was not advisable for me to attempt to verify the actual numbers in each case, and it is not of material interest. Moreover, on the adoption of Christianity the Ariki Tafua had his adzes buried in his temple of Tafua, an event that nearly resulted in a fight through the anger of the other chiefs.

The two major adzes of the Ariki Tafua have personal names, one being called Te Otaota and the other Te Ngutusivi. These mean literally "The Scrapings" and "The Parrot's Beak" respectively, but the origin of the

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1 I obtained this last specimen secretly from a member of his family, and it is now in the collection of the Australian National Research Council in Sydney.

names is unknown. In a conversation with the Ariki Tafua he denied that any of the adzes had names, but later I was told by his son that those cited above were correct, and that the chief would not reveal them that day because commoners were present in the house. The Ariki Kafika later corroborated these names. It was agreed that no others had names, though the adzes of Tafua and Taumako had descriptive titles, **te matua toki**, and **te toki i tai**, the "principal adze" and "the adze of the seashore".

There are several stories concerning the origin of the sacred adzes, disagreeing on certain points. All versions coincide in saying that "the adze of the shore" of Taumako is associated with the sacred canoe Tukupasia, and like the vessel itself was brought from Tonga by the ancestor of the clan, Te Atafu. The canoe of course is a replacement of the original vessel, but the adze is said to be the original blade. Concerning it a tale was related to me by Pae Avakofe, acknowledged to be the most learned man of Taumako.

According to this Te Atafu had made friends with Singano, chief of the people of Nga Faea, who then occupied the western district. He lived at Vokisa, near the north end of the great dart-throwing ground.[1] On account of their friendship Te Atafu left his sacred adze there, and went to live with Te Foe, chief of Taumako, by whom he was adopted. On returning for the adze he was refused it by Singano, on the ground that his friend was now living in a different district, under the protection of another chief. Te Atafu determined to retrieve his prized possession. His particular deity (embodied in the reef-eel) had accompanied him from Tonga, and Te Atafu ordered him to go and spy out the hiding place of his treasure. The deity went in advance and located the adze, tucked in the thatch of Singano's dwelling. Te Atafu, following, peered in and saw his erstwhile friend asleep. The whereabouts of the adze were made known to him through the body of the deity glowing like fire (hence his name, Pusiuraura). By this light the Tongan entered, seized his property and stole away to his house on the other side of the island. With this adze he continued to re-sacralize his canoe, and on his death it passed to his son, the most famous of the Taumako ancestors, from whom it has been handed down in the chiefly line to the present day.

Opinion differs about the origin of the other major adzes. The Ariki Tafua, on the occasion quoted, told me that the **toki tapu** were fashioned by men. He said that in olden days people who dived for the giant clam (**toki**) were few; if they found a large one they cut it and ground a blade from it. If it was large the chief would see it and add it to his collection. But this probably refers to the **pipi**, since he had just described how a small **toki tapu**, like a gouge, had been handed on to men by the god Rata. "Rata spoke to men to follow his **toki tapu**; when he should die, men should follow his adze". The chief said that when men looked

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[1] See my "Dart Match in Tikopia", **Oceania**, I. 1930.

at this adze they found it small, and poor, so fashioned newer and larger ones for themselves.[1]

According to the Ariki Kafika the major **toki tapu** (with the exception of that of Te Atafu) originated with Pu ma, otherwise known as Tafaki and Karisi, principal gods of his clan. He said "The sacred adzes are their own which they made, their own which they ground". According to Pa Vainunu, there was no detailed story of their origin, but they were said to have been made by Pakora, a female deity, and by her handed over to the Atua i Kafika, supreme culture-hero of Kafika, and principal deity of Tikopia as a whole.

It is admitted generally, however, that in olden times the majority of the large sacred adzes were in the possession of the chiefs of Kafika, and were distributed by them to Tafua, Taumako and Fangarere. About eight generations ago Te Atafu, the Tongan, married Matapona, a daughter of the Ariki Kafika, Veka. She held the position of **Fafine ariki**, chieftainess, a rank peculiar to the eldest female children of the Ariki Kafika and carrying with it certain privileges. On her marriage her father gave her one of his valued **toki tapu**, to be kept by the Taumako clan, which she and her husband were re-founding. Later she returned and carried away another of the precious objects, and still later a third, without asking her father's permission. Considerable license is allowed by a man to his daughter, but this repeated abstraction of his sacred adzes angered the old chief, as his own clan and his heir were being robbed. "What is this?" he asked, "Why don't you leave a **toki** for your brother?" "His **toki** is there!" said she, indicating the one remaining adze. The Ariki was annoyed and gave vent to his feelings in a **tautuku**, the native term for a speech predicting evil, the utterance of which is supposed to affect the destiny of the person who is its object. He said to her --"**Poi rei ma tau toki na; ke ka poi rei ngaua fakapariki ki ona sakanga. A fakamafanga o a tau toki kona rei ka poi ma ke, kae te toki tau kave ka na rei, na fakaangiangi fuere; siei ni faifainga noma**". "Go with your adze then; you are going then be bitten evilly by its observances. Things oppressive of your adzes there then shall go with you, but the adze of your brother shall be here, its lightness only; not any practices for it". In other words the **toki tapu** of Taumako which the woman had carried off should bear an evil character and their handling should be accompanied by danger to their possessors from supernatural influences. But the sole remaining adze of her brother and his descendants should be free from ill hap. "The observances" to which he made reference are those performed to propitiate the guardian deities who are in charge of the adzes. When the **toki** of Kafika is taken down from its "House" (**fare**), a kind of shelf or beam at the side of the building, no special care is necessary beyond the ordinary rites common to the occasion; but when one of Taumako is taken down the whole clan bring food and valuables and set them as gifts before the Ariki lest they die. It is only by this means that the evil influence laid upon the adzes by the chief of old is averted. Such was the story of the Ariki Kafika.

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[1] According to Pa Takaumata the clam is an embodiment of the Atua i Faea, the Octopus God, who "enters" it.

Another adze was given by a Kafika chief to Pu Tafua roa, chief of Tafua clan, since he was a **tama tapu**, "sacred child", to Kafika, his mother having been of the chief's family. And still another was presented by the Ariki Kafika of the time to Fakaarofatia, also his **tama tapu**, who was the progenitor of the present Fangarere clan. (There is a discrepancy here, if the Ariki Kafika had only one adze left after the raid by Matapona.)

These sacred adzes are regarded as property to be carefully guarded. Pa Vainunu said that one is never handed over to another chief. "It is not given, because should it be given, the chief and his clan (the donors) will die. Its speech is 'the life of the clan' (**te ora o te kainanga**)." When I reminded him of the adzes given away by the Ariki Kafika he answered that in this case the evil effect was not produced because they were given by the chief to his daughter or his "son" - otherwise they would not have been handed over.

The adzes are kept hafted, but the haft decays after a time. When the haft is to be renewed a great ceremony takes place, and in fact it is usually combined with the building of a new **vaka tapu** of the chief. After the log has been roughly trimmed the chief goes off with the **toki tapu** to "sharpen" it. Nowadays he does not actually sharpen the blade, but merely cleans it lightly. A stone, which is termed **te fuanga tapu**, the sacred grinding stone, lies at a spot called Fakaseketara, near Matangaika, on the path to Maunga. The stone is carpeted with coconut fronds, and a bundle of fresh nuts stands near as the "vivification" offering. The chief takes the adze from his shoulder and lays it on the fronds. A coconut shell of seawater is brought, together with pumice stone. This is dipped in the water and rubbed on the edge of the adze, while a formula is recited. The blade is then washed with water and laid down, while libations of coconut milk are poured to the deities of the adze. Either then or on the following day (accounts differed) the blade is loosened from the lashing, and the new haft is bound on. It is said that the haft may be fashioned by a commoner who is a craftsman, but that the lashing is done by the chief. The adze is then returned to Uta.

The **toki tapu** of each clan have their supernatural beings, **atua tau toki**, in charge of them, and they are invoked on formal occasions, as in the **faunga vaka** rites. The following are the deities of the adzes of the four clans (those of the adze of Marinoa are given later).

KAFIKA	TAFUA	TAUMAKO	FANGARERE
Tafaki	Tuna toto	Tafaki	Tupuafiti
Karisi	Pusi uri	Karisi	
Pufafine	Pusi toto	Pusiuraura	
.....	Te Kau Sukumera		
Faivarongo	Tufaretai		

KAFIKA TAFUA TAUMAKO FANGARERE

Keretapuna

Kauaka of Rata

A number of these adze deities are primarily associated with the sea, either as sea-gods proper, like Tufaretai, or personifications of forms of eels, like Tuna, Pusi and Tupuafiti. But others, particularly those of Kafika, have no such obvious orientation.

In the many accounts I received of the adze-gods their names did not always coincide. This divergence would seem to be due in the first place to the insufficient knowledge possessed by some of my informants. The chief of the clan is the only person who actually utters the name of the god in the rite, and he does it softly, so that others do not hear. Even such a usually well-informed man as Pae Sao, for instance, told me that the **atua tau toki** of Kafika were called Nga Ariki, whereas the chief assured me that this title was used in Marae, the sacred ground in Uta, and that in the canoe court these gods were called Tafaki and Karisi - "names among the adzes only" he said. In the first section of the Table (above the dotted line) I have accordingly listed the names of the adze gods as made known to me by the respective chiefs.

The second reason for the divergence seems to be a difference between the type of sacred adze. The large shall blades described are not now used in the more active part of the canoe ritual. They are represented in each case by a small hafted working-adze, termed **toki fakatu**, or **faingata**. Nowadays, since the introduction of a few European tools, the small adze has a blade either of a plane iron or of a broad chisel; in former times it also was of shell. It is said that the chiefs looked at the iron when it came, found that it was not easily broken like the shell blades, and so bound it on instead. Though these working-adzes substitute for the larger and more sacred tools in the canoe rites, they have other uses also; they are used in actual canoe-building and other timber work, and again, in symbolic form, for witchcraft. Thus the Eel-God, Pusiuraura, of evil propensity, is associated with the working-adze of the Ariki Taumako, which is the immediate representative of the ancient **toki tapu** of the canoe Tukupasia, from Tonga.[1] This ancient adze is kept in Tai, near the beach, and not in the temple in Uta, as the others are. Hence in Uta and in any of the rites connected with the "sacred things" Tafaki and Karisi are invoked, while in the canoe yard of Tukupasia the kava is made to Pusiura, as adze-god. The gods cited at the bottom of the lists of Kafika and Tafua are in the same category, as gods of other adzes than those kept in the clan temples, or gods used for other functions. I have not space, however, to analyse the evidence here.

To sum up, the essential function of the primary **toki tapu** is in the sacralization of canoe rites, and they appear at the building of a new sacred canoe, and at the six-monthly ritual of the **faunga vaka**.

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[1] For an account of the supposed powers of this adze in killing borer in timber see my **Primitive Polynesian Economy**, Ch.IV.

DIFFERENT TITLES OF THE GODS

A slight digression will be useful here to clarify much of the later description. In the list given above, and still more in the accounts of the various rites given later, some of the gods appear more than once under different names. These are not mere synonyms; the same **atua** bears different names according as his function varies, a feature which complicates the system very much. These various names or titles are known as **rau**. Not only may one chief possess several **rau** for one of his deities, but other chiefs may also have **rau** for this same deity. The deity thus invoked under a diversity of names is regarded as a unity, a single being; he is the "property" of the one person by traditional association, a supreme claim which is recognised by everyone; the other people have merely an "interest" in him, entitling them to appeal to him in certain specific cases.

Thus for the premier **atua** of the Ariki Kafika the chief has a name (Mapusia) and two additional honorific titles (Toku Ariki Tapu and Toku Ariki Fakamataku) which he uses selectively according to the nature of the ritual in which he is engaged. Each of the other chiefs has also a **rau**, a name for this **atua** different from that used by the Ariki Kafika, which they employ in the most sacred ceremonies. The Ariki Kafika speaks of this deity as **toku ke atua**, my own deity, or **te atua i paito nei**, "the deity in this family" - a claim which is openly acknowledge by everyone. The other chiefs simply have "names" for him, implying a certain limited relationship on their part. If it were ever a question of opposition of interests, which is hardly likely, seeing that the spheres of influence are different, it would be the Ariki Kafika and not any other Ariki to whom the **atua** would listen and to whose wishes he would accede. On the other hand the Ariki Kafika has **rau** for various **atua** of the other chiefs and even for some **atua** of the **pure**, as they also have for each other's deities. Here a similar position holds. Each **atua** is in traditional association with some one **ariki** or **pure**, "belongs to him" but is in such relationship with certain others as gives them the special right of appeal to him. As a general principle no chief or elder invokes an **atua** who does not belong to him, or of whom no **rau** is included in his ghostly armoury.

As an example of the diversity of titles I give a selection of those of the conjoint Kafika gods, known generically as Pu ma. Their principal names and functions are as follows:

Title	Function	Invoked by
Pu ma	- in Kafika temple and generally.	Ariki Kafika
Nga Ariki	- in Marae.	" "
Tafaki & Kafisi	- in the canoe court	" "
Rua-futi	- in the canoe court	Ariki Tafua
Rua-ariki	- in Taumako	Ariki Taumako

Title	Function	Invoked by
Papa-ki-te-ra & Papa-ki-te-ua	- in Vaisakiri temple & Taumako temple	Ariki Fangarere Ariki Taumako
Papa-ki-te-ngaio & Papa-ki-te-tofu	- kava of Raropuka	Elder of Raropuka
Rua-eva	- kava of Korokoro	Elder of Korokoro
Rua-eva & Rua-toto	- kava of Sao	Elder of Sao

This interlocking system of deities obviously fortifies the unity of the religious organization of the Tikopia community, and through it also the general social structure. On the other hand it also allows for the exercise of special functions and privileges by the heads of the different kinship and religious groups.

SEQUENCE OF **FAUNGA VAKA** RITES

Each day in the rites of the **faunga vaka** has its own name. The first is The Day of the Adze (**te aso o te toki**), so-called because the sacred implement is taken down and employed in the rites. An alternative description is The Day of the Chief (**te aso te ariki**, or **te aso nga ariki**). This term marks the contrast with the second day, which is known as The Day of the Elders (**te aso a mata**). On the first day the necessary food is provided mainly from the resources of the chief and of his close kinsfolk, and is shared out among the elders and people, the chief and his family keeping practically none of it for themselves. The largest share goes to Pa Rarovi, the principal elder. "The coconuts are oriented towards Pa Rarovi" was what I was told of the **fakaora** rite (see later). On the second day, however, the position is reversed. The chief is now the main recipient of food, and the heaviest burden of contributions falls on Pa Rarovi, who is assisted to a less extent by his fellow elders. Hence the name of the second day (**mata** represents **mata pure**, a synonym for **pure matua**, the most common term for the elders.) But it is significant that the chief, though here the official recipient of the main share of the food, does not omit to send a contribution to help Pa Rarovi, a division of his functions which is common in Tikopia ceremonial and is according to custom.

The third day of the canoe rites is termed **te aso tau rukuruku**, a name for which I could not find any exact interpretation, but which was said to be based upon the fact that the sacred objects are returned to Uta and hung up (**tau**) then.

Of late years this has been combined with the **aso a mata**, the two days' rites being merged into one. This was done on the initiative of the Ariki Tafua, who said that the affair was unnecessarily protracted; and that since no canoes were specially celebrated, this day ought to be omitted. His lead was followed by the other chiefs. This man has since become a Christian and has withdrawn from the sacred ceremonies of the old gods -

though he still firmly believes in the existence of these deities - but his modification was introduced before he was influenced by and became a convert to the new faith. This is not the only change in institutions effected from within the community itself. There is in some respects an elasticity in Tikopia ritual which would be surprising to an observer who is expecting a strict adherence to traditional forms. Actually such variation is probably only the normal process of change which goes on in any living culture.

We can now begin the description of the rites themselves, on the morning of the first day.

PRELIMINARIES TO THE RITUAL

The cycle of canoe rites of the monsoon season began after the roi had been placed in the oven to cook slowly through the night. On the following morning all the people of the clans woke early, for in theory and also in practice such proceedings begin before sunrise. The chiefs slept in their houses in Tai, that is, the beach villages, and came over the lake by canoe before the land was properly light, each to his own temple.

I was present that day at the rites of the Ariki Kafika. I had preceded him to the temple ground, having been warned by one of my friends in Matautu to get there before dawn if I wished to see what happened. (When I was at the making of the roi the day before the chief and his sons had tried to deceive me by a great show of friendliness in inviting me to come to the beach village, where I would have missed the initial temple ritual.) When the chief saw me outside his temple he was very angry, and asked why I had disobeyed him. I answered that he had tried to deceive me, and that I wished him no harm, but merely wanted to see all that occurred. He made no reply on the spot, but sent a messenger to bring me into the house, where I saw all that took place. Since I had thus been present at the preliminary sacred proceedings he then took the line that I was free to attend all his ritual in the future; I had seen the most intimate affairs of the gods and the sacred emblems, so I might as well continue. Later his attitude became extremely friendly, and I owed a great deal to his explanations, and to his sponsoring of me.

When the Ariki Kafika disembarked from his canoe, and our little contretemps was over, he pulled up a kava plant from a clump which grew close to the temple, and then went into the oven-house. He wound a new bark-girdle round his waist and took his usual seat on the mat. Two of his principal elders entered, one being Pa Rarovi, the highest in status, who carried a small empty basket. It was his task to carry the "sacred things" (see later) round to the beach village to the canoe yard. First he had to be consecrated to the work. The three men sat silent for a few moments, then Pa Rarovi crawled over the floor till he came to the chief, to whose right knee he pressed his nose in the salute of respect. He drooped his head. The chief took from his own neck a circlet of twisted cordyline leaf, and tied it round the neck of his henchman, murmuring as he did so a short formula.

"Te rau ti ka tutaki atu, Pu ma, Tafaki ma Karisi!
Ki te amo oru nea tapu
Pui ko te makimakia
Kae fuke ko se ora
Ki te amo oru nea tapu".

The cordyline leaf shall be joined, Ancestors, Tafika and Karisi
For the shouldering of your sacred things.
Bar the epidemic disease
And uncover welfare
For the carrying of your sacred things".[1]

The ostensible purpose of the necklet was to safeguard the henchman from any ill consequences of his having handled the sacred objects; it was termed the **pipi**, the "protector" or "preventor". At the same time it served to single him out as the person selected for the task and to emphasise the importance of his duty. The atmosphere during the conduct of all these ceremonies was one of reverent care and attention when the transport of any of their religious emblems was involved, and a serious mien characterized the chief and his more responsible assistants. Great attention was also paid to details of procedure and slight variations, introduced in ignorance by partially qualified workers, were immediately corrected by the older well-informed men sitting by. Little or no separate training for novices was thus required. Every piece of ritual was a fresh training ground for them.

After having the necklet tied, Pa Rarovi returned to his place.[2] The **roi** was then taken from the oven and put into a basket. The ritual charcoal stripe was applied to the forehead of the Ariki. "**Pani ke laui**"- "Mark that it may be good" - I heard him murmur to the kneeling man. After this he distributed areca nuts to the others. This is a frequent social practice which corresponds to the handing round of cigarettes in our own culture, and is regarded as one of a chief's duties of hospitality.

An adjournment was then made to a temple standing on the seaward side a few yards nearer to the lake shore.

This large building, known by the name of Kafika, is extremely sacred and is the ceremonial heart of the clan, erected by their ancestors in the time when men were as gods and gods were as men. Each clan has its temple of this type, lofty buildings bearing the clan name, sheltering the sacred adzes and other ritual objects, and serving as the scene for most esoteric rites. They are called by the name of **fare**, in distinction to the more ordinary **paito**, and can be termed "temples" with more reason than is

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[1] In giving me this formula later the chief said "The speech is 'sacred things' - sacred indeed, friend!"

[2] It may be noted that a reef knot and not a 'granny' knot was used; the former is the **tutaki maori**, the true join; the latter is the **tutaki nga atua**, - the join of the spirits, and is not used in tying. Even small children are expert at making a reef knot.

usually the case with religious buildings of primitive peoples. They are in fact edifices used solely for religious purposes and presided over by the principal deity of the clan, of whom however no image or separate material symbol is preserved therein. The temples are floored with coconut leaf mats, of the same type as used in dwellings, with the qualification that each mat marks the burial place of an ancestor, or is representative of him. No oven exists in these temples; it would profane their **tapu**. To serve the need a **paito umu**, a smaller oven house, stands inland, bearing in each case the same name as the temple, or an affiliated name. Thus Resiake, the temple of Taumako clan standing in Ravenga, has its oven house of the same name alongside. The temples of the clans of Kafika, Tafua and Taumako in Uta have Kafika lasi, Tafua lasi, and Taumako lasi as their respective adjuncts. Lasi ordinarily means large or great but is here not literally applicable, as the "Great Kafika" is about one fourth the size of its neighbour. But the house containing the oven is also sacred, and the custom of styling it "great" is apparently an honorific expression.

The party which assembled in the temple was small, comprising myself, the chief, a couple of his elders, and one of the latters' small sons. The kava stem was brought in and the liquid prepared. The **roi** was brought in and laid on the seaward side of the house, where the most important rites were performed.

LIFTING DOWN OF THE SACRED ADZE AND THE "SACRED THINGS"

After the **roi** was set down a sacred adze (not the shell one but the plane iron) was laid by the side of the chief. The large sacred adze was then taken down from its shelf and laid on the mat too. It was replaced at the conclusion of the ceremony; it is not removed from the house. When it was lifted down the chief recited:-

"**Uviuvi manu ko anea tapu Pu ma, Tafaki ma Karisi!**
Uviuvi ki se ora
Tafuri ki oru katea
Ke fakaika ki oru nea tapu
Ke fai ko oru nea pariki"

Lift down with power sacred things Ancestors Tafaki and Karisi!
Lift down for welfare.
Turn to your starboard
To bring fish to your sacred things
To make your evil things.

Here the emphasis is first laid on the beneficial results to accompany the disturbance of the sacred adze from its position; this in itself is a warning to the spirits that events of moment require their attention. The general benefit to be granted is sought in the beginning of the formula, which then proceeds to the specific requirements - namely that fish be plentiful when the canoes finally put out to sea. The reference to starboard, **katea** depends on the fact that this is the side from which all fishing is done; no one casts out a line on the port side, **ama**, since it is encumbered by the outrigger. The expression "evil things" - "**anea pariki**" is a technical one, used to denote the rites of offering to the deities the first fruits of the catch on the return of the canoes from sea. The implication of the term will be discussed later. **Anea tapu**, the other sacred objects in their small basket, were then lifted down too. This was accompanied by the recital of

a formula of similar tenor, though shorter.

"Kau kaina fakaangafuru koru tae Pu ma, E!
Anea tapu ka uviuvi atu i te pongipongi nei
Uviuvi manu;
Uviuvi ki se ora"

"I eat ten times your excrement Pu ma!
Things sacred are being lifted down this morning.
Lift down with power
Lift down for welfare".

When the objects were in position the kava stem was brought in and placed on top of the basket containing the roi.

The Ariki then raised the adze and laid it by the side of the basket, put on his new bark-cloth girdle and necklet of palm leaf, turned, and lifting the end of the kava stem, recited an invocation over it. This was different from the ordinary kava formula, being a special set of phrases adapted to the immediate purpose of the ritual.

"Kau kaina koru tae Pu ma, E!
Tafuri ki oru nea tapu
Ka uviuvi atu i te pongipongi nei
Uviuvi manu
Uviuvi ki se ora
Kae tafuri ki oru katea
Ki oru nea pariki ke faifaingaofia
Kake se maroro i toru fua
Ma fai koru nea pariki".

"I eat your excrement Pu ma!
Turn to your things sacred
Are being lifted down this morning.
Lift down with power
Lift down for welfare
And turn to your starboard side
To your evil things that they may be easily performed.
Ascend a fish to your fleet
For the making of your evil things".

This formula is in the same strain as those already given. It involves simply a repetition of the demands for efficacy and well-being for the act of lifting down the sacred objects, and then enlarges upon the request for the fishing to be attended with success. Such is the general tenor of all the invocations of the canoe ceremonies. It may be noted that the request for fish is proffered with the one ostensible object - to facilitate the performance of the ceremony of "evil things" before the spirits. This attitude is not feigned but real. It is highly desirable that such an event should come to pass as soon as possible. At the conclusion of the recital two loud claps were given by the man seated at the kava bowl and cups of the liquid were carried to the chief in the usual way. Two of these were poured out to Tafaki and Karisi as atua tau toki and they were addressed again as follows:-

"Oru kava Pu ma Tafaki ma Karisi!
Kau kaina fakaangafuru oru tae

Tafuri ki toru kava
Ki oru nea tapu
Ka uviuvi atu i te pongipongi nei"...

"Your kava Pu ma Tafaki and Karisi
I eat ten times your excrement
Turn to your kava
To your sacred things which
Are being lifted down on this morning .....etc."

This double libation was followed by the parcel of **roi** being opened and morsels of food thrown out to mark the offering. A nut of areca was also thrown away to serve as the betel of the gods. A third cup of kava was then poured out by the Ariki to his ancestors, with the words:-

"Otou kava Nga Matua!
Kau kaina fakaangafuru otou tae
Tafuri ki te fakatautai
Turaki i otou katea."

"Your kava, the Elders.
I eat ten times your excrement.
Turn to act as sea experts.
Stand on your starboard side."

The appeal is to the former chiefs of Kafika, referred to in the kava as The Elders.

After the kava ceremony there was a slight pause; the stem of the plant over which the formula was recited was put outside the inland door, and the **roi** set near another entrance; both being removed from the ritual positions which they occupied. As a rule that part of the house near the doorways is the non-sacred spot where objects are deposited to await the correct moment, while nearer the centre and on **mata paito** is a position of esoteric importance. The small basket containing the sacred objects (**anea tapu**) was then taken out by Pa Rarovi. Standing outside the house he took a new piece of bark cloth and wound it round his waist. Setting the kava stem in the little basket he thrust a stick through the top of this and lifting it on to his shoulder strode off along the path around the lake. The elder of Porima bore the **roi** with the bunch of areca nut in like fashion and followed. The chief then shouldered his adze, hanging the blade over his back, with the haft hanging free down his breast. This was the ceremonial position. Thus equipped he moved off to head the procession, for the other chiefs in accordance with his message had prepared their **roi** and taken down their sacred objects with similar rites. The chiefs assembled on the path by the lake shore, and without delay moved off in formal order of precedence, the Ariki Kafika leading, a few yards behind him coming the Ariki Taumako, while the Ariki Fangarere brought up the rear.[1] In former days the Ariki Tafua, whose canoes

[1] Etiquette on this occasion did not allow me to accompany the procession on land, so I kept abreast of it in a canoe paddled by some of the returning attendants. I was told by Pa Rangifuri that if the leading chief meets a man on the path during the procession he clears his throat(**e mare**) as a signal for the man to get out of the way.

were at Namo, went off alone round the northern side. The path wound around the lake shore, sometimes hidden from view by the intervening thickets, then breaking out again along the margin of the water, and it was an impressive sight to watch the dignified chiefs stride along with their free upright carriage, the rays of the early morning sun lighting up their new cinctures. The Ariki Kafika alone wore an orange waistcloth, the turmeric-dyed cincture which was the emblem of his principal god.

While the rites were in progress in Uta the majority of the people remained in Tai preparing the canoes for the coming of the chiefs. Each clanwas assembled at its own canoe court, or canoe yard, a clear space of ground in front of the sheds of the sacred vessels. This space is termed **mataforau**, literally **mata aforau**, the face or fore part of the canoe shed. Each chief and principal elder has his own **mataforau**, which is the scene of the major rites connected with canoes and fishing. While the chiefs were in Uta the canoe court of each was cleaned up, weeds and dead leaves being removed; the canoe was taken out of its shed and laid athwart the place; palm leaves were cut and put by the side of the vessel in ritual positions, mats were set in place, and any plaiting needed was completed. Youths had been sent off to pluck coconuts, and the women set to plait baskets to hold food. By this time the sun had risen well above the horizon.

THE KAVA OF THE ADZE

The chiefs now appeared from Uta, and walking along the beach, dispersed each to his own canoe yard. They had been preceded there by the bearers of "sacred things" and of the **roi**, who had deposited their burdens in the appointed places near the canoe. At the canoe yard where I was the Ariki Kafika walked over to the vessel and stood by it. Then lifting the adze from his shoulder he struck a sharp blow with it on the interior of the hull. As he did so he murmured a few sentences;[1]

"Tu manu tou rakau Ariki tautai!
Kau kaina fakaangafuru kou tae
Tafuri ki tou ke rakau
Tu fakamaroi
Ke faia ko anea pariki."

"Cut with power your canoe, Sea-expert Chief.
I eat ten times your excrement.
Turn to your own canoe.
Stand firmly
That the "evil things" may be done".

The object of this ritual act was to attract the attention of the deities of the canoe, and induce them to provide fish when the vessel went to sea. They were addressed collectively as the **Ariki tautai** - Sea-expert Chiefs - and not individually by name. The exact reason for making a cut with the adze is discussed later.

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1 This formula, with others of the canoe rites etc., was later given to me by the chief himself, and corroborated by others.

The chief then took his seat in the canoe court, sitting on his mat with his back to the canoe. He laid the adze to his right on another mat reserved for the sacerdotal objects, while the sacred things in the basket were set at the end of this same mat, which was close to the stern. (See Plan I).

The kava of the adze - **te kava te faingata** - was now performed. A fresh necklet of fronds was tied by the chief on top of the one he already wore. He rose, walked to where the kava stem was laid with its root pointing seawards, then sat down and faced the stern of the canoe, lifted the end of the stem and began to recite over it.

The formula was long since the Ariki addressed first his supreme deity, the culture hero, then Pu ma, the two brothers, then Pu Fafine, the female deity, and finally his line of chiefly ancestors. The invocation addressed to each of them ran as follows:-

"Tou kava tena Mapusia!
Kau kaina fakaangafuru kou tae
Tafuri ki tou kava
Kae tafuri ki tou fua
O tu i ou katea
Fakatautai
Ranga ko te fakatautai
Foi para pe foi marie pe foi varu
Ma fai o tou kava
Tou kava ku se maua atu
Fakalasi mai e a ke mai te moana
Kake ko se maroro i tau fua".

"That is your kava Mapusia !
I eat ten times your excrement .
Turn to your kava
And turn to your fleet
To stand on your starboard side
As sea expert.
Be active the seaexpert
A **para** or a **marie** or a **varu**
For the making of your kava
Your kava that is not within grasp .
Multiply hither from the ocean
Ascend a fish to your fleet.

Here the commencement of the kava is followed by the usual scatalogical declaration of abasement,[1] after which comes the appeal to the deity to turn to the proceedings and assist the fishing fleet. As is commonly the case, the request is justified, not by reference to human desires for food, but rather by pointing out diplomatically the need for fish in order to complete the appropriate ceremonies to the deity himself. It is alleged that his kava is not within grasp, that is, an edequate provision of food is not assured, hence his assistance is required. It is immaterial which of the

[1]The Ariki Kafika said "One appeals in the eating of excrement; one does not speak naked (that is, in bare phrases); one invokes them to behave well".

large fish he thinks fit to send, the **para** or the **varu** or the **marie**, the latter being a variety of shark. A general note is sounded in the petition for the fruits of the ocean to be great, and the invocation finishes with a request that fish may be induced to rise for the fleet. The term used, **mīroro**, actually signified the flying fish, called **save** in ordinary speech, but is here given a generic meaning to include all fish. The reason is that the flying fish usually comprise the bulk of the catch in any case. Even if the large fish stipulated do not appear the ceremonies can still be performed with the **save**. Another phrase frequently employed as an alternative is "**Fakaafu marie ko te fakatautai**". May the shark when hooked proceed quietly (**marie**) to its fate and not rush open-mouthed at the canoe.

One form of expression used in the kava of these canoe rites refers to the belief in the active participation of a tutelary deity in the fishing of the vessel. He is imagined to go out with adze or staff, strike down the fish he desires, and bring it to the canoe, where it is hooked by the crew. The material evidence of this is given by gashes seen in the head or sides of the fish. A form of words used to stimulate the deity in this respect is:

"**Mangumgu ko tou faingata**
Ki te uru o te ika,
Ke au ki tou katea."

"Bite, thy adze
On the head of the fish,
To come to thy starboard side."

In commend on these formulae the Ariki Kafika said "The kava is not made to this or that; it is recited to the **fakamanu** (the efficacy) of the canoe. It is done at the wish of the chief. If he speaks for **ora** (welfare) he speaks. If he is fit, he speaks for all things; but if he is unwell, he speaks only for sea expertise (**fakatautai**)".

The conclusion of the long invocation was marked by the loud "Marie"! The ariki laid down the kava stem and returned to his seat. An attendant then got up from among the crowd, took the **roi** and set it before the chief, spreading leaves as a platter. Portions of the **roi** were laid on these as offerings to the deities.

The **kava rau rakau** "the kava of the leaf" was then performed, this being a special kind of ritual only adopted on a few of the most important occasions in this series of ceremonies. Another attendant, a young man, broke off a twig from the kava stem and taking a leaf of the large swamp taro knelt before the chief. He passed the twig to the chief, who took it in his right hand, waved it under his lips and returned it again. The attendant tore off a small piece of leaf, which the chief rolled into a little conical cup. The man then bent over with hair unbound, as is the custom at the kava, chewed vigorously the end of the twig and allowed his spittle to drop on to the taro leaf. When a certain amount had accumulated he straightened up, and poured the liquid into the leaf cup held out by the chief. The latter then swung round towards the sacred objects, made obeisance with the cup to his forehead and poured out a libation. Again the formula was

repeated to Pu ma, the guardians of the sacred adze.

"Your kava Pu ma Tafaki and Karisi
I eat ten times your excrement
Turn to your fleet".

The kava-impregnated saliva was a ritual substance of especial potency.

The passing of the twig of kava close to the lips of the chief was done in order to render it and the rite associated with it mild and equable, attended by no evil consequences. The Ariki Kafika said to me on this point - "**Te rakau e faki mai, ka e apo rei ki te ngutu te ariki. E fai ke marie**"[1] "The twig is plucked and waved before the mouth of the chief. It is done that it may be mild". The esoteric **tapu** of chiefs in Tikopia is not stringent, but much virtue is thought to reside in their hands and their lips. With the hand they throw offerings of food and pour libations, with the lips they utter the sacred formulae to the gods. Hence their **mana**, their efficacy and power, is especially potent in these members. The waving of the piece of kava under the mouth, an act which is known by the term of **apo**, has the effect of impregnating it with the efficacy of the ariki and rendering it beneficient.

The kava which had been prepared meanwhile in the bowl was announced, and cups were borne forward to the chief, who was still facing the stern of the canoe. The first and second cups he poured after having made obeisance; these were for Pu ma. While the bearer waited kneeling with a third cup the chief broke off areca nut and betel leaf and threw one portion in front of him, the remainder behind over his left shoulder. During this time the portions of food were distributed to the elders present, that their kava might be performed. The first portion was set out before Pa Rarovi - the principal elder, who was seated also with his back to the canoe on his own mat to the left of the chief. A cup of kava was brought to him and he poured it out with the usual brief address to his main deities. Other cups were taken to the chief, who invoked such of his gods and ancestors as he desired, throwing small food offerings from the **rei** after each libation.

1

Márie 1. - mild, bland, equable, as of food or conduct.
Márie 2. - still, implying continuity, as in the conventional phrase - "**kai kai marie**", "keep on eating". (Eat, eat still).
Marie 3. - term for a variety of shark.
Marie 4. - the concluding word of the kava; with different vowel stress. Reliable informants differ as to which of the first two meanings is applicable. The Ariki Kafika favours the latter.

A portion of food had also been laid at the side of the canoe court. This was the offering to Pu Fafine, the female deity of Kafika, who was one of the guardians of the sacred adze, and of the canoe court. A cup of kava was poured alongside this and the food "thrown" in the usual way by one of the attendants, who looked at the chief as he did so and called "Ia!" This was to attract the attention of the chief, who thereupon murmured a short appropriate formula. The crowd of people attending the ceremony who were seated round the fringe of the court had shares of food allotted to them, and after the last cup of kava had been poured they all began to eat. In this the chief joined, after he had first rubbed off the black stripe from his forehead with a piece of coconut fibre and adjusted his necklet to fit more comfortably. He ate but sparingly, then drank from his own water bottle. He broke up the bunch of areca nut, and distributed a share to his principal elders and other important people, who all began to chew betel. A general buzz of conversation now ensued, but the chief remained silent.

The canoe court was at the head of the beach, so that the seaside path ran right past it in full view; during the ceremony and for some time after my attention was attracted to parties of people carrying loads of husked fresh coconuts in baskets along the path. They were bound for the next village where the Ariki Taumako was holding his canoe ceremonies. The Ariki Fangarere was also officiating, in his canoe court adjoining that of the Ariki Kafika, from which it was separated only by a thicket. In former days the Ariki Tafua was engaged in like manner in the court of his canoe "Suakava" in Namo.

Custom ordained that the Ariki Kafika, as premier chief, should begin his ceremony before the others.

The next half hour or so was a free period. The Ariki and Pa Rarovi removed their cinctures and walked away, while the crowd dispersed and adjourned either to the empty canoe shed, which opened in to the court, or to "Taramoa", the house of Pa Fenuatara, eldest son of the Ariki, which stood close by. This large building could accommodate several score of people, sitting around and talking, smoking, chewing betel and preparing fishing tackle.

THE FAKAORA

Meanwhile the green coconuts had been brought in from the orchards, and bundles of sprouting nuts set outside the **mata paito** of the house "Taramoa". This was the ritual position in which all such food waited until the proper time came to bear it to the scene of action. About mid-morning the coconuts were carried to the canoe court and arranged by three or four men in the shape of a rough V, leaving a lane down the centre. About twenty-five baskets, each holding five or six cocoonuts, together with three or four bundles of sprouting nuts, and an odd basket or two of breadfruit, made up the heap. When he judged that preparations were complete the Ariki sent a boy to inquire, "Is the **fakaora** finished in the canoe court?" When the messenger returned and said "It is finished",the chief went out and took his place again with his back to the canoe, followed by Pa Rarovi. The crowd of clanspeople again assembled for the ceremony. It may be noted that male children were not debarred from attendance, but no female was allowed in the canoe court. Children are often brought on such occasions simply for convenience in household management, and because the parent likes to have his son with him. There is also the idea that the child thus learns from earliest years the conduct of the ceremonies and can begin to assist therein with confidence. Moreover it is thought that the deities look with favour upon persons who attend their rites regularly, though this aspect of the matter does not receive very serious consideration.

When the chief was seated another necklet was handed to him and he tied it on. Charcoal was also prepared; "Make it well", said one man to another. The black stripe was then once more applied in silence to the forehead of the chief. He seated himself in the centre of the lane on the heap of cocoonuts, facing the stern of his canoe. The rite was called "the kava of the **fakaora**" but no kava plant was employed; the formula recited was quite short. The elders in attendance acquiesced with the usual "**kona! kona!**", after the introductory reference to their names.

The Ariki said:-

"Satinamo! Pa Porima, Pe Torokinga.
You assembled elders there, confirm the vivification
By me struck hither for the clan.
Orient there to the sacred adze of Pu ma,
Marie".

The object of this invocation is to announce formally the coconuts which have been gathered for the rites of the sacred adze. Hence the elders are ritually summoned to countenance the act. Certain terms which are used need explanation. "Satinamo" is the special name or title of Pa Rarovi and is affiliated in sound to that of the Ariki Kafika, which is Tinamo. The expression "By me struck for the clan " refers to the coconuts plucked or "struck" by the agents or assistants of the chief - he himself does not take part in gathering them - on behalf of his clan for whose benefit these ceremonies are performed. The work translated as 'orient' (**fakau** in the original) signifies "to point" or "lay" a thing in the direction of another and is used for any formal alignment of an object. In this case the heap of coconuts with the lane down the middle, is set towards the stern of the vessel, where the sacred objects are lying. In the original the word **matauringatɯ** is used for 'adze'. It is a sacerdotal term. "Secret speech of the chiefs", said the Ariki Kafika in comment on it, and certainly I have heard the word nowhere else. There are in fact a number of such expressions, synonyms used by the chiefs in their kava formulae for other terms in more common use. Such in addition to **matauringatɯ** are **raorao = Ngaio** (calm); **kasoa tapu = matangi** (wind); **rau vati = rau rakau** (foliage, vegetable growth) **urufenua = mei** (breadfruit). Many other such expressions occur in the course of this book.

The term **fakaora** interpreted literally means a "making alive" a "vivifying". It has become however a technical expression for one of the set of ceremonies which accompanies any important sacred enterprise, such as the reconstruction of an ancestral house, or as in the present case, the seasonal preparation of the chiefly canoes. The **fakaora** usually takes place about mid-morning and may be succeeded by the **fakaoatea**, a kava ceremony of much the same type. The latter means literally the "making midday", since it often takes place about noon, but both of these terms have come to acquire a purely conventional technical significance. The explanations given by informants are apt to bear this descriptive character. "**Na fakaora tena te fakaora anea tapu --- ne sau ifo mai runga, ne tuku ki raro**". "Its vivifying that, the vivifying of the sacred objects ---were taken down from above, were laid down below". In other words the rite in this case has the function of consecrating the act of removing the sacred objects from their ordinary position to employ them in the canoe ceremonies.

The basis of the term seems to lie in its literal interpretation, in the idea of the ceremony giving welfare to all concerned, including the objects of the rite. One man described it thus: "**Te fakaora o te vaka, ke fai mai se ora ki a ko tatou - ma te vaka**". "The vivifying of the canoe, to make hither welfare for us - and the canoe".

The ceremonies of this first day were performed in connection with the primary **taumauri**. To the **fakaora** ceremony of each of these canoes, "Vakamanongi" of Fangarere clan, "Suakava" of Tafua and "Te Rurua" of Taumako the Ariki Kafika sent his contribution, a basket of green and a bundle of sprouting coconuts. He thus associated himself with their consecration. The gift was exchanged, or reciprocated by a similar one, so that the net result was the same for each party. The custom was thus of small economic import but provided a link in binding together the social and religious structures.

Slips in organisation sometimes occur; in the particular season now described the Ariki Kafika forgot to send in the contribution to "Vakamanongi" on the initial day. Recollecting this the next morning he ordered it to be taken, and the reciprocal basket was then sent in return.

A libation of cocoanut milk followed the **fakaora** formula. As the Ariki returned to his seat a couple of men jumped up and placed several baskets in front of him. The nuts were collected into one of these, a few breadfruit set on top, and the other baskets thrown away. Some sprouting cocoanuts were laid beside the pile.

The chief then hung the adze on his right shoulder and turned to the stern of the canoe. Selecting a cocoanut from the basket he held it before him in his left hand; and grasped the haft of the adze in his right. With his eyes on the nut he said in low tones:-

"Pa Rarovi, Pa Porima, Pe Torokinga,
You assembled elders, there countenance here to
the cocoanut of Pu ma which will be cut open
Cut with power".

With three forceful blows he cut round the top of the nut, and shouldering the adze again took off the top of the nut and threw it out in front of him. He transferred the nut to his right hand and raising it to his forehead as he bowed, poured out the liquid. He said:-

"**Oru vai Pu ma, Tafaki ma Karisi.**
Kau kaina fakaangafuru kou tae
Tafuri ki te fakatautai".

"Your liquid there Pu ma, Tafaki and Karisi,
I eat ten times your excrement.
Turn as sea experts".

The empty nut was smashed in with a blow from the back of the adze and cast, with the words "**Anea tapu e tongi**" behind over his shoulder. He then broke up a section of cooked breadfruit and threw out a small piece in front while the remainder was cast behind. Areca nut and betel leaf were treated in like fashion.[1] With each of them the Ariki repeated the formula as above, substituting appropriately the terms **kai**, food and **kaua**, betel, for that of **vai**, liquid. This marked the conclusion of the rite and the chief turned again to the front. "There it is finished, will be distributed then", said a spectator to me. Immediately three men sprang up, seized each a basket of cocoanuts and went round among the spectators, handing out to all a share. Someone called out "Go and distribute singly", that is, give one only to each person to begin with until the extent of the supplies can be gauged. Advice of this kind is frequently given by members of the crowd to people who are serving out food. In a short space of time everyone had received cocoanuts, each child had one, ordinary adults had three or four, while every elder and

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[1] The top of the cocoanut is thrown in front since it is **tapu** to children and may not be eaten by them - "it is thrown on a spot which is not trodden upon". The nut itself is thrown behind, and eaten later. So also with the other items.

person of importance had a basketful allotted as his portion. In one basket there was a melon, a fruit occasionally grown by the Tikopia. This was set before the chief. On this occasion the lion's share was given to Pa Rarovi. Everyone now dug in the eye of his coconut, drank and smashed it with a stone or with a squeeze of his hands, and ate the flesh. The chief did likewise, but before drinking poured a few drops of the milk on to his mat in front of him, without ceremony. This was a libation to his ancestors, rarely omitted under any circumstances.

"Our clan is drinking throughout?" asked one of the servers after completing his task of distribution. This care to see that all present are provided for is a mark of Tikopian food allotments, and is a feature of their hospitality. When all the people had drunk and eaten they took away in the disused baskets any coconuts remaining from their share. People from the Taumako village were to be seen returning along the beach about this time with coconuts, but the ceremonies of Fangarere were not yet complete.

On one side of the canoe court, not far from the bow of the canoe, was a small depression in the ground. This was the oven in which the food for the most important seaside canoe rites was to be cooked. It was said by Seremata "The **umu tonga** is kindled for the 'sacred things' there in the canoe court". The origin of the name **umu tonga** could not be explained by the Tikopia. **Umu** means oven, and **tonga** normally means the trade-wind, or the south-east, whence that wind comes, but it is not held that there is any connection of this kind. The oven, like most of the ritual appurtenances, was under supernatural control. It was in charge of Pu Fafine, the Female Deity of Kafika. After each season's rites the pit is filled in again, and becomes overgrown with grass. The cleaning away of this, and re-shaping of the oven was consequently one of the first day's tasks, and was done soon after the **fakaora**. It too had its appropriate formula, though it was such a small affair. A man drove a stick into the ground and levering up the soil called to the Ariki "**Iai te umu.**" "Here! the oven." The chief then softly recited:-

"**Soka manu ko tau umu,**
Tau umu tonga, Pu Fafine
Tukia ko se foi marie
Ma pu o tau umu."

"Pierce with power thy oven
Thy **umu tonga** Pu Fafine
Clubbed be a shark
For the firing of thy oven."

After this the oven was prepared for use, and breadfruit and other food placed therein to cook. The day later became overcast and rain fell, an unpleasant event for the people tending the oven, so a shelter of thatch on poles was quickly raised. The time of waiting for the food to cook was passed there in betel chewing and conversation. Some of the young people of the clan had been out with nets on the reef, and returned with a few fish. These were laid for a time on the canoe court in formal acknowledgment to the deities and were then brought to the oven.

When the food was finally ready the Ariki again donned his cincture, had the black mark put on his forehead, tied a fresh coconut frond round his neck, and took his place on the canoe ground. Lifting up the kava stem he recited a formula over it as in the case of the initial rite of the adze. When finished he returned to his seat and the food portions were set out before him from baskets of breadfruit and taro, together with a bowl of pudding. Again the **kava raurakau**, the pouring of the kava-impregnated spittle from the leaf cup was performed, followed by libations of the liquid prepared in the usual way, and offerings of food and betel.

The ceremony concluded with a meal, the principal one of the day. It will be remembered that the food eaten so far comprised only a small portion of **roi** in the early morning, followed by a green coconut or two later on. By mid-afternoon everyone had acquired a healthy appetite. After the meal the oven was again got ready, **roi** was prepared and put in to cook for tomorrow morning's events.

Towards sunset the evening kava (**kava afiafi**) took place. This was a much simpler rite than the others, the liquid being prepared in the bowl and libations poured, with no kava stem and no elaborate ceremonial. Half a dozen cups sufficed, the Ariki pouring libations to his principal gods, while one was poured by Pa Rarovi to his family deity, and others to the Female Deity and to the kava bowl.

The formula addressed to the Female Deity ran:
"That is your kava Pu Fafine
I eat ten times your excrement
Turn to act as sea expert
Carry a shark to your starboard side".

This deity is one of those who are responsible for bringing the fish to the canoes, hence the appeal in the last lines. As she is a woman she follows the custom of her sex and carries burdens on her back. Hence the term **neve** is used in the original implying the binding of a load across the shoulders by means of a strap of bark cloth crossing diagonally under the breasts. After this rite ceremony the basket containing the sacred objects was placed in the canoe shed for safety during the night.

The most interesting feature of this evening rite was the provision of special food baskets by the Ariki and his elders. These were ordinary small household food-containers with a double handle, which did not usually appear on ceremonial occasions. The common name for them is **longi**, but those of good workmanship used by chiefs and men of rank, are called **raurau**. Hence an alternative name for this particular evening kava was **te kava o a raurau**, the "kava of food baskets". The chief and his elders had each arranged that a small quantity of food, comprising pudding or other delicacy, as well as taro or breadfruit should be ready and hot in their own houses, just before the time of the evening ceremony. The basket was then filled, put into another, brought along to the canoe court and given to its owner. The technical term for such a specially prepared food-basket is **fonokava**. "Each makes his **fonokava**", is the saying. The important feature of this custom,

however, is the exchange of food which normally accompanies it. It is possible for a man to eat from his own basket, but usually the baskets of the elders are all set before the chief, who then redistributes them, keeping one for himself, giving away his own basket to someone else, and allotting the rest among the various men present. Thus no one eats the food which has been brought from his own house. Commoners who have not brought baskets share in the food of others; Tikopia etiquette ensures that a man shall not sit hungry in the presence of others who are eating. Where a man of rank from one clan attends the ceremonies of the chief of another clan it is the custom for him to make his **fonokava**, or have it made for him, and present it to the chief when the evening kava is finished. Advancing with the basket grasped in both hands he squats before the chief, lays it down, then retreating without turning his back, he sits down at a distance. This is an act of homage to the chief, an acknowledgment of his tacit permission to attend the ceremonies. Etiquette prescribes that the chief must eat of the food gift thus provided, while he usually hands the basket from his own household to an attendant with instructions to go and set it before his guest. Formalities of this kind distinguish the intercourse of men of good breeding in Tikopia. Some men are versed in all the niceties of such observances; others through ignorance or carelessness neglect them and thus not infrequently give offence.[1]

If no food is brought to the evening rite this is performed with green coconuts, which are pierced and libations poured from them. As its name implies the evening kava closes the day's events.

THE DAY OF THE ELDERS

The proceedings of the second day followed closely those of the first, but were begun in the canoe court. As before, I attended the Ariki Kafika.

There was an early morning kava rite, for which the **roi** from the **umu tonga** was used. The chief donned the same cincture as on the day before, and the charcoal stripe was put on his forehead. But this time there was some difficulty in finding someone of proper status to apply it, since most of the men present were either "sons" or "sons-in-law" to him. Finally his father's brother's son put it on. When he went up to the chief he did not crouch low, but merely bent his knees. "Don't stand up!" said the chief to him, laughing. Thereupon he knelt down, and all the crowd laughed. Such joking which is quite permissible in the early stages of a ceremony, does not detract from the solemnity of the actual rite, which is treated with great seriousness.

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[1] On this occasion I was sponsored by Pae Sao, of Tafua clan, who took me in charge and coached me, since I had come to Ravenga from Faea, where I was living in the village of his chief, the Ariki Tafua. He had the **fonokava** made for me in his house, and instructed me to present it to the Ariki Kafika, who gave me a basket of food in return, as described above.

The ritual then proceeded precisely as on the preceding day. Afterwards the younger people dispersed to collect food and prepare the oven, while the older men sat in the canoe shed and discussed fishing, most of them re-snooding their shark-hooks or rolling cord for lines the while.

Later the **fakaora** rite took place, with much food; I counted twenty-five baskets of green coconuts and seven bundles of sprouting coconuts assembled. This time, in addition to the **taumauri** Tafurufuru, three other canoes were brought out; all were placed with the outrigger to seawards. In the rite to the guardian deities the chief cut each canoe lightly twice inside the hull, but omitted the vessel for which the rite was performed the day before. After the sequence of operations, the food was distributed. Pa Rarovi received only four coconuts and a single sprouting nut brought from the Fangarere village, whereas a great number of nuts were set before the chief. When all were drinking from their shares Pa Fenuatara said to Pa Rarovi "The coconuts are many, brother-in-law", a polite acknowledgment of the latter's liberal provision.

It is important to note here a divergence between the original programme as notified to me, and the actual programme as I saw it. In the original programme the remainder of the day's rites were carried out as on the previous day, and on the third day the principal performance was the dismissing of the gods and the return of the "sacred things" to Uta. But owing to the initiative of the Ariki Tafua years before, this now took place in the afternoon of the second day. The former **aso tau rukuruku** was merged with the **aso a mata.**

DISMISSING THE GODS

After some further talk on fishing the canoes were prepared for sea. The **umu tonga** was got ready for the last time. When the food was being removed after cooking all the canoes were swung round and set in line at the head of the beach, with their bows pointing to sea. Branches of cocoanut palm were laid down for them to rest on. The food from the oven was laid in the court and the chief prepared himself for his part. He donned his cincture, then stuck in the back of it the tail of a coconut leaf with a few green fronds remaining, which made a very effective splayed ornament. He then tied round his neck the usual frond, and turned to face the stern of his canoe. A green coconut still in its original state, with the husk on, was lying by his side; he took this up, wrapped it in another section of cocoanut leaf and then with a strong blow from the back of his adze smashed in its side so that the liquid poured out over his hands. Hastily he raised it to his head in obeisance, sprayed it over towards the stern of his canoe, then rose to his feet and with quick dancing steps ran round the edge of the canoe court past the **umu tonga**, waving the nut first to one side and then the other. "It is waved to and fro that the coconut milk may pour out". As he passed the **umu tonga**, he sprinkled it liberally.[1] Without pausing he ran on to the stern

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[1] I came in for a good share of this, the chief being no respecter of persons who were in the "line of fire".

of each canoe, still scattering the liquid in showers, then holding the nut in one hand, he removed the coconut leaf with the other and brushed the stern with it twice. He treated the next vessel likewise, then on completing the round he halted at the head of the beach a few yards away and drawing back his arm hurled the coconut as far as he could out to sea. As this last action was performed the cooks of the **umu tonga** broke with a loud crash some inverted coconut cups that had been laid in the bottom of the pit. The whole performance was over in a very short space of time. The chief returned to the canoe court, laid down the adze, which he had been wearing on his shoulder hitherto, took up the kava stem and recited a long invocation over it. This was of precisely the same type as has already been indicated, its burden being to secure fish for the fleet. Food portions were then put out, a whole bowl of pudding being set on one platter and the usual offerings made and libations of kava poured. The **kava rau rakau**, the chewing of the twig and pouring of the spittle from the leaf cup was also performed. One basket of breadfruit was set aside as a "basket for Uta", to be taken over for the ritual of "sacred things". After this the chief discussed fishing with his elders.

The object of sprinkling the canoe was said to be to drive off the deities of the vessels who had been in attendance at the ceremonies of the last three days, and to induce them to go out to sea and begin their task of assembling fish ready for the operations of the fleet that same night.

It was said "**Ko nga atua o a vaka e fakaranu; ku roa ma ratou nofo i a faunga ka fai; ratou ororanga tera. Rakei atua ka oro ki moana, ka e oro ki te vaerangi rakei atua**". - "The deities of canoes are bathed; they have been long present at the preparations that have been made; that is their going. Some deities will go to the sea, while other deities go to the sky".

The oven was said to be sprinkled that the food cooked therein might be rendered mild and pleasant, that in being taken from the sacred oven of the goddess it might not have ill effects when it rested in the belly of man. "**Te umu e tapu, tera e fi ke marie, e faia tatou kai nokotao ki te umu**". "The oven is sacred, therefore it is sprinkled to be mild, because our food has been cooked in the oven". The actual **raison d'être** of the oven is to provide the necessary food for the ceremonies of the **faunga vaka** and it is only used when the sacred objects are displayed. As it is said "**Te umu e pu ki anea tapu ena i mataforau**". " The oven is lit for the sacred objects there in the canoe court." The sprinkling (**fi**) then is really a removal of the tapu, a de-sacralising of the oven now that its function has been fulfilled for the season.

The ritual principle of the act of sprinkling which appears in other departments of Tikopia religion as well, is comparable to that of the **asperges** in the ceremonial of the Christian Church. The scattering of drops of fluid acts as a medium for the conveyance of the exorcising or other formula pronounced by the officiating priest.

The breaking of the coconut shells in the oven, which is done simultaneously with the throwing of the green coconut out to sea, is the signal for the deities to depart, and is a fairly obvious piece of symbolism. It

is termed **te fakaofonga atua**, the scattering of the gods. The loud crash is a hint to such of them as may be located in the ground in or near the oven to be off. The act of the Ariki in cutting with his adze at the side of the canoe, as described earlier, was explained by one informant as being analogous. He termed it - "**Te fakaofo te atua maru**" - "the scattering of the sheltering deities". The idea in this case is that the adze cuts at the sinnet lashings of the vessel, and so stirs up its guardian deity, who lashes with his tail at the starboard side and so drives away other supernatural beings who may wish to interfere or work harm. "**Ke sasa ki te katea o te vaka he fakaofo te atua maru**".

Short formulae were uttered at various stages of the rite. As the Ariki smashed in the coconut with the back of his adze he said:-

"The green coconut will be split on this morning here
Split with power your green coconut Pu ma
I eat ten times your excrement
Unfold welfare from you two".

Then as he passed the oven and sprinkled the liquid over towards it he said:-

"Sprinkle with power thy oven Pu Fafine".

As the canoe was brushed with the dripping fronds of coconut leaf he said:-

"Sprinkle with power your wood, Sea expert Chief.
I eat ten times your excrement".

While finally as the coconut was hurled out to sea he called:

"**Tayifakina mai ko te tāfā**"
"Carried hither be the green coconut".

The purport of all but the final formula is probably clear enough. In this the request to have the coconut carried hither has a metaphorical significance. It is conceived as being borne out to sea by the departing spirit beings, and later brought inshore again in the shape of fish, most desirably in the form of a shark. The formula is another, somewhat obscure way of appealing to the spirits for a bounteous catch.

On the completion of this kava of the **umu tonga** the assembled people divided up, some to go over to Uta, to carry out the ceremonies there, while the others, by far the greater number, remained to make final preparations that night. During the day the talk had turned consistently on fishing. The men had to be out all night, sleeping, if need be, on the thwarts of their canoes, but it was said that the strong element of competition between the various crews, especially those from the different clans, would keep most of them awake. The hope of everyone was to haul up a shark - some indeed spoke of it already as a certainty, though others expressed cautious doubts. Some related dreams which they had the night before, and for which they and their friends tried to find interpretation. Pa Fenuatara discussed a dream in which he went to sea and his foot was covered with excrement. He asked if it was "a fish dream or not". Another man said "Oh! Yes, a fish dream". "I don't know" said Pa Fenuatara. He pondered again, "Will 'evil things' be performed tomorrow or not?"

Satisfaction was expressed that the day had dawned well and promised a smooth sea for the evening; a recent fall of rain too was welcomed

as helping to calm the waves and to give life to men and the land. Changes of the weather are nearly always interpreted at once in terms of their reaction upon food supply.

THE RETURN TO UTA

Then came the return of the sacred objects to Uta. **"E mori ko anea tapu ki Uta"** was the formal description.

Before the conclusion of the meal from the **umu tonga** one of the elders, Pa Torokinga, stood up and began to gird himself with a new cincture of bark cloth. He had not partaken of the food as it was his task to bear the sacred objects back. I was told that it is the custom for a different elder to officiate on this return journey than on the outward one. Moreover, the representatives of certain family groups alone possess the privilege. No one of the chiefly family, neither the Ariki nor his sons nor even his patrilineal cousins may do so; it would invoke a breach of **tapu** and, it is thought, would probably result in the death of the carrier or a near relative. Hence of the **paito pure**, families of elders, only those which by origin are not connected with the **paito ariki**, chief's families, are in a position to carry out the task. In Kafika clan these are the houses of Rarovi, Raropuka and Torokinga;[1] in Tafua, Sao, Notau and Korokoro, in Taumako, Ngatotiu, Farekofe and Ratia, in Fangarere, Nukufetau. They are known as **paito ke amo** - "families who may shoulder" - the specific object concerned being understood; or **a mata.** The chiefly and allied families are said to be barred since they are **tau toki,** "adze-possessors". The gods of the sacred adzes are also these of **anea tapu** and might injure them.

After girding himself the bearer set off (about 4 p.m.) with **anea tapu,** in a small basket enclosed again in another basket on one end of his shoulder-pole, and the kava root fixed to the other. Various people with baskets of food followed at a distance, while the chief brought up the **rear.** The people of Taumako, waiting by their canoe court, fell in when those of Kafika had passed along the beach path, and were followed by those of Fangarere. The three chiefs again moved in due order of precedence. On the afternoon under observation however, the Ariki Fangarere, an old man, and afflicted with an ulcer in his foot which prevented him from walking easily, followed the procession in his canoe round the lake shore, keeping practically abreast of the other chiefs, but slightly behind them, in his proper place. Three other canoes paddled straight across the lake with baskets of food, and the betel materials and water bottles of the chiefs who carried nothing but their adzes. I was in one of these canoes. Everyone stepped out briskly along the path so that in twenty minutes or so they arrived, just as the sun was sinking behind the high ridge which towered at the back of the Uta shore. The canoes paddled gently in order to allow the chiefs to reach their destination first. Arrived

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[1] In this generation the son of the Torokinga house was not eligible; he was a sister's child of the Ariki Kafika - **"e afu mai kuou"** said the chief; "he has sprung from me".

at Uta they separated without words, and each went to his own house, put away his adze, and prepared for the kava.

This time the rite was performed in the open. Mats were laid down, one for the Ariki and another for the kava bowl. A large basket of food from the canoe court was placed in front of the chief, and green coconuts were prepared for drinking. The chief poured libations of kava to the guardian deities of his adze, and to his ancestors. He was assisted by six men, three preparing the kava, and three the food. When this was finished the Ariki removed his waist cincture and his necklet, also the coconut fronds from his girdle. These were all hung up in the adjacent house since they were sacred objects. The people then drank and ate the coconuts, after which they chewed betel. In the midst of the ensuing conversation the Ariki Kafika remembered to ask "The kava of Pa Taumako, is it finished?" "It is finished", he was told.

THE "SACRED THINGS"

Now that the part played by **anea tapu** in the canoe ceremonies has been described their nature may be explained. Like the sacred adze, they are (or rather were) objects of value in canoe building. Of old they were the **muriroa**, long volute shells (**Terebra dimidiata**) of a creamy colour splashed with vermilion, which were used according to tradition as augers for boring the holes for the lashings. In former days, before the introduction of European steel tools, the woods used in canoe making were of a softer type from those employed to-day. **Puka** and **poumiri** were the favourites instead of the modern **fetau** (calophyllum sp.) a hardwood.

A point of great interest in connection with **anea tapu** is that many generations ago the **muriroa** were replaced by **fao**, iron spike nails, which seem to have come to Tikopia long before the first actual visit was made by white men. The native myth is that they were the gift of an **atua**, one of the deities of the Ariki Tafua, by name Tufare, or Tufaretai. This spirit desired to secure valuable objects for himself, and so went out on the ocean face to search. After seeking for a long time he returned with the **fao**, which were imbedded in a slab of wood (**papa**). This slab was brought by him inshore on the tide "**mori saere, mori saere**," says the tale, this phrase indicating the bobbing motion of the plank on the waves, which is dramatized as representing the motions of the atua in proffering his gifts. When the slab finally came ashore with the **fao** sticking up from it - tradition says four at each end, - the chiefs took counsel and decided that it was a gift from the gods, and divided up the prize among them, two for each. The spikes were then utilized to replace the shells as canoe tools and sacred objects for the ritual. Though tradition makes no mention of the fact, a chief then living, who was the official human medium of the god concerned, was probably instrumental in identifying the plank as the result of his god's efforts, and giving instructions accordingly, Pa Saukirima, whose tutelary deity is Tufaretai, said that the nails came to Tikopia before the time of his father and his grandfather - and he was an old man in 1928. He described the bringing of them as an act of pity on the part of the deity. "His canoes were hewn, hewn, in this land, and there was not a thing to bore them with. Thereupon he sent to

search, and brought back the things to bore the canoes. He looked and looked, and there was nothing for the making of canoes; there was no iron to bore the canoes; thereupon he went to seek it". Since the natives stress the antiquity of this event, and the spikes have apparently rusted away to a fraction of their original size, it seems probable that the plank came from one of the very early European vessels in the Western Pacific, before the Tikopia became acquainted with any white people. If the spikes were of comparatively recent origin they would be regarded as ordinary material objects and no more; of interest from their European source, and valued from their association with ancestors, as in the case of certain relics of La Pérouse, brought over from Vanikoro more than a century ago. But for them to have become embedded in the very centre of Tikopia canoe ritual and supplied with a supernatural origin suggests that they were probably the first pieces of iron to come to the island. No Tikopia admits that the plank drifted to shore of its own volition; it came as the direct result of the searching by the deity. The idea of Pa Saukirima, a heathen, was that Tufare went to the **atua o te fekau**, the Christian God - to obtain the iron from him. "Who else has it?" he asked me, logically. And in Tikopia style he added that Tufare presented a **maro** of bark-cloth to God in exchange for the nails.

It is difficult to convey the atmosphere of sanctity which surrounds these objects which practically no-one but the chief of each clan sees. Even when taken out of the temple for the canoe rites they remain enclosed in their little basket, and are handled with the utmost care and reverence. I did not see them myself, and made no attempt to do so. It would have been an act of desecration that would have wrecked my chances of further work on the native religion. But in addition to being told what they were by the Ariki Kafika, the Ariki Tafua and Pa Saukirima, I was given an account of how John Maresere, a native of Uvea who was taken as a "son" by the Ariki Tafua, was entrusted on one occasion with the bearing of the "sacred things" of Tafua. He took the opportunity of peeping into the basket, and long afterwards said to another member of the family " They are only nails", in disgust.[1]

It will be remembered that a somewhat similar replacement of shell by iron has taken place in the case of the small sacred adzes carried by the chiefs. The use of the sacred adzes and the "sacred things" in the canoe ritual is clearly to be correlated with their function as the most important tools in canoe-building. The sanctity attaching to them is a sacralization of implements essential in the work, a recognition of their vital importance.

SPRINKLING THE CANOES

As the sun went down the fleet got ready for sea. Each village had its own canoes and as the tide was falling they were carried down the

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[1] It may be noted that Maresere did not reveal to Rivers any of his knowledge of this aspect of the Work of the Gods.

beach early and set in the water on the reef. They were then paddled or pulled by men walking alongside out into the vicinity of the "channel", in reality no more than a narrow fissure or indentation in the solid fringing reef. This night "the assembled darkness was long" - i.e. the moon set early. Lines had been prepared during the day, hooks seen to, new traces bent on, nets repaired, and torches made. These consist of a couple of dry coconut leaves, taken from the roof of the house, set together and the fronds grasped in handfuls and roughly plaited. The maker begins at the base of the leaf and swiftly works upwards, tying strings of **kareva** (strips from the midrib of a green coconut leaf) with a single bow knot at intervals of about a foot. As the torch burns down in use the holder reaches up and pulls clear the string, thus releasing a fresh section to flare up. Three to eight torches are made, depending on the length of the span of darkness, and both men and women prepare them.

When the moon was low the crew assembled and got into the canoes, torches were lit, and the craft moved down the channel. I was not with them, but was told that each vessel performed a brief rite termed **te fekau o te ava** (the work of the channel). The word was given to "untie the fire". A torch was raised, a string was pulled away, and a shake caused it to burst into flame. By custom the torch was held up towards the **fasi ki runga** (east or north), not on the **fasi ki raro** (west or south). One of the crew held his long-handled net ready. When the light flared up he called aloud to the chief of his clan, who was on shore, **"Ia! tarotaro mai Pa Kafika ki a fekau o tou rakau"**. "Behold! recite a formula hither, Pa Kafika, for the work of your vessel".

The chief of course was too far away to hear this. But he told me that he was aware by the sudden flaring of the torches that the ritual moment had arrived, and sitting in his house, looking out from the eaves, he recited an appeal to the guardian deities of his fleet.

"Meme laui tou rakau, Ariki tautai.
Tata pe se rau niu ko tou katea.
Te ika sa, fatia ko tana ua
Ke seke i te tai i raro".

"Prosper well they timber, Sea-expert Chief.
Rattled as a coconut leaf be thy starboard side.
The jumping fish, broken be its neck
To slide down into the sea below".[1]

This formula needs some commentary. The use of the generic term **rakau** (wood or timber) for its specific product the vessel is common in native

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[1] I was given several variants of this formula, all of the same type. Pa Nukurenga of Taumako said "This speech is made throughout the land. We the clan of Taumako announce to the Ariki Taumako, but when the canoes of Kafika go fishing, they announce to the Ariki Kafika. The one speech is lifted". As a general point it may be noted that no Tikopia formula is regarded as invariable.

invocations. **Me** (the reduplicative form being **Meme**) is the term of the flying fish to signify that they are plentiful. The abbreviated diction of the formula applies the word directly to the canoe which it is hoped will benefit by the plenitude of fish. The next phrase indicates a desire that the fish in their flight shall be so abundant as to knock with a continuous rattle against the side of the canoe. The **ika sa** is another name for the **roroa** and **aku**, varieties of a kind of garfish, which skims above the surface of the water at great speed when disturbed and is capable of inflicting a dangerous wound. The sharp long snout, thin and set with rows of tiny teeth, embeds itself in the flesh like a spear point to a depth of several inches, and breaks off in the wound, the fish escaping in the confusion. People are frequently thus pierced in the leg or hand, and weeks of serious illness and disability, with even permanent lameness, may follow. There is a natural desire that the "jumping fish" may be warded off by the guardian deities.

This rite is known as **fifinga vaka**, "sprinkling the canoes". No actual sprinkling is done, but the idea is conveyed partly by the dipping of a fishing net of each vessel in the sea, and partly by the formula, which is of the nature of a benediction to equip the canoes with a "shower" of fish.

As each vessel performed its rite and addressed the chief it moved off in line through the channel, and, once beyond the reef, took up position in the rough crescent of the fleet, which was to sweep up and down the coast. The handling of the fleet demands organization and team work.

The torches are raised at a signal from the leading canoe and caused to flare up, when the fish, attracted by the lights, rise from the surface and, if the wind is strong, skim along for many yards high above the water. A man in the bow and one in the stern stand with long handled bag-nets and with a quick flash of the net intercept the fish in the air as they come within reach. A turn of the wrist and the net is spun round, enmeshing the prize, which is then dropped with a backward jerk into the hold of the vessel. Quickness of eye and speed of hand are essential. An expert will net his hundred fish on a good night; a clumsy fisherman will get no more than a score.

On this night of the **fifinga vaka**, I was told, when the **mataki save**, the first flying fish, was caught, the man took it out of the net, killed it, and then banged it against the side of the canoe, while he uttered a formula to bring other fish. This was done only for the first; the others were merely dropped into the bottom of the vessel. (Each canoe has its own custom on this occasion but the general procedure is as described). In the morning when the fleet returned the question was asked - "Who got the first flying fish in the fleet?", and some prestige was gained by the man and the canoe that secured the prize.

After the inshore waters had been swept a number of times and a sufficient quantity of flying fish had been secured, the canoes settled down individually for line work. In this they mainly tried for the fish of medium proportion. But the size of tackle used and the fish sought after always depend on the season of the year, the wind, the set of the tide, the state of the moon, the position of the fishing bank and other factors, on all of which the experts calculate. Heavy lines and large steel hooks - in

former times of wood - were lowered in the hope of catching a shark, the ambition of every member of the crew. The night passed thus, interspersed with spells of dozing, until the approach of dawn indicated that the time had come to return. (Most of the Tikopia sea-fishing is done at night; this is an ordinary event to the crew).

THE THIRD DAY

As the fleet came inshore and approached the channel in the morning people began to gather on the beach after their toilet and eagerly watched the vessels. They commented on the way in which each was handled in the channel, identifying the craft, the steersman and crew, and speculated on the catch. The word went round "A canoe is dashing up spray", though to me the vessel was barely distinguishable. This was a sign for a large fish, given by the paddlers. The type of signal caused it to be identified first as a **para** and then as a shark that had been caught. "Where does it come from?" was asked. "From the east" was the reply. This was an attempt to identify to which clan the canoe of the successful fishermen belonged, since there is rivalry between the clans. One by one the vessels shot the line of breakers and emerged into the comparative quiet of the shallow reef waters. They separated and each canoe made for its own village. As they drew up to the beach children rushed down, the catch was lifted out and taken up to be examined, while the craft was carried up on to the level ground and left in the shade. Lines and nets were taken out, washed and hung out to dry. The fish were carried to the canoe court, where they were set down to await the arrival of the chief, who had been engaged in Uta.

RITE OF HANGING UP THE SACRED THINGS

Soon after dawn, while the chief still slept, I went with a party of three men in a small canoe across the lake to Uta, in order to get the fire going and make preparations for cooking the fish. A couple of lake fish were carried over; these had been netted during the night by men who did not go out with the fleet. Theoretically, every vessel, fully manned, took part in the **fifinga vaka**; but in practice a few vessels were left without a crew, since some men were indisposed and others preferred to spend the night in attending to nets on the lake. There was method in this division of forces since it reinforced the chance of obtaining fish for the ceremony should the canoes be unsuccessful at sea. The canoe halted along the shore to collect firewood, then proceeded on its way while the paddlers speculated on the night's work. A dispute occurred as to which clan had secured the shark signalled from the fleet just before our party left. One man said it must be Taumako, another that it must be Kafika; the arguments of the second were more conclusive since he had a fish dream in the night, in which he went out and pulled up a shark. As it turned out, the shark belonged to Taumako after all, which was galling to the chief and people of Kafika.

When preparations were well in hand the chief arrived and took his seat in the large house. The fish and other food when cooked were carried out to the spot where he was waiting, the charcoal stripe was put on his forehead and the coconut frond necklet assumed. A stick of kava was laid across

the central food basket. The chief then performed a rite similar to that of the day before. He stuck the branching fronds of the "tail" of a palm leaf in his girdle at the back, then laid a green coconut in a further bunch of palm fronds. He held the nut for a few seconds, murmured a brief formula, then lifted his adze and smashed it. Rising to his feet he ran round the side of the temple waving the streaming nut to and fro and sprinkling the milk on all sides. Reaching the far end of the building he stopped and threw the nut under the eaves outside. He then poised the piece of cocoanut leaf and threw it too, to slide along the mats to the eave. The method of its fall was said to be an index of whether the fishing was successful or not. The chief then returned with stately steps to his usual seat. Facing the basket of food he picked up the end of the kava stem and invoked his deities in the usual manner. The kava of the saliva was made, followed by the libations of the ordinary liquid and the throwing of food offerings, at the conclusion of which the Ariki removed his cocoanut frond decoration and wiped off the charcoal mark from his forehead. This rite of sprinkling, which was the counterpart in Uta of that performed in the canoe court over the vessels and the sacred oven, marked the conclusion of the rites of the **faunga vaka.** The sacred objects were then hung up once more, and the sacred adze replaced on its shelf.[1]

Portions of food were allotted and all ate, while a discussion was started on the fishing, of which the full news had been brought by the later canoe in which the Ariki came. The catch secured by the vessels of Kafika was not satisfactory, and a critical analysis of the reasons was begun. Laughing abusive remarks were passed on a clumsy man, who, standing in the bow, got only ten flying fish, whereas his companion in the stern secured fifty. The fact that one crew was composed entirely of lads with not a **tautai** (sea expert) among them was also stressed. Much of the talk also turned on what the achievements would have been if only certain factors had been different, as if more canoes or different people had gone out. "If our fleet had fished completely nothing could have come near us!" was a sentiment which all seemed to share, while one or two people boasted of their own hypothetical prowess. "If I had fished" said one stay-at-home seriously, "the canoe would have secured a good catch".

DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN CANOE RITES

The rites which followed were those of the **fainga vaka** and **anea pariki.** The latter clearly is a first fruits rite, an acknowledgment to the deities of the fish secured through their good graces. I found it difficult at first, however, as an observer, to perceive the functional distinction between the **faunga vaka** and the **fainga vaka;** to understand why

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[1] I noted that Pa Tarairaki, who was new to this rite, had to ask Pa Porima whether he should prepare for the kava of the saliva or not.

a canoe should require two separate sets of ceremonies of more or less the same type to attain the one object. Differences in detail of observance were clear, but threw no light on the underlying motive of what appeared at first to be practically a repetition of previous rites. Analysis of the meaning of the names did not afford much help. **Faunga vaka** is literally the "lashing of the canoes"; i.e. the overhaul preparatory to their going to sea; while **fainga vaka** signified "doing" or "preparing the canoes", which seems to convey much the same idea. Both in fact are purely conventional terms. The natives were quite clear that there were two sets of ceremonies, and that there was an essential difference between them, but it was not easy to get from them an explanation of just where this essential difference lay. The type of answer commonly given was that the **faunga vaka** signified the overhaul of the vessel, scrutiny of the outrigger, replacement of it if it had begun to decay, and renewal of sinnet lashings. "**Ma fau o a vaka**" was the phrase "For the overhauling of the canoe". The phrase **fainga vaka** on the other hand was said to represent the making of food for the canoe: "If a man is seen on the road with breadfruit or taro he will be asked 'Where are you going?' 'I am going to the **fainga vaka** of the so-and-so family' he replies". My questions as to the meaning of the **fainga vaka** elicited also such a reply as "Make the food for the canoe; its kava is made for the fish to come to it" - a statement which seemed to apply equally well to the preceding **faunga vaka**! Such literal explanations told me little; they were significant only as indications of those features most prominent in a native definition of the phenomena. A more relevant point of procedure was that whereas in the **faunga vaka** no bark-cloths were actually hung on the canoe, in the **fainga vaka** they were so displayed.

The real distinction, as I found after considerable inquiry, was in the personnel of the supernatural beings addressed in each case. In the **faunga vaka**, as has been shown, the **atua tau toki**, the guardian deities of the adze and "sacred things" were invoked, together with the ordinary deities of the kava. In the **fainga vaka** the deities of the kava were also summoned, but the rites were primarily addressed to the **atua tau vaka**, the guardian deities of the canoe itself. Hence there is one point of difference: in the **faunga vaka** each rite was of a collective kind, that is, it was valid for all the canoes of the clan at once, whereas the **fainga vaka** had to be performed separately for each canoe in order that its own tutelary deities might take part. The second set of rites was then not a repetition of the first, but a particularization of it. For the natives it is especially significant as it involves a much more definite participation of individual families as canoe owners and food providers, and more personal responsibility.

To illustrate this particularization in the **fainga vaka** the tutelary deities of two canoes may be specified. In each case there is a myth which accounts for their special attachment to the vessel, stating how the craft was given to men from the gods.

The sacred canoe of Porima house is called Kau Rotuma, and is believed to be the direct descendant of the vessel which brought the ancestors of Kafika to Tikopia. Hence the **atua tau vaka** of Pa Porima for this craft are:

Tafaki and Karisi (i.e. Pu ma) - Kafika ancestors.

Te Atua i te Uruao - principal deity of Porima
Pu Fafine - female deity of Kafika
Pufine i Taufiti - female deity of Porima.

The sacred canoe of the house of Maneve, called Te Aroimata, is believed to have been acquired by Rakaitonga, the ancestor of Taumako, from the Atua i te Uruao, the deity of Porima. Its gods then include this deity and his crew. When the canoe was brought into the Taumako clan the chief took it over as a sacred vessel, and allotted to it some of his own gods in addition. One was Rakaitonga himself, as was natural, since he had secured it; the others were the eel-god of Taumako, and a female deity. Hence there are seven **atua tau vaka** whose bark-cloths have to be spread at the **fainga vaka**, as shown below.

Poungaru - Atua i te Uruao	: 2 orange cloths
Tiaremuna - crew of Poungaru	: 3 white bark-cloths
Matavaka " ")	together
Vakamaofa " ")	
Pu lasi - Rakaitonga	: 2 orange cloths
Pu Tautonga - Eel-god	: 1 white cloth
Pakora - female deity	: 1 white cloth square

This last example shows the intimate relationship that often exists in myth between the gods of the various kinship groups, a relationship that frequently emerges in ritual and economic terms, as illustrated by the rites of Te Akau-moana and other canoes later.

It must be emphasised that while well-informed men know approximately who are the gods of the various sacred canoes, particularly the principal ones, they do not know all the details. Pa Nukurenga said to me of his vessel Te Aroimata "We the men, each hides the god of his canoe. Great is their weight. Of the canoes laid up there, some have three, others four, others two **maro** (i.e. bark-cloth offerings to their deities). We who make the rites of the sacred canoes, each has a deity of the canoe for himself. One person does not know the deity of another; the chief only knows". Hence the **fainga vaka** rites have an individuality for each vessel, with the chief of the clan as the common factor of linkage.

We may now return to the observed sequence of ritual. The **fainga vaka** as performed in the monsoon season allows of alternative procedure, owing to the differential rank of the **taumauri**. The premier canoe is Vakamanongi, of Fangarere. It is "the canoe in front"; "Vakamanongi is a loftier canoe; the fleet is below" it was said. Hence when the early morning kava was over on the third day the Ariki Kafika despatched messengers to the other chiefs to inform them of the arrangements. This was a matter of great interest for the folk in the beach villages, since they had to get ready the food. The first canoe which returns from Uta is always eagerly asked "Ea ko nga vaka?" "How are the canoes?" or more simply "How?". If the answer is "Ko tatanaki ko nga vaka", "the canoes will be gathered together" then it is known that all four main **taumauri** will perform their **fainga vaka** rites on this same day. If, however, the messenger says "Ka to tautasi ko Vakamanongi", "Vakamanongi will fall singly", then it is

understood that only this craft will be celebrated. In this case the other clans will perform the firstfruits rite (**anea pariki**) alone this day, and postpone their **fainga vaka** till the next. It may be noted that the Ariki Kafika speaks of the Fangarere canoe as his, in apprising the other chiefs of the day's plans. "My canoe Vakamanongi will fall singly", he says, if he wishes it to be celebrated alone. If he wishes the other **taumauri** to perform their rites at the same time he sends word to the chiefs of Tafua and Taumako "Your canoe will shift to the outrigger of Vakamanongi". This is described as "honorific speech" to that vessel, since the outrigger side is the inferior one. It is a figurative expression, as each canoe remains in its own court all the time, and the orientation does not carry out the words.

As far as I could see the decision of the Ariki Kafika in this matter depends upon the quantity of food, especially fish, available, and upon how energetic he feels.

In the season described, Vakamanongi was allowed to "fall singly", that is the clan of Fangarere performed its ritual alone on the first day of the **fainga vaka**. On this day the people of Kafika celebrated **anea pariki**, the firstfruit rites, and the following day also. The next day they carried out the **fainga vaka** for their **taumauri** Tafurufuru in the morning, and similar rites for their other sacred canoes in the afternoon. The people of Taumako did likewise, as would have those of Tafua had they still been participants. The events of Kafika, which I attended, will be described in their order here.

"EVIL THINGS"

The first rite of "evil things" of Kafika was performed in the canoe yard of the **taumauri** Tafurufuru. Plan II indicates the arrangements. Various items of fishing paraphernalia were assembled. Besides two canoes, two flying-fish nets used the night before were sticking out of some bushes, a roll of the sinnet cord used in deep-sea fishing was hung alongside, and some of the flying-fish caught, still raw, were also strung up. Coconut leaves were laid outside the canoe shed.

An important point of ritual was that the green mat on which the sacred canoe tools had been laid was still open in its original position. It was not to be folded up until the rites of "evil things" had been completed, and lay there as a reminder, so to speak, that the account between gods and men was still unsettled.

The Ariki arrived from Uta some three hours or so after sunrise,- where it will be remembered he had been "hanging up" the sacred objects. He took his seat on a mat spread for him at the end of the canoe shed. On his coming the fish previously hung up were laid on the cocoanut leaves in front of him. They lay there for a few minutes, and were then set by the side of the canoe court, close to the **umu tonga**. This was by way of formal announcement of the catch.

The kava bowl was set at the seaward end of the court and the liquid was prepared while two baskets, one of breadfruit and another of flying-fish cooked on leaves over a fire were set before the chief. The attendant untied them and set out portions for the chief, the kava bowl, and the deity of the canoe. A note of colour was then given to the ceremony by the application to the chief of turmeric, a vermilion pigment mixed with cocoanut oil. A young man stood behind the chief, and dipping his fingers in a little of the pigment in a leaf, smeared a broad red band round the chief's belly, sides and back, just above the waistcloth. The kava was then clapped and the first cup was poured by the chief on the mat by his side. This was to various deities of his kava. Following on this a **marotafi**, a piece of bark-cloth, orange-dyed with the same turmeric, was brought to the chief, unfolded by him, and laid towards the stern of the near canoe. A cup of kava was handed to him and he poured it on the mat beside the cloth. The bark-cloth was the vestment of his supreme deity, and the kava his libation. Food offerings were then thrown, after which another cup of kava was poured to other deities by the chief and then one by Pa Porima, which concluded the ceremony. The fish and breadfruit set in front of the chief were removed and dealt out to the crowd, who had as yet eaten nothing, since they had awaited the arrival of the party from Uta.

A certain continuity was observed in the composition of the various groups. Thus the people who went to Uta the previous evening went this morning also; they were known as "Sa Uta" as against "Sa Tai", the people who remained on the coast and performed the work in connection with the canoe court.

The ceremony of **anea pariki**, when performed by itself in the canoe court above the beach is not of very great sacredness; it becomes so however when it is performed in Uta or if it is combined with the rites of the **fainga vaka**. In the first case it is said to be **mama**, light, as compared with the second, which is **mafa**, heavy. The term **palasu**, which has an even more literal meaning, is also used to signify a ceremony of importance or "weight".

In the interval, while waiting for the next event, the chief and his elders sat either in the canoe shed or in his adjacent house, talking, chewing betel, and smoking, while the ordinary rank and file of the clan went off to the woods to collect food. On their return the oven was prepared and late in the afternoon preparations were again made for the kava. The same arrangements are followed as in the morning, but this time the fish formed a much larger portion of the meal. The kava ritual was of the simple type, libations only being poured. Care was taken to make special food offerings to the deity of the canoe, a piece of breadfruit being thrown towards the bow with the announcement "Ia!" and portions of fish to the stern. A meal concluded the day's activities. As these had been in effect the offering of the night's catch to the gods, fish naturally formed the greater portion of the food supply. I was told "It is made only to the fish; rites of evil things are made considerable with the fish, while the food is little" - the "food" meaning, of course vegetable supplies such as taro and breadfruit. A command frequently given at such a time emphasises

that it is primarily a fishing ceremony. "**Te tō pakapaka ke tumu ma kava makariri o a ika**", "The remaining bait to be cooked for the cold kava of fish". The "cold kava" is one of the lesser grades of ritual. The "bait" refers to the fact that the flying fish are used to bait the hooks for a larger fish, hence some of the catch are consumed in this way at sea.

The curious term **anea pariki** may now be examined to see why it is that a rite of celebrating the firstfruits of fishing should be called "evil things". The native explanation was that it represents an acknowledgment to the gods of the adze for their efforts on behalf of men. If this is done then relations between gods and men remain on a pleasant footing. But if men are slack, and either do not catch fish, or neglect to perform the appropriate rites with them, then the gods become angry. "**Anea pariki maori soa E!**"said the Ariki Kafika to me. "Evil things truly, friend. If there is no fish, it is made with a man, and the man dies. The man has been struck by the guardian deities of the adze that he may die for the making of their 'evil things'". If the **anea pariki** are not made for some days after the canoes have gone to sea, it is believed that some person will sicken and die; it is known then that the gods have taken their victim. According to Pa Raropuka, in Taumako the decision lies primarily with the chief. The deity Pusi enters his human medium before **anea pariki** is performed, and asks:-

"Where shall Tumoana cut?
Shall he cut among the news of the ocean,
Or shall he cut among the news of the land?"

This means, where shall the god's adze strike - among fish, or among men? With which shall "evil things" be made? If the chief calls in reply "Strike at sea", then the deity will kill a fish to be brought to shore by one of the clan canoes. But if the chief sits without a word, then the deity will kill a man. Pa Raropuka said that the Taumako clan were bad; their god killed if no fish were caught.

Hence there is always some haste to get the ceremony over, and if bad weather prevents the fleet from going out or if the catch is poor, uneasiness is felt in all the villages. It is during this time that the mats lie open in the canoe court and everyone is relieved when they are folded up; it is the sign that the due rites have been completed. The custom is for Kafika clan to perform **anea pariki** three times at least, including once in Uta. If no large fish is obtained, but only flying fish, then it will probably be made twice in Uta for safety. Taumako perform their rites four times, once in the canoe court, once in Uta, once in Ravenga at the sacred house Resiake and then finally in the canoe court again. The day chosen depends largely on the catch of the preceding night. The chief looks at it and if it is substantial says to his people "Here! We shall go and make 'evil things'". The rite is spoken of either as **anea pariki o nga vaka**, "evil things of the canoes", or **anea pariki o mataforau**, "evil things of the canoe court".

On this occasion the Ariki Kafika again performed "evil things" on the following day, the fourth of the canoe rites. On this day also a subsidiary rite took place, the re-consecration of the canoe shed of the

chief's vessel Tafurufuru.

About sunrise the chief was seated in his canoe court with a score or so of flying fish, the first product of the night's work, on a mat in front of him. The place was empty of canoes, for Tafurufuru and the other vessels of Kafika were out at sea with the fleet, and had not yet returned. As the sun got up, however, they began to come inshore and were a subject of comment to the crowd of people on the beach. Naturally everyone was more particularly interested in the vessels of his own family and clan, and the chief himself was no exception to this. A swell was breaking on the reef, and the channel was none too smooth. A canoe which approached it from the side instead of facing straight in, aroused his ire, while the sight of Tafurufuru riding in on the crest of a wave in daring style caused him to curse vigorously. Exasperation passed however, in interest in the catch. The numbers obtained by each canoe, and the comparison of the fishing of Ravenga with that of Faea, with which district there was constant rivalry, occupied attention for some time.

The arrival of the **monotanga** from Fangarere (see later) diverted the conversation; it was a large household basket filled to bursting with a mass of taro tubers and pudding, and topped by orange bark-cloth. At the same time the gift for Taumako was borne past, a similar great package of food covered with a white bark-cloth. On the receipt of this the usual morning ritual took place, the **monotanga** - "the kava of Vakamanongi", as it was termed, being the chief object. The basket was opened in front of the chief, the orange bark-cloth was laid towards the stern of the canoe, portions of food were set out and libations of kava poured. That the rite was a celebration of the fishing was indicated by the presence in the canoe court of a flying-fish net, several rolls of sinnet and a smouldering torch, all articles brought from the canoes.

Preparations were then made to go out fishing again, for at this time work was fairly continuous. The economic organization demanded some care. Arrangements were made for some people to get food from the cultivations, and for others to procure fish. Messengers were sent to men likely to form canoe crews, and young men who were unwilling were persuaded to go. As it was, one canoe was unable to get a full crew of men, and made up its complement with three boys.

While the fishermen were away an oven was prepared in a hut adjacent to Taramoa, the house of Pa Fenuatara, eldest son of the Ariki Kafika.

RE-FURNISHING THE CANOE SHED

The next event was the re-furnishing of the canoe shed (**aforau**) which housed Tafurufuru. Every craft has a shed of its own, a long structure with a lean-to roof almost touching the ground on the low side. The sheds of some sacred canoes are **tapu**, being under the aegis of one or more deities of the group owning the vessel. The presence of a deity is manifested by a material object, a mat, a stone slab, or a conch shell. There is a distinction here between **vaka fai tapakau**, canoes having mats, and **vaka se ke tapakau**, canoes without mats, known as **vaka fakaangiangi**. In Kafika, for

instance, Sapiniakau has no mat in its shed, and hence no ritual as here described, whereas Tafurufuru has such. "Canoes with mats" are primarily the **taumauri**.

The seasonal rite of re-consecration involves replacing of cocoanut mats and other perishable material, followed by the usual kava ritual.

It is a Tikopia custom to utilise the structural members of a building as foci of religious interest or embodiments of deities. In this case the principal post at the far end of the shed was the embodiment or token of the gods Tafaki and Karisi, otherwise Pu ma. At the foot of the post lay a mat, while the post itself was decorated with leaves of **rongorongo** (Cycas) tied in place with a narrow strip of bark-cloth, of which one end hung down in a long streamer. These ornaments of the post were a token of respect and honour to the deities. (A more detailed discussion of the function of such things is given in Chapter V.)

On this occasion the food from the oven was brought into the shed and set in the middle of the floor, which was covered with a debris of old thatch and cocoanut leaves. Mats were set out, one for the chief and another for his elders, that of the former being nearer the sacred post. The kava bowl was likewise set in position. When all was ready the Ariki said - "Wait till I go and refurnish". He rose, walked to the far end of the house removed the old mat and laid in its place a new green one fresh plaited, untied the streamer and took away the dead cycas leaves, replacing them with a fresh set and binding them with a new white length of bark-cloth. He then returned to his seat and performed the kava. He faced the mat and cycas leaves as he did so.

Since the principal post of the shed was the pillar of the two deities, Pu ma, an orange bark-cloth offered with obeisance by the chief was theirs also. As it was said "The bark-cloth spread out there is spread out to Pu ma - Pu ma are two, Tafaki and Karisi". Theirs also was the display of cycas leaves bound to the post. This was described by Pae Sao as a decoration conferred on them by Tafito and Pufine Taufiti.[1] The strip of bark-cloth which bound the leaves to the post was called **te noa**, a general term for a tie, but which was used as a technical term for all such pendant streamers in temples. The other supernatural being who shared the canoe shed was the Atua Fafine, the female guardian of the canoe. The mat at the foot of the post, though known generally as the mat of the gods was in reality her resting place alone. It is from this that the kava ceremony received its name. "**Te kava o te tapakau**" - "the kava of the mat". In the Kafika canoe shed this female deity and Pu ma were the supernatural beings principally invoked. The canoe shed of each chief had its own female deity, in Kafika known as Pu Fafine, in Fangarere as Pufine Ravenga, while Tafua and Taumako had each "A Rua Nea", "Two Persons", the euphemistic conjoined title of a pair of evilly-disposed goddesses. It was said that these deities sometimes

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[1] Tafito is the premier god of Fangarere; Pufine Taufiti is one of the Rua Nea (see below).

take material shape, and are to be found in the embodiment of a stone at the foot of the principal post of the canoe shed. "**E ta te aforau, e tino ki te fatu, te fatu kau papa, papa tea, kore ko te pou, ena i tekunga kore, mau ena i te riu rua o te pou**". "When the canoe shed is built they embody themselves in a stone, a stone slab of light rock. When we dig the post, there it is in the soil, found there in the bottom of the hole of the post".

As far as the floor itself is concerned the female deity is in charge, and it is because of her that certain prohibitions are in force when men sit in the shed of one of the chief canoes. "The canoe shed is tapu". People may not sit above the floor on stools or upturned bowls or blocks of wood as they do elsewhere, but only on mats. Moreover, no man may sleep face downwards there, a position which is quite allowable in a house. The reason for these observances is to be found in the belief that female deities sometimes desire to have connection with mortal men, and in this event the man sickens and may die. Positions such as the above are suggestive, and might be construed as invitations to the goddess; hence they are to be avoided. The general principle obtains in Tikopia religion that male **atua** are peculiarly dangerous to mortal women, and female **atua** to mortal men on account of this sexual bias. As natives said to me, "Friend! the female deity is bad; she is concupiscent towards us, the males".

An interesting instance of probable Melanesian contact is afforded by the cycas. Its common name is the **rongorongo**, but it is also known as the **melemele**, apparently a reduplication of the name **mwele** by which it is known in Mota and adjacent islands, where also the leaves are used as taboo badges and the like.

During the performance of the kava which had re-consecrated the canoe shed the fishermen had been away in their craft. They returned in the early afternoon. Most of the people on shore had been busy in attending to the **umu lasi**, the large oven. This was to provide the food for a further ceremony of **anea pariki**, and a considerable amount of work had been devoted to it. Finally all was ready and chief and elders took their respective seats. An attendant applied the band of turmeric round the waist of the chief. The usual kava ceremony was then performed, omitting the recitation of the formula over the stem of the plant, but with a large number of libations to the various deities. Portions of taro pudding, three in number, were laid by the side of the canoe which flanked the group; these were for the deities of the vessel. A single cup of kava was carried from one to the other and a little of the liquid poured out beside each food portion. This was the "kava of the canoe". A special point was made of taking a cooked fish from the basket, removing its wrappings and pinching off a piece of the flesh to throw towards the stern of the canoe. This was an essential gesture of the rite, since if offered to the canoe deity there the produce of his beneficence.

The food, including the portions which had been laid beside the canoe, was then distributed among the crowd and all ate heartily. The

fishing of the morning was keenly discussed - it had not been good. Much speculation was indulged in as to what were the various fish which had bitten but were not hooked, the manner of biting and pulling being described in detail in each case for public judgment. Humorous anecdotes enlivened the theme, and were well received.

After the oven was emptied for this last ceremony the **roi** was placed in it for the morrow. From this was to be served the **kava fakaafuru** in the morning, a rite of particular weight and importance to mark the **fainga vaka** ceremonies of the chief's **taumauri** Tafurufuru.

FAINGA VAKA OF A TAUMAURI

As mentioned earlier the **fainga vaka** is a rite performed individually for each sacred canoe. Its principal ritual elements are the anointing of the vessel with oil and the offering of bark-cloth to its tutelary deities. But one feature of especial economic interest arises from the integration of the tutelary deities of the vessel in a wider scheme.

Whenever the kava is made for a sacred canoe it is the custom for the owner or possessor of the vessel to make a special large basket of food and carry it to his clan chief, as a gift. This is termed the **monotanga**. Being in the nature of an acknowledgment of his suzerainty the chief does not reciprocate the present - one of the few occasions on which this rule of reciprocity is abrogated. The custom of the monotanga holds also in the case of the **fainga vaka** of the **taumauri**, with the difference that the chief concerned sends a basket of food to each of his fellow chiefs when his own canoe is celebrated. The net result is that each chief has to send out three separate gifts in connection with his own canoe, but receives as equivalent three baskets from the canoes of the others. In each case the **monotanga** is topped with a single piece of bark-cloth, and here certain distinctions are observed. Tafua, Taumako and Fangarere clans all send orange-dyed cloth, with their gifts to the Ariki Kafika, and plain bark-cloth to each other. The Ariki Kafika, on his part, sends an orange cloth to the Ariki Fangarere and plain cloth to the Ariki Tafua and the Ariki Taumako. The orange cloth means that the gift is offered to the Atua i Kafika; the plain cloth that it is to the other canoe deities in each case.

The food for the **monotanga** of these principal canoes is cooked in the evening of the **fainga vaka** ceremony, removed from the oven the next morning, and sent off to the other chiefs. The sacerdotal name for the **monotanga** of the **taumauri** vessels is "**te ara o nga atua** - The path of the gods". It is said too that in olden days when the rites were celebrated for Vakamanongi, each chief shouldered a contribution of green food in person and went to the ceremony. This is significant of its importance, for normally a chief does not shoulder things, or bear any burdens. Nowadays, however, this duty is delegated to his wife or son.

The fifth day was one of great interest and activity to the Kafika folk. The oven with the **roi** was uncovered soon after sunrise. Special attention was paid to the **fakapoke**, a large mass of pudding which was to

form the **pièce de resistance** of the **monotanga** of the canoe, including the various gift baskets. I heard Pa Fenuatara ask Pa Siamano, his father's cousin "Is the **fakapoko** large?", " What?" the elder replied sharply, "was it made by children? We two, I and the chief, made it". The younger answered smoothly "It is well". A busy party of men and women had gathered round the oven, and by degrees the various packages of food were ready and set in line. One was designated "the basket of the canoe", for use in the rites of the canoe court. Another, crammed into a household basket (**longi**) was destined for the Ariki Fangarere, while another for the Ariki Taumako (and formerly one for the Ariki Tafua) was put into a large openwork basket of the type called **popora**, which held it more easily. It will be remembered that the gift from Fangarere to Kafika was contained in a **longi** while **popora** were used for those to the other chiefs. These differences of detail are extremely important to the natives; they are points of traditional procedure for which usually no reason except tradition can be assigned, but with which good manners demand compliance. Such social obligations connected with a rite are in their way just as weighty as the religious duties. A number of baskets of the elders (**popora nga pure**) were also made up, one for each. These represented their share of the food. The remainder was put into baskets to be distributed later among the crowd assembled at the ceremony.

Considerable care was exercised in the food apportioning, which was so organised that the various baskets were not confused. This was essential, since the type, quality and quantity had to vary considerably according to the destination of the basket. In the bustle of uncovering the oven, preparing the food, and packing the baskets, with a score or more people actively engaged, it was surprising that no mistakes occurred. At last the food was carried across from the cook-house to the canoe court, the bearers being carefully instructed about each basket.

The chief and his elders took their appointed seats, and the people of the clan assembled in numbers, for this was one of the great rites of the season. (See Plan III).

The charcoal stripe was put on the forehead of the chief, and the vermilion turmeric band smeared thickly round his waist, with a ring on his upper arms in addition. Then came one of the special rites of the **fainga vaka**. The ariki, still seated on his mat, selected a few sprigs of an aromatic shrub laid in front of him, took up a bottle of coconut oil, and carefully poured a few drops on to the leaves in his hand.[1] Setting down the bottle he leaned forward and rubbed vigorously at a spot on the side of the canoe, near the stern, where a dark stain showed the effect of former applications. This was the rite of **fakasinunga vaka**, "oiling the canoe". The chief accompanied his act with the recital of a formula, which he gave me later, as follows:-

"**Kaukau manu tou rakau Ariki tautai.**

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[1] Formerly gourds (**kapia**) were used as containers, but nowadays glass bottles have superseded them.

Kaukau ki se ora.
Kau kaina fakaangafuru kou tae
Tafuri ki tou rakau
Ranga ma tau ika,
Foi marie foi varu, foi para;
Kae meme laui ko tou rakau.
Moe seke fuere i te tai i raro".

"Anoint with power your timber Sea-expert Chief
Anoint for welfare.
I eat ten times your excrement
Turn to your timber
Rise with your fish,
A shark, a **varu**, a **para** ;
And be properly abundant your timber.
Sleeping descend only in the sea below".

This formula was said to be a general one, used by the chief on all occasions when he had to perform a **fainga vaka** rite. It is of the "telescopic" variety, so that a fairly literal translation such as the above, still leaves its meaning rather cryptic. The first four lines are fairly clear, though it should be noted that the term **kaukau**, a derivative of **kau** (swim) is active in form and passive in sense, and that it and its adverb **manu** though grammatically linked are dependent for their significance on different subjects. To put it more concretely, it is the chief who performs the action of anointing, while it is the sea-expert chief, the guardian deity of the vessel, who supplies the power. Such is the native meaning, though it is not apparent in the phraseology. The term **ranga** is generally explained as **te moana ke ranga**, "the sea to rise", that is for fish to come nearer the surface and so be available. The word **meme** as used in connection with the flying-fish has already been explained; here again the real subject is omitted; it is the fish that are required to be abundant for the advantage of the canoe (**rakau** = "wood" or "timber" is always used as a synonym for **vaka** = "canoe" in such formulae).

The request to "fall sleeping into the sea below" may seem obscure; it refers to the undesirable garfish in the hope that it may remain below and not disturb the fishermen by its dangerous flight. The conventional self-deprecatory statement of the eating of the excrement of the deity is termed **tauraro**, and the reason is given thus: "Eating excrement only to the guardian deity of the canoe that his mind may be well disposed, that he be not angry hither towards us".

A similar formula for his **fainga vaka**, though somewhat shorter, was given me by the Ariki Taumako.

"I eat your excrement Tafaiata!
Turn to your timber is anointed there
Anoint with power
Anoint for welfare
To ascend a flying fish on to your canoe.

Tafaiata is the special name used by this chief in his canoe court when addressing the Atua i Kafika, to whom he also has limited rites of appeal. In such case it is Te Rurua, the **taumauri** that is celebrated, since it is dedicated to this principal Kafika deity.

After the anointing with the aromatic leaves and oil came the important rite of spreading the sacred vestments, **foroforanga maro** or **foforanga maro.** These **maro** are similar in nature and function to those used in the ordinary kava ceremony. They are normally pieces of bark-cloth which are spread out as offerings to the **atua tau vaka,** the tutelary deities of the canoes. They are kept solely for the use of the vessel, each deity has his or her own type, and there is a special position in which the cloth must be laid.

The actual form of the ceremony for the canoe Tafurufuru was as follows: - The chief took first the **maro kie,** a small mat, finely plaited from a soft variety of pandanus leaf, and decorated with a deep red border of dyed fibre in a zigzag pattern. This he laid on the stern of the vessel, over the spot on which he rubbed the oiled leaves. He next took a pile of orange bark-cloths and raising them to his head in obeisance, laid them on the mat before him. An attendant - in this case his eldest son - picked up several of them and laid them across the starboard gunwale, with the broad end hanging down to the ground outside. Three were so placed amidships towards the bow. A **mami** or large white square of cloth was laid on the ground near the bow. This was for the Female Deity - "**te maro a Pu Fafine**", the white square being a woman's garment, whereas the longer strips of cloth were appropriate only to male deities. The **maro kie** was the property of the deities of the adze i.e. Pu Ma, here celebrated as deities of the canoe itself. The other cloths were assigned to the Atua i Kafika and other deities of lesser status. When all the **maro** were set out the vessel presented a picturesque appearance, the light straw colour of the pandanus leaf contrasting with the bright orange or vermilion of the turmeric-dyed cloths, while the bright turmeric bands on the body and arms of the Ariki added a further note of colour to the scene.

The Ariki now put on his necklet of cocoanut frond, and the kava stem - a large one for this occasion - was laid with its root towards the stern of the canoe. The chief again took up a handful of the aromatic leaves, and rubbed them over his chest and upper arms, bruising them in the process so that they would be still more pungent. The scent of the leaves is pleasant to the nostrils of the deities, and this act represents an attempt of the chief to attract their attention still more favourably towards him, the performer of their ceremonies. He then turned to the stem of the kava, and after the usual appeal to and confirmation from the assembled elders began the recital of a long formula, the customary kava of the canoe court, which has been described earlier. The first two libations were poured by the chief towards the stern, that is, Pu ma; the next two on the mat in front of him, to his other gods and his ancestors; the fifth cup was poured by Pa Porima to his principal deity; the sixth and seventh by the kava bearer to the other deities of the canoe; the eighth by Pa Porima to his other gods, and the ninth by Pa Rarovi to his gods. The **monotanga** were then topped with

bark-cloth; that for the canoe court of Te Keo, of Fangarere, with an orange cloth from the mat of the chief, and that for Te Rurua, of Taumako, with a plain cloth from the bow of the canoe. They were borne off with a stick of kava in each case.[1]

I had been told by Pae Sao that if a visitor of rank attended this kava rite etiquette allowed him, in fact compelled him, to present several **maro** to the canoe. Coached by Pae Sao, I did this. After the ordinary bark-cloths had been spread out I rose from my seat and laid two pieces of red calico at the feet of the chief, one for the **maro** of the canoe, and the other as its honorific support. I then laid a white piece on the bow of the vessel, for the Female Deity; and another red piece at the chief's feet with the words "The **maro** of your father and your ancestors". The chief and his people were at first taken aback by my act, since I had been coached in secret, but a murmur of appreciation then went round, and my gesture of acknowledgment of hospitality and recognition of the gods helped me greatly in my future work. Some time later, however, the Ariki told me with a laugh that I had made one mistake - the white calico should have been laid on the ground, and not on the canoe itself! The calico was afterwards parcelled up and kept as part of the ritual offerings to the gods, for future use.

FAINGA VAKA OF OTHER KAFIKA CANOES

The ceremony just completed marked the end of the **fainga vaka** for the principal **taumauri**, but the rest of the **vaka tapu** of the chief still remained to be celebrated. The main vessel was described as a **vaka fai tao**, i.e. a canoe, the rites for which are performed with food cooked in the oven overnight and taken out early in the morning. The others were termed **vaka fai mata** - "canoes celebrated green", since the food used to make the requisite offerings was brought in from the gardens and cooked the same day. Hence the rites for these vessels are always performed in the late afternoon.

On this day three canoes of Kafika were celebrated, namely Karoata, belonging to the Ariki and kept in his village of Potu sa Kafika; Sapiniakau, also his property and kept adjacent to his residence in Sukumarae; and Kaveitau, the canoe of Pe Torokinga, one of his elders, which was hauled up in its shed in Te Roro, on the far lake-shore. It is the duty of the family possessing the canoe to prepare the necessary baskets of food for the ceremony, including the **monotanga**, which is given by them to their chief. The preparation of the food entails a considerable amount of work, and the family concerned obtain assistance from brothers-in-law, nephews or neighbours, who come along with contributions of raw food and join in the work. When cooked the food is carried to the canoe court, where the vessel is drawn up, and is termed **te umu o te vaka** (the oven of the canoe) or **te kava o te vaka** (the

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[1] A slip in the organization occurred here; the four portions to be used by the elders Pa Rarovi and Pa Porima as offerings to their gods were forgotten, until a protest caused them to be set out.

kava of the canoe). The principal basket is topped with a piece of plain bark-cloth. The rite as I saw it was practically the same as that performed in the morning for Tafurufuru, the essential elements being the anointing of each vessel, the spreading out of bark-cloths for their respective deities, and then in conclusion, to give efficacy to the performance and stamp it with the seal of esoteric authority, the full kava ritual. Only two canoes were present, Kaveitau, having been out of repair for some years, remained in its own shed and "its kava only was brought hither", i.e. only the obligatory basket of food. Accordingly no actual rites were performed over it, but it was included by implication in the kava formulae. The canoe gods of Karoata were said by Pa Fenuatara to be Tumoana and Pu-i-te-Moana. The former, he said, was Pusiuraura under another name; he was an **atua** of Pu ma, having come with them to Tikopia by swimming under their canoe. His arrival from Tonga with the canoe Tukupasia was later. Pu-i-te-Moana was formerly a man, by name Tifemua, a son of the Ariki Kafika Maranga. The canoe gods of the craft Sapiniakau have been described elsewhere.[1]

An interval of a few minutes occurred when the kava was over, and the Ariki then went across to the canoe court, a few yards away, where his vessel Tafurufuru lay. Here four large baskets of food were resting, three being the respective **monotanga** of the canoes, and the other, placed slightly in advance, "the basket of the elders" (**te popora nga matua**) i.e. of the ancestors of the chief. Portions of food were set out in front of the chief, orange cloths were unfolded and kava was prepared in the bowl; of this the chief poured five cups - three towards the stem of the vessel for Pu ma and Te Atua i Kafika, and two for his ancestors. This ceremony did not relate to the other craft just celebrated, though it arose from their presence. The chief had duly performed the rites for the deities of these canoes and had received the **monotanga** from the respective owners in acknowledgment. He in his turn then made recognition to his own particular deities, notably the Atua i Kafika, by this subsidiary rite. It was the **fakaari**, the "announcing" of the food to his god, in accordance with the usual custom that a chief or elder, on receiving a large gift of food from any source, places it on the ritual side of his house, opens it and throws small morsel in offering. The present case gives another instance of how the threads of the social organisation are drawn together, in that the gods of the ordinary **vaka tapu** are once more linked with those of the **taumauri**. It may be objected here that two of the three vessels celebrated were under the immediate ownership of the Ariki himself, and that a repetition of the offerings was superfluous. This, however, was not the case, since the gods of each canoe were different, and the supreme deities must have their due every time.

When all was over the food was divided among the crowd who attended, the elders receiving the largest share. As the work of sorting out and wrapping up the food was ended the sun was just going down. Sometimes at this juncture the Ariki leaves for Uta in order to perform a ceremony

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[1] In my Primitive Polynesian Economy, Ch.IV. with an account of the ritual for the repair of the vessel.

known as "Te ara o Pu." Description of this, however, will be most appropriate after the account of the remaining canoe rites is completed.

Two or three canoes as a rule are celebrated at the one time, and this performance goes on at intervals of a day or so until all the vessels have been re-consecrated. In Kafika clan on the following day - the sixth - **Kau rotuma**, the craft owned by Pa Porima; Peru i te vai, that of the Mapusanga family, who were close relatives of the chief, and Ariki taufenua, that of Pa Rarovi, were celebrated. In former times a pair of other canoes, Maratau, belonging to Pa Raropuka, and Te Arai moana, owned by the family of Totiare, both residing in the district of Faea, were also celebrated by the Ariki Kafika. But since Christianity has claimed these people their **fainga vaka** have fallen into desuetude.

By tradition, variations of procedure were observed at the ceremonies of certain specified vessels. One of these was Peru i te vai, which was decorated for the occasion with streamers of **sakile**, the young creamy light-green fronds of the coconut, cut before they had properly opened out. These were tied on at the junction of thwart and gunwale, and leaves of a ruddy variety of **ti** (Cordyline terminalis) were also used. This was termed the "significant mark" (**fakamailonga**) of the canoe and was a decoration confined to this vessel and two others only - Kafeafanga and Tereata, both of Taumako clan. A point of importance is that a special **monotanga** topped with an orange cloth was carried to the Ariki Taumako when the rites of the Kafika canoe were performed. This gift was termed "**Te kamu o Peru i te vai**" - "the betel of Peru i te vai", and originated in the fact that this vessel came from Taumako in past time. It was in fact regarded as the ultimate property of the chief of this clan. "**E tau i a tatou, kae fakaro ki te Ariki Taumako**", "It is held by us, but obeys the Ariki Taumako" the people of Kafika said to me. Per i te vai is the name of an ancestor of the Mapusanga family who first built the vessel, and it was called after him. The connection with the group of Taumako, however, lies in the realm of religious belief, and only becomes apparent when the significance of the name is examined. **Peru** means in ordinary speech "curved" or "crooked", and "Peru i te vai" means therefore "curved in the water". I was told in fact that it is a euphemism, a descriptive honorific term for the sinuous twinings of the eel, the material representation of Pusiuraura, one of the most important deities of Taumako. The reason why the **monotanga** from the canoe was sent to the chief of that clan was that the Kafika ancestor when he first built the craft, dedicated it to the Taumako deity, whose name he bore and under whose control it consequently came. The ancestor Pu Mapusanga was a "sacred child" of Taumako, i.e. his mother came from that clan. The reason why the vessel Peru i te vai is ornamented in this special manner is that the young coconut frond and the ruddy cordyline leaf are the aromatic emblems of Vai Atafu, the Heaven which is the dwelling-place of the atua Pusiuraura. It is held that this Heaven is situated in Tonga, whence the god came. The fact that Kakeafanga and Tereata canoes also had this special form of decoratio meant that they too had the eel god as their tutelary deity. The position of Peru i te vai between Kafika and Taumako is an illustration of the type of dual property rights and economic obligations which help to bind together

CANOE RITES OF THE ARIKI TAFUA

Till this point the sequence of events has been described as it occurred in the canoe rites of the Ariki Kafika. This has been done for two reasons - in the first place the intricacy of detail is so great that confusion is lessened by adhering to the programme of one particular chief and clan; and in the second since the Ariki Kafika is the chief of highest rank on the island, the rites which he performs are often fuller than those of the other chiefs, and he has many special duties which they do not share. Generally speaking the ceremonies of the other chiefs follow the same course as those which appear above; certain differences of procedure exist, however, arising from those unique privileges of individual office which make the study of Tikopia social and religious life so interesting and yet in a way so exasperating to the observer who is seeking to reduce it to a set of general principles.

Only the most outstanding variations in custom can be mentioned here. It will be realised that each chief, since the bulk of his spirit guardians are different in name and in attributes from those of the other chiefs has to employ a slightly different mode of procedure and address towards them.

I saw some of the canoe rites of the Ariki Taumako, particularly the **fainga vaka** of his vessel Tukupasia, but there is no marked difference in his procedure and that of the Ariki Fangarere from that of the Ariki Kafika. Those of the Ariki Tafua, however, followed a somewhat different plan in the days when he still practised them. Unlike the other chiefs he held most of his canoe rites in Namo, the strip of coast to the north of the huge bluff Fongatekoro. Here in "the eye of the land" was situated the canoe court of Suakava, his most sacred craft.

I received from the chief himself an account of his canoe ritual, the substance of which is given here, in the historic present tense, as the information was taken down.

The Tafua clan carry out the same initial rites of the **faunga vaka** as do the other clans, save that as mentioned earlier, they prepare two lots of **rei**. They also bear an actual sacred adze to Namo in addition to the **faingata** carried by the chief. When the Ariki lifts down the adze from its resting place he recites a formula of an unusual kind. He says:

"Tuna tote!
Kau kaina fakaangafuru kou tae
Tafuri ki tou faingata ka uvi ki raro
Tafuri ki tou matauri ka tuku ki raro
Ke kake se foi maroro ki tou katea
Ka fai o ou nea pariki
Kae sarofia tou suku ki a katea o fua o nga ariki
Ke poi poi te atua tau vaka
Ke nofu ona mata
Taua ne seua mai
Au kafa ke mau i tou uru

O fai tou faiva i tou katea
Tufatufa i tau fua
Fakaika fuere i a vaka lasi
Suakava ma Rama-i-katea ma Fitimua".

"Blood-red Tuna!
I eat ten times your excrement.
Turn to your adze which will be lifted down.
Turn to your implement which will be laid down.
You, cause a flying fish to climb on to your starboard side
For the making of your evil things.
And let your tail be lashed to starboard of the fleet of the chiefs
That the guardian canoe deity may go, go, astray;
That his eyes may be fogged
Lest you and I be splashed hither.
Let your sinnet be firm in your hair
To perform your deeds on your starboard side.
Distribute among your fleet;
Give fish only to the large canoes,
Suakava and Rama-i-katea and Fiti-mua".

This is an appeal to the principal **atua tau toki** of Tafua, Tuna the eel-god, to send fish to the canoes of his own chief, and blind the eyes of the deities of the other chiefs so that their vessels may be unable to haul up any large catch. The formula is an interesting expression of the desire for prestige and success in advance of his rivals that animated the old Ariki, and is still manifest.

The first part of the recital is of the usual invocatory type, requesting the deity to turn to the sacred adze. **Matauri** is another esoteric term for **faingata**. The deity, it may be noted, is conceived as sitting in his abode, unwitting of what is desired of him until the disturbance of his sacred implement, coupled with the calling of his name, attracts his attention. His interest and assistance are believed to be demonstrated in a physical and quite human way; that is, if he wishes to be helpful he turns to face the supplicator; his neglect or anger, however, is indicated by the presentation of his back.[1] The reference in the second part of the formula to the lashing of the tail is understood when it is remembered that Tuna is the personification of the eel. The tutelary deity of a canoe accompanies it on the starboard side, that which is free from the outrigger and on which the fish are caught, so that in consequence the swishing of the tail of the intruding god is imagined to confuse the rightful guardians, to befog their eyes with the

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[1] This correlation of favour and disfavour with the view of the countenance or the reverse is also held in Oriental culture, and emerges very clearly in our own literature when under the influence of Hebrew thought. "Turn not thy face from us, O Lord", "Avert not the light of thy countenance", are sentiments the expression of which is perfectly intelligible to a Tikopia.

swirl and foam, and to cause them to wander astray in their attempts to bring in a shark or other large fish to their particular vessel. The capture of such a prize gives great pleasure to a chief. "His whoop of delight rings out, **Iefui**, he rejoices", said the Ariki Tafua. He added, "The chiefs burn in the rivalry of their performance", meaning that there is great competition among them. The failure of any of his vessels to get such a fish, conversely, is a blow to a chief. It means that he lacks influence with the gods. He is not **mamu**, he has no success. From this one can understand the appeal of the Ariki Tafua that he be not put out of countenance by his rivals. It is interesting to note, too, how he cleverly draws his deity into the same predicament by the use of the dual "thou and I", suggesting that if the **atua** does not hamper the canoes of the other chiefs they will be both "splashed hither", that is be put to shame by the splashings which signal the large fish hauled in by the others. The custom among male Tikopia is to wear the hair long; when work is to be done it is bound up out of the way in a knot on the top of the head, in order that it may not impede the sight. Such is the purpose of the sinnet mentioned in the formula - it must be light and firm lest it slip at the critical moment. Following this beguilement of his rivals the atua is asked to see to the needs of his own canoes and to apportion the catch among them so that each of the principal craft receives a large fish. The smaller vessels may be neglected, but it is essential that the **taumauri**, the three canoes of which the names are given, shall be supplied.

It will be noted that this major canoe deity of Tafua is credited with a limited understanding on the one hand, and with superhuman power on the other. He is regarded as having some of the physical characteristics of the eel, the mental endowment of man, and the capability of a spirit.

This action of the Ariki Tafua would not have been viewed with a good grace by his fellow chiefs if they knew of it. In past years before I came he had had great success with his canoes in comparison with theirs, and in his belief this was due very largely to his instructions and to the power (**mamu**) of his deity. That he made appeals of this nature was kept a secret in his family. As a matter of fact in giving me the formula set down above he implored me not to reveal to the other chiefs that he had used such tactics, lest they be offended with him. They had however, some suspicion of his methods, for his character was well-known. He was described as having been very prone to utilise all forms of **tautuku**, black magic, so it was surmised by the leaders of the other fleets, though in the absence of real proof, that the continued success of his vessels had been accompanied by some such spiritual sabotage against those of his rivals. His real accomplishments at sea appeared to be due to a combination of his own undoubted efficiency and driving power, coupled with skill in fishing on the part of his crews, a knowledge of some good banks, and a rather unusually long run of luck.

After the sacred adzes and the other sacred things of Tafua have been lifted down the kava is performed, and the deities of the adze are invoked. For this clan they are "Blood-red Tuna", "Black Pusi", "Blooded Pusi", "The Group of the Rosy Tail", all gods associated with the eel,

in this order, and lastly Tufaretai, the personal deity of the chief on his mother's side, (see list earlier). Some of the attributes of these **atua** will be discussed later in connection with the manufacture of turmeric. No other deities, nor any of the **kau firifiri**, the chiefly ancestors, are summoned to this kava.

When the Ariki Tafua goes round to Namo he takes his seat in the canoe court, not close to the canoe shed or to the craft itself, as do the other chiefs, but thirty or forty yards away; such is the custom in his clan.

For the kava of the **faingata** in the canoe court, the same set of tutelary deities of the adze is invoked, and a somewhat similar appeal is launched as before to bewilder the gods of the other chiefs. Thus the Ariki recites as part of his formula:

"**Kotou ke mavae rua**
O taria mai ko te tafa
Toku fua fakaika i te po nei
Tatou na seua mai na
Kae sarofia ke nefu
Ko te fua a nga ariki
Kae se kake ko ni ika ki ei".

"You should divide in two
To bring hither the young cocconut.
To my fleet give fish this night
Lest we be splashed hither then.
And be lashed to be misty
The fleet of the chiefs;
Do not cause any fish to ascent to it".

The significance of the latter part of the formula will be clear in the light of the explanation already given. The injunction -

"Be lashed to be misty
The fleet of the chiefs".

forms one of the "telescopic" expressions beloved of kava reciters in which certain phrases of an idea are slid into others. The expression here quoted refers to the tail of the eel god disturbing the water before the eyes of the guardian deities of the other canoes.

Some comment is necessary on the first two lines of the formula. It is suggested by the Ariki to the group of deities that they divide into two parties in order to accomplish their task the better. The reference to the bringing of the **tufu** is to the green coconut which the Ariki smashes and finally flings out to sea. The next morning the deity is expected to bring in a shark, i.e. one caught by the crew, as a token that he has heard and complied with the request. This is alluded to figuratively as the coconut returned again to shore. Hence the chief has a special reason to look out to sea in the morning to see if his canoe is scattering spray in the appropriate signal.

The ceremony of the green cocoanut is performed with more elaboration by the Ariki Tafua than by the other chiefs, since this fruit is the emblem of his principal clan deity, Raki-te-ua by name. It is in fact regarded as being his head.[1] Hence before being smashed the nut is held up against the forehead of the Ariki as a mark of respect to the nut and the deity. "It is conveyed to the face of the chief to touch it, because he is going to split the countenance of Raki-te-ua, that is the cocoanut". (**E mori ki a mata o te ariki ke oko ki ei; ko ia ka fakafai a mata o Raki-te-ua, ko te niu**). As he performs this act of ceremonial obeisance the Ariki mutters;

"Raki-te-ua ma Tuna-tote!
Tafuri ki toru tafa
Ke fai i toru katea
Fai mamu".

"Raki-te-ua and Blood-red Tuna!
Turn to your young cocoanut.
To be split on your starboard side
Split with power".

The nut is then smashed with a blow from the adze. "Thereupon the Ariki rises up, waves the nut around, sprinkles it on his canoe, runs then and sprinkles it on the sacred objects, runs also to the beach, and waving the cocoanut as he goes down, calls out

'Be carried away the young cocoanut
Where are you two to carry the cocoanut?'

Then he comes to the beach, calls out

'Be carried away the young cocoanut'

and hurls it out to sea". Such is the native account of this rite, which is practically the same as that performed by the Ariki Kafika.

During the fishing itself the gods are not forgotten, and appeals are addressed to them by people of rank. One invocation of considerable interest is peculiar to Tafua. The custom of **fai soko** is common, whereby at the ceremonies of a family or clan the men who have married women of this group go along with a bundle of firewood to help in the preparation of the oven and the cooking. The gods, too, **fai soko** in the approved style. One of them named Feke, the personification of the octupus, is held to be married to Nau Fiora, who is a female deity of Tafua. Consequently he rests under this obligation, and whenever the sacred ovens of this clan are fired Feke is supposed to come along and lend his supernatural assistance. A Tikopia is never chary of reminding his gods of their duties, so that this matter of oven-tending is brought to the notice of the Octopus-Deity in cases where the fishing of Tafua is not proving too successful. The following formula is addressed to him by one of the leading fishermen while waiting in his canoe:

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[1] The writer's "Totemism in Polynesia". **Oceania** I, 1930

"Feke; ke kai ko se ika;
Fakapiki ko tau rafie ki se mango.
Tau umu ka fai ki sea?
Koke ka fai fai, oko atu ki nga uta
Tao rei ko te taori ke mako ko Pufine".

"Feke; May a fish bite
Stick your bundle of firewood on to a shark.
What is your oven to be made with?
You will keep on, keep on (loafing), then arrive on shore
To find the **taori** performed that Pufine may dance".

In this formula Feke is adjured to make haste and send along a fish, not to come empty-handed, but to fasten his contribution of firewood on to shark and bring that too - in passing, as it were, without giving himself too much trouble. Otherwise what will be the use of lighting the oven; there will be no fish to cook in it. Then he is twitted with the fact that if he delays much longer he will land to find that his wife, spoken of as"Pufine", "Ancestress" has given him up as dead, and the **taori**, a ceremony to liberate her from her mourning of widowhood, is being performed so that she can dance once more. "Unless he brings a fish let him not marry", said Pa Rangifuri to me in comment on this.

This address has an ironical note, rare though not unknown in the dealings of men with their gods. The style is more free and colloquial than is usual in such formulae, but it must be admitted that there is every excuse for an impatient fisherman.

In the various kava rites of a chief the deities invoked are not always the same. For the celebrations connected with the sacred adzes the gods of these implements only are called upon. For the "great kava" of the **umu tonga** on the canoe ground, however, more deities are summoned. As it is said "the **atua** are brought hither". The order of invocation for thie consecration of the oven of Tafua is as follows:

Raki-te-ua	- principal god of clan, and coconut.
Tuna	- eel god of the lake
Pusi	- eel god of the reef (and Taumako)
Tufaretai	- god of Fusi house
Toki-tai-te-kere	- god of house of Sao, Korokoro etc.
Tarikotu	- god of Fusi house

Feke and Pufine i Fiora, who are among the **atua tau umu tonga**, the deities in charge of this oven, are also usually included in the list, but their position is lower than that of these mentioned above. For the kava performed at the re-furnishing of the canoe-shed a somewhat different set of deities is invoked:

Raki-te-ua	
Tuna-toto	
Pusi	
Matapula	- Tafua name of Atua-i-Kafika
Tangata-katoa	- mythical ancestor
Rua futi	- Tafaki and Karisi.

The chiefly ancestors are also appealed to on this occasion, but selectively; and choice of the few who are actually named in the formula rests with the Ariki.

The rest of the canoe rites of Tafua are performed as described for Kafika.

CANOE RITES OF THE ELDER OF MARINOA

The account of the procedure of Tafua has served to elaborate our first description of the canoe ceremonies of the chiefs. In order to appreciate properly the complexity and importance of these rites in the life of the whole community it is essential to refer also to the special privileges of one of the principal elders of the Ariki Kafika, the Pure i Marinoa. Though not a chief he has nevertheless chiefly status in this respect, in that he possesses a sacred adze and by immemorial custom he performs his own canoe celebrations. These comprise both **faunga vaka** and **fainga vaka**, and in general arrangement are similar to what has already been described. In common with those of the Ariki Tafua these rites have now been discontinued owing to Christianity, but the account of them which I received from the holder of the **pure** office, Pa Fetauta, who used to perform them, presents some points of interest.

The family group of Marinoa, which includes several other house names, as Fetauta, and is also known as Nga Fiti, constitutes an important element in the Kafika clan. Their seat is in the district of Faea, on the opposite side of the island from Ravenga, where the Ariki Kafika and the other chiefs celebrate their fleets. On the morning of the first day of the ceremonies, "the day of the chief", the elder of Marinoa sits in his house, and orders his relatives to go out to their orchards and to his own, and pluck coconuts. These are for the rite of revivication of his principal canoe, or as he expressed it "**Tera toku ke vaka, te vaka te Ariki; e kae tona fakaora**". "That is my canoe, the canoe of the chief; is carried its fakaora". The phraseology used indicates the concept of dual ownership which operates in regard to the sacred canoes of the elders.

According to Pa Fenuatara this canoe, Te Akauifo, "is held to be the **paopao** of the Ariki Kafika". It was given by the Kafika chief to the original ancestor of the Marinoa group. This man said to the chief at the **faunga vaka** rites of Kafika, "I am going, and when I wake in the morning I shall not come". The Ariki assented "Yes indeed! Go and sleep, and when you wake, stop then for the re-lashing of my **paopao**". Such is the story on which the present procedure relies.

The **fakaora** of the vessel is carried to Ravenga, where the elder duly attends the rites of his chief. But towards evening he says to the chief, using his formal title, "Tinamo! I am going". The chief replies "Yes! Proceed to go. Go to cook the food portion for the making of the sign of our canoe". On this conventional phraseology the elder departs to Faea, taking with him his share of food from the day's distribution. This is placed in the oven in his temple, Marinoa, together with the usual **roi**.

In the morning the oven is uncovered, the sacred adze is taken down and the kava made. Calling on the various deities of the adze in turn the elder says:-

"You, Te Araifo!
Turn to your adze which has been lifted
And has been laid down.
Turn with welfare".

Similar phrases are recited to Meteua, Rata, Fakasautimu and Pakora. The first two, with Te Araifo, are said to have come in times past from Fiti, that is from Vanikoro and the adjacent islands of the north-west. Fakasautimu is a spirit, the result of a miscarriage in the Marinoa house some generations ago. Pakora is the conjoint name of the two female atua known as A Rua Kea, of whom one is termed Nau Tau Fiti and is held to be the wife of Pu Tau Fiti, another name for Rata. The progenitor of the house of Marinoa himself originated from Taumako, the Duff group, according to the Tikopia legend - hence the alternative family name of Nga Fiti, the People of Fiti - and these deities are associated with his canoe.

The elder of Marinoa resembles a chief in that he has at his kava a person to support him and utter the "**koma! koma!** of confirmation. This man is the head of the family of Tarafanga, whose special ritual duty is to wait on the elder in this fashion. He is not himself an elder in rank, but acts as such to the elder of Marinoa when the latter officiates at a kava ceremony. This is the only instance in Tikopia where a man not a chief has a formal assistant at his kava and it is spoken of by the natives as a privilege of great weight, indicative of the importance of the head of this particular family.

When the canoe rites are being performed it is the preliminary duty of Pa Tarafanga to carry the "sacred things" of Marinoa down to the canoe ground, (I am uncertain if these are **Terebra** shells or nails). To equip him for this service the elder of Marinoa knots the circlet of **Cordyline (ti)** leaf round his neck and commends him to the care and attention of the gods.

"You all the gods!
Look hither on the man who is carrying the sacred objects that he may be well.
His **ti** leaf will be cast
Cast for welfare".

The celebration of the vessels is carried out in the manner already described, the charcoal stripe being put on the forehead of the elder as if he were a chief, and the necklet of coconut frond assumed, though normally when the kava is performed in the house of Marinoa the ordinary ritual necklet of an elder, the **Cordyline** leaf only, is donned. The features most worthy of note as differing from the rites of the chiefs are the specific gods invoked, and the individual turns of expression in the formulae addressed to them.

When the elder goes with his adze to strike the blow on the inside of the hull of each canoe he says:

"I eat your excrement, Guardian of the Adze!
Turn to your canoe.
Resound inland, resound for welfare;
Resound in the sea waters, turn as sea expert".

Here an onomatopoetic term (**paku**) refers to the hollow sound as the blade of the implement strikes the hull. The idea of this appeal is that when the canoes go out the deity will stand and bring fish to them. It may be noted that the Ariki Kafika in this ritual act addressed the Ariki Tautai, the Sea-expert Chief who is the deity of the canoe, whereas the elder of Marinoa calls on the deity of the Sacred Adze. The function of each is the same in this connection - namely, to secure fish for the vessel.

On his return, when he sits down in the lane of cocoonuts to perform the kava of the **fakaora**, the elder recites:

"I eat your excrement, Guardian of the Adze!
Turn to your kava in your adze;
Turn with welfare.
And you all the Elders,
Turn you hither with welfare;
Turn to your kava in your adze.
I eat your excrement.
And you all the **Fuanga**
Turn hither;
Lift up the orphaned one
Cast away on that spot there;
Lift you hither.
And anything unpleasant for the kava
Lay aside to the setting sun there.
Marie!

The ending to this formula is that usually employed in the ordinary kava. The **Fuanga** are the deities of the mother's family, to whom it is the privilege of every man to appeal.

For the pouring of libations from the green coconut the words used are:

"Your liquid there Possessors of the Adze
Revolve precisely with welfare to your kava in your adze".

As the **umu tonga** is later cleared out the workman drives a stick into the ground and calls "**E!** the oven!", glancing as he does so towards the elder. "Go you and dig" the latter replies. Then while the pit is being dug he murmurs:

"The oven of the adze will be dug out
Dig with power
Dig for welfare".

For the rite of sprinkling on the concluding day the elder

after smashing the cocconut, runs first to his principal canoe, the **taumauri**, and calls:

"Here! Sprinkle away with power
Sprinkle one thing, a flying fish to climb on to the canoe
For the making of **anea pariki**".

Then he runs on to the sacred objects, then past the **umu tonga**, on to the other canoes and finally to the beach, whence he casts the nut into the sea. So doing he recites the words:

"The cocconut, which has been thrown away, throw with power;
Directed hither be the cocconut;
Directed hither as sea-expert,
Directed to welfare,
Directed to a shark,
Carried hither be the cocconut.
You Sauni pariki! be directed hither the cocconut".

Sauni pariki is the name of a former elder of Marinoa who is regarded as having great power among the gods, hence he is especially invoked in the formula.

The sacred objects are then carried back by Pa Tarafanga, and the elder follows with the adze. This is laid on a mat in the house and the people go and fire the oven. When the food is cooked they eat, but the elder does not partake; he sits alone on his mat, and does not eat until after the kava is performed. Such temporary fasting before a ceremony is fairly common among persons of rank. All night the sacred objects lie on the mat. The next morning the elder comes and performs the rite known as **te fi o anea tapu**, the sprinkling of them. No formula is recited during this act, but "they are sprinkled for the deities to turn hither with welfare". The elder then returns and hangs up the adze with the words:

"I eat your excrement Possessor of the Adze!
Revolve precisely with welfare
Your adze will be hung up,
Hung with welfare".

After the kava is made the elder goes down to the beach to see the canoes come in and learn the result of the night's fishing. The ceremony of **anea pariki** is then performed in acknowledgment to the guardian deities of the sacred adze. Deities of the canoe are included in this in recognition of their services. Thus in the case of Te Akauifo canoe, the principal vessel of Marinoa, in addition to the gods of the adze already mentioned, Sauni pariki, ancestor of the elder, is also addressed by name in the kava ceremony, he being a tutelary spirit of that canoe. The kava bowl only is prepared, and each of the major deities has his libation. The ancestral spirits, generally termed Nga Matua, The Elders, are here addressed collectively as Nga Tautai, the Sea Experts, in honour of their nautical powers. In the evening the same procedure is repeated.

The **fainga vaka** of Marinoa also displays certain features

which are different from the corresponding rites of the chief of Kafika. For Te Akauifo the canoe-shed is re-furnished as in the case of the other **taumauri**. **Te umu o te tapakau**, the oven of the mat, as it is called, is prepared and carried to the shed. Here is no special post to be decorated as with the canoes of the chiefs, but a **fata**, a small platform or shelf, which is covered with a leaf of the umbrella palm (**raupurou**). The crux of the ritual consists in the renewing of this. The elder of Marinoa goes up, replaces the old dry leaf with a fresh one, and strews on it leaves of the **kava pi**, an aromatic plant somewhat resembling the Canna. This last is termed the perfume of the shelf. The aromatic leaves, the shelf and the canoe-shed are all under the control of the guardian deities of the adze. To them a formula is recited as the shelf is covered.

"Your shelf the gods
Will be covered
Covered for welfare
And turn to be sea experts to your canoe".

The remaining rites are conducted in the usual way. The bark-cloths are spread out in the following manner:

- on the ground by the bow, to Fakanatai, a deity of the canoe.
- over the stern (white cloths, topped by an orange one) to the deities of the adze collectively.
- along the gunwale, to Rata, Meteua, Fakasautimu, Foatai and Te Ama (the latter pair also gods of Fiti), individually.

In all seven **maro** are spread.

The next day the two other sacred canoes of the Marinoa group are re-consecrated. Of these one, "Saumi pariki" is named after the ancestor already mentioned who held the office of elder some generations ago, and is under his spiritual control; the other "Pungatere" is named after the son of Rata, and he is consequently the tutelary deity of the vessel. The **monotanga** from all these craft is carried to the Ariki Kafika as overlord, and is the usual large basket of food, topped in this case by an orange bark cloth, denoting that the offering is made to the Atua i Kafika. When the gift is brought to the Ariki he takes it to his canoe court and "announces" it to his principal deity in the manner already described.

When the **fainga vaka** of another Marinoa canoe, Te Akaumoana, is made, the **monotanga** is sent to the elder of the house of Sao, of Tafua clan. The reason is that in ancient days two elders of Marinoa, Rangaro and Maone, were "sacred children" of Sao. On their death they went to the abode of the female deity of Sao, Makupu, in Ruamotu. There they saw the canoe and said "We desire that canoe". It was given to them, and transmitted to their descendants, being built by their successor Vaiangafuru. "Great is the **manu** of the canoe", I was told.

Two other craft, Te Akauroro and Te Akautu, have similar cross-clan relationship, through their tutelary deities. The former is the titular property of the Ariki Taumako, but "it has its basis in Korokoro" (of Tafua). When the kava of the canoe is made, in addition to a basket of

food for the Ariki Taumako, one is sent to Pa Korokoro. This latter is reciprocated, but that to the chief is not, "because the canoe is his". This vessel is dedicated to Pu ma, in their Korokoro title. Te Akautu is the canoe of Niumano, of Taumako. But it is a "canoe from the gods", in this case from Te Akauponopono, the residence of Semoana, a sea deity, who is the joint deity of several houses of Tafua, and acknowledgment is made to them in the rites performed over it.

Thus within the general system of canoe rites described, there are subsidiary links between kinship groups, which still further make for an interlocking scheme of privileges and practices.

"THE PATH OF OUR ANCESTOR"

Some days after the canoe ceremonies of Kafika have begun a spectacular presentation of food is made to the chief of this clan by the chief of Taumako. The gift is termed **te ara o Pu**, "Pu" being the honorific title applied to the progenitor of the Taumako clan. The origin of the gift will be explained later.

The ceremony of **te ara o Pu** may occur as an interlude in the rites of the **fainga vaka**, or may be postponed for a few days. During the season of my attendance it was held twice, the first time on the principal day of the **fainga vaka** and again about a fortnight afterwards, during the proceedings connected with Kafika temple. It is not planned to take place on a fixed date but depends on the catch of the fishing fleet, as the main item of the gift is a cooked shark. Made with this as its basis it is termed also "**anea pariki o Pu**" by analogy with the ceremonies noted earlier. If no shark is available the presentation is deferred for some time, and if the fleet remains unsuccessful it is then made with smaller fish alone. The securing of two sharks by the vessels of the Ariki Taumako in the season under review accounted for the duplication of the gift.

When the shark was caught by a canoe of Taumako the chief was notified. The following morning the fish was taken to Uta and sanctified by the performance over it of the **kava makariri**, the "cold kava", after which it was cooked in the oven of Taumako temple, together with a large mass of vegetable food. When ready the food was laid first before the mat of the Ariki Taumako, who performed a brief kava ceremony over it. It was then carried at once to Kafika lasi about fifty yards away.

Meanwhile preparations had been made for its reception. A coconut mat was laid under the eave of the house, the head projecting outside, and the Ariki Kafika took his accustomed seat, with his kava equipment and assistants in attendance. A number of the clan had assembled including besides the chief several of his sons, brothers and nephews, a couple of his elders, the Ariki Fangarere and four or five commoners. As the time drew near for the uncovering of the oven in Taumako all listened keenly for the first sound of the pounders thudding in the wooden bowl as the pudding was prepared. This was the signal for the people of Kafika to get ready.

I was told:

> "That is its observance; the oven is uncovered, and pounded to reverberate that the Ariki Kafika may hear. Thereupon the Ariki calls out to a man 'Go and grope for stones; the oven there has been pounded hither. Thereon he goes then and gropes".

This statement needs some explanation. While it is the obligation of Taumako clan to make the magnificent present of food it is the duty of Kafika people to facilitate its carriage. By custom one man alone must bear the gift, and as it consists of a huge basket of pudding topped by three smaller baskets of fish and mixed edibles, the weight is considerable. As a matter of fact it is just as much as a well-built man can stagger under. The communication way between the two houses is a narrow path between the bushes, often blocked by branches of sago palm to prevent depredations on the areca nut of either of the chiefs. These barriers must be removed. Also there are a number of rocks in the path, half buried in the soil. These have been there from olden times, and no attempt is made to remove them. They are in the nature of customary obstacles. It is the task, however, of someone from Kafika to go out and locate them under the debris of leaf mould, twigs and grass and clear them so that the man bearing the load of the **ara** may see where he is going and not trip and fall. This is not mere politeness, for if he stumbles and the food drops, or as much as touches the ground, it may not be carried further at the moment, but must be returned to Taumako and an additional gift prepared. In such circumstances failure to clear the path properly might involve Kafika in a shameful suspicion of negligence because of greed, so that they are very scrupulous on this matter.

When this task was finished the man returned and soon the double clap of the hibiscus fibre was heard from Taumako as the preliminary kava was performed. "There it is clapped, now it will be brought hither", commented the Ariki Kafika, and all sat tense and silent, watching under the eave of the house. Quietly the kava liquid was prepared in the bowl. The sound of a heavy footstep was heard and a whisper "He has come", passed round. Slowly the bearer approached, his arms straining to hold the four baskets. As his legs appeared by the eave the Ariki called out loudly, breaking the silence

> "Come you Ancestor and lay it down!"
> **"Au ke Pu o tuku ki raro!"**

On the word the bearer set down his burden as gently as possible on the mat provided, and mutely backed away and disappeared to his own house. No attempt at communication with him was made by the Kafika people beyond the formal speech of the Ariki. This was in consequence of the **tapu** which surrounded the whole proceeding.

The baskets were seized by the folk inside and set before the mat of their chief, the cords were loosened and offerings of the food to the gods were arranged, one placed by the chief's feet, another by the kava bowl. Libations were then poured in the usual way. This was termed **"te kava o te ara"** or **"te kava o anea pariki"**. Portions of the food were then distributed among those present and they ate. As the gift was so large the greater amount of it was still unconsumed. This was apportioned out among the various "houses" of the clan. Even if no representative of a house was in attendance a food share was nevertheless set aside to be carried to them,

for this was an event of a major importance to the clan, a gift made not to their chief alone, but to them as a whole. A point was made of praising with great emphasis the quality of the food. "Great is the fineness of anything sa Taumako make" was a typical remark passed by an elder. As was the native habit, encouraging comments were made inciting others to eat; such comments also could serve as a polite acknowledgment of the food, though the donors would hear of them only indirectly through the usual channels of gossip. "The ara of our ancestor brought hither for us" said the eldest son of the chief sententiously, with the implication that the consumption of such a gift was a duty as well as a pleasure.

Mention of this attitude of obligation to partake of the gift raises the question of its origin. By native tradition it is attributed to the act of Pu lasi, "Great Ancestor", the progenitor of Taumako, son of Te Atafu the Tongan. The latter married a daughter of the Ariki Kafika of the time, the "chiefly woman" (**fafine ariki**). Their son, accompanied by his mother, brought one day a present of food to his grandfather, a token of affection not at all uncommon in Tikopia life. The old man said to his grandchild "Come you and lay it down" (**Au ke o tuku ki raro**). The gift then was continued annually and after the death of the two persons concerned was perpetuated by their descendants, thus becoming symbolic of the tie of relationship between their clans. Irrespective of the individual kinship between the chiefs of Kafika and Taumako, for ceremonial purposes the Ariki Taumako behaves to the Ariki Kafika as a man does to his mother's kinsman, in virtue of this tie of many generations ago. The **ara** is the most formal occasion on which this relationship is expressed. It receives its name, according to the native story, from the fact that the means of communication between grandson and grandfather was this track running between the temples of Taumako and Kafika. Hence the burden carried along it in later days was called "**te ara**", "the path". Moreover the words used originally by the Ariki Kafika have become a set mode of address. Chiefs of later generations, however, have incorporated the title "**Pu**", "Ancestor", in the speech out of respect to this revered forbear, since the convention is that he comes in person each time as the bearer of the food. This is a figurative concept; it is understood that the actual person concerned is a human being in the flesh. The insertion of this appellation is explained thus by the natives:

> "His grandfather goes on, goes on till he dies, and then his sons and his grandsons dwell later, and so they use the term **Pu** for him. And so it goes on in this way, another Ariki lives, "**Pu**" then, another Ariki lives, "**Pu**" then. It is held that it is he who comes. No Ariki who lives may have a different name for him, he says "**Pu**" only. But his grandfather of old said merely "Come you and lay it down", and did not say "**Pu**".

Respect for the original chief does not allow him to be spoken to merely as "you", but his name is too sacred to be uttered, so he is addressed as "Ancestor". A similar usage obtains in the case of a sea-going canoe belonging to the Taumako clan and named after the same renowned ancestor.

Its real name, that of the original man himself, is Rakaitonga; this is far too tapu to be bandied about in the mouths of the common folk. The vessel is accordingly called always "Te Ingoa o Pu", "The Name of Ancestor".[1]

The derivative term "Pu tangata", commonly used in addressing grandfathers, men of similar seniority, and ordinary male ancestral spirits, is not used towards this important forbear of the people. To my inquiry as to whether this term was permissible a negative reply was given:

> "The name 'Pu tangata' is not uttered because he is of olden time, therefore he is "Pu". Not a woman, not a child may speak at length (i.e. the long form of the expression) concerning him; they speak shortly, they "Pu" only. It is prohibited, because he is the chief who originated from among us".

Since this word "Pu" is also used to describe other deities of note this progenitor of Taumako is known for distinction as "Pu lasi" (Great Ancestor), an honorific title that is specially his own.

After this digression regarding the terms of address which it is proper to use towards this sacred ancestor, and which are in themselves of great importance in native eyes, attention may be directed to one phase of the gift which throws considerable light on the correlation between the display of food-wealth and prestige in the Tikopia social economy.

Reference has been made to the prohibition against lowering the food to the ground during the time in which it is borne from the one house to the other. This interdiction springs from the sacerdotal importance of the gift and the desire to prevent it from any contamination. It has, however, further implications of an economic nature. If the bearer should stumble or let his burden slip so that any of the baskets touch the earth they are all returned to Taumako, and the members of the clan assemble "to wait for their ancestor" - that is, to await his appearance in a spiritualistic medium, who will offer comment or give instructions regarding the situation. Then they go out again to the orchards and collect supplies for a second batch of food which is prepared and carried in as before. When the fresh baskets have been brought to the kava house of Kafika and the ritual performed over them the former gift is brought also, but to the dwelling house, not to the sacred house, and left there to be consumed. This food is rejected by Taumako "because their ancestor is angry in that his ara from Kafika was caused to fall by them". Kafika thus receive a twofold present. It is rare

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[1] The original craft of the name, now replaced by the natives, is in the Auckland Museum, as a result of the interest taken by Captain H. Burgess, former Master of the S.Y. Southern Cross in acquiring specimens of ethnographical importance for public collections. This is the only vessel of its type, the Tikopia vaka tapu, to be obtained by a white man, though there are smaller non-sacred canoes in the collections of the Australian National Research Council in Sydney, and the Museum of Ethnology in Cambridge.

that such an event occurs, but it is not altogether unknown, and the occasions are handed down by tradition. In olden days Pu Oliki of the house of Morava let fall his burden by the way, as also did Pu Resiake of noted memory. In each case a double gift was then carried to Kafika. My inquiry revealed, however, that both times the mishap was premeditated, not accidental; the bearer did not stumble, but purposely let his legs sink down beneath him. And the reason was to be found in the desire for self-advertisement. The natives themselves have a perfectly clear understanding of the matter. When I expressed surprise at the carelessness of the bearer in letting such a **tapu** burden drop the answer was given, "It did not fall; it was simply made to fall by him. Such is a custom of a wealthy man, because his food is abundant". (**"Tera sise ne to; ne fakato fuere e a ko ia. A fainga te taufenua e faia te kai e matea".**)

This incident also throws an interesting sidelight on the relation of rank to law in this primitive society. It is not by keeping the law but by breaking it that the man is in a position to demonstrate his superiority, and this is then made manifest by the value of his atonement. It is in fact the payment of the penalty which heightens his prestige. The situation seems somewhat of a paradox, but this is more apparent than real. For the wilful contravention of the social rule is followed by a proud compliance with it, and it is this latter which earns him his reward in the judgment of society. There is the further point, that this is but another illustration of the principle that status begets status. For only men of assured position could thus dare to infringe such a regulation deliberately, with the object of calling attention to themselves. In the cases cited above both men were offshoots of the Taumako chiefly house, one of them, Pu Resiake, being a noted **toa** - a person of strong passions and great fighting power - who consequently could brave the possible exasperation of gods and men. In a mere commoner such conduct would be described as "desire of boasting", and would be promptly condemned. In addition to the resentment of the ancestor at seeing his rule broken the aspirant to fame might have to reckon with that excited in the recipients of the gift, who are placed in a certain position of inferiority when they come to make their present in return.

The matter of the counter-gift must now be considered. Like nearly all food-donations in Tikopia the **ara** has its **tongoi**, its counter-gift. In this case it was a huge basket of food, prepared a few days afterwards in Kafika and carried over to Taumako under the same conditions as obtained for the **ara** itself. As a point of terminology, when the **ara** is spoken of in connection with the **tongoi** it is often called **te fonākava**, a word of generic application to certain ceremonial gifts of cooked food to a chief.[1] As with the initial present, a great deal of attention is bestowed on the making of

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1 In order to preserve the unity of the account of the **ara o Pu** the time sequence will be disregarded slightly and the description of the return-gift incorporated here, whereas it actually occurred later during the re-furnishing of the sacred houses.

the food. Custom demands on this occasion that it be packed in a large **lengi**, a household basket, which is strengthened by strips of fibre torn from the mid-rib of a coconut leaf threaded through the fabric. This forms a network extension in which the enormous package of pudding, breadfruit and taro reposes. The Ariki himself supervises the preparation of the gift very intently, and when it is complete orders it to be carried out under the eave of the house - not through the door, as it is a **tapu** burden - and set down at the entrance of the path to Taumako. Here he performs a simple kava ceremony over it, "**te kava o fafo**", "the kava of outdoors".

The bearing of the basket when I witnessed the event provided some moments of interest. It speedily emerged that no-one wanted the task, the reason being that the weight of the load, which is carried in front of the body, places a great strain on belly and arms. One and another of the men present were named, but each had some plausible excuse for refusing. With a view to encouragement an old man pointed out that while the **ara** itself might not be raised aloft on the shoulder, no such prohibition really applied to the return gift, which could be thus more easily handled. This, however, met with no response. At last a bearer was found, his stipulation being that the others should help him to lift the load from the ground and settle it in his arms. This was done, and he started slowly on his way. After a few yards, however, he found that he was unable to cope with the weight, and called for assistance. It was apparent that he was genuinely distressed, and that the precious burden was beginning to slip. A swift consultation took place among the anxious watchers at the end of the path, as a result of which Pa Taramoa, a son of the Ariki, sprang to his side and carefully took the basket from him, including with it the customary stick of green kava, which in default of other means of holding, he carried between his teeth! Thus equipped he completed the rest of the journey in safety. The people of Taumako, of course, as etiquette demands, were quietly sitting in their house during these proceedings; in no circumstances could they lend assistance. When the first bearer returned, somewhat shamefaced, he made an apology for his weakness, but was approved by the Ariki for his action. Better that he should call for help and transfer his load than remain silent and suffer it to touch the ground, which would indeed be the act of a fool! The Ariki added that he would have carried the basket himself if it had not been that he had strained his back a few days previously in lifting a canoe. To my question of surprise - for a chief does not normally bear a burden - he replied that it was quite proper for him to undertake this task. Its associations placed it in a different category from ordinary loads.

The gifts connected with the "Path of Pu" are not an integral part of the canoe ceremonies, but an adjunct to the **fainga vaka**, by reason of the fish caught during this period. The probability of obtaining a shark, and the general atmosphere of ritual interest which obtains at this time, makes it the most appropriate for the **ara** exchange. Its primary importance is in providing a means of reinforcing the traditional link between Kafika and Taumako clans, and that this is effective is seen by the manner in which the personality of their great ancestor forms a real background to the event. I felt that the commemorative aspect of the gift was very strong in the minds

of the people of both clans, the interest of Kafika being hardly less than that of Taumako. While to Taumako this ancestor was the founder of their clan, to Kafika he was their greatest "sacred child", and moreover, through subsequent intermarriages most of the latter could claim kinship with him.

SUMMARY

The sequence of canoe rites in the Work of the Gods has now been described. Their theoretical implications cannot be discussed here, but a brief review of the complex set of performances will be useful.

The most obvious aim of the ritual, it is clear, is to secure fish. But the fish are not wanted simply for human consumption, but to provide the **atua** with suitable offerings. Thus the ritual has the aims in the first place of bringing the deities once more formally into contact with the canoes made by the tools which they ultimately furnished; in the second place of stimulating the deities to provide the wherewithal for their own worship; and in the third place of strengthening the bonds between deities and the kinship groups associated with them. The seasonal aspect of the ritual indicates too that it is in the nature of a re-dedication of material fishing equipment to its tasks, a re-charging of it with efficacy. And in so doing, the ritual secures that these items of equipment, particularly the canoes, are in fact overhauled and made technically more effective. Moreover, the ritual provides a socially unifying occasion for the Tikopia community as a whole - elders are brought together under their clan chief, and the chiefs under the Ariki Kafika. Occasion is given by specific rites for the exercise of individual privilege, but the total result is an integration in technical, ritual and social terms.

CHAPTER IV

THE WORK OF THE YAM

The principal vegetable foodstuffs of Tikopia are held severally under the control of the chiefs of the island by a traditional division, authorised by a myth[1], by which these foods were partitioned among the principal gods. By this title the Ariki Kafika has jurisdiction over the yam, the Ariki Tafua over the cocoanut, the Ariki Taumako over the taro, and the Ariki Fangarere over the breadfruit. Each chief has his own set of rites to secure the prosperity of his food, and much of the Tikopia religion is of the type of a fertility or nature cult.

The yam (**ufi**) is a constant element in the food supply of the Tikopia. It is not so important from the economic point of view as the taro, the breadfruit or the **pulaka** (**Alocasia** sp.), but it is of value because of its durability, since it remains sound for a long time in storage. There are several varieties, one being the **ufi vaea**, with a short tuber rather bigger than a large potato. It is this which provides the special ritual type known as the **ufi tapu**, the sacred yam, which is not a distinct variety, but a certain sanctified set of tubers and their product. The other types can be planted and harvested at will.

The yam is the premier food product in ritual, and its rites alone belong to the seasonal cycle of the Work of the Gods. Those of the **taro**, cocoanut and breadfruit are performed separately. The ritual of the yam, indeed, are considered as the heart of the Work. The yam is conceived as the property of the Atua i Kafika, and represents his "body"; the rites performed by the Ariki Kafika in connection with it are held to be a perpetuation of the deeds of their principal god. Hence an atmosphere of reverence, and even of awe surrounds the ritual.

The yam rites comprise two major divisions - those of harvesting and those of planting. The whole round of activities takes about twenty days to complete. In the monsoon season it follows the work of the canoes. The initial rite of the yam takes place on the same day as the more important events of the **fainga vaka** conclude, and for a short period the affairs of the yam and those of **anea pariki** proceed side by side. In the trade-wind season the yam rites follow the "throwing of the firestick", after a few days interval. In both seasons the rites are the same. In the monsoon season, however, the amount of yams harvested is greater, and conversely, that of yams planted is greater in the trade-wind season.

The following account combines my observations of two seasons' ritual.

THE PLUCKING OF THE REPA

The yam being a vegetable, it is natural that cooking should occupy an important place in the preparation of it as an offering to the gods.

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1 See "Totemism in Polynesia", **Oceania**, I, 1930.

The oven used is that in Kafika lasi. To assist in retaining the heat during cooking, leaf covers are used for all ovens, and those employed here are of special esoteric importance. By the end of each season the covers become very tattered, for they are used for every kava rite, whatever be its object. The opening rite of the work of the sacred yam consists in the renewal of them, and thus religion and practical aim are fused together. The oven-covers are here termed **repa**, from the principal type of leaf used, and the initial rite is **te koto o te repa**, **koto** meaning "to pluck".

The making of the covers is traditionally a female task. On the appointed day in the monsoon season ten women, mainly the wives and daughters of men of Kafika family, and of the elders of the clan, assembled in Uta at the house of their chief. From there they moved off through the woods, keeping in touch with one another. The leaves used had to be large and of heavy texture, and they collected not only those of the **repa** itself, but also those of breadfruit and giant taro. Their task was definitely a ritual one. They were invested with a strong **tapu**, expressed particularly in a rule of silence. They were not allowed to hold any conversation with people met in the orchards. Indeed, when it was known that the **repa** was to be plucked that day most people avoided the area. The Ariki Kafika said to me "Great is the sacredness of the **repa**; not a person may go and call out to the crowd who are plucking the **repa**, no absolutely not!" Some latitude, however, is allowed so long as due reverence is observed. On this occasion Seremata of Taumako (incidentally, a Christian) was working in his orchard with his niece when the group of women were seen approaching. The girl hid, but the man plucked green coconuts and silently presented them to the women. This received commendation from the Ariki Kafika when he heard of it. "A good fellow", he said.

When the women had filled their baskets they returned to the oven-house and prepared thick pads, by pinning together a number of leaves with short lengths of the mid-rib of the sago pinnule. The completed pads were piled on top of one another, so that a heap three feet or so in height rose from the middle of the floor. "How many **repa** pads?" asked the chief. A woman answered "Fifty-seven".

While engaged in this process, too, the women had to observe certain restrictions. They had to sit quiet in the house while working, and if a man passed by they did not call out to him for news or for betel ingredients or for tobacco, their usual habit. The sanction behind this rule was the same as in the case of the isolation during the plucking of the leaves. It is believed by the natives that these women, while engaged in the sacred task, are under the protection of Te Atua Fafine, the Female Deity, who is the tutelary genius of women. In fact, thay are actually identified with her. "They who are doing the work there, it is she". I could not obtain a more precise definition of the relation conceived to exist between the women and the goddess. The logical discrepancy between single spirit and multiple representation, for instance, was not perceived by the natives, who regarded this splitting of the personality of the goddess as quite simple. Other instances of the temporary identification of human beings with spirits will be given later. In this case since the women represented the Female Deity

it was especially prohibited to men to have speech with them.

When the pile of **repa** pads was finished it was covered with a huge taro leaf, and the workers sat round to await the arrival of the Ariki Kafika. He had been occupied with the anointing of his canoes in the beach village, hurrying this on as much as possible. Food was distributed at the end of these canoe rites, but the chief did not wait for more than a snack. "You eat still; we are going to Uta", he said to the crowd, and hastily bespeaking a couple of assistants, got his canoe brought round to the landing place and paddled over the lake. With him he took the **monotanga** of each canoe celebrated that day. The food gifts were spoken of as if they were the actual vessels. "How many canoes will be carried to Uta?" was asked. The carriage of these baskets was an illustration of the manner in which pre-arranged surplus supplies from one rite were utilised to form an integral part of another. For these **monotanga** from Tai provided the food offerings for the yam kava in Uta, and their bark-cloths were used as **maro** for the deities in this new rite. Conversely, advantage was taken of the proceedings in Uta and the presence of the chief at the yam rites to "announce" the canoe baskets in due form.

On the arrival of the Ariki the kava took place without delay. The baskets were opened out, one being set before his mat for Te Atua i Kafika and another laid by the rear post for Te Atua Fafine. The orange bark cloths from them were arranged by the chief and spread out as **maro** to his main deity with the words:

"**Tou maro tena toku Ariki Tapu**
Kau kaina fakaangafuru kou tae
Tou tino tau ufi ka poropore mai apongipongi".

"That is your vestment my Sacred Chief.
I eat ten times your excrement.
Your body, our yam, will be celebrated here tomorrow".

Poropore is the term used to denote a firstfruits rite performed for any principal crop.

During this and the succeeding ritual most of the women were seated on the **tuaumu** side of the house in the place appropriate to them near the oven. The very fact of their presence in the building at all during a kava ceremony showed that it was a ritual of unusual type, connected with their patroness the Atua Fafine. Normally, as in the canoe rites, though they may take part in the work of the oven, they retreat to the dwelling house close by when the sacred rites begin, and leave the field to the **men** and boys. But on this occasion it was their privilege to be present. Still more remarkable several of them actively busied themselves in the various services of the kava. One woman opened the baskets and distributed the food, another, the chief's daughter, acted as cup-bearer. If no male attendant had been present the post of kava maker would also have been filled by a woman. Kafika is the only clan where females can thus officiate at the kava ceremony.

Libations were poured; the first two were for Pu ma, the third for the Atua i Kafika, and the fourth, at the side of the house, for Pu Tau Fiti, an **atua** of Marinoa mentioned in connection with the canoe ceremonies. In the kava house of Kafika the last-named was the guardian of a small shelf overhead and was not directly concerned with the **repa**, but an acknowledgement was made to him just the same. The first two cups for Pu ma were also a courtesy libation, as these gods were not immediately connected with the yam ceremonies. "Their own kava is poured simply; they come hither to the yam? No! The yam has only one deity, the god in this family", said the Ariki, meaning by his last statement the Atua i Kafika. These courtesy offerings to the highest gods of a clan were usual, and illustrate an important point in Tikopia ritual - that the kava ceremony in any particular case has a general as well as a specific function. Thus in the present instance while it was a consecration of the **repa** oven-covers to their sacred office, it also contributed towards the wider aim of keeping the high gods in contact with their worshippers.

Though an air of solemnity is usual on these occasions, I observed at one **repa** rite the cup-bearer, a novice, being instructed **sotto voce** by the kava maker. The latter, a "son" of the chief, was a wag, and slyly told the cup-bearer to pour a libation on top of the pile of pads. It would have been an act devoid of meaning, and out of keeping with the ritual, but the cup-bearer, in all innocence, happened to mention it to the chief. The old man started in surprise, then seeing it was only a joke, laughed heartily. He told the company, who laughed too, though one woman made a scornful comment.

After the rite the food was shared out among the women, who ate with much chatter and laughter; it was their first proper meal of the day. The chief eats or not as he feels inclined. On this occasion he abstained and chewed betel. The other two men present drank coconut milk, but neither ate. The pile of **repa** was left in position for the rites of the morrow. By the time that the last parcels of food had been wrapped in leaves and the house floor made neat, the end of the day was approaching.

The scene on this summer evening was very peaceful. The quiet was emphasised rather than disturbed by the murmur of the surf on the distant beach. Out in the lake a fish jumped, and a few birds were whistling softly in the woods up the mountain slope at the back. Occasionally the faint tones of a voice came across as one man called to another by the lakeside, his words indistinguishable, while a regular flurry and splash told of a bather out of sight.

The women set out with their backloads of food along the narrow path running round the shore of the lake, while the chief embarked in his canoe. Once out from the bank he too seemed to be influenced by the quietness, and squatting in the bow with his back to it, hands clasped round drawn-up knees, sang gently to himself as the paddles softly dipped and gurgled.

FIRSTFRUITS AND THE "HOT FOOD".

The next day brought one of the most spectacular events in the series of yam ceremonies, not only for the observer, but also for the natives themselves. This was the competitive rite of the **kai vera**, the "hot food". It was preceded by a celebration of the firstfruits of the crop, termed the **poropоro mata** since it was first performed over the yam in a raw state (**mata**).

Preparations started early as usual. In the monsoon season by the time the sun was above the horizon, that is before six a.m. in our reckoning, about twenty men had gone off to the cultivation on a mountain slope some distance away to bring back the yams. Most of these people were of Kafika clan, but a few from Fangarere and other clans were present also, either because they had wife or mother from Kafika, or from curiosity to see the noted rites. Among them was the heir of the Taumako chief. The eldest son of each chief generally makes a point of attending at least once the most important ceremonies of the other chiefs soon after he has reached manhood in order to obtain an insight into the main religious practices of the whole community. The work of digging did not take very long, each mound being loosened with a stick while the tubers were groped for and removed with the hand. About fifty or sixty yams were obtained. Some of the party dug while others climbed cocoanut palms to pluck fresh nuts, and one or two collected loads of firewood. The yams of the sacred hillock alone were not touched. On the return journey a certain order of precedence was observed owing to the **tapu** of the crop. The men walked in single file along the narrow path, the bearers of the sacred yams going first, followed by the bearers of the cocoanuts and then by the remainder of the party. The way had to be left open for them by all other traffic, and the ordinary folk of the villages took care to keep out of sight during their passage. But their task is accomplished so early as a rule that no-one else is abroad, and the paths are in consequence uncontaminated. I myself saw that the regulation was regarded seriously. For after watching the digging of the sacred yams early in the morning monsoon I came down the hillside to talk to a man who was up a palm gathering cocoanuts. When our conversation was finished I started off down the path, but was softly hailed by him and asked politely to step aside and allow the yam carriers to go first to the house. This I did, and a little later they appeared, passing without a word, and not even looking at us as we stood close at hand. This was a great contrast to the usual freedom of Tikopia manners, for passers-by are always expected to exchange salutations, and failure to do so implies that a person is either angry or, as in the present instance, engaged on a sacred mission. In the trade-wind season three men only formed the digging party. One of them, son of the chief, complained that "the yams had been planted down to the realm of the spirits", that is, they had been set in too deeply, and that therefore the crop was poor.

At this particular period the Ariki was still living in his house in the beach village. On the morning of the yam digging the members of his household ate an early meal of cold food from the oven of the day

before, but the Ariki did not eat, practising a ritual abstinence. Soon he took his canoe and went over to Uta, there to await the arrival of the working party. These set down their burdens outside the entrance to the temple. They squatted around, talking and chewing betel. The women were inside the oven-house. Each had doffed her ordinary skirt and wrapped herself in a brand new one. No garment that was soiled or dirty (**korekore**) was permitted for the work which they were about to perform, the everyday **tu**, the long narrow strip of bark cloth used as a belt alone being retained. Here again the women were held to personate the Female Deity, and this, in conjunction with the sacredness of the yam rites, required from them a ceremonial cleanness.

Firewood was broken up and the oven started, a work which had to be performed by the men alone, while the women sat around and chewed betel. On this important occasion the direction of affairs was assumed by the eldest son of the chief. The order was given for a couple of men only to remain to prepare the oven while the remainder were invited to go and sit in the temple in order to make a good show for the kava. The reason for this was that the gods should be satisfied with the attention paid to their institutions.

The first rite of the morning was "**te kava a niu**", "the coconut kava", so called because for it were used the nuts brought with the yams. The Ariki had bathed, had donned a fresh bark cloth, had the charcoal stripe applied to his forehead and tied the **kasoa** round his neck. The charcoal stripe in this case was essentially a mark to distinguish the rites of the yam from those of the ordinary kava. The Ariki said of the yam ceremonies

> "They are divided off as different from the kava, they are not made naked to be just the same as the kava, therefore they are separated apart. When I go and plant, I shall also put on the pani".

By not being 'made naked' (**fai fua**) he meant that they had this extra touch of decoration applied to them.

Thus arrayed the Ariki went over to the temple to perform the rite. The usual seat of the chief was on the side of the building nearest the lake shore. There he took up a bundle of aromatic leaves placed by his side, arranged it in his left hand, and grasped a bottle of cocoanut oil in his right. Picking up also several fronds of cycas he went over to the huge centre post of the house. Sinking to his knees he laid the cycas down and poured a few drops of oil on the leaves. Then standing up to his full height he raised the bunch above his head and with swift energetic movements rubbed it up and down the surface of the post, bruising the leaves and impregnating the house with their pungent scent. As he did so he recited the formula of the **kaukau pou**, directed to promote the welfare of the land and to avert sickness. The invocation was addressed to the Atua i Kafika, to whom the central post belonged.

> "I eat ten times your excrement, Mapusia!
> Your post will be anointed on this morning
> Anoint with power
> Anoint for welfare
> Swept away be epidemic disease from your crown of the land",

The cycas fronds were then laid on the coconut leaf mat which extended up to the base of the post on the north side; this was the memorial mat of Te Atua i Kafika. The old fronds from the previous season were removed and laid on the **fare toki**, the "adze house" supporting the **toki tapu** used in the canoe rites. These fronds were sacred from their associations, hence, as it was said "they are not carried and thrown away at random; that is their depository from of old". The Ariki went then to the end of the house near the entrance doorway and sat with his back to the pillar there, facing the pile of yams. He recited another formula, very short, appealing for formal confirmation from other chiefs and his elders for the "body" of his deity dug that morning, that is, the tubers. He concluded with an appeal for their fecundity. This invocation was termed "**te fakasao o te ufi**", "the sanctioning of the yam". The Ariki murmured:

"**Pa Fangarere, Satinamo, Pa Porima, Pe Tavi,**
fakasao mai kotou
ki tou tino Mapusia
tenei i tona pongipongi ka poroporo mai i ei.
fi te rau te ufi tapu
fi te rau te ufi i Fangarere
fi te rau te ufi i Porima
fi te rau te ufi te kau pure katoa
marie".

"Pa Fangarere, Satinamo (Pa Karovi), Pa Porima, Pe Tavi,
Sanction me you (all)
To your body, Mapusia
Of which this is the morning of its consecration here.
Fertilise the share of the sacred yam
Fertilise the share of the yams of Fangarere
Fertilise the share of the yams of Porima
Fertilise the share of the yams of the whole assembly of elders
Marie!"

The term **fi** has the concrete meaning of "sprinkle" or "shower", but in the above formula bears the more abstract connotation of fertilise. On the second occasion on which I witnessed the yam ceremonies the recital of this formula over the pile of tubers was forgotten for a time. Suddenly its omission was recalled by someone and the Ariki was advised. He was annoyed both at his own slip and at not having been reminded sooner. "Why did you not call to me before?" he asked sharply of the crowd, who remained sheepishly silent. The piece of ritual had then perforce to be undertaken out of its turn.

At the conclusion of the celebration of the newly-dug crop the Ariki returned to his seat. Immediately afterwards the bundles of yams were taken out to the oven house, save only for a pair of tubers which were hung up on a bar at the far end of the building as an offering to the deity. "The **pupura** of the Atua i Kafika" they were called, i.e. his seed tubers. More aromatic leaves were brought to the Ariki, together with oil, and with them he smeared his chest and upper arms, after which the Ariki Fangarere did likewise.

The scent of the bruised leaves is pleasing to the nostrils and for this reason the practice is much favoured by the natives at their dances. The esoteric use of the leaves is parallel to that in everyday life: since its savour when applied to one's body makes one agreeable to other human beings, so also it is to be expected that it will render one agreeable to the gods. And the chief as the foremost medium of communication with the gods was the most appropriate object for its application. A native statement on this point is "the anointing of the god that he may have desire towards the Ariki, his floor mat. But if the perfume and the oil are not applied, then he will act disgustingly towards the Ariki ". The mention of the Ariki as the floor mat (**tapakau**) of his deity seems curious, but it is comprehensible when it is realised that it is an expression of his formal abasement, similar in thought to the statements of "eating excrement" in formulae. More precisely, it refers to the belief that the Ariki serves in his own body as a resting place for the god when he comes to attend the ceremonies in which he is invoked. If this body is not made sweet for his arrival, then he will be angry and wreak evil upon the chief and his family, spoiling their crops or visiting them with sickness.

The next portion of the rite was the recital of the formula over the **kava** stem which was brought in through the small door at the end of the house specially reserved for it, and aligned with its root towards the centre post. Crouching over it the Ariki held up the end and recited a long invocation which began on this occasion with an appeal to the father of the chief, then proceeded back through his ancestors to the principal gods. The kava stem when removed was not left near the house, but was carried down to Takerekere and laid on a stone slab there at the side of the path. Gifts of areca nut and betel leaf were thrown toward the central post for the Atua i Kafika. Then came the cry of "carry the offering". A bundle of coconuts was deposited near the post on the lake side of the house, and the Ariki seated himself before it with reverent mien, his arms folded and head bowed. Libations of kava were brought to him and he poured them with a special procedure, the same as that adopted with the **raurau kumete** (v.**infra**) The libations were to: Pu ma; the Atua i Kafika; the premier god of the Ariki Fangarere; and the ancestors of the Ariki Kafika, in this order. An essential feature of the ritual on this occasion was the piercing of the eyes of green coconuts and the shaking out of their contents on the appropriate floor mats as further libations to gods and ancestors. This was termed "the pouring of liquid of the gods", "**te ringiringi o a vai a nga atua**", while its object was "the despatching of the yam", "**te mori o te ufi**," apparently a ritual mark of its transition from the soil to the oven. The distribution of the coconuts for food and drink among the eight men assembled and the apportionment of the areca nut, indicated the end of the ceremony, and the subdued atmosphere gave way to talk and laughter.

Such was the **poropore mata**, the sacralisation of the raw firstfruits. Its object was to announce formally the crop to the **atua**, and so open the way to a free use of it by the community in general. The explanation from the native point of view was: "The yams of the **poropore mata** are brought hither first that the kava of the chiefs may be made first, that

people may go and dig their yams for food, the kava of the chiefs having been completed beforehand".

The other chiefs and certain of the elders of high rank in the other clans had a ritual interest in the yam to the extent that they also performed a "yam kava". This was merely a repetition of their ordinary kava procedure, and had none of the intricacy of ceremonial which took place in Kafika. As was the custom the Ariki Kafika waited until the other chiefs assembled in Uta on this morning, and then began his rites. The Ariki Taumako delayed till he heard the **paku**, the reverberation of the kava clapping in Kafika, and then proceeded with his ceremony, while the Ariki Tafua (in former days) and the elders, who were in most distant houses out of earshot allowed a short time to elapse after their arrival to ensure the priority of the Ariki Kafika before they began. The precedence of the real controller and main officiant of the yam rites was thus maintained. This brief rite concluded the share of the elders in the yam operations for many days. The Ariki Fangarere attended the proceedings in Kafika, and behaved like a member of that clan. "He goes with the crowd; he eats the hot food". His own separate yam kava was not performed till later.

A PRIMITIVE COMMUNION FEAST

Preparations were then made in the oven house for the spectacular ritual of the "Hot Food", "**te kai vera**", in which use was made of the yams ceremonialised in the temple. All the tubers were scraped by women, who, clad in their new skirts sit in a line on the **mata paito** side of the house. This was contrary to ordinary etiquette, and so emphasised the ritual nature of their task. So situated, they were in a definite order of precedence. First was "the woman of the sacred yam", that is, the wife of the Ariki Kafika, next came the woman of Fangarere, then those of Porima, Tavi, Fenumera and lastly of Rarovi. The yams were served out to them in this order. Leaves were laid on the floor and each woman scraped the refuse from her tubers on to them. The work was done in haste, not in the usual leisured style of the preparation of food; as each yam was finished it was thrown down and another grabbed up. The work was **tapu** and there should be no loitering. Then the women retired to their own side of the hut again. While on the **mata paito**, engaged in their scraping, they had been invested with supernormal attributes. That was the reason why each wore her new skirt, "because it is the Female Deity who has decorated herself and is going to prepare things".

A count was made of the number of men who would be present at the **kai vera**, and a yam was set aside for each, with a couple of small ones in addition as offerings to be placed in the **raurau kumete**. There were thirty men in all at the monsoon season's rite, but fewer at the trade-wind rites. The great anxiety of the Ariki and other men on the latter occasion was that the yam crop should be sufficient to meet the needs of the kava and other rites on this day. I heard the question asked repeatedly "Will the kava be attained or not?" They feared the god, who otherwise would punish them for what he deemed to be their neglect or meanness. Said the Ariki:

"His kava is made to be sufficient; therewith he is lauded. But if it is not made weighty towards him he is angry with us, he is bad; he holds that we have gone to bring the crop here, but instead have left it and hidden it from him in the bush".

If the true yam crop should suffer disaster, as occasionally happens, then **taumako**, a species of yam with a prickly vine, regarded by the natives as a different food type, is called into service. In the last resort **pulaka** or even **taro** would be used, but this would only be done in extreme circumstances and might not be acceptable to the deity.

When the tubers of the **kai vera** had been picked out, the remainder were cut up in ritual style. Pads of the **repa** made the previous day were taken one by one from the heap by a male worker and held while another, sitting on **mata paito**, sliced the yam on to them, a few pieces to each. The **repa** were piled on the floor. After the fire in the oven had burned down the stones were spread out, and the entire tubers put in. The **repa** pads were lifted one by one and their contents shot into the oven, the pieces of vegetable not being touched by the hand. According to one opinion this was merely because they were slimy, but according to the Ariki, it was in deference to their **tapu**. Still, as they were handled freely both before and after, this observance, which was real enough, was probably just an element of the rite as a whole, without special significance in itself except as it gave the affair greater solemnity. The new **repa** pads were used to cover the oven, this being the first occasion on which they were called into service.

The rigid division of labour by which the women scraped the yams and the men cut them up and set them in the oven was one of the ritual features of the day. Both sexes usually take part somewhat indiscriminately in the work of cooking, but on this occasion the oven was **tapu** to women. The actual origin of this differentiation is unknown. It is a traditional feature of the ceremony correlated with the fact that the food prepared therein is peculiarly the property of the great Atua. "We do not know why it is sacred; it has been the custom from of old".

Shortly before noon the oven was uncovered and the food removed. The **raurau kumete**, a shallow wooden dish of unique shape,(details given in Chapter V), which was the special sacred property of Kafika, was washed in the lake. By custom it was lined with two leaves of **rau tea**, a plant with large oval light-green foliage. When the tubers intended for it had been placed inside, the dish was carried to the main building and set in its ritual position on the seaward side close to the centre post. This represented the portion of food offered to the gods Pu ma, and its position so far in advance of the other offerings near the most sacred part of the house was held to be the reason for using the special receptacle instead of the ordinary leaf platters.

"Leaves are prohibited; they are not carried forward. The portion in front is done with bowl alone".

Preparations were made for the **kai vera** by providing each person in the house except the Ariki Kafika with a large leaf of **rau tea**, which he held cupped in his hands. An air of tense expectancy now gripped the crowd and speech was only in whispers, for not only was this one of the most sacred rites of Kafika, but it was one carried through in great haste and demanding alertness from every participant.

A basket had been filled with the yam tubers, smoking hot from the oven, in the other house. Suddenly as the men sat quiet, each holding his leaf between his knees, the bearer of the yams burst in through the doorway, and at once began to distribute his load. The tubers were not dealt out in the ordinary polite style at the feet of the assembly, but hurled out to them as the bearer strode along the line. The first yam was thrown to the man seated at the kava bowl, and the distribution then proceeded as fast as possible without a break till the far end of the house was reached, when the basket was exhausted. Each man on receiving his yam caught it deftly in his leaf-covered hands, bent over and at once with a great show of haste began to bite, or rather mumble, at it - for it was still piping hot! This was in the nature of a race. The first person to be successful in swallowing a mouthful of the scalding food made a sucking noise or chirrup with his lips (**• miti**), and on hearing this all looked up and laid down their yams. Then there was a general inquiry, led off by the Ariki "**Ko ai ne miti ?**", "Who chirruped?". A modest acknowledgment was made, and the identity of the person was confirmed by people on either side of him. Immediately after this another man entered with a basket containing the pieces of cut yam, and began to distribute them among the gathering, while the Ariki seated himself behind the **raurau kumete.**

The kava libations in connection with this were a variant on the usual procedure. The Ariki was seated with arms folded and head bowed, in reverent humility. The bearer of the kava came to him, crouched at his back and held out the cup. Without turning his head the chief reached round with his left hand, took the cup under his right armpit, transferred it to his right hand, and then making obeisance by raising it to his forehead, poured it out in front. These movements were made so that not for one moment did he avert his face from the sacred presence of the deities, believed to be seated, invisible, in front of him. Four cups in all were poured in this fashion. The first two, emptied near the dish, were libations to Pu ma, Tafaki and Karisi; the third, emptied to the side, towards the centre post was for Nga Matua, the ancestors of the chief, including the most important deity of all, the Atua i Kafika; while the fourth, poured to the front again, was offered to Te Atua i te Uruao, "The God in the Woods" who was the principal deity of Porima but was invoked in this building by the Ariki Kafika. Morsels were pinched from the yams in the dish and thrown to these gods, after which the Ariki returned to his former seat. An assistant emptied the **raurau kumete** in a ceremonial manner by a quick jerk of the leaf lining, which laid the contents on the matting. The dish itself was brought back and put in place on the **toko tu**, a wooden staging which served as the repository for sacred objects. A second journey was made to collect the yams, one of which was given away as an ordinary food portion, while the other, wrapped in its leaf covering, was laid in a small food basket belonging to the chief

and hung up on the **toko tu.** The people then ate their shares of food.

Immediately the rites of the **kava sofe** were over the tension relaxed. "The kava of the gods is finished", someone said. People began to talk over their experiences. They told how their lips were burnt, how tears came to their eyes, how they made puffing noises in the endeavour to cool off their burning morsels. One man described another who, unable to bear the heat of his mouthful, spat it out again. The bearer of the basket complained that his fingers had been "cooked" with handling the tubers, and wondered plaintively if they would blister. Laughter arose from a group of youths who had watched Pa Sukumarae. This clumsy man, instead of catching his yam, had let it roll away from him under the eave of the house, whither he crawled to redeem it. The sight of his large bare posterior thus elevated from under the wall at this moment was too much for the restraint of the young. "We are laughing at Pa Sukumarae, just like a dog going outside" said one of them, while another described his actions as being like those of a cat pursuing its rat!

The clue to this curious ceremony lies in its relation to the principal deity of the Kafika clan. Besides being called the **kai vera,** the hot food, this rite is also termed the **kai tapu,** the sacred food,[1] or the **kava tapu,** the sacred kava, though actually the kava proper does not appear in it. In being classed by the natives as a form of kava ceremony, the essential point is that it is an act of communion with the god and commemoration of his institutions. By tradition the **kai vera** was set up as a rite by the Atua i Kafika while he still lived upon earth; he wanted, it is said, a kava which would be different from those normally celebrated. According to the Ariki Kafika, the Atua ate only hot food; nothing cold ever touched his lips, hence the ceremonial **kai vera** follows his personal habits. And to this day he himself attends the rite to observe that it is duly carried out. The Ariki Kafika does not have a yam given out to him, though there is one remaining in the basket. He refrains because as he sits there watching the scene, he is believed to be the god in person come down to witness his kava. The Ariki himself made a statement to me which is worth quoting in full from the light it throws on the native concept.

> "**Tera ku nofo kuou; ko ia; sise kai; ku tuku ke**
> There have sat I; him; not eats has left to (be)
> **fai tana kava e Te Fanau. Kuou tera te atua**
> made his kava by the Brethren. I there the god
> **ku au o nofo i a kuou. Ku au ki a kuou, e faia**
> has come to sit in me. Has come to me, because

---

[1] Some idea of the importance and significance of the "hot food" ritual to the Tikopia may be gleaned from the fact that the same name **te kai tapu,** the sacred food, is applied by them to the Christian service of Communion, which they themselves regard as being of somewhat the same nature.

te ariki palasu; mai mua rei, te Ariki Kafika te
the chief weighty; from formerly then, the chief Kafika the
ariki palasu. E mafa i a ko ia."
chief weighty. Is heavy from him."

In freer translation "I who have sat there am him; he does not eat since he has left his kava to be made by the Brethren (the family of principal clan gods). I there am the god; he has come to sit in me, because I am the chief of importance. From olden times the Ariki Kafika has been the chief of prime importance since he has been rendered so by the god." This statement is somewhat confusing in its sudden transition from first to third person. The meaning is that for the moment of this sacred rite, while the body and flesh are still those of the chief, they are acting as a vessel for the god within, who is thus seeing out of the eyes of the Ariki and reposing within his limbs. "The body is that of the Ariki but the eyes glaring out of it are those of the god" is the explanation which natives give. The reality of this psycho-physical dualism is firmly credited by the Tikopia. It finds further expression in the organised institution of spirit mediumship, of which the present case is hardly to be reckoned as an example because of the transient nature of the manifestation. The Ariki in his statement gives the reason for the selection of himself as a vehicle for the deity - he and his ancestral line are the premier chiefs in the island, because they are the direct descendants of the great god.

The **miti** is taken as a sign by the god that his kava has been properly performed, and on hearing it he at once leaves his human resting-place. "The chirrup is given, the god then goes, his kava has been good." It is held that the person who first makes the **miti** in token that he has consumed his portion of hot yam is in special favour with the god from this time forth, "Ku tu i te Atua", which may be translated as "He stands in with the god". When the native idea is grasped, that the Atua is present in person to watch the perpetuation of the rites he set up, then the gravity of the occasion, the tension of the participants and the eagerness of their competition can be understood.

To have chirruped at the Hot Food is a mark of social distinction, though the winner receives no material prize, or appears to take great personal pride in his achievement. When the first-comers arrive back from Uta in the afternoon the question is put to them "**Te maro ne tu i ai?**", "With whom did the honours stand?" In the monsoon season it was Pa Porima, but it was said that usually Pa Fenumera, of Fangarere, was the victor. This man was said to have cheeks and throat "like iron". I myself participated in this as in the other rites of the Work, and in the trade-wind season, by accident more than by design, I managed to chirrup first, and was awarded the honours. Pa Fenumera was then absent, but meeting me some time afterwards he said with a smile "I hear that you won in the Hot Food. You would not have done so if I had been there". I saw no reason to challenge this claim.

An evasion of obligation may occur in even this most sacred ceremony. It is said that some men, shrinking from the possible pain involved in biting into the steaming hot yam, only make pretence thereto,

bending over and moving their empty jaws until they hear the chirrup which relieves them from further action. It does not appear, however, that such a shammer would ever dare to utter the **miti** himself.

When a novice attends the **kai vera** he is always instructed by his elders how to act - to spread his **rau tea** leaf in both hands; not to hold it up, but to keep it down in the lap; to open his legs out so that the end of the yam may not burn his calves as he bends over it - apparently a real danger - yet not to draw up his knees, a position which is always forbidden in sacred buildings. Contrary to the usual custom of the kava, small boys are not encouraged to attend and the Ariki sent away his grandson, saying that the **kava tapu** was coming on. The food of the **kai vera** itself must be finished completely by the men who take part. It is **tapu** and may not be eaten by women and children. The yams of the **kava sofe** do not matter, so that when the remains are being handed over to be parcelled up and taken away for later consumption it is always stated which are from the tubers of the sacred yam.

After the meal was over the Ariki Fangarere and the elders present were sent off by the Ariki Kafika to perform the kava in their own houses. In this, a simple ceremony, each man invoked his own personal deities for the general prosperity of the people. Meanwhile the younger men left to pursue their own affairs, and some of the seniors remained for a time in the house with the Ariki Kafika, smoking, chewing betel and talking leisurely. "The kava of the gods is finished" was the sententious observation which closed the proceedings.

The fundamental importance of the ritual of the Hot Food lies in its function as a kind of elementary communion feast. Not only does the god of the yam, the Atua i Kafika, attend the ceremony in person, watching through the eyes of his chief, but the yam itself which is consumed is the actual body of the god, partaken of in common worship.

The succeeding rite, the **kava sofe**, is so called since the yams have been sliced (**sofe**) in pieces.

A sample formula used at the **raurau kumete** rite - the actual words recited vary according to the wish of the chief - was given me by the Ariki Kafika.

A. As the cups of kava are poured he says: (first cup)

"Au kava Tafaki!
Kau kaina fakaangafuru kou tae.
Tafuri ki tou kava
Tu fakamaroi i tou Kafika.
Tou kava se maua atu
Fakalasi mai a ke mai te vaerangi
Taotao ke mau te kasoa tapu
To ko te raorao

Se taranga laui ma tatou mai te faoa
Na kataina mai tatou
Ringi ko oru roro i te fonga fenua
Kae taotao ki raro te kasoa tapu
Tosina atu e a korua ki te fakatiu
Ke poi tafetafengaio mai i ei.

(second cup) :
"Au kava Karisi;
Kau kaina fakaangafuru kou tae
Tafuri ki tou Kafika.
Tu fakamaroi koke
Riaki ko te urufenua
Ma fai oru sakanga.

(third cup.)
Au kava Toku Ariki Tapu
Kau kaina fakaangafuru kou tae
Tafuri ki tou turanga
Tu fakamaroi i tou fenua
Fuke ko se ora i tou vae kerekere i raro."

(for the fourth cup similar phrases are uttered.)

B. As the offerings of food are thrown:
"Oru kai Pu ma, Karisi ma Tafaki;
Kau kaina fakaangafuru koru tae
Fua ko tekungakere
Tafuri ki toru kava
Fosa ko te ufi
Ma fao o te raurau kumete
O toru taumafa
Ma pe o oru kai."

"Au kai Toku Ariki Tapu
Kau kaina fakaangafuru kou tae
Mafu mai se potu amonga mau
Riaki ko se urufenua ma fai ou sakanga
Tu fakamaroi koke."

Translation:
A.
"Your kava, Tafaki;
I eat ten times your excrement.
Turn to your kava
Stand firmly in your Kafika.
Your kava has not been attained
Make it great from yourself from the sky
Cover over firmly the sacred necklet (the wind)
Let calm fall

For a good word for us from the crowd
Lest we be laughed at.
Pour out your calm on the crest of the land
And press down the sacred necklet.
Be it dragged by you two to the north,
To godrifting calmly there."

"Your kava, Karisi!
I eat ten times your excrement,
Turn to your Kafika.
Stand firmly, you.
Scatter out the head of the land (the breadfruit)
For the making of your rites.

"Your kava, My Sacred Chief
I eat ten times your excrement.
Turn to your standing place,
Stand firmly in your land.
Uncover welfare from your soiled foot below."

B. "Your food, Pu ma, Karisi and Tafaki!
I eat ten times your excrement
Let the earth fruit.
Turn to your kava,
Let the yam root
For the filling of the raurau kumete,
For your food portions,
And the throwing of your food."

"Your food, My Sacred Chief.
I eat ten times your excrement.
Let a bit of a shoulder-burden spring up here for you;
Scatter out the head of the land for the making of your rites.
Stand firmly, you. "

The general purpose of the formulae is to induce the gods to give fine weather at sea, and plenty of food on land, for their own sakes as well as for that of men. It will be noted that breadfruit as well as yam is requested.

The precise injunctions in these formulae may vary considerably, and only the chief knows exactly what he has said on any occasion. According to Pae Sao a native tradition (tara tupua) was that in olden times the yams harvested were of great size, and when the people ate them they became ill. Nowadays, he said, if a man finds such a huge yam and eats it, after a time sickness seizes him. His skin becomes bright and shiny, and his limbs swell. This affliction comes to commoners only, not to members of the chiefly families. Hence the formulae recited by the Ariki Kafika are intended in part to ensure that the yams will be good for the belly of man, said Pae Sao. But there is

no specific mention of this in the examples given above.

THE RITUAL OF THE UNSCRAPED YAMS

The next day there was another characteristic yam ceremony, performed not indoors but out in the open air, on the main path that ran along the lake shore. A few feet nearer the water was the site of a small house named "Takerekere", long since subsided into the lake, and in former days the rites took place within its walls. According to the old men another name for this house was "Tauapepe". Vestiges of its posts were last to be seen about twenty years before. Two mats were laid across the path, one for the Ariki Kafika and another, some yards away, for his kava bowl.

To begin the proceedings the early morning kava was performed; it was called also the cold kava, because the yam hung up the day before in the small basket on the stage in Kafika house was taken for the food offering. After the libations of kava were poured the yam was returned uneaten to its place in the building. Meanwhile assistants had collected raw food from adjacent orchards and this was placed inland at the door of the house Rarovi, (v. Plan of Uta, We The Tikopia, 386) till the kava was finished. Food was cooked; ordinary yams and the variety called **taumako** are generally used, but if these are scarce then **taro, pulaka** or even breadfruit are pressed into service. A bunch of green coconuts was also brought. Shortly before the oven is ready the men plaited from coconut leaf small open baskets like flat dishes. These were termed **lingilingi**, and were simply made with the ends tied in knots. They were six in number to serve as platters for the food offerings to the gods which were set out on the open path. The first two offerings towards the lake side were for Pu ma, one being for Tafaki, the other for Karisi. These were known as **taumafa i mua**, "portions in front". The next, in line with them but further down the path, was for Te Atua i Tafua, and opposite this on the inland side of the path was that for Sa te Kamali. This last are deities whose habitation is the adjoining shrubbery, which grows where once stood the building known as "Te Kamali", a temple of the Rarovi family. In its generic reference the word **kamali** means "a sacred place". The offerings just mentioned are **taumafa i muri**, "portions behind", being of lesser importance. The final two platters were set before the Ariki Kafika and the Ariki Fangarere, who were sharing the same seating mat, and were offerings for their chief deities in each case, i.e. for Te Atua i Kafika and Te Atua i Fangarere. When the kava had been prepared in the bowl a libation was first poured by the cup-bearer to the initial offerings. He looked at the Ariki Kafika who murmured:

"Your kava there Tafaki
Turn to your kava in Takerekere."

Another cup was poured beside the second offering and a similar formula is addressed to Karisi. The cup for the Atua i Kafika was handed to the Ariki who poured it himself beside the food at his feet and said :

"Your kava there Mapusia
I eat ten times your excrement
Turn hither to your kava in Takerekere.

The Ariki Fangarere did the same in his turn. A fifth libation, to the Atua i Tafua, was accompanied by the words:

"Your kava there Raki-te-ua
Cause the coconuts to sprout
For the preparation of your food offering."

To the last cup, poured beside the inland platter, the Ariki said:

"Your kava Sa te Kamali
Turn your backs
And face the direction of the gods."

In comment on the last two formulae it may be noted that the Atua i Tafua is tutelary deity of the coconut, so that it is appropriate for him to be asked to increase its fertility. The words used are:

"**Motu mai se uaroro**
ma ta atu o totou vai".

Uaroro is an esoteric term for coconut used in formal language instead of the common **niu**. **Motu**, which has the literal meaning of "separate", signifies here "to grow", as a bud or shoot in growing separates itself from the parent stem. Other phrases of the kava may be added to supplement those given, according to the wish of the Ariki and his conception of the needs of the land at the moment. On one of the occasions when I was present the weather had been unsettled for some time previously and the appeal was completed by the request for a calm to fall. The desire expressed for the **atua** of the Kamali to turn their backs, which is against the usual principle of kava invocations, is due to the fact that they are regarded as beings of malignant powers, whose interest in human affairs is to be discouraged. Hence they are given food and kava and respectfully asked to face the other way and let their attention be occupied with the things that the other deities are doing! As a conclusion to the ceremony a coconut was pierced and the liquid shaken out by the Ariki at the head of his seating mat as a further libation to Pu ma.

A hearty meal was eaten after this rite, for it was **tapu** to eat cold food in the morning before attending, and this was the first oven of the day. This rule also applied in the case of the **kai vera** of the day before, and it was said that anyone infringing it would have become ill.

The characteristic feature of this ceremony, and one which was extremely unusual at Tikopian meals was that the tubers of yam and **taumako** which constituted the food had been cooked with the rough dirty skin still on, and had to be peeled with the fingers into the lingilingi platter. Each man had to do this for himself before beginning to eat, even the Ariki, whose food was normally dressed with care by other hands. Such was the custom of Takerekere, which might not be altered. There was according to the natives a verbal association between the name of the glade "Ta-kerekere" and this peeling of the food which had been "cooked dirty" (**tao kerekere**), though they did not know if there was any etymological connection. The peelings and other debris from the meal were left in the **lingilingi**, and these were not thrown away at hazard but carefully set in line at the side of the path. There they remained till they decayed, no passer-by daring to

touch them, since they partook of the sacredness of the place. As each season comes round a new set is deposited, and by that time the former has practically disappeared.

The kava of Takerekere is very sacred. Only the Ariki Kafika, the Ariki Fangarere and two or three necessary assistants attend, and other people take care not to intrude. Though the spot where the rite takes place is actually a portion of the main route round the lake, and is daily in constant use, all travellers avoid the neighbourhood till such time as the ceremony is over, and utilise the less convenient subsidiary tracks which run through the bush at the back. The path is spoken of as being blocked (**momono**), but there is no material obstruction set in the way; it is merely the respect of the people for the ritual. "They know that we have begun to sit here; the path has become sacred" said the Ariki Kafika. Passers-by later in the afternoon look to the side of the path and see the **lingilingi** there; thereupon they tell anyone they meet on the road "The kava is finished", and all know that the road is once more open to traffic.

SANCTIFYING THE SEED TUBERS

On the first day, when the yam crop was dug, all the tubers of Kafika were removed and used as food with the exception of a few at one end of the **puke tapu**, the sacred hillock which was the principal object of ceremonial during the planting. These few remained till the day after the Takerekere rite, when they were taken out and the little hut known as the **fare ufi** (v. later) was razed to the ground. These residual tubers were the sacred **pupura**, the basic seed for the planting six months hence.

The cultivation of the sacred yam involves a considerable amount of care and foresight. There are two crops in the year and the planting of one season is not done with the tubers from the crop just dug, which would not grow, but with those from the crop of the preceding season. Each family which has a proprietary interest in the **ufi** has always to keep a set of tubers in storage to provide for its maintenance. The **ufi** of the **tonga**, which is the yam which comes to fruition in the trade-wind season is not of great quantity, but the **ufi** of the **raki**, harvested in the monsoon, demands a large party of workers to perform the principal tasks.

To fetch the seed tubers, only one or two men were necessary. They made a special journey up to the cultivation early in the morning, and on their return to Uta put the yams into a new coconut leaf basket, well plaited, and laid over them bunches of aromatic leaves from the fragrant **akoako** and other shrubs. The basket was then stood on the **mata paite** side of the house in token of its sacerdotal importance. This rite was termed **te utunga pupura**, literally "the filling (of the) seed". The exact application of these words is obscure. **Utu** in this phrase is an archaic expression. When questioned on the matter natives said "It is ancient speech, from former times". Normally **utu** means 'to fill' as of a water-bottle or other vessel, so that in this case the term supposedly refers to the filling of the basket with its seed tubers.

The Ariki Fangarere did the same in his turn. A fifth libation, to the Atua i Tafua, was accompanied by the words:

"Your kava there Raki-te-ua
Cause the coconuts to sprout
For the preparation of your food offering."

To the last cup, poured beside the inland platter, the Ariki said:

"Your kava Sa te Kamali
Turn your backs
And face the direction of the gods."

In comment on the last two formulae it may be noted that the Atua i Tafua is tutelary deity of the coconut, so that it is appropriate for him to be asked to increase its fertility. The words used are:

"**Motu mai se uaroro**
ma ta atu o totou vai".

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The ceremonies connected with the sacred yam are almost inseparable in some aspects from those relating to the renovation and refurnishing of the temple of Kafika, in that theoretically the same god controls both, and practically their rites take place in the same place and overlap or even merge on certain days. The **utunga pupura** for instance with its attendant kava is also made the occasion for the **fariki**, the 'carpeting' of Kafika lasi, the oven house which is the common scene of operations.

After the seed tubers had been brought in food was prepared. The Ariki went alone to the Kafika lasi where three freshly plaited mats were lying folded, still green. He donned his cincture and taking up one mat laid it on the shelf at the back of the house, the repository of the sacred adze, the **maro** of the gods and other sacred objects. Sprigs of aromatic leaf were then scattered on the new mat, after which the seed tubers, old and new, were taken from their baskets and laid on it, and more leaves were put over them so that they lay in an aromatic bed. This rite, "**Te fakameme o a pupura**" "The putting to sleep of seed tubers", was accompanied by the recitation of a formula to the Atua i Kafika.

"**Kau kaina kou tae toku Ariki Tapu**
Tou tino ka fakameme atu
Ko nga atua ma tangata ku tau mai ki tou tino
Ka fakame atu
Ringi ko ou roro ki tou fonga fenua."

"I eat your excrement my Sacred Chief
Your body will be put to sleep
Gods and men have become habituated to your body
Which will be put to sleep
Poured by your calms on your crown of the land."

The object of the ritual is the preservation of the seed from contamination, the sanctifying of it to its vital purpose of propagation. In native terms "Such is the custom from former times; it is made sacred, it is not left below to become soiled, it is deposited up above." The yam, being so closely connected with this premier god of the land, is conceived as his body "**e ati te tino te Atua i Kafika**", a piece of symbolism which is largely verbal and does not appear to any extent in the actual performance of the rites. It is implicit to some extend, however, in the "putting to sleep of the tubers on the shelf. **Fakame** is a ceremonial term used also for certain aspects of birth and incision ritual. The word **me** (substantive and verb) with its causative **fakame**, and their reduplicatives **meme** and **fakameme** undoubtedly bears the basic idea of 'sleep'. It carries with it, however, also a derived meaning of 'to lie down'. If a person is sitting in a house talking and seems tired his host will say "**Me ki raro**" "Lie down", not necessarily to sleep, but merely to continue the conversation from the more convenient reclining posture. It is possible that there is something of this secondary meaning in the **fakameme** of the seed tubers.

This ritual act is of considerable sacredness, so that noisy conversation, which is deprecated at any time during the yam ceremonies, now becomes especially undesirable. Elderly people sometimes remark to young folk "**Kae se oro o va! Te tino te Atua e fakamema.**" "Don't go about making a noise! The body of the deity is put to sleep." The importance of the yam as the "body" or material symbol of this powerful being is emphasised in another way. When a quarrel occurs about land boundaries the disputants are very prone to express their own feelings and annoy their adversary by slashing down growing food stuffs such as banana trees in the debatable area. From this destruction, however, yam plants are immune, "**e tapu**", it is forbidden, since they represent in a sense the Atua himself, and wantonly to hack them about would be to incur his anger.

It is a feature of Tikopia ritual that the specific is made also to serve the general purpose. The formulae recited usually include in their phraseology appeals which transcend the immediate object of the occasion. Among other matters that of weather is one which calls for most frequent entreaty by the Ariki for intervention on the part of his gods, and phrases to this effect are interpolated freely into all ritual addresses. The request for a calm is perhaps the commonest of these. In the formula of the **fakameme** quoted above an example of this is given, the word **roro**, uncommon in this significance, being a synonym of **raorao**, the esoteric term which corresponds to the usual **ngaio**. After setting the seed tubers in position the Ariki took up another of the new mats and laid it in position on his ordinary seating place. Here again he made another appeal for fine weather.

"**To ko te ngaio Pu E!**
Fakarongo ki tou tino ku fakamemea
Ke sa ko te ra ke masara ko tou tapakau."

"Let the calm fall, Ancestor!
Listen to the fact that your body has been put to sleep
That the sun may shine that it may be clear for your mat."

The amount of emphasis laid on the desire for clear calm weather depends of course on the conditions prevailing at the time. During the yam ceremonies of the **raki** my account of one day's events includes reference to the variety of ways in which the Ariki repeated appeals of this nature. "**To te ngaio**", "**To ki te ngaio ke laui**", "**To ke laui te ngaio**", "**To ma te ngaio**", and other phrases desiring calm weather were recited with great frequency, not only in conjunction with the various libations of kava, but rather noticeably, between them when no actual rite was in progress. Each time the introductory word **to** (fall) was uttered with great vehemence, in such a way as to leave no doubt as to the reality of his sentiments, and in my Diary I find recorded at this time "Seas heavy; no fishing on Ravenga coast", which provides the explanation.

After the "carpeting" ceremony ended the Ariki remained alone in the house, in contemplation, till the time for the kava arrived. This was a joint celebration for the yams and the re-laying of the mats. Inland in the dwelling-house a special basket of food was being prepared. This was termed **te longi o te ufi** - the household food basket of the yam - though actually it was not a **longi** but a **popora**, a large basket, that was used.

Each family of the yam group, i.e. the chief divisions of Kafika and Fangarere clans made one of these and brought it to Kafika lasi house where it was set in the middle of the floor for the kava to be performed over it. Each family prepared its food contribution in its own house, independent of its fellows. The kinsfolk of the Ariki Kafika made their oven in the dwelling house adjacent to the sacred buildings, the people of the Ariki Fangarere were busy in the house Fangarere a few yards away, while the people of Porima and Tavi made their **longi** in their respective houses in Uta, and those of Rarovi and Fenumera in their dwellings in Tai. It was optional to do the work either in the lake houses or the beach villages; in the latter event the food baskets were brought over by canoe in time for the ceremony. Where so many households were concerned, tardiness in some quarters was inevitable, and much energy was spent by the Ariki and his family in obtaining news of the progress of the various ovens, and finally in sending out messengers to hurry up the laggards. At last all were assembled and the ritual began. The **longi** of Kafika stood foremost and alone, while those of the rest were in a pile in rear, as befitted their inferior status. As this rite was an important link in the chain of yam celebrations the kava was **taro**, that is, the invocation was recited over the stem of the plant, and the orange vestment, significant of the appeal to the Atua i Kafika, was spread. The meal when the rite ended was the first of the day for the Ariki, though it was almost evening. By fasting before the sacred ceremony he maintained its **tapu** unimpaired.

When the offerings to the gods were set out from the **longi** care was taken to open every package so that all contributed. This ensured also that any particularly good parcel of food was announced before the deities, a matter of some importance. For if the best food was not formally set out they might imagine that it was being purposely withheld, become offended and retaliate by storms, droughts or other afflictions. One day, when a minor yam kava ceremony took place, cups of sago pudding were prepared in the oven as a delicacy for the Ariki and myself, but through some oversight on the part of his son were not laid first before the deities. They were served direct from the oven to be eaten after the ritual. On discovering the cup in his food basket, the Ariki became annoyed. "What will the **atua** do when they look at it, look at it, and see that it has not been put with the offerings?", he remarked severely.

One of the features of the "food basket of the yam" ritual was the exchange of contributions. Each basket brought was re-allotted under the direction of the Ariki as in the case of the canoe rites. Another custom of the day, an extension of the food exchange, is that any person may if he so desires, prepare a special basket termed **fonokava**, in addition to the basket of the yam, and present it to the man of his choice. In such case the gift will be reciprocated (**tongoi**) either the next day or, if the recipient has already heard of the intention, on the same afternoon. Such a **fonokava** is made from motives of respect for the person to whom it is given, or in order to gain his favour for some project.

LIFE IN UTA

From this day onwards till near the conclusion of the season's rites the Ariki Kafika does not return to sleep in the beach village but remains in the dwelling house in Uta, whither the women of his family carry his roll of bedding. He maywalk abroad to visit his orchards, or go over to Tai to take part in torchlight fishing, but he must always return immediately afterwards to his house in Uta. "E tapu", "it is prohibited" for him to reside again in Tai till the Work of the Gods is completed. It is customary for some of his elders to follow his example, but they are not always willing to do so, since Uta is a quiet spot, far from the bustle and excitement of the coast, and the mosquito problem is unusually acute. When the question of joining him was raised by an old man in the monsoon season the Ariki politely said that he left the decision to the elders concerned - "it is done according to their own thought". But none seemed eager. Pa Rarovi, the principal man of rank, whose place it was to give the others a lead, sat pulling a banana leaf to strips and looking at the floor, while the others stayed silent and gazed uneasily about them. At last one of the relatives present interjected "Shall the Ariki come and stay here alone?". This also drew no response. Desultory conversation was renewed, and the upshot was that none of them came. This shirking of obligations irritated the Ariki exceedingly, though he voiced his annoyance only within the circle of his own family. In the trade-wind season the same thing occurred. On my way home from Uta one evening I happened to meet the Ariki Tafua and told him this. Though a Christian the old chief at once became very indignant. "It is their place to do so! Shall the Ariki be left to carry on the Work of the Gods alone, with only his family to help him?" he grumbled, and more to the same effect.

Though the Ariki Kafika has great influence and controls the religious affairs of the island his word is not always strictly obeyed. It was pointed out in Chapter II that the "Throwing of the Firestick" imposed a tapu on the land so that people could no longer sit in groups on the beach in the evenings. This prohibition, however, is not always upheld as the days go by and the Ariki goes away to reside in Uta, especially if the weather becomes oppressive. Then the people, who at this time of the year like to go and sit under the trees above the sand to get the cool breeze, are apt to begin to get careless about the observance and congregate again, especially the younger and more thoughtless of them. Their action is not necessarily approved by others with a greater sense of responsibility. "Their mind is like that of children" it is said. If the Ariki happens to notice them then they scatter at once and disappear into their dwellings. If he catches sight of them unobserved he goes to his house, seizes a club and returns, brandishing it and shouting "May your fathers eat filth! You go back to your houses!" upon which they vanish, terrified. Such incidents are not common, but I was told that they have occured."That is the custom from olden times" it was said.

The Ariki obeys no special food restrictions at this time, save that he refrains from eating in the morning before certain of the most sacred rites lest he pollute them. But the present Ariki Kafika, being of

a highly-strung nervous temperament, sometimes fasts for a couple of days and nights before such an event - not from religious asceticism, but because in his own words "I think of the Work that is to be done, and all food is bitter in my stomach; it has no flavour". Often too, he told me, he does not sleep during the night prior to an important ceremony. Such abstinence is purely a matter of personal constitution.

Life is very quiet in Uta during these days. The Ariki has his mat spread in the house, and with his winged head-rest within reach, spends much time talking and chewing betel. When he tires he lies down and pillowing his head continues the conversation. His wife busies herself with plaiting or other household work while other members of the family come and go in the course of their usual duties or sleep in the middle of the floor.

In these long hours in the quiet of the forest glade, undisturbed by the busy village life, confidence was established and talk flowed easily. Sitting cross-legged with my back against a house-post, or reclining on a pandanus mat, I was able to glean many things from the chief regarding the gods and religious secrets of his fathers.

OWNERSHIP AND CLEARING OF THE YAM PLOTS

The day of the **utunga pupura**, the digging of the seed tubers, marked a stage in the yam ceremonial from which the next important rite was calculated. This was the **autarunga māra**, the clearing of the cultivation in preparation for planting. It took place on the fourth day after the bringing down of the seed tubers. It may be more or less according to the decision of the Ariki. The intervening period is counted by nights, the usual Polynesian method of reckoning time. I was told "Will be three nights, three nights; will be four nights, four nights". The people concerned in the yam operations simply awaited the command of the Ariki. They said "We sit, we listen only to the chief, to be definite".

During this time there was a daily rite, termed **te kava a ufi**, yam kava, of minor importance. It resolved itself into a family affair of the immediate Kafika household, the main feature being the cooking of the food. The Ariki himself, of course, took no part in the oven-work, so every day one or other of his sons came over to Uta and assisted by a younger relative or two and by any women staying in the house made ready the food. When the oven was uncovered the Ariki was summoned to the oven house, the offerings were set out, the kava bowl was prepared and the usual libations were poured. These were offered as follows on one typical occasion:

Cup 1. to Pu ma
2. to Pu ma
3. to Te Ariki Tapu (Atua i Kafika)
4. to Pufafine (Female Deity, by post)
5. to Raki-te-ua and Sakura (Atua of Tafua and Taumako)
6. to Nga Matua (the chiefly ancestors)
7. to Pinimata (female deity of Porima)
8. to the **fuanga** (**atua** of chief's mother's family)

Food offerings were thrown out to Futi-o-te-kere (principal deity of Fangarere etc.); Tuisifo (an ancestor of special power), and the other gods mentioned.

The chief addressed various appeals to the different gods, asking Pu ma for **manu** that the breadfruit might yield a crop, and Pinimata to calm the waves then breaking on the coast. To his ancestors he appealed:

"Tiko kotou ki te tauru rakau
Totou kava sise maua".

"Excrete you on the vegetation
Your kava is not secure".

This last could have been mere formalism, but food was actually getting scarce then. A form of words recited by the Ariki on another occasion to his principal deity ran as follows:

"Tou kava tena Toku Ariki Tapu
kau kaina fakaangafuru kou tae
Tou tino ka to atu ke kava ke fosa
ke mau ko totou kava".

"That is your kava my Sacred Chief
I eat ten times your excrement
Your body will be planted away to twine, to root
That your kava may be assured".

The terms **"ke kava ke fosa"** apply to processes of growth, the first describing the curling round of the tendrils as the vines creep up, the second the formation and enlarging of the tubers below ground. The one is an index of the other, hence the causal connection between them in the grammatical arrangement of the formula. The term **mau** (assured) was thus explained "that the kava may be heavy" i.e. that it may be important with the weight of offerings.

As a rule there were only about five people present for the ceremony and it was not unusual for a girl to act as cup-bearer to the Ariki. After the kava they joined the others in the adjacent dwelling house and ate. Only those who constituted the essential minimum for the rite made the effort to attend.

The end of the fourth night saw the initial preparations made for planting the next season's crop. Early in the morning, long before sunrise, parties of men from the Kafika villages on the coast made their way to the **māra**, the cultivation up in the hills, and began the work of clearing the ground as soon as the first light appeared. This consisted mainly in cutting the scrub and undergrowth, clearing it away and pulling up the grass and weeds, work described under the general term of **autaru**. (A special term, **tata**, however, is used in connection with the yam activities and is not applied to operations relating to **taro** or other crops. **"Mara a ufi e tata i te pongipongi nei"**, "Cultivation of yams is cleared this morning", is the way of describing this stage of the work.) Theoretically, every family of the yam group should have sent representatives to assist in the clearing, but some people failed

to attend. "It is bad that they should stay behind. It is **tapu**" was the judgement passed by the Ariki, but no form of compulsion was used, nor was their absence regarded as a grave dereliction of duty. One absentee honestly gave as his excuse that he understood that there was going to be an interval not of four nights but of five.

A short account may be given here of the various sites utilised for growing the sacred yam. The ordinary yam may be grown in any suitable spot, but the sacred yam by tradition is restricted to five gardens (**vao**), all of which are under the control of the Ariki Kafika and virtually owned by him. Of these three are in Maunga, the high plateau sloping down to seawards on the north side of the island, one is in Nuku, in the fertile land behind the rock pyramid of Fongo-i-Nuku which stands between the Ravenga beach and the lake, and the last is in Uta, high up the mountain slope at the back of the Kafika orchard, under the foot of the cliffs which ring the ancient crater. In these **vao** a certain rotation of crops is observed, the yam never being planted again immediately in the ground from which it has just been removed, and only rarely in the ground of the season before. "Is dug hither in one season, plant in another season in another place" (**E keri mai i take tau, to i take tau i take ngangea**", it is said. Or in another statement "Has been dug in this season, bring to another cultivation in another season" (**Ku keri i te tau nei, au mai ki take vao i take tau**). The reason for this rotation is quite clear to the native : it is done to allow the undergrowth on the recent cultivation to grow tall and mature, whereas if it is prepared again too soon the undergrowth will not have attained its full size and the crop will be poor.

Vao is the name given to any considerable expanse of open cultivated ground. It is only when reserved for religious purposes in producing the sacred crop of either yam or taro that it is called **māra**. Of the five **māra ufi** one only is planted each season. Four are used freely in ordinary rotation as conditions allow, but the fifth, known as "Penusisi" and situated at the edge of Maunga at the head of a distant cliff above the sea, is rarely cultivated. Only twice, perhaps, during his period of chieftainship does each **Ariki** Kafika give instructions to prepare it. The reason, according to native belief, is that this is the sacred **māra** which was first instituted by the Atua i Kafika and planted by him when he originally set in motion the system of yam rites. It is the prototype of yam cultivations, so to speak, and to crop it frequently would be a cheapening of the ground which he made sacred.

Each **māra** is acknowledged to be under the control of the Ariki Kafika, who maintains it in fief, as it were, from his god. "**Ana e fai**", "That which is done is his" the people say in reference to the Ariki and the cultivation of the yam, meaning that he is ultimately responsible for any activities in connection with it. At the same time though the chief controls the cultivation as a whole there are a number of individual plots therein, which are held immediately by other families of his clan. The ground is cleared as a whole by the working party, but in planting each family with an interest there prepares its own section. Thus in a native description of the **māra** it is said: "The single cultivation is cleared; they go and plant, one

man there, another there. The yams of the Ariki Kafika there, Pa Fangarere there, Pa Porima there; Rarovi, Fenumera there. Each stands in his standing place. The same allotment is made season after season; no plot is abandoned. When a man dies, and his sons remain, they go then and stand in the place his yams used to stand. His relatives go and plant in the one yam spot". For the management of each family plot the head of that group stands in the same relation to the members of it as does the Ariki Kafika to the participants in the entire activity - they plant their portions under his control. Participation of people as individuals in the yam group is quite voluntary, but it is obligatory on the major families to keep up their traditional interest. The people of Kafika clan alone - including here Fangarere which is ceremonially considered as part of it - have plots in the sacred yam ground. A man of another clan, however, if he is sister's son to the Ariki Kafika may come and plant yams in the plot of the Ariki by virtue of their kinship. On the day of the **poroporo mata** this man goes and digs the larger portion of his yams, brings them to the ceremony and places them with the rest. The remainder he takes out on the day of the **utunga pupura** and carries them to his house for food or to be stored for seed.

The specific ownership of the yam plots will be further considered in connection with planting.

THE SLICING OF THE SEED

Not long after dawn on the same day as the cultivation was cleared, while the working party was still returning, the rite of cutting open the yams, **te fai o te ufi**, was performed by the Ariki. A special mat was laid down on the **mata paite** of Kafika lasi and on it were set a couple of tubers and the small basket containing the rest of the seed yams from the season before. The Ariki, after bathing in the lake, donned a new cincture and seated himself on the mat facing towards the eave of the house. With a small knife,[1] in former days a shall of a bivalve species termed **kasi**, he cut the tubers into pieces suitable for planting. Some were severed across but the majority were sliced lengthwise (**fai**) an operation from which the name of the ceremony is derived. As he wielded the knife the chief murmured softly

"Toku Ariki Tapu!
Teu tino ka fai atu i te pongipongi nei
Fai manu
Kau kaina fakaangafuru kou tae
Nofo i toku pokouru."

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[1] The Ariki Kafika and other men denied a statement made by John Maresere, that it was **tapu** to cut yams with a knife, and said that this prohibition had never existed. I certainly saw the knife used freely by them. (See W.H.Rivers, History of Melanesian Society, I, 317.)

"My Sacred Chief!
Your body will be sliced away on this morning
Slice with power
I eat ten times your excrement
Settle on my head".

Here in addition to the appeal for success in the undertaking he invites the deity to descend on to his head - a request which implies abasement on his part, since the head of a chief is the most sacred portion of his body, and also a desire for the favour which such an act would show. It has already been pointed out how the Ariki is regarded, almost literally, as the seating mat for his deities; they utilise his body as a medium through which they may revisit the world of men.

Meanwhile a younger relative kindled the oven. He then brought a pile of **rau tea** leaves and carefully scraped out the flesh from each piece of yam on to a leaf, leaving a thickness of half an inch or so next the rind. Each rind was laid at the side of the Ariki, who took it up, scrutinised it carefully, then put it down at the head of the new mat in the place of respect. These were the seed to be planted shortly. The Ariki was careful that each piece of tuber had its "eye" (**mata**). The mature dry yam which was beginning to shrivel slightly was the type desired for the seed, he said, and showed me one in which the sprout had "broken" i.e. had appeared as the best. Some other tubers which were immature or damp were unwelcome to him, since they would not grow so well.

The pulp from the tubers was wrapped up to make three or four small leaf packages, which were then placed on the hot stones of the oven and covered over. Aromatic leaves were strewn over the seed, the mat of which was pulled under the eaves to be out of the way. The Ariki then returned to his sleeping mat to await the progress of the oven. After an hour or so the attendant went to uncover it, and the Ariki, still lying down in his hut, called to him "**Tama E! Tama!** Is it cooked?" "It is cooked" answered the young man. A rite of importance then took place in the temple. The leaf packages were brought from the oven and laid in the **raurau kumete**, and the kava was performed. Afterwards the leaf packages were shared out among the few people present, but the Ariki Kafika and the Ariki Fangarere did not eat. The food, which was simply the cooked pulp from the interior of the seed yams tasted very much like a saltless oatmeal porridge, and the portion was hardly large enough to be a meal. The eating was primarily a ritual affair. The rite was termed **te kava tapu**, being more than usually sacred. "The food which is scraped is not given to the children and the women, hence it is called the sacred kava; it is eaten only by big persons (i.e. by adult men)". It will be remembered that the same prohibition applied to the yams of the "hot food" which was also a **kava tapu**.

Shortly afterwards each Ariki went to his own house. Their families, as well as those of their elders, were busy during the day in preparing another "yam kit", a basket of food similar to those **longi o te ufi** made four days ago. Towards the end of the afternoon these were brought along

to Kafika lasi for the kava to be performed over them. The Ariki entered, inquired if the elders were all assembled, and when this was so began the ritual. Turmeric was smeared in broad bands round his arms and waist, a sign that the kava was of special importance. This was due to its association with the slicing of the tubers for seed, an operation which, besides being the figurative cutting of the body of the Atua, was critical for the fate of the future yam crop. When the kava was over the baskets of food were exchanged, and a meal concluded the activities of the day. In all there were only ten people present at the trade-wind season's rite.

A humourous touch occurred at one of these functions. A small boy carrying a big basket came along, and was questioned by the men at the doorway as to its origin. Satisfied they told him to enter and set it down "on the mat at the back of the house" added the wag Pa Tarairaki. The boy started forward innocently, but pulled up at the sight of a broad grin on the faces of those around. The mat indicated was the seating place of the Ariki, and the thought of what he would say on entering to find a fat basket of food occupying his position fairly convulsed the crowd with laughter. Pa Tarairaki then tackled the youngster again. "Does the basket contain a fish?", "No!" answered the boy, "none were caught by us last night". He was then berated with mock seriousness "Why haven't you put a fish in the basket? When the food is distributed no fish will be given to you people". At this threat the boy grinned, since he knew that this at least was all pretence.

RITUAL PREPARATIONS FOR PLANTING

Early in the morning after the clearing of the yam plots the rite of **soani autaru** was performed. I did not see this rite, but was given the following description of it. In the clearing of the **mara** a single shrub has been left untouched in the middle of the field. The saying among the working party is:

> "The crowd! Clear the ground but leave a single tree for the **soani** of the yam".

And before leaving the field people ask to make sure

> "Where is the tree which will be left for the **soani** of the yam?"
> "There it has been left standing".

Before sunrise a man arrives at the cultivation, and with a single stroke, if possible, cuts down the shrub and leaves it lying on the ground. A good swinging blow is used that the shrub may fall with a crash (ke mapūpū) so that the deity may hear from the heavens, it is said. Then the man gathers a load of coconuts, together with breadfruit or other food, and returns to Kafika where a simple rite takes place. I attended this with six other people. It was the **kava a niu**, offerings being made of the coconuts, from which libations were poured when the kava was finished. Later the oven was prepared and when ready in the afternoon the ordinary minor kava was performed again. Appeals were made to the gods primarily for coconuts, then scarce, but since the sea was calm no reference was made to it.

The actual object of this rite is ill-defined. Not even the most well-informed natives, including the Ariki Kafika, could throw much light on its origin. The Ariki described it as **"te fakaasoa o te autaruanga"**, "The assisting of the clearing process". He added "It is done only to be correct; it must not be done wrongly". The word **soani** may be a derivative of **soa**, to assist, but is best translated in descriptive terms of the act accomplished. It is "speech of the yam alone" i.e. it is not used in any other context. In practice it conveys the idea of a secondary or supplementary action, finalising that which has been done. An analogous rite on the day following the planting of the yam is called **soani to** (**to**, planting) and consists of a similar visit paid before dawn to the cultivation by one man to bring away the sacred digging stick

Great emphasis is laid in the **soani autaru** on the arrival of the performer before the rising of the sun. This is one of the commands laid down by the Atua i Kafika. Point is given to this injunction by a tale, which forms part of the background of the yam ceremonies. An account of it will help our understanding of the significance of the **soani** to the native.

Many years ago a man named Pa Ravoro of the house of Vaerama was delegated by his chief to the task of the **soani autaru** at a certain season. In the morning he overslept himself and while he was still running hastily along the path to the cultivation saw that he would be caught by the sunrise before he could reach it. He was some little distance away when he heard the crash of a falling tree and recognised with alarm that someone - clearly not human - had preceded him to perform his neglected work. Turning to flee in fear, he was struck on the head by a flying stone which gashed his forehead and felled him senseless to the ground. Some time later he recovered, to tell the story in the village. His escape was said to be due only to Te Atua i te Uruao, The God of the Woods, his own family deity, who had taken it upon himself to perform the belated task, and so save his descendant from paying the penalty with his life. Had he not done so in time the man would have fallen a victim to the vengeance of the Atua i Kafika, who, as it was, merely signified his anger by casting the stone at the hapless laggard.

The actor in this little drama came from the family group of Porima - to which Vaerama belongs - and ever since that time, when for any reason there is danger that daylight will surprise the messenger of the **soani autaru** still on the road, a man from that family is sent. It is believed that as the original culprit was protected from a tragic fate by his own deity so once again the god will step into the breach and hew down the tree in time. If a man from Kafika family should go late, since he has no immediate deity to interpose between himself and the outraged god of his clan it is held that he will have to pay the full penalty. It is said, however, that nowadays there is little danger of the messenger being late; people know the story and so they "sleep wakefully only".

The shrub left standing must be a fine large specimen; one of the **asonga** or **repa** species is usually chosen. According to Pa Teva there is some idea of a connection between the excellence of the shrub and the vigour

of the succeeding crop, but this was denied by the Kafika folk. When pressed for further explanation they merely admitted the curious nature of the rite and appealed to tradition as their guide. The function of the rite is simply a further emphasis upon the sanctity of the clearing of the ground, one of the series of acts which marks the importance of the yam.

The remaining ceremonies in connection with the sacred yam are interspersed by others which celebrate the re-carpeting and re-furnishing of the sacred houses. Thus the day of the **soani autaru** of the yam by Kafika marks the introductory rite of sunning the aromatic leaves for Resiake, the temple of Taumako. For two more days the ceremonies of Resiake continue, and on the last of these the Ariki Fangarere makes kava for the mats of his temple Vaisakiri. The next day is a very busy one throughout all the community, for most of the ancestral houses of the prominent families are re-carpeted then, and food gifts from each have to be carried to their respective chiefs. Moreover the thatch is pinned together for the repair of the temple of Taumako. The following day sees the re-carpeting of Taumako by its own clan, and of Nukuora by Kafika and Fangarere, while preparations are made for the re-carpeting of the Kafika temple. These various events will be dealt with in detail later in their appropriate Chapter; in order to avoid confusion the rites of the yam are here followed to a close. This brief reference, however, and examination of the Programme (Chapter I) will enable the reader to appreciate the complexity of the ceremonial cycle of worship, and the amount of organisation and labour needed to carry out each item of the Work correctly and in proper order.

The yam ritual moves in stages approximately four nights apart. Thus four nights usually elapse from the time of the **utunga pupura** to that of the clearing of the cultivation, four nights pass from this to the time of burying the seed-rinds, and four nights more are counted till the cultivation is burned for the morrow's planting. Sometimes for special reasons the interval is lengthened or shortened by a day, but **po fa** (four nights) is the basis of calculation. For this regularity and symmetry in the yam ritual, tradition is the only reason assigned.

During the days succeeding the **soani autaru** the kava of the yam was made regularly each afternoon, while the seed rinds covered with their aromatic leaves lay on the mat at the side of the house. This **kava ufi** was of the minor type, as already described.

The next event in the procedure was the "burying" of the seed, which took place on the afternoon of the day on which Nukuora was celebrated. This operation of burying - a literal translation of the native term **te tanu o te ufi** - was of more ritual than practical importance. As soon as the kava ceremony in Nukuora was finished the Ariki Kafika slipped out alone, put the seed rinds into a basket and went down to Takerekere. A yard or two behind

the seat which he occupied during the rite of the unscraped yams, shielded from the path by a few bushes, was a round patch of earth, covered with stones. After lifting these off the Ariki cut himself a small digging stick and loosened the earth, then refined it between his fingers, taking out all rootlets and mounding it up. Removing the seed rinds from the little basket he placed them firmly in the soft soil, then laid over them leaves of sweet-scented shrubs, earthed them in and set the stones carefully on top, collecting every fragment and wedging them together for protection. This operation was done to promote growth in the seed, though according to the Ariki no formula was recited for the occasion. That it had an esoteric significance was shown by the use of the aromatic leaves spread over the seed rinds, thus rendering them agreeable to the deities. The burying was **tapu** to the extent that ordinary people did not come to witness it, though I followed the chief. Two passers-by, I noticed, seeing the Ariki thus engaged, stood still with their burdens some twenty yards away until he had finished. After washing his hands in the lake the chief returned to Kafika lasi and confirmed his action with libations to the gods.

The next morning, as an adjournment from the ceremonies of Nukuora, the kava was made in Kafika temple, when the **raurau kumete**, the sacred wooden dish was employed with its characteristic rites. This was a very sacred occasion, the deities invoked being Pu ma, who controlled **Takerekere**. The rite was by way of epilogue to the interment of the seed in that holy spot.

Again the days passed while the yam seed remained in the earth, each day being marked by its small kava ceremony, and each night being counted to preserve the proper sequence of events. During the fourth night a working party of women, with a youth or two, visited the cultivation. The fallen shrubs and other debris from the clearing were collected and burnt, and the surface of the ground was picked free from rubbish. Moonlight assisted these operations. This was termed **te sunusununga mara** - the burning off of the cultivation. The workers made their way home before dawn broke and other people could emerge from their houses. The "vivifying" of the yam, **te fakaora**, a kind of preliminary celebration to ensure success in planting, took place the following day. Food supplies were collected during the morning, a procedure termed **ta fakaora**, and the oven was prepared. Each family group with an interest in the yam cooked the food in its own house, and where an elder was in charge he made his kava there. During the morning the Ariki went down to Takerekere and took out the yam rinds (**e aku mai**) putting them back into their basket and returning them to the mat in Kafika lasi. The kava was performed and the seed was then examined finally, some further tubers being added. A piece of seed yam is called **foi rau**, the same generic term used in speaking of individual leaves of plants or single fish. Hence one hears such expressions as "**Tatou foi rau ufi ku oti?**" (Our seed yams are finished?) when people have nearly reached the end of their planting, or "**Te mata o te foi rau ku fakasa ki te kere.**" (The eye of the seed has appeared above the earth.)

THE SACRED RITES OF PLANTING

The next morning everyone of the yam group had to be awake long before dawn, for this was the day of planting. I was told "the yam is planted in the night" - a statement too near truth for my comfort. The reason given was that "the yam should be hidden in the woods" before people stirred in the villages, so that the paths might not be contaminated by ordinary affairs. It was said that this was the command and practice of the Atua i Kafika, though no express utterance to this effect was known.

One member of the household was told off to wake the others, but the Ariki Kafika, his responsibility in mind, slept little, he told me, and every now and again observed the position of the heavenly bodies to gauge the flight of time. The moon is one index, and the **fetu ao** (morning stars), Putae in the trade-wind season and Aokapu in the monsoon season, are others.

On each occasion I came over from my house in Faea soon after four a.m. When the people of the household had been roused from sleep one man was sent off first with the **koso tapu**, the sacred digging stick, a piece of wood some seven feet long, pointed at both ends, one of which was ornamented by some roughly cut notches.

This implement is one of the most intensely sacred articles in the island. Through its association with the yam, the vegetable foodstuff of primary significance, this digging stick has become as it were the prototype of all instruments of cultivation, the material symbol of agriculture. Like all other objects in this particular context it is regarded as the property, even the embodiment, of the Atua i Kafika, and therefore must be handled with extreme care, and only by persons authorised by the Ariki and at the appropriate time. No woman, for instance, would dare to touch it, nor is it probably ever seen by them. It is kept normally at the far end of the Kafika temple, and the custom is to hang a few kava leaves over it in token of its unique value and importance. As the implement decays it is replaced by a fresh one, but as its use is ritual, not practical, it lasts for many years without attention.[1] The stick employed in 1928-9 was very frail, so much so that the Ariki, in handing it over to the man who was appointed to carry it, gave the caution "That one has become aged; go carefully lest you stumble in the path." The bearer, out of deference to his sacred burden, had a clean white strip of bark-cloth wound as an extra cincture round his waist and a bundle of scented leaves stuck in the back of his girdle. The significance of these in ritual matters has already been explained. The sanctity of the **koso** required also that its bearer should precede the rest of the working party and go alone. Soon after he had disappeared in the darkness another man was despatched with the **fakaora**, a basket containing food from the oven of the day before to provide the offerings in the cultivation, and following him went a youth with

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[1] When the sacred digging stick has to be renewed, a rite is performed: the chiefs assemble at a large stone in Te Roro, on which the Atua i Kafika is said to have sat after descending with it down the hill, and the new digging stick is stood against the stone.

the little kit of seed yams. All these articles were **tapu**, hence their bearers had to proceed apart from the crowd so that they were not contaminated. The rest of the party waited for the equivalent of a quarter of an hour or so to enable them to preserve their lead on the road. Then they followed, the Ariki girt with his **riri**, but the others in ordinary costume.

Torches are forbidden by ancient rule[1]. If the night is dark the unlucky folk have to stumble along the narrow rock-strewn trail as best they can. When the moon is up progress is easier, though there are still black stretches where the path runs beneath thick trees. A further element of unpleasantness to the natives is added by the belief that ghosts may be abroad.

On the way to Maunga the track lies round the lake shore from Uta, turns the corner at Mori, goes on through Te Roro, opens out for a short space at the glade of Somosomo, then goes through the woods again till it debouches on the beach of Namo under the cliffs of Nuaraki. For a little way all sign of a path is then lost in a scramble over rocks till the foot of the ravine Matangaika is reached where the track now plain once more takes a steep ascent up to the shoulder of Maunga, climbing over the face of massive boulders. The progress of the party should be such that the first lightening of the sky finds them here, ready for the ascent to the plateau on which the cultivation stands. In the trade-wind season the Ariki noticed as we were approaching Namo that a paleness had begun to creep into the eastern sky above the cliff ahead. At once he hastened his step, and exclaimed to the others "Hurry! the land has become light!" The statement was an exaggeration, but all quickened their pace so that at the last they were almost running over the shingle and rocks along the shore. The steep pull up Matangaika was done with heaving chest, and the race with the light continued along the narrow muddy path through the cultivations. There were several traditional resting places on the trail to Maunga which were used continually by the people on their way to and from their daily work, and at one of these, beneath a spreading **kafika** tree, the Ariki found the bulk of his people, who had come along the Ravenga coast, and awaited his coming. Relieved to see them all assembled, and having won his race with the oncoming day, the Ariki led them more leisurely on to the scene of their work.

As the sky was brightening before the dawn the party reached the **mara**, to which they had been preceded by the bearer of the **koso tapu** and his comrades. Immediately the work began. They all sharpened the ordinary digging sticks which they brought with them, or hastily cut fresh ones from shrubs on the border of the clearing. The bearer of the sacred implement stood alone and silent at the far end of the field; he had held communication with no-one since leaving the house in Uta. The Ariki put on his ritual necklet of coconut frond, and the black **pani** stripe was drawn down his forehead. The crowd gathered round him at the spot selected, the site for the **puke tapu**

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1 As a special concession when I accompanied the party I was allowed the use of my electric torch, of the beam of which the Ariki was glad to avail himself at times.

the sacred hillock. This was to contain the special seed of which the treatment has already been described. This little mound served as a focus for the performance of all the yam ritual in the cultivation. The making of it was the first procedure of the planting ritual. The Ariki squatted down with his digging stick held before him, and the others formed a ring and followed suit, their sticks all pointing inwards. The bearer of the **koso** came up and, silently standing at the side of the Ariki, directed his sacred implement towards the same spot. Then the Ariki squatting thus, recited a short formula termed **te fakasao o te puke**, "The countenancing of the hillock", to place it in proper association with the Atua i Kafika. He said:

"Pa Taumako! Pa Tafua! Pa Fangarere! Satinamo! Pa Porima!
Totou kaupure na fakasaosao ki te tino o toku Ariki Tapu
Ka to atu i te pongipongi nei
To mamu
To ki se ora."

Thus first calling on his fellow chiefs and his principal elders by name he invited them to confirm or countenance the planting.

"Your assemblage of elders there give countenance to the body
of my Sacred Chief
Which will be planted on this morning
Plant with power
Plant for welfare."

As he concluded the formula he drove his stick into the ground and as he did so, uttered a ringing cry of "**Iefu!**". As one man the crowd too drove in their sticks and yelled on the high shrieking note characteristic of the Tikopia. The bearer of the **koso tapu** laid the tip of it gently on the soil This potent implement is the direct lineal descendant of that used by the Atua i Kafika when he first instituted the cultivation of the yam, hence arises the need to sanctify by its touch the hillock which is to contain the premier seed. It is sometimes said by natives that the sacred hillock is dug by means of this implement, but this statement must be taken figuratively. The staff is held in too much reverence to be used for actual digging, especially when it is old, since the misfortune of breaking it would be far too serious for any risks to be run. To touch the soil with it is sufficient to establish the contact.

After the preliminary plunging-in of the sticks the hillock was dug properly, while the **koso tapu** was carried away to the side of the field and leaned up against a stout tree. The bearer discarded his ritual girdle and returned to assist in the work. Finally the hillock was made satisfactorily. "It is good, it is good, is it not?" the workers asked. The Ariki inspected it, then took a piece of yam from the seed basket and holding it in his hands uttered a short formula over it.

"To mamu ko tou tino toku Ariki Tapu
Mafa ko se somo mou
Ke tautea e a ke ou tangata
Fosa ko tou tino
Torofaki se muri mou
Ke maua ko tou kava tapu."

"Plant with power your body my Sacred Chief
May a shoot burst out for you
That your men may be properly prepared by you
May your body strike root
May a hinder-end creep for you
That your sacred kava may be assured."

The Seed was then set in the hillock.

It is very difficult to give an intelligible translation of this formula without departing greatly from the literal version obtained from the natives participating. The central thought expressed is that the yam so planted may grow well, and that the Atua may be well disposed towards his human dependents. The yam is referred to as the "body" of the deity, a concept which has already been explained. "Breaking" or "bursting" of a shoot is the term which the native uses to describe its springing from the parent seed - the object of this being alluded to in the next line, that it may grow and come to fruition to provide food for men, who will thus be properly looked after by the god whose subjects they are. This control of the Atua over his worshippers is implicit in the expression "your men". The word **tautea** is archaic, and is equivalent to the more usual **penapena fakalaui** (to make ready, or look after, properly). The next phrases convey the request that the yam may root well. The "creeping of the hinder-end" alludes to the new tubers, that they may grow rearwards, slowly pushing their way further and further outwards into the soil as they increase in size. The purpose of the concluding line is to clinch the invocation. It asks the Atua to cause the yam crop to flourish, not for the sake of men alone, but in order that sufficient food may be obtained at harvest to fulfill all the requirements of his kava.

The first pieces of seed only were planted by the Ariki; he left the others to be attended to by his helpers at the **puke tapu**. The remainder of the party then spread out over the near-by strip of ground, which was that of the Kafika family, and prepared the other hillocks which were planted in turn. When the yams of Kafika were finished, the planting of which is by custom the first and common task, attention was turned to those of the other families. The party split up and a little group of men began work in each plot. The making of a hillock was a simple matter. A stake was driven in, the soil was burst up, a hole a foot or so in diameter was soon excavated, and the soil loosened. Each family had brought its own seed tubers in a small basket. These were quickly planted and the hillocks mounded up and covered with stones. The people worked with speed so that the clouds in the east were no more than red when the task was well on its way to completion.

Meanwhile certain ritual matters were attended to, under the direction of the Ariki. A couple of leaves of coconut had been cut and laid across the sacred hillock as a screen. A long pole was also cut, and to its upper end was attached the **noa**, a trailing strip of brand-new white bark-cloth. The pole was set in the ground, and in the morning breeze the cloth streamed out like a pennant. The object of the **noa** was said to be to stimulate

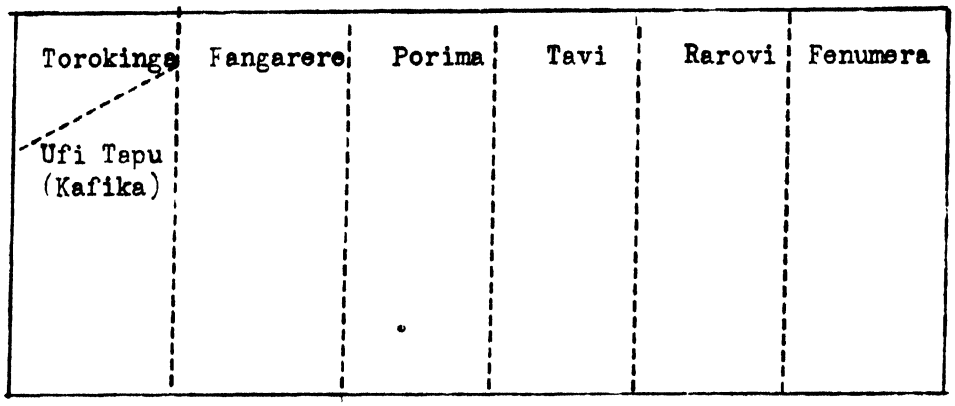
the growth of the yams "that the things planted may sprout up above". Its more direct object, it would seem, is to serve as a trespass notice to people, an announcement of the presence of the sacred yam, which can be seen from a distance. For once the **mara** is planted it is **tapu**, and intrusion except by authorised persons who have business there is forbidden, upon pain of punishment by supernatural agencies. The stringency of this rule of **tapu** I myself observed when travelling with natives in the vicinity. Even a peep into the cultivation had to be made with caution, and there was objection to my photographing the growing yams. The bark cloth **noa** was compared by the natives to the **matini fakapapalangi** (the flag of the white man) which they had seen on occasional vessels.

The yells emitted at the beginning of the digging need explanation. They signalise the momentous occasion of the passing of the period of most intense **tapu**, now that the sacred yam is once more being safely set in the soil When the yam is planted on Maunga it is the custom for the crowd to give a series of yells, and from time to time during the work the cry of some light-hearted lad goes ringing across the valley. But in Uta only one yell is given, since the place around is sacred in itself, quite apart from its association with the yam. When I attended the planting of the monsoon season, however, the night was dark and stormy, and rain fell heavily near morning. Most of the party were late, to the indignation of the Ariki, who arrived early and began the work, helped only by a very old man and two youths. (The Ariki Fangarere had turned out, but the Ariki said to him "Come and sit in the house; I am going to plant the yam". He thought the old chief had better remain behind.) At the planting the chief cursed freely. "May their fathers eat filth! Lying things!" he said, referring to the promise of the laggards the night before. When the **puke tapu** was dug, he was so annoyed that he let out a second whoop in addition to the customary one. When the party arrived he berated them, and they made no answer, knowing they were in the wrong. Later he said "We shall sit; not a man will come; the time of the yam is over". On their return the Ariki was mildly chaffed for his second whoop, and he admitted smilingly that "it was annoyance only".

The view from the cultivation in the early morning is one of great beauty. In Maunga the clearing is in an upland field which gives an extensive view over a valley. On the one hand is the peak of Reani, and on the other is a gentle undulating slope leading down to the edge of cliffs which rise three hundred feet above the sea. The land is clothed in smooth patches of taro and clumps of chestnut, **kafika**, **vere** and other trees, with the feathery tops of palms and the fingered leaves of the breadfruit. All is suffused with the soft rosy tints of the early morning light on the clouds. But the native regards the light only as a taskmaster, and hastens on with his work.

When the planting was completed the various plots of the field were marked off by lines of small stakes. The same order is always preserved. First comes the **ufi tapu** proper, i.e. the sacred yams of the immediate Kafika family, then comes the **ufi** of the family of the Ariki Fangarere, next

follows that of Porima and the others. The arrangement is shown in the accompanying sketch.



Ownership of plots in the sacred yam cultivation
(about 50x30 yards at the widest.)

No other families have a separate interest in the yam. Those such as Marinoa or Torokinga (as above) which desire to be connected with the ritual, attach themselves to whichever of the **kau ufi** group they are most nearly related and cultivate a portion of that plot. There is always plenty of ground available so that such accessions are welcomed as helping to magnify the importance of the occasion. As already mentioned, single individuals from other clans may also take part under certain conditions.

"The count of the sacred yam" (**te rau o te ufi tapu**) was made, by a simple but ingenious method. To ascertain accurately how many hillocks had been planted, a man took a piece of coconut leaf and going round the plot tore off fronds one after the other and threw one on each hillock. When each had its frond he collected these and counted them. This obviated the risk of missing any hillocks, as might have easily occurred if they were counted by eye alone. In the planting of the yam in the **tonga** (done for the crop of the **raki** season) there are usually from thirty to forty hillocks of the sacred yam, or even up to sixty in some years, (there were 39 in 1929), and about the same number in each of the other plots, though these are not reckoned up, being of less esoteric importance. The field measured about fifty yards by thirty yards. In the planting of the **raki** the cultivation is much smaller, and the **ufi tapu** will be contained in ten to twenty hillocks while some of the other families may not plant at all. The **mara** in 1928 was about ten yards by fifteen, with about 20 hillocks. The reason is that the crop from this season's planting is always poor, being harvested in what corresponds to the winter season (i.e. in June or July) so its main function is that of perpetuating the ritual.

By the time that the last hillocks were finished the sun's rays were beginning to strike across the plantation. Then came the sanctification

of the work. Some of the party had been sent to pluck green cocconuts from all the orchards near by, a raid of this kind, without distinction of ownership, being licensed by tradition. Several of the nuts were laid on the palm leaves sheltering the sacred hillock; the rest were distributed among the crowd. The baskets of the **fakaora** food brought from the various households were also set on the hillock. In doing this in the trade-wind season a package was discovered: opened, it was found to contain the seed of the sacred yams on which so much care had been lavished, and which had been forgotten at the last moment. The finding of it caused little concern; three extra hillocks were hastily made at the bottom of the plot and the sacred seed planted there. The calm displayed during this incident threw an interesting sidelight on the Tikopia attitude towards mistakes in ritual. The workers drew near and squatted down in respect while a brief rite was performed. An offering of food was laid out on the **puka tapu** while another with a few cocconuts was taken over to the far side of the field. From one of the cocconuts on the sacred hillock a libation was shaken out by the Ariki, with a short formula to the Atua i Kafika. An assistant at the other side of the field called "**Ia!**", pouring at the same moment liquid from another nut. This was a libation for Pu Fafine, the female deity who resided on top of the basket containing the sacred yam seed. The phrases recited invoked success for the planting.

The mornings events were concluded by a meal. After this the party dispersed. The Ariki with one or two assistants returned to Uta, where the **kava** was performed, including the rites of the **raurau kumete**. This was described as "the last **kava** of the yam which has been planted."

The next morning the rite of **soani to** was carried out, analagous to that of **soani autaru**, as a supplement to the planting. The **koso tapu**, the sacred digging stick, had been left standing for the night in the field. About daybreak a man of Kafika family retrieved it - staying the night if the planting was in Maunga, or otherwise going up for the purpose. The stick was carried with the same precautions as before, but by daylight. In the trade-wind season, in former days, the folk of Tafua, engaged in preparing thatch for their temple, used to watch anxiously for the bearer, and conceal themselves when he approached. When returned to its place in Kafika temple the stick was again hung with fresh kava leaves, and a kava rite, with libations of cocconut milk, was performed. The object of leaving the stick overnight is not clear, but it is regarded as contributing to the growth of the yam. Tradition is the reason given. "Plant, plant the yam, finished, leave the digging-stick there; the idea was conceived of old, is taught running down the generations" was the statement made to me.

The soani to completes the cycle of the yam rites, and marks a definite point in the Work of the Gods. It frees the Ariki Kafika in the trade-wind season to have a rest for a few days, and in the monsoon season to officiate at the re-carpeting of his clan temple Mapusanga. Other chiefs and elders may now begin their temple rites also. Until the yam is planted no temple or ordinary dwelling may be re-carpeted. It is tapu. If this rule is broken, it is said that a storm strikes, and houses are unroofed and shaken down. I was told that this had actually happened; it was due to the anger of the Atua i Kafika. A hurricane can be explained in terms of a secret breach of this rule, even though no culprit is known.

CARE OF THE GROWING YAM

The yam rites described are all that fall within the Work of the Gods. Other operations connected with the growing crop have ritual also, but this takes place between the seasonal cycles, and not as a part of them. For completeness, however, they may be briefly considered here.

There is no precise time at which any of these rites are performed; they depend upon the state of growth of the yam. This is described by various expressions. The term kava (short initial a) refers to its growth in general; when the yam is "dwelling" (uarangoi) it has not yet climbed to the top of the stakes provided for it; when it has "Fallen down" its leaves have dropped, and the root has grown down into the earth; when the leaves have dried and fallen off then it is near the time for it to be dug.

Staking is done after the shoots have sprouted a couple of feet high, and are showing signs of beginning to curl. It is not done before since the shoots are "stiff" and might break off. The staking is accompanied by the recital of a formula, of which there are several variants.

One (given me by the Ariki Kafika) which may be used on this occasion is:

Tau rangoi ka suki atu
Motumotu tou fonga fenua.
Kae mafa ko se somo mou o kava ki runga,
Ka mau o tou kava tapu."
To ko se raorao,
Fakamailonga o tou tino
Ka suki atu i te asonei."

"Your stake will be driven in
Sever your crown of the land.
And break out a seed for yourself to climb above,
For the attainment of your sacred kava.

Let a calm fall,
As a sign of your body
Which will be staked on this day."

This is an address to the Atua i Kafika to give fine weather and make the yams grow well.

Sometimes the chief does not visit the cultivation, but sends a commoner. This man then recites a formula:

"Tarotaro mai Pa Kafika ki te rangoi ka suki atu te asonei.
Tafitafi atu ko te vaerangi
Kakasia atu ko mata matangi na
Ke soro ki raro.
Motumotu ko te vaerangi."

"Recite hither a formula, Pa Kafika, for the stakes to be driven in today.
Smear off the sky,
Let the eye of the wind be kicked down
To tumble down below.
Sever the skies."

This is an appeal for fine weather, through the agency of the chief, who is expected to be exercising his influence with his deity. The chief told me that if the sky is threatening and any yam rites are performed, it will clear up. In another version the chief instructs the yams to climb and hold on to their supports in order that they may be viewed to advantage from the lake, and people may be moved to exclaim in admiration at the sight of them. He says

"Kava ki runga
O piki ki tou noa
Ke mātā mai koke
Mai te vai o ariki."

"Climb up above
To cling to your bonds
That you may be seen hither
From the water of chiefs."

The "water of chiefs" is the lake, which is regarded as the joint property of the four Ariki of the island, people of all clans being free to set nets there. When people are canoeing over the lake and observe that the yam has grown up well they give utterance to such words as "Taku te kava laui o te ufi." "Lo! the fine growth of the yam." After the staking a minor kava ceremony is performed in Kafiki lasi house.

THE STORY OF THE LITTLE HUT

Some time later, when it is observed by the Ariki or some of his family that leaves are beginning to shoot at the base of the yam stems, the yam house, **fare ufi**, is built. This is a small hut, measuring only a few feet in either direction, and roughly constructed of branches and some lengths of sago thatch. It is set in a corner of the field over against the sacred hillock. When it is being built each main structural member is formally announced by name as the workman puts it in position, so that the **atua** may be aware of what is taking place. Thus as the first post is set in the ground the builder calls "**Ia! te pou!**" When the side beam is laid he calls "**Ia! te kauraro!**", for the rafters "**Ia! te oka!**" and finally when the thatch is put on "**Ia! te kau rau!**" This is all the form of words used, the motive being largely to avoid any suspicion on the part of the deity in charge of the yam that someone is surreptitiously tampering with his plantation.

When the tiny house is complete the builders, of whom there are generally three or four, descend to Uta, and prepare the oven in Kafika lasi. When the food is ready offerings are set out, including one for the Ariki, who is usually absent in Tai. The kava is made in the bowl and the cup-bearer pours out a cup on the mat of the chief, saying as he does so

> "**Tarotaro mai Pa Kafika ki a kava a Pu ma ka ringi atu.**"
> "Recite hither Pa Kafika for the **kava** of Pu ma which will be poured out."

A second cup is poured, also to Pu ma, followed by cups to the Atua i Kafika and to Nga Matua with repetition of a similar appeal. The idea is that the Ariki in his beach village, aware of what is taking place, will utter the requisite formulae at the appropriate time, without having to come over to Uta for the purpose, since the occasion is of minor importance. Thus the demands of ritual are satisfied by this labour-saving expedient. When this is finished the offerings are wrapped up and carried to the Ariki in his house in Tai. On the arrival of the party he asks "You prepared your kava bowl?" "We prepared it." they answer. Thereupon the Ariki throws his own personal offerings from the food brought. If, however, for any reason the members of the working party have omitted to pour the libations then he orders them to go and chew the kava and the ceremony is performed on the spot. In either case **maro** (barkcloth vestments) are spread for the gods with the brief form of words

> "**Oru maro Pu ma ma Mapusia!**
> **Tau fare ufi e ta atu i te aso nei.**"
>
> "Your maro Pu ma and Mapusia
> Your yam house is built today."

In native theory Pu ma do not actually attend the yam rituals, but deference is shown them, their **maro** are spread and their kava poured since they are principal gods of Kafika. The Ariki Kafika said that the hut was set up to the Atua-i-Kafika; it was his, as are all the yam rites. But its origin was given in a legend told me by Pa Fenuatara. A woman and her female grandchild lived in olden times in Maunga and looked after the yam plantations to see that no one stole the crop, dwelling for the purpose in a tiny house in the field. The two of them went down one night to catch fish by torchlight on the reef and while thus occupied the girl smelt the odour of Tongans (**namu Tonga**) their body smell, supposed to be recognisable at a fantastic distance, which is a feature of a number of Tikopia tales. "Grandmother, Tonga smell rushes hither" she said, but the old lady took no heed. A little later she called out again "Grandmother! Tonga smell rushes hither." After several repetitions of this kind the girl was ordered to hold her tongue. The two of them then returned to the cultivation, to Penusisi, and entered the hut to sleep. While they slept the Tongans followed them, and arrived at the spot. They threw **atiri**, a large seine net, over the house, completely covering it, and went to steal the yams. Then came a kingfisher, **sikotara**, in reality the God of the Woods in bird form, roused the two women and allowed them to escape by lifting up the net. Then he dashed about inside the hut, striking the thatch with his wings to give the impression that the captives were vainly seeking an exit. In due course the Tongans came back, after stealing all the yams. But the **sikotara** had managed to conceal the crop of one hillock. On their return they threw darts through the thatch into the interior of the house, meaning to kill and then eat the occupants. The **sikotara**, however, called out from inside "Your prey has gone." Angrily they burst open the hut, but it was empty, and the **sikotara** flew away. Then they went off down to the shore again with their booty.

All that remained of the yam harvest was a single hillock, which became the nucleus for re-propagation, and is perpetuated in the **puke tapu** of the present ritual. The little hut of the two women was the prototype of the modern **fare ufi**, which is built in the vicinity of the sacred hillock in commemoration of the saving of the yam. The little structure is sacred since it belongs to the grandmother and her grandchild and in reality, according to the Tikopia, they are **atua**, supernatural beings. "Their shelter-house; it is sacred; no one shall go and enter into it; if he shall enter, he shall be overcome by them," it is said. If a man is rash enough to disregard the prohibition and go inside the hut, then they avenge themselves by having sexual connection with him in his sleep. As a result he falls ill, and may even die. The hut is known as "**Te fare o Pufine ma.**" These two female **atua** are spoken of as grandparent and grandchild, but are also identified with a well known pair of malignant sisters who appear in many guises in religious affairs. It is they who inhabit the sacred place of Rarovi, adjacent to Takarekare, and as such are called "**Sa te Kamali**" and are invoked in the **kava** at that spot. When the kava of the yam planting is finished the stem of the sacred shrub over which the invocation is recited is carried down to

Takerekere and put in the kamali. The Ariki then briefly addresses these two women, saying

"Go to the yam which is planted in Matatoa."

mentioning the name of a cultivation in Maunga, or

"Go to the yam which is planted inland."

if it happens to be in Uta for that season. The object of this appeal is that they may go and watch over the crop, wherever it may be, and prevent thieving there. It seems curious that the deities thus summoned to act as guardians are those who in the legend proved distinctly inefficient at their task, but this is an inconsistency which is blandly ignored by the native who believes in their power.

The construction of the little yam house, whatever may be its historical background, appears then in one sense as an insurance against theft, by providing a material habitation in the field itself for the deities associated by tradition with wardship. It is only fair to note, however, that this is an inference from the situation and the legend as preserved, and is not based on any direct statement to this effect, since theft of the sacred yams is a possibility not greatly to be feared, and the native is concerned chiefly in building the hut out of compliance with custom.

Apart from staking the vines and putting up the yam house the only remaining operation in connection with the cultivation of the yam is the clearing away of weeds. This is done without any ceremony. Each person who has an interest in the field visits his plot whenever he thinks fit and grubs out the rank growth which soon appears there. If he sees the yams of another person choked with weeds he tells him on his return "Your yams have become overgrown; go and weed!" Then it is said, the man so notified will sleep that night and go out the next day and clear his plot.

The yam ceremonial, with its many days of labour, constitutes, as the natives themselves say, the base (tafito) of the cycle of the Work of the Gods. Like the ritual of canoes it serves to enlist the ommipotent gods on the side of an important sphere of economic activity, it subordinates agriculture to religion and sacralises it for the benefit of the community.

Since, however, the yam is not the staple food stuff in Tikopia, it is difficult to see why it should have premier place in the agricultural ritual. I made inquiry on this point from natives, but got no convincing answer. The Ariki Fangarere gave four reasons for it. The first was because of the appropriation of the yam by the Atua i Kafika. Since he had assumed control of it, and he was the principal god of the land, then its rites took pride of place.

This is the usual Tikopia explanation. The second reason was that the yield of the yam is less certain than in the case of the other foodstuffs. Often a man gets only small tubers for his work - hence many men do not bother to plant yams - otherwise it would be a much more important food. Thirdly, theft of yams is common, so again, fewer yams are planted than otherwise would be the case. And fourthly, some chiefs of Kafika superintend the planting of great quantities of yams, while others are content with the "sacred yam" alone. "It comes in the energy of the chief; one energetic chief is mamu; another chief is not."

The native argument thus falls into two parts - first that the ritual of the yam is not so disproportionate, if the potential planting is taken into consideration; and secondly, that the traditional character of the rites determines their supremacy. It does seem clear that there is an unexplained historical factor which has determined the situation. The supremacy of the yam ritual at the present day is summed up in the words of the Ariki Kafika: "No work was to be a close second to it", once it had been initiated by the Atua-i-Kafika. He added that if another chief than himself attempted to perform rites on the same scale then a hurricane would strike the land. Granted the present position, the yam ritual has two obvious social functions. The first lies in acting as a symbol for all vegetable foodstuffs, providing the major referent for ritual in connection with them. The second lies in its aggregative role, linking the chiefs together by their respective participation, and emphasising the prime place occupied by the Ariki Kafika. In this way it assists in the maintenance of the political and religious hierarchy.

CHAPTER V.

RE-CARPETING THE ANCESTRAL TEMPLES.

Following directly upon the yam ritual comes the rites of re-consecration of temples. Here the main features are the repair of the buildings by replacement of sheets of thatch, the re-carpeting of them with cocoanut-frond mats, and the standardization of these practical activities by the performance of the kava. The replacement of mats and thatch represents in a broad way an offering of the products of the land by specific kinship groups to their particular ancestors and deities, and is thus an acknowledgement of inheritance. Variations of procedure occur in accordance with differences in the equipment of the temples, their tutelary deities and the rank of the men who control them. The net purport of the ritual is to bring the gods and ancestors into relation with houses and lands in a manner parallel to that in which they are linked with canoes and fishing.

It is first necessary to explain the nature of the Tikopia temples. They are of the type of the ordinary dwelling-houses and cooking-huts, but usually are somewhat larger,[1] and their importance lies in their specific association with gods and ancestors. They are of three kinds. First, there are a few actual dwellings, in occupation, but having the grave mats of noted ancestors therein, with one or more of the house posts dedicated to gods of the kinship group. Such is Motuapi, the residence of the Ariki Tafua. His major rites are performed therein, since, now being a nominal Christian, he has abandoned his temples in Uta. Secondly, there are the houses which apparently once served as dwellings, but which have been abandoned as such, and are now visited only for the performance of religious rites. With the burial of increasing numbers of ancestors there they presumably became too sacred for ordinary use. They are known as **fare tapu**, sacred houses. Pae Sao said "**Fare tapu** are houses which were dwelt in of old. Things went on thus, went on, but coming down to later times, they were not dwelt in. They stand uninhabited, and people go merely to make the kava in them and then disperse." Thirdly, there are the oven-houses attached to the more important of these **fare**, where the food for the rites is cooked. No ancestors have been buried in them, but they are sacred because of the gods associated with the oven, and in some cases with a shelf or other piece of furniture.

The most important temples are controlled directly by the chiefs of the four clans. Their names are: Kafika, Tafua, Taumako (of these clans respectively); Nukuora (Kafika and Fangarere), Resiake (Taumako) and Vaisakiri (Fangarere). They are the primary

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[1] A plan and description of a Tikopia dwelling has been given in **We, the Tikopia**, 75-82.

fare tapu analogous among temples to the **taumauri** among sacred canoes. Of the other temples, some are controlled by the major elders, of Rarovi, Sao, Korokoro etc., and are usually known by the names of these groups; some are controlled by men of lesser status. Whereas in the former the elder performs his own kava as well as less formal rites, in the latter the performance of the kava is the prerogative and function of the clan chief. Hence these houses are known as **paito fai kava o te ariki.** Five of the principal temples, and many of the others also, stand in Uta.

The temples Kafika, Taumako, Resiake, and (in olden days) Tafua, are of outstanding size. Not only are they constructed with a supporting post at each end to carry the weight of the enormous ridge-pole, (as is the case in an ordinary large house) but they have in addition a post in the centre of the building. This post is one of the principal objects of ritual interest therein. It is under the control of the main deity of the temple - "it obeys him"; it is spoken of as his post, and it is even ritually treated as his "body". Other posts and structural members of the building symbolize other gods, while items of furniture such as a spear, a conch shell, or a small shelf also may be their emblems or embodiments. These material objects are thus all held as sacred, and their presence intensifies the veneration with which the buildings are regarded. It must be emphasised that the social affiliations of these temples are exclusive to definite kinship groups, whose ancestors and gods are sheltered therein, and whose living members meet at appropriate times to perform the customary rites.

The rites specifically associated with the temples in the Work of the Gods are called **fariki nga fare.** The term **fariki** is most simply translated as "carpeting". It applies to any act of laying mats on the floor of a house, or coconut fronds on the ground, whereby persons or things are kept from direct contact with the soil. It has thus an honorific significance. But when applied to these temple rites it has the meaning of a general re-furbishing, and includes not only replacement of floor-mats, but also repair of thatch, cleansing of sacred implements, and all the ritual processes associated therewith. Since the general intent is to maintain the temples in being as foci of religious interest, the rites may be spoken of as a process of re-consecration.

For several days the rites for temples and the yam proceed side by side. And before this, while the Ariki Kafika and his immediate circle of helpers have been busy with yam ritual, other people, in his own and the other clans, have been preparing for the temple rites. During the last week of November 1928, men and boys of each kinship group associated with a temple brought in loads of coconut fronds, which were

dressed and plaited into floor mats by their womenfolk. Before the rites began, each group had three or four such new mats in stock, and others in the making.

MYTHIC ORIGIN OF RESIAKE TEMPLE.

One of the most important features of the temple ritual is the re-consecration of Resiake, the temple of Taumako. This building is specifically associated with the Atua i Kafika, thus providing one of the many links between the different clans. Unlike that of other temples, its origin is not assumed **ab initio**, but is explained by a definite story. I give this tale, as narrated to me by the Ariki Taumako.

Resiake was first built ten generations ago, by Tangitari, son of Matakai I, chief of Taumako, who himself lived there for many years. The building stands in Ravenga.[1] in a small clearing a few yards off the main path, surrounded by areca palms, bananas and a red-leaved variety of **Cordyline terminalis**. Its name was taken by Tangitari as his house-name, and his descendants are still known as the house of Resiake.

The story is that on the day when the building was finished Tangitari took up his residence therein. In the night he was awakened, and heard a voice call down to him from the sky. It said "Friend! I desire your house". He recognized the voice as that of the Atua i Kafika, and accordingly complied with the request. The building was handed over to him as a spiritual residence, that is, he became the chief god worshipped there, and the centre post was taken as the material token of his presence. The Atua i Taumako, who might be expected to be supreme there, is of secondary importance. The Ariki Taumako said to me "The Atua i Taumako simply stands in my house, but the house obeys the Atua i Kafika, because he called down hither from the sky that he desired it." Resiake is thus an exception to the rule that a **fare** of a clan is held under the control of the principal god of that clan; the myth has the function of providing an explanation of this anomaly. Its dedication to the supreme god of Kafika gives the Ariki Kafika no over-right over the temple, but it does give him a special position there should he attend the ritual. His seat is on the **tuaumu** side of the building (the landward side) opposite the centre post.

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1. See **We the Tikopia**, Map (b)

The rites of Resiake begin the temple ritual in the monsoon season, on the day of the **soani autaru** of the yam. They occupy four days when fully performed. The first day sees the "Sunning of the Perfumes"; the second is that of the actual repair and re-carpeting; the third is the fixation of this by the Fakaoatea, the "Noonday Rite"; and the fourth is the "Smearing of Oil". The first and last are rites peculiar to Resiake, among the major temples.

"SUNNING THE PERFUMES"

The Sunning of the Perfumes is termed **fakara manongi.** Most sacred houses have their **manongi**, that is a type of plant or shrub with aromatic or brightly coloured leaves or flowers, which are used to decorate the interior at specific places. These "perfumes" are not simply regarded as decorations, but each is associated with a specific deity. Many of them are used for the cure of sickness, in rites in which the particular deity is invoked. The peculiarity of the **manongi** of Resiake is that it comprises "things common, things prickly only" - such as the nettle (**ungaunga**), wild ginger (**sarisari**) and **silato** (a tree with stinging leaves). To the natives themselves the use of such unpleasant materials for decorating the building is anomalous, but they have an explanation in supernatural terms. This is given later. Resiake again, is almost alone in the treatment of its "perfumes". Whereas other temples use their greenery freshly cut, that of Resiake is exposed in the open air for a couple of days before being brought inside. The process is termed "sunning", though actually the exposure to the sun is minimal.

The explanation of the exposure of the leaves and flowers outside is that it is a recognition of the deities of the temple. It is a traditionalised form of offering to them. This is exemplified by the fact that the "sunning of the perfumes" is not an invariable feature of the Resiake ritual, but is performed at the discretion of the Ariki Taumako. In the monsoon season of 1928 it was not done. The reason given to me then was that no oil for later use with the perfumes had been prepared. But at the time of the trade-wind rites, when the performance did take place, the Ariki Kafika told me that it had been omitted before because the Ariki Taumako had been annoyed with his gods. No shark or other large fish had been hauled in by his canoe after the **faunga vaka** rites, so he had refused to expose the perfumes to them.

The rite of "sunning the perfumes" is a very simple one. On the opening day of the Work of Resiake a party composed mainly of youths is sent out from the village in the morning to collect foliage of the types mentioned. They do not welcome the task, for obvious reasons. They bring their bundles back to the temple, and the foliage is then laid on a mat under a large chestnut tree near the path. It is

then covered with stones kept there for that purpose, and known as "stones for sunning the perfumes". The process is really exposure in the open, but not actually to the sun. The next day the foliage is bundled up in a leaf of the umbrella palm, carried into the temple, and hung up, after which a kava rite is performed to sanctify it. It is then available for decoration, as described later.

But I will give here the account of the rites of the monsoon season, as I witnessed them.

On the first day, work began about 8 a.m. There were no "perfumes" to be collected this day, but preparations had to be made for the repair of the temple on the morrow. The greater part of the day was spent by the chief and his helpers in making sheets of thatch.[1] Food was prepared at the same time, and was ready about mid-afternoon. A kava rite was then performed, which would ordinarily have been to sanctify the "sunning of the perfumes", but on this occasion had merely a general function.

RE-CARPETING AS RELIGIOUS RECOMPENSE.

The next day was that of the actual carpeting (**fariki**). Soon after sunrise, a crowd of people assembled and in a short time there was a scene of great activity. Careful examination of the building was made by competent men and any lengths of thatch through which a spot of light showed were marked. Rotten sheets were replaced, others were strengthened by a piece of sago frond beneath. Some men repaired the entrances and the roof where they could reach it from the ground, others brought a rough ladder made from a heavy forked bough with twisted vines as rungs, which they erected inside the building. While one man held the ladder another climbed it and tied on the pieces of thatch, which were pushed up the roof from outside on the end of a long pole. (v. Plate III A). A couple of hours concluded the repairing, after which the men sat around in the temple for talk or sleep. Conversation turned as usual on the fishing of the previous night and visitors from the other side of the island were eagerly listened to while they gave details of the catch and narrated the more striking incidents.

Meanwhile the women under the chestnut tree prepared food for the oven, its basis being **taro** or breadfruit according to season.

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[1] The organisation of this work is described in **Primitive Polynesian Economy**, 195.

On such occasions every family brought a **fiuri**, a donation of raw produce as a contribution to the common stock.

When the oven had been covered for some time the re-carpeting began. Each family group of the Taumako clan had brought a newly plaited mat, "the mat of its ancestor". In the interior of the house the old mats lay side by side in a definite order, each associated with a specific kinship group and either marking the actual burial place of a prominent ancestor or serving as an emblem of his grave, which lay elsewhere. When the word to begin the re-carpeting was given the people swarmed into the house and laid their mats in position, usually above those of previous seasons, but in some cases removing the topmost of these. Each family laid its own mats, but did not interfere with those of another family, or endeavour to make up any deficiencies, even where a neglected mat lay rotting in its place. Some adjustment was needed in places, as space was limited and a certain amount of over-lapping was inevitable. For certain positions, indeed mats had been plaited of specific dimensions. Only a few minutes sufficed for the task and the house had then taken on a fresh and clean garb for the new season. It is this periodic custom of re-carpeting that saves the temples and many other buildings of Tikopia from that unsavoury interior appearance which characterises so many of the native houses of the Western Pacific.

But the replacement or renewal of the floor mats is not primarily a practical measure. It is the central feature of the ritual connected with any of the sacred houses, though in point of time and display it does not bulk very largely therein. The mats thus contributed seasonally by each family group are termed **inaki**, a word which has affinities in other Polynesian languages.[1] In Tikopia the **inaki** represents the acknowledgement or return made by the members of a family group to their ancestors or to relatives of former generations, for the use of the gardens and orchards from which they draw their food supply. The native conception is that the lands of a family have come down to it from its forebears who have worked therein, tilling the soil and planting trees, and have then departed to the realm of the gods, handing the fruits of their industry on to their descendants. In their spiritual state they still exert an influence on the food resources, being responsible either directly or as intermediaries with the higher gods for their prosperity. The real significance of the **inaki** lies not in its value as floor-covering but as a mark of attention to an ancestor by virtue of which he is induced to continue his favourable interest in the

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[1] cf. Tonga **inati** (**inasi**) a festival of offering of first fruits. v. James Cook, Voyage to Pacific Ocean, 1784, I, 336-352 (Natchee): Mariner's Tonga Islands, 3rd ed. 1827 II, 168-173 (Inachi)

family lands. Should the renewal of a mat be omitted and it rot in the house then the ghostly owner may become annoyed and blight the crops. The native describes the **inaki** in fact by quite a concrete term which he uses for ordinary commercial transactions; he speaks of it as the **tauvi** for the family land, that is the equivalent in exchange, or payment for it. "The food from the orchards, that is its payment" "**Na tauvi tena**", said Pa Vainunu, laying his hand on the mat of his ancestor Mourongo on which we were both sitting, after the ceremony of re-carpeting in Nukuora. Again the Ariki Kafika described a floor mat laid by his family as "the payment for the orchard" (**na tauvi o te tofi**). Broadly speaking the richer a man is in land the more new mats he has to provide when the day of re-carpeting arises. The **inaki** represent as it were a periodical interest charge payable to one's ancestors in virtue of the mortgage of productivity which they hold over the family gardens and orchards.

These associations of the new floor mats explain why no one is interested in re-laying any mats but those which belong to him by kinship. To do otherwise would mean that he was paying for something that he had not received. Moreover unless he was directly descended from the ancestor concerned he would be entirely without standing in the matter. Conduct of this kind is permissible only when a family dies out completely as a social group, that is when no males are left to carry on the name. In this case, if the lands have passed to a man of a collateral branch then he will furnish the new mat every season by virtue of his own distant affiliations. If, however, the lands have gone with women of the group who have married into other families then their husbands may provide the **inaki** as though coming from their wives. Later, their sons may take on the obligation through the inheritance of their mothers' interests. In such cases, however, the provision of the **inaki** is likely to be soon omitted. "The man eats from the orchard, but he does not bring the mat; he grows tired." When the original family group has died out it is held that the gift to the ancestor is then no longer obligatory. This omission is not strictly consistent with the native theory of the **inaki**, but is in accord with the tacit principle that as the degree of relationship decreases so also does the stringency of social obligation.

The real meaning of the re-carpeting of the temples as set out above was first made clear to me by Pa Vainunu, an elderly man of Kafika, whose father had been Ariki of the clan some twenty years before. His explanation was subsequently confirmed from other informants. After indicating the importance of the floor mats this man went on to point out that the thatch replaced in the portion of roof directly above them was also included in the **inaki**. A characteristic statement made by him is worth reproducing: "The mat of my ancestor is spread below, while tied down is the thatch from above to shelter my ancestor; because I eat from his places, from his orchards." It is a common thing for a person to say

"I am going to pin a sheet of thatch to hang up my **inaki**." It must be noted, however, that the thatch is really a subsidiary element in the **inaki**, since as already described, it is quite often prepared and replaced by communal labour. Moreover if the existing sheets are in good condition at the new season, then they are left in place and the mat alone is renewed, this latter being an invariable part of the procedure.

The custom of re-carpeting has been considered so far in its simpler forms. It is complicated, however, by the fact that families branch off in the course of generations, giving rise to several groups sharing a number of ancestors. The practice is then for each group to provide the **inaki** for its own immediate forebears, according to the division of the family lands among them, whereas the more remote ancestors are attended to either by the senior branch of the family, or shared by mutual arrangement among several members. Thus if a family splits up and agrees to divide its lands the head of the elder branch may say to his junior "But come you then and renew the mat of our ancestor, and I will have a breathing space." This intimates that he wishes to discontinue providing the **inaki** for some particular forebear and to hand the responsibility over to his relatives who have now formed a separate social entity, with exclusive rights over certain of the original family lands. Such transferences of obligation are not infrequent, though normally the major responsibilities rest on the shoulders of the representatives of the elder branch of the group. The **inaki** is not provided for every ancestor in the genealogical line. Only those of special note as warriors or leaders, or of critical importance as the starting point of family offshoots, have their grave mats singled out for renewal. Again if a man draws food supplies from an orchard in Uta he will renew the mat of his ancestor in the sacred house in Uta, but if his orchards lie elsewhere then he will provide the **inaki** in his house in Tai alone. It also should be noted that though natives always speak of the mats as being provided by the men of the family in point of fact they are always plaited by the women.

Such old mats as are removed from the temples in the process of re-carpeting are termed **punefu**, a name used also to designate one type of funeral gift. Though many of these mats are still in good condition, they are not used again as floor covering as this would be derogatory to the dignity of the ancestors from whose graves they were removed. They are carried away, each by its own family, and burned.

EMBLEMS OF THE GODS.

After the re-carpeting a more spectacular procedure of decoration was begun. This was included under the term **fariki** though not literally implied therein. Resiake, like many other temples, was

a veritable arsenal of weapons, which were of interest partly from their historical associations, but mainly because they were regarded as **fakatino o nga atua**, embodiments or emblems of the various deities who were affiliated with the building. It is not held that the object reveals the actual shape of the god; he is spoken of and treated as if he were anthropomorphic. Sometimes it serves as a vehicle of expression for him if he should wish to appear to human eyes in concrete form, but more often it is held that the god does not dwell in it or actually appear in it in person. Thus of one such weapon, the club of Raki-te-ua, it was observed "It is termed the embodiment (**fakatino**) of the god, but he does not enter into it." (**Tino** means body.) A clear distinction is always drawn between the material and the spiritual entity: these objects are not called **atua** themselves; they are known to be only representatives of **atua**. In every case by reason of their supernatural associations they are **tapu**, and must be handled with considerable caution and only at the appropriate times.

In the house Resiake the movable emblems of the gods consisted of four long spears, an arrow and two clubs which occupied prominent positions round the walls. The ceremonial re-decoration of these weapons, which was in effect a mode of paying honour to the gods they served was one of the cardinal features of the day's events. They were taken down, carried to the lake-side, which was about fifty yards away through the trees, and there stripped of their embellishments of the former season and thoroughly washed. They were then brought back to the house where a mass of greenery of several species of plants had been gathered. In addition to the nettle, wild ginger, and **silato** already mentioned as forming the "perfumes" of Resiake, bunches of a filmy fern, pink-leaved **Cordyline terminalis**, and the young creamy centre frond of the coconut had been brought. Several people busied themselves with splitting the white coconut frond into a long fringe, lengths of which were bound on the spears about a foot behind the barbed head, and made an effective decoration. A number of strips of bark cloth had also been prepared. The actual work of adornment was the ritual task of the Ariki Taumako. Sitting down near the band of assistants he prepared himself by tying on his sacred necklet and girding himself with the sacred bark-cloth. A definite order was followed in the proceedings. The Ariki took one of the pair of clubs in his lap and with a bunch of aromatic leaves soaked in coconut oil rubbed the weapon quickly, muttering as he did so a short formula invoking prosperity from the **atua** whose embodiment it was. This was a rite equivalent to that of anointing a canoe or other sacred object. Some fronds of the mature green coconut leaf were then laid on the club and bound with a strip of bark cloth. This first weapon was that of Raki te ua, Te Atua i Tafua, and the mature coconut frond was his special decoration or symbol, which was appropriate since he is the tutelary deity of the coconut in the land. The fronds were termed his **surusuru**, the ornament stuck in the girdle at the back when a person is going to a dance. The Ariki next took up three of the spears, which his

assistants had encircled each with a fringe of white coconut frond, and to them he tied a bunch of reddish Cordyline. These were the emblems of Pu ma, Tafaki and Karisi, who have already been mentioned as prominent deities of the canoe ceremonies of Kafika. In Resiake they were not thought to play any very important part, but they had as it were a seat on the board of spiritual directors of the building, through being gods of the Atua i Kafika. Their names here, according to Pa Motuata were Papā ki te ra and Papā ki te ua respectively - a literal translation being "Knock against the sun" and "Knock against the rain", possibly referring to their function as rulers of the weather. The other club was then adorned, in this instance with a frond of Cycas, and without any rite of anointing. This weapon was the emblem of Tangi-te-ala, as the arrow was of Te Araifo. These two are deities from Fiti mai raro, i.e. from Vanikoro or the neighbouring island groups.[1] According to tradition these atua - in other words their worship - were brought back by Matakai II, a former Ariki Taumako who lived about the beginning of the 19th century and made many voyages to and from those islands.[2]

The fourth spear, a short one, was decorated with a frond of Cycas and represented Taufoki ki muri, a god of Fangarere clan. To the arrow was attached a piece of fern, the dancing decoration of Te Araifo. This concluded the decoration or "binding" (**noa**) of the weapons. During the task which was performed mainly by the Ariki, assisted by a couple of senior men of the clan, there was silence in the house. Only about a dozen persons were present, all males.

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1 Rivers (**History of Melanesian Society** I, 231) mentions Tangi te ala by the name of Tangteala as one of the gods of the Reef Islands.

2 The comparatively recent introduction of these foreign gods has had no deep effect on the Tikopia religion. There is no special cult of Tangi-te-ala in Resiake, and he exercises no functions of any importance in the scheme of religious belief of the Taumako clan. He with the other deities from Vanikoro and the West are honoured as stranger gods in the house, and have offerings of food set before them at the **fariki** ceremony. But they remain apart from the older Tikopia gods. Their emblems are grouped together in one corner of the house on a decorated shelf known as "Te Fare Fiti", "The Fiti House" the name of which perpetuates their origin. This is described in more detail later. The worship of these gods by the family group of Marinoa or Nga Fiti, where they are regarded as paramount, is in a different category from that in Resiake. The people of Marinoa hold that they are themselves descended from immigrants from the Duff group, and brought their gods with them thence, at a time much anterior to the introduction of them to Resiake by the Taumako chief.

The next phase of the ritual was the washing of the centre post of the temple - the emblem of the Atua i Kafika - which had been wrapped in a mat during the fariki proceedings. All the main parts of the house are sacred but this especially so. No commoner or woman may touch it; the Ariki alone may do so.

After a short interval a couple of sprigs of aromatic leaves were thrown in from outside through the central doorway of the house. Suddenly there was the sound of hurrying footsteps outside, someone murmured "He has arrived", and a man entered quickly by the centre door, bearing in his arms a large leaf full of water like a bowl. He has been sent down to the lake to get the water for washing the sacred post, and by tradition the task had to be performed with speed. Delay would have been dangerous as it might be construed by the deity as a want of respect for his power. On his knees the messenger went over to the centre post, while the Ariki, taking the two bunches of aromatic leaves, slipped down the mat from the post. Dipping his bunch of leaves in the water held up to him in the leaf basin he stood up to his full height and rubbed the timber vigorously at about the level of his head. This was repeated several times, then leaf basin and leaves were flung down on another part of the floor. This was the rite of **Kaukau pou**, washing the post, similar to that of anointing the post of Kafika temple during the yam rites. It is also known as the **Furu**, the cleansing. Here also the Ariki Taumako recited a formula during the washing, in invocation to the principal god of the temple to give health and prosperity to the people and the land.

I received two versions of this formula. One was from Pa Vangatau, one of the best-informed of the Tikopia old men, who said that he had been told it by his brother the late Ariki Taumako, with instructions to hand it on at death to the latter's son. But he found this to be unnecessary, he said, since the son, now the present chief, had later been fully instructed by the father himself. This formula is as follows:-

"Tou pou tena Mapusia ka kaukau atu
Kaukau ki se ora
Tou fasi e tu nei e fakarongo ki a ke
Kae akasia ko apapa
Ke soro ki te tai
Tou fenua e tu e fakarongo ki a koke
E tupua kae tangata ki a ke."

"Thy post Mapusia, will be anointed
Anoint for welfare
Thy district which stands here obeys thee
And be kicked away the storm clouds
To tumble into the sea
Thy land which stands obeys thee
Spirit and man art thou."

Respect for the god is here the leading theme. The invocation opens with an announcement of the rite which is being performed, since this is a means of apprising the deity that the handling of his post is not simply unauthorised interference. The statement "Spirit and man art thou" means that the god exercises jurisdiction in both realms, that of the Heavens and that of Earth, watching over the interests of his people among the gods above and descending also to watch over them among men.

Another version of the formula, different in wording, but similar in tenor, was given me by Pa Motuata, son of Pa Vangatau. Since the phrases used by the chief vary on different occasions, this text is probably as authentic as the one first given. The central theme is the same.

"Kau kaina kou tae Mapusia
Tafuri mai ma se ora
Ki ou tangata
Ou mata ki mua ki te vaerangi
Ou mata ki muri ki te Uaroto
Tou fasi e tu e fakarongo ki a ke
E tupua kae tangata ki a ke."

"I eat thy excrement Mapusia
Turn hither with welfare
To thy people
Thy eyes in front to the sky
Thy eyes in rear to the Uaroto
Thy district which stands here obeys thee
Spirit and man art thou."

The phrases

"Thy eyes in front to the sky,
Thy eyes in rear to the Uaroto"

embody the same idea as is represented in the conclusion. The Uaroto is the esoteric name for the central post of the temple. The desire

is that the Atua keep in touch with the realm of deities while at the same time casting backward glances at his building on earth, so safeguarding the interests of his people in both spheres.

The general object of such rites as the anointing of house posts and the recitation of the associated formulae was expressed by this informant as follows:-

> "The ariki calls to the deity to have sympathy for him; that the calm may fall, that vegetation may come to the land, and the rain may come, the wind not to blow."

The rite of rubbing at the post, though described as "washing" or "cleansing", in reality does not have much effect in this respect. Its validity lies in the fact that it provides a bridge, by contact with the sacred post, between the chief and his god, so increasing the force of the recitation of the formula.

When the washing or anointing of the post was completed, the coconut leaf mat bound to it was partially severed in the middle by the chief and his assistant, and then slipped round the base of the post, where the chief, kneeling, tied it securely. This was the mat of the Atua himself. In this case the old mat was not removed, so that the height of the pile grows every year.

The next feature of the ceremony was the decoration of various other structural members of the house, including the posts and rafters. Streamers of bark cloth, or bunches of leaves, were tied to them in honour of the several deities they represented. They were termed **a noa o nga atua**, "Ties of the gods", the basic meaning of **noa** being to tie or bind. The term **maro** is also used of these decorations, since they are in a sense offerings to the gods. The first of these was a bunch of Cycas fronds which were tied on a rafter on the seaward side of the house, opposite the centre post. The club with the coconut fronds was hung up beneath this decoration. The latter, as already mentioned, was the emblem of Raki-te-ua, the Atua i Tafua; the rafter decoration was for Te Atua i Fangarere, known in Taumako clan by the name of Te Urupaku.

A similar bunch of cycas was next bound by the chief to the centre post, very large leaves being selected since this was the dancing decoration of Te Atua i Kafika. In attaching this ornament the leaves were laid tip to tip, carried to the post and set upright, butts downwards, while the strip of bark cloth was bound round and made fast. The bunch was then deftly parted and spread with a quick movement

thus splaying out the leaves in attractive style.

The next decoration was that of the post at the far end of the temple, the "seaward post", which represented the interest of the Atua-i-Taumako there. Here were used the "perfumes of Resiake" - the nettle, wild ginger, etc., which had been sunned previously. (When the sunning is omitted they are gathered and used fresh.)

The reason for this strange procedure of introducing such unorthodox plants into the scheme of decoration did not seem to be known to most people, by whom it was accepted as simply the custom of that particular temple. Pa Motuata and other well-informed men, however, explained the plants as being the decoration (**rakei**) of Sakura, the Atua-i-Taumako, who wore them stuck at the back of his girdle. "His decorations like a man who is going to a dance." The prickly character of some of the leaves was said to protect him from molestation by other gods.

> "The gods who go to Sakura are stung; the leaves are called 'his guard' to ward off any other deity from coming to him, so that he may sit alone by himself."

I was further told by Pa Motuata that the special name of Sakura in Resiake was Satai, and this was unknown to the people of the clan in general. But since the same name is commonly used for a group of shore-dwelling **atua** I am doubtful if this is correct.

Leaning against the post of Sakura was a digging-stick of ordinary type. This was stated to be the cultivating-stick (**koso**) of Taromata, known also as Te Atua i te Marama, who was a son of Sakura, sprung from his body in the realm of the gods. People said of the post and the stick "It is held that they are father and son standing there." Both these gods are tutelary deities of the taro, of which the major ceremonies are consequently controlled by the Ariki Taumako.

After the far post was decorated, three **noa** of bark cloth were then tied by the chief at various places. One was on a rafter over the centre doorway on the landward side, one on the rear post supporting the ridge pole, and another to a rafter at the back. The rear post, known as the inland post, was associated with the kava bowl. The latter had no special spirit guardian, but the post had its own deity, Te Atua i Sao, for whom the **noa** was tied. According to the Ariki Taumako his name for this **atua** in Resiake temple was Tamasia. The **noa** of the rafters were presumably those of Pu ma and Te Atua i te Vai, respectively, but this I did not verify. While the chief was binding these streamers on to the appropriate timbers a couple of assistants tied several to other rafters round the building. These

were not for gods, but were marks of remembrance in honour of the late Ariki Taumako, father of the present chief, who lay buried in the central doorway of the house. It was said "the streamers are simply tied" and did not represent offerings to gods.

The temple of Resiake was distinguished among other buildings of this type by its central doorways, jointly termed **mata tokarua** (two faces); each was under the control of the deity whose weapons hung above. The doorway on the side of the house towards the lake was the property of the Atua i Tafua, while that on the inland side belonged to Te Atua i Kafika. Both entrances were tapu, the latter exceedingly so. I was told that no-one who was not engaged on a sacred mission, such as that of the bearer of the water from the lake, would dare to enter this doorway; dire trouble would befall him and probably the clan too if he did so.[1] When the late Ariki Taumako was about to die he said to his brother Pa Vangatau, "I am about to die, speak you to the chief and all the land that I may be laid in the **tokarua** of the Atua i Kafika." This was promised. After his death people asked which was the spot in which he had expressed a desire to be buried. On being told they objected to carrying out his wish, saying that the place was very tapu and they would come to harm thereby. But Pa Vangatau argued that while his brother was alive he made kava to the Atua and with success; calm fell on the sea, rain came at his word. "The Atua descended to him." Hence he could fittingly be buried in the doorway of the god he had served. He carried his point, and the grave was dug just inside the entrance. The presence of his grave mat was the reason that so many streamers were hung for the chief in the interior of the temple.

It was noteworthy that of all the greenery used for the decorations the Cycas fronds alone were put into the house through the **mata tokarua**. This was permitted since the Cycas was the dance decoration of the Atua i Kafika, who "owned" the doorway. In conclusion the spears bound with tufts of reddish Cordyline leaf were slung over this central doorway, while the Fare Fiti was arranged in the far corner of the building. This Fare (literally "temple") was a simple shelf laid from one rafter-plate to another across the corner, and was dedicated to the gods of Fiti. The shelf was decorated with a long fringe of young creamy coconut leaf, split finely, and draped over it. This was termed **a titi o te Fare Fiti**. The emblems of the gods - the club of Tangi-te-ala, the arrow of Te Araifo, and the spear of Taufoki-ki-muri, were then

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[1] When I attended the **fariki** rite great agitation was caused beforehand by the rumour that I had been urged by some deceiving ill-wisher to enter the house by this middle doorway. The rumour was quite without foundation, but it took much argument to convince the Ariki that his fears were groundless; his fears were for the sanctity of the house, not for my welfare.

stood upright on the shelf. (Plan V shows the arrangement of streamers etc.)

A kava rite was then performed, to sanctify these acts. Afterwards a meal was rapidly eaten, about twenty-five men being present in the temple, while the women ate in the adjacent oven-house.

The oven was again prepared, and when ready, libations of the "evening kava" were poured. After this a man ran from mat to mat with a pierced cocoanut shaking out a few drops of the liquid at the head of each. The remainder of the nuts with the food were carried outside and a brief meal was eaten. The chief drank from a single cocoanut, but did not eat, in spite of pressing from various people. He evaded their insistence by declaring that he would eat later.. This abstention from food was a matter of personal preference. Afterwards a parcel of **roi** was placed in the oven, to provide hot food for the ceremonies of the following morning.

That night, as also on the following night, the chief, accompanied by a small party of men, slept in the temple as was the custom. A few women, including the wife of the chief, slept in the oven-house, as the temple was **tapu** to them. According to custom also, it was **tapu** for them men who spent the night in the temple to sleep face downwards. "The folk who will sleep in Ravenga, not a person shall sleep face covered downwards; they turn their bellies upwards." This prohibition was connected with the possible visits of malevolent female spirits.

THE FAKAOATEA OF RESIAKE

The people awoke next morning before sunrise. During the night some men of the clan had gone out fishing; as a result **kiokio** (a lake fish) from the net of the chief had been laid at the door of the temple while he slept. Flying fish also were brought over from the coast at an early hour and roasted for the morning kava. Before sunrise the **roi** was taken from the oven and carried in a large basket to the temple. Then began the rite of **foraforanga maro** - spreading the vestments. This was one of the most solemn acts of the whole four days' ceremony, as was evidenced by the early hour at which it was performed, the use of the sacred **roi** for the kava and the serious air of the persons engaged. "No one may raise his voice while the **maro** are being spread; it is held to be **tapu**." I was told. It was said that if a person in forgetfulness happens to speak loudly at this time or during the subsequent period someone will say to him "You go and cry out, don't you see the **maro** are spread? Do not speak out loud!" Such a person will accept the reproof and lower his voice lest he be said to "make sport" of the procedure. The object is the same as that of laying **maro** in the ordinary kava ritual - to present offerings to the deities and to provide them with seating places on to which they may alight to attend the events.

Greater importance is given to the **maro** on this occasion, however, since they are the sacred properties of the house itself and remain in position for a day and a night.

The principal items of the ritual were two **maro kie**, finely-plaited mats made from soft leaved variety of pandanus, and decorated with zig-zag patterns in henna-coloured fibre. (The best **kie** are made in Anuta, whence the technique originated.) The **maro kie** were taken by the Ariki from their bark cloth wrappings, in which they had been carefully stored from season to season, and laid down on some leaves of **rau tea** in the centre of the house. The first **maro**, a narrow one, was unfolded. Raising it in both hands before his head the chief made obeisance, then laid it near the seaward doorway under the club of Te Atua i Tafua, and covered it with fronds of Cycas. This was dedicated to the Atua i Fangarere. Another large **kie** was then unfolded and set at the base of the centre post of the house. This served as base for a smaller **maro kie** with which the Ariki made obeisance as before, laying it on top, and covering it with Cycas leaves likewise. This was the **maro** of Te Atua i Kafika. The chief then laid a piece of white bark cloth by the far post of the house - this was the **maro** of Te Atua i Taumako, his own special deity. An orange **maro** was spread by an assistant on the grave of the late chief, and the ordinary **maro** of the kava were arranged. The usual formulae were recited, libations poured, and offerings of food set out from the **roi**. The pouring of the initial cups of kava was distinguished by the fact that the same procedure was adopted as with the **raurau kumete** in Kafika - the Ariki sat facing the **maro**, and did not turn round to receive the cup, but held his hand behind his back and received it thus from the cup-bearer, who was crouching in the rear. The reason for this is the exceeding sacredness of the Atua i Kafika who was believed to be present. Less formality surrounded the other libations. The ceremony concluded with a hasty meal, by which time the sun had risen, its level rays stretching across the lake and striking the roof of the house.

The second oven of the day was now prepared and was cooked when the sun was high in the sky, at a time corresponding to about 10 a.m. The food for this occasion was by ancient rule a pudding made from fermented taro paste. As it was removed from the oven a cry of "**Te fakaoatea!**" was given to announce to the people sitting in the temple the progress of affairs. When its preparation was complete in the oven-house one bowl was covered and carried as usual into the temple. With the other a curious custom was performed. One man armed with a pounder and another with a small dish of cocoanut cream went out and waited for the bowl, which was dragged along the ground from the oven-house to the temple. As it proceeded the man with the pounder ran alongside and mashed vigorously at the pudding while his partner squeezed the cream over it. The three or four attendants in charge of the bowl did not pause for an instant, but

dashed as quickly as possible over the few yards which separated them from their goal. It was said, "it is pounded on the run." This procedure aroused amusement among the younger members of the party. The natives could assign no reason for the custom, except that the idea was to present an appearance of haste to the gods in the temple so that they might think every endeavour was being made to serve their portions with all possible speed. These offerings of food were quickly set out and libations of kava were poured beside each, this time with less formality than before.

Such is the **fakaoatea**, the "midday" food-preparation, which is an integral part of the rites of each of the major temples. It does not enter into the re-carpeting of the less important houses. Its function is general, not specific; that is, it is merely one element in the complex series of food-offerings of which the purpose is to propitiate the deities of the house and clan and to secure their co-operation and assistance in obtaining prosperity. This procedure in the case of Resiake is sometimes termed "**Te fakaoatea o a sinu**" - "the midday celebration of the oil."

A third oven was prepared in the early afternoon to provide food for the evening kava; when this had been removed a package of **roi** was put in, as on the proceeding day. For the evening ceremony a large pile of fresh coconuts were brought to the temple. They were termed the Inu, the "Drink", which was here a technical term. The procedure followed was as before. After a hearty meal of coconut most of the people left for their homes in the head village, a few only remaining with their chief.

ANOINTING THE PARTICIPANTS.

The final event in the "Work" of Resiake was the anointing of the participants with oil. A native description of the proceedings was given me as follows:-

"The Ariki Taumako will stay two nights in Ravenga; in the morning he will make the **fakaoatea**; when night descends on the land carry hither the coconuts; when night descends on the land, near the time when the land will be light (i.e. dawn), grate the coconuts in the night, express the cream, heat then the oil in the night, and take two oil vessels. Hasten up in the morning, then the Ariki enters singly, he and the elder - Pa Ngatotiu, or who ever will apply the oil of the men, enter singly the Ariki or Pa Ngatotiu. Is different the oil of the men, is different the oil of the women. We go and bathe in the morning, and come then to the Ariki. The **roi** has been uncovered; bring it in and stand it in the centre of the house. Leave it there; the kava is not made. We bathe in the oil which has been poured into the palm of the hand, and smeared then on the breast of each man.

Finished is our bathing in the oil, the Ariki comes then to sit down and perform the kava. Perform the kava, finished, fold up the **maro**. Finished is the folding of the **maro**, go then to Uta, to Taumako, to pin thatch. Thereupon are completed the things of Resiake."

I was not present at the preparation of the oil, which was not made in the monsoon season of 1928, but witnessed all the other rites. The following is the traditional proceeding in the preparation.

The night of the "**fakaoatea**" is the time selected. Mature coconuts have been gathered from the orchards of the Ariki and his people; they are grated and the cream expressed. Round about midnight or in the early morning the sleeping men in the temple awake, the oven is prepared and red hot stones from it are slid into the bowl of cream, which is thus converted into oil by the usual native technique. Leaves of various kinds are bruised and dropped into the liquid during this operation to give the oil a pleasant perfume. When it is judged that the process of conversion is complete the stones are withdran and the oil put into containers. In olden times small gourds like those now used for holding lime were used; nowadays glass bottles have been substituted. This is one of the very few ways in which Tikopia religious culture has drawn upon European materials. A distinction is made between "the oil of the men", "**te sinu nga tangata**" and "the oil of the women", "**te sinu nga fafine.**" The essence of this lies in the fact that the former is the property of the gods Pu ma, whereas the latter belongs to Pufine ma, sister-goddesses. The oil-container of the men is filled first, then that of the women, small cups of coconut shell being used to dip the liquid from the bowl. The work is done by torch light. The preparation of the oil is not an invariable feature of the seasonal rites. If the containers are fairly full already then this part of the "work" is often omitted. The rest of the procedure I witnessed myself.

The anointing took place early in the morning. After going down as usual to bathe in the lake the people of the clan assembled, many coming from Tai to be present, though some had not attended the earlier part of the "Work." The Ariki took down the oil vessel and sat waiting till they appeared. Then he got impatient, "Haven't they seen that the sun has risen?" he said in irritation. Whereupon stragglers were hurried up by the earlier arrivals. "Call out! the Ariki is waiting for them." At last all the men and boys assembled, and sat along the sides of the house. A man of rank, an elder, was the first to be anointed. He walked up the house and seated himself before the chief, who was at the far end of the building. The chief withdrew the stopper of the bottle, poured a few drops of oil into his right hand and smeared it on the man's chest and upper part of his arms, with a gentle sweeping motion. The man then went back to his seat, while his place was taken by others in turn. Children took part, and were instructed loudly by their elders how to act.

A few men remained in their places and refused to be anointed. Little was said to them, since participation is optional. The anointing was treated solemnly by those who were being treated at the moment, though a few jokes passed among the crowd. The people were said to "bathe" in the oil, though actually it was applied to but a limited area of the body. After the male members of the clan were finished it was the turn of the women and girls. There the Ariki was assisted by an elder to whom he handed the second oil bottle, and who carried out the task. The wife of the chief, as befitted her position, was the first to enter, and was anointed on the upper part of the breast, the upper arms and the back of the neck. Each woman, after treatment, returned to the oven-house, the women's abode.

The general object of the ceremony is to assist in preserving the health and prosperity of the person anointed - "it is made for welfare", is the native explanation. Anointing with oil is a common mode of treatment for physical ills, the efficacy of the act lying not in the ordinary properties of the liquid but in the combined virtue of its association with the deities who control it, and with the hand and person of the chief who applies it or who presides at its application. "Take the **manongi**, rub, take the oil, pour into the hand, rub on his body, that is the cleansing from epidemic disease, from sickness."

If special potency is required a formula is recited to secure the attention of the deities more specifically concerned.

The rites of the **Fakasinu Vaka** (Oiling Canoe) and **Kaukau Pou** (Anointing Post) belong to the same genus as the anointing ceremony of Resiake. This last is called the **Takai Sinu** (Smearing Oil)[1] and is peculiar to the "Work" of this one temple. It marks the completion of the rites of the building, and forms a kind of clan bond, by giving evidence of common association in serving the clan gods. The anointing is associated too with the investiture of necklets of Cordyline leaf, a rite performed also for individual welfare. The "throwing" of the necklet is not confined to Resiake alone, but is done by the chief of each clan before or after his important "Work". An example has already been given in regard to "Sacred Things" (page 32.) The procedure in all cases is the same, though the formulae recited vary according to the occasion, and if the chief should be in a hurry, or a large crowd of people are to be invested, he repeats only the introductory phrases.

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[1] To be distinguished from the term **Taki Sinu** sometimes used in this connection, and meaning 'to withdraw the plug of the oil vessel'.

After the anointing, the kava was performed, with food offerings from the roi. The chief then carefully folded up the bark-cloths of the gods, and stowed them away on the toko tu, the staging near the centre of the building. Each major temple has such a staging, with a heavily notched base post. I was told by the Ariki Kafika and other men that the toko tu served to protect food and other property from rats in the days when these buildings were actually inhabited by their ancestors.

The "Work" of Resiake was now finished. I have described it in detail as much of the procedure is common to the re-carpeting of other temples.

Reference to the Programme of Rites given in Chapter I will show the main order of events at this time; without it the following description may be confusing owing to the over-lapping of the "Work" of the various temples.

RITES OF VAISAKIRI

The third day of the ritual of Resiake gave the signal to the Ariki Fangarere to begin the "Work" of his most important temple. The keynote of this was also the re-laying of the mats of ancestors. The conventional expression to describe the first day's operations was "The floor-mat of Vaisakiri is cut" meaning that the palm fronds for the plaiting of the most sacred mat were gathered then. Another formal expression used was "The floor-mat of Vaisakiri is plaited" - in preparation for the re-carpeting.

This is an instance of how processes of a primarily technical order, which are merely preliminary to the ritual processes, tend to be elevated into the ritual scheme, and to receive a validity of their own. Thus the preparation of the mat, which has no sacerdotal value in itself, has a day devoted to it, on a par with the actual laying of the mat, which is the only real offering to the god. This elevation of technical processes into ritual processes is a prominent feature of the Tikopia religious system.

Vaisakiri was the principal temple of the Ariki Fangarere, having come down to him, with the orchard in which it stands, from Fakaarofatia, the ancestor of his clan, by gift from Pu Resiake of Taumako, mother's brother of this ancestor. The temple stood somewhat inland from the main path along the lake shore; beside it was a smaller house, corresponding to the oven-houses of other temples, but with no oven therein. It was in this smaller building that the initial rites of the sacred mat took place. The mat itself was destined as an offering to the Atua i Fangarere. A sacred mat for the temple of Sao was also prepared on the same day, to be used as an offering to the Atua i Sao.

The mat of Vaisakiri was plaited on the day that Resiake had its **fakaoatea** rite. The same day the "midday celebration of the mat" was performed. Food was cooked in an adjacent oven-house, and shortly before it was ready the old mat was removed from the **mata paito** side of the house, a basket of clean white sand was spread there, and the new mat was laid on top of it. A kava rite then took place. This was of great sacredness, since the principal clan deity, the Atua i Fangarere, was believed to enter a medium and talk to the people. The native explanation of this was "That is the confirmation of his kava, that he comes among men."[1] In this case the medium was the eldest son of the chief. From time to time people present murmured "He (the god) comes to the kava of the chief," and similar comments, showing their firm belief in the reality of the manifestation.

On the following day the re-carpeting of the temple itself took place. The usual oven was prepared, the thatch of the roof was renewed where necessary, and the various floor-mats were replaced by appropriate family groups according to the conventions of the **inaki**. While the temple was being renovated a sacred conch-shell which was kept there was taken down to the lake and washed. Several temples had such shells, called **pu**, a name given to all trumpet-like instruments. In this connection they were known as **pu tapu**, sacred trumpets. After being washed the conch of Vaisakiri was blown vigorously several times. It was old, and its sound not melodious - hence a lad on hearing it remarked "It does not cry, it merely snores." The mournful sound rang along the lake-shore, and apprised the people of other temples, who were busy with their own tasks, that the re-carpeting of Vaisakiri was well under way.

Bark-cloth streamers were bound to posts and rafters in honour of the deities of the temple. The principal post, at the far end, was decorated with two separate bunches of Cycas fronds. The upper one was the decoration of the Atua i Fangarere, known in this temple by the name of Te Urupaku. The lower decoration was that of Pu Tafatai, a deity of sea-voyaging. His personal name, according to Pae Sao, is Takatosi. The corresponding post at the other end of the temple was that of the kava bowl, and was presided over as in Resiake by Te Atua i Sao, Toki-tai-te-kere. A simple streamer of bark cloth marked his post. On the left side of the house as one entered was the **toki tapu**, the sacred shell adze with its carved wooden handle hanging over its shelf. This has as its deity Te Atua i te Ava, Tupua fiti,

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[1] A full description of mediumistic phenomena will be given in **Rank and Religion in Tikopia.**

who is called a son of Te Urupaku. The spot was not adorned, however, in any way. Opposite, on the other wall were slung two spears with bunches of Cycas tied to them. These, as in Resiake, were embodiments of Pu ma, known here by the same name as in that building. Of the streamers of bark-cloth hung from the rafters, the principal one on the mato paito side of the house was for Te Atua i Ravenga, Taufoki-ki-muri, who is also regarded as a son of Te Urupaku. The joint occurrence of this and other names in Vaisakiri and in Resiake was due to the fact that these were the gods of the old Nga Ravenga people. Resiake was built on Ravenga soil and incorporated some of the local deities, and Vaisakiri, though it stands in Uta, is the temple of sa Fangarere, the present-day descendants of the Ravenga folk.

The re-carpeting ritual was concluded by a kava performance, with offering of bark-cloth to the Atua i Fangarere, and invocation of the gods over the kava stem.

RE-CARPETING THE KAVA HOUSES

This day of the re-carpeting of Vaisakiri temple was one of great activity throughout the island. It was the occasion for the re-consecration of all the lesser temples in Uta and Ravenga, and some of those in Tai also. These were the paito fai kava, the houses in which chiefs or elders performed their kava on the various ritual occasions through the year. The programme for the day varied for the the people of the different houses and clans. Early in the morning the Ariki Taumako performed the "anointing" in Resiake, after which he went to Taumako temple in Uta to superintend the preparation of the thatch there, and was then occupied with the ritual in connection with his lesser clan temples. The Ariki Kafika spent the day at Kafika temple, mainly in receiving the food-gifts from his lesser temples, but performed a small "yam kava" in the afternoon. The Ariki Fangarere was primarily occupied with Vaisakiri, and in former days the Ariki Tafua would have been superintending the thatch-making of Tafua temple, and receiving food-gifts from the lesser temples of his clan.

The work of the various kava houses fell into two sections - on the one hand the re-carpeting of the building (including renovation of thatch); and on the other the preparation of a large basket of food known as **fonakava**. (This is to be distinguished from the **fonokava**, a contribution of cooked food on many ritual occasions or at a dance festival.) The **fonakava** was a present to the clan chief, and the importance attached to it was the main reason for the bustle which had seized upon every large kinship group. The essence of the **fonakava** is that in native theory it is an acknowledgement to the chief of his suzerainty over the temple of each particular kinship group in his clan. His overlordship is purely formal; he enters the temple only rarely, to perform the kava, or may never even enter it at all. But the presentation of the **fonakava** to

him twice yearly is a basic link between him and the constituent kinship groups of his clan, and also in native eyes, between his gods and theirs. The **fonakava** is not reciprocated directly, but an indirect reciprocation is given to some extent by a re-distribution of the baskets among the representatives of the various kinship groups.

Preparation of the **fonakava** demands the mobilization of the resources of each major kinship group, and assistance of affinal kin to some extent. Bananas, breadfruit and taro are required in large quantity, as also mature coconuts for the creamed pudding which is an essential part of the gift. Most of the baskets are brought about mid-afternoon. Where the owner of the temple is an elder with kava privileges he performs his kava over the **fonakava** before it goes to the chief. In any case, the chief himself pours the libations of kava to his gods when it arrives, as a dedication of the food to them. Usually the baskets are **kavaki** (have the kava performed over them) all together. If there are a great number, however, then as soon as three or four accumulate, it is done and repeated for others later. This was the case with the **fonakava** received by the Ariki Taumako in the monsoon season. The following table gives the temples from which the **fonakava** are brought to the chief on this day. Each chief of course acts independently.

Kafika	Tafua	Taumako	Fangarere
Rarovi	Fusi	Kavasa	Vaisakiri
Porima	Rotuma	Fatumaru	Fenumera
Tavi	Sao	Niumano	
Raropuka	x Rarupe	Kamota	
Torokinga	x Motuapi	Rarokofe	
Somosomo		Maniva	
Te Afua	x Korokoro	Mataioa	
Tongarutu	x Notau	Farekofe	
Fenumera	Samoa	Ngatotiu	
xRakau	Akitunu	xRatia	
xFakamaina			
Vaisakiri		xNiukapu	
xMarinoa	xTe Akaukena	xRangirikoi	

x fonakava abandoned.

In recent years the adoption of Christianity by the Ariki Tafua and the people of Faea has caused some modification of the scheme. Those kinship groups in Faea, as Marinoa, Niukapu and Rangirikoi, which formerly sent **fonakava** to their clan chiefs in Ravenga have discontinued it, while the Ariki Tafua has ceased to receive **fonakava**, either from his Christian kinship groups in Faea or his heathen ones on the other side of the island. These latter still perform the rites of re-carpeting but either like Akitunu, Samoa and Fusi in Namo retain the **fonakava**, or present it to the chief in whose village they live, as does the elder of Sao in the case of his house Notoa which stands in Potu sa Taumako. In all non-Christian houses the rites of **fariki** are, however, unaltered, while in those of Christians the persistence of the belief in and respect for their ancestors and gods leads to a seasonal re-laying of mats in the houses used as dwellings, usually accompanied by food-offerings. Some of the sacred houses, as Korokoro, still stand, others as Marinoa, Te Akaukena and Tafua have been allowed to fall into decay. In the case of Rakau, which is the house of the origin of Marinoa family, an attempt has been made to cope with the defection of its own people by combining its **fonakava** - nominally - with that of Torokinga, a house of another group of the same clan. That of Raropuka is still made every season, since a few faithful members of the family come over every time on the appointed day.

Sometimes of course the re-carpeting of a temple, and the making of the **fonakava** are abandoned for purely internal reasons. Thus the Ariki Kafika no longer receives the customary basket from Fakamaina, a related house of Tavi, since that branch of the family immediately concerned has become extinct. By Pa Tavi then, "it has been abandoned, because his brothers died completely."

It will be observed that **fonakava** are presented from Fenumera to both the Ariki Kafika and the Ariki Fangarere - a basket to each. The building is that of the Ariki Fangarere, hence one **fonakava** is given to him; the extra one is an acknowledgement of the overlordship of the Ariki Kafika over the Fangarere clan. The **fonakava** from Tafua and Taumako also on their re-carpeting a few days later are carried to the Ariki Kafika in virtue of his position as the supreme chief of the island.

Though the general form of the **fariki** ceremony is the same for all houses, variations in detail occur. Each has its own peculiarities of custom, "**ona ke faifainga**". The procedure in the case of some of the most important houses will be described briefly in order to give an idea of this variation, the complexity of the day's proceedings, and the consequent organisation needed on the part of the natives.

Marinoa: (Informant, Pa Fetauta).

Principal rite, anointing of main post at end of house, dedicated to Te Araifo. Three streamers tied, for Te Araifo, Tukere (Atua i Ratia) and Rata. Kava performed by elder.

Raropuka: (Informant, Pa Raropuka).

Kava performed, but no post anointed. But present elder, as sister's son of Porima, made kava in house Sukumarae, belonging to Porima. Main post anointed, dedicated to Pueseia (Atua i te Uruao).

Akitunu: (Informant, Pa Sukuporu).

No kava performed, but bark-cloth spread: to Tangaroa, a white cloth and an orange one; to "The Followers of Tangaroa", a white cloth; to Te Kasomera (Eel God), an orange cloth and a white one; to Vaikiri-mera, a female deity, child of Eel God, a white cloth.

Fatumaru: (Informant, Pa Vangatau).

Principal rite, cleansing of Atua i Fatumaru, a long black stone, paired with stone of Takarito. Stone removed from bed of Cycas leaves, washed, smeared with turmeric, and laid back on fresh bed. Kava performed, frequently by Ariki Taumako, since god is important for fishing. Temple is in control of Atua i Kafika, under title of Tauaroaro. Cycas is "perfume" of Atua i Kafika, and temple has set of stones for "summing the perfume" as in Resiake, though of less importance.

Niukapu: (Informant, Pa Niukapu).

Temple founded on ground formerly occupied by Nga Faea, who were driven off to sea, hence their gods incorporated into list of tutelary deities. Done by founder and family lest "they would be devoured by the deities, angry at their people who had been killed".
Kava performed by Ariki Taumako, deities of Nga Faea invoked first, and those of Taumako secondarily.
Invocation of: Feke (Octopus God)
Tau-kavei-varu ("Eight Rays") i.e. tentacles.
Atua i Taumako
Nga Matua (former Taumako chiefs)
Pu Niukapu (noted sea-voyaging ancestor).

Temple contained formerly large wooden implement said to be of type used for cutting banana stems before iron introduced; original lost; copy shown to me a wooden imitation of a trade-knife, carved by Pa Rangifuri.

Korokoro: (Informant, Pa Korokoro).

Principal esoteric objects:
Post at south end, "body" of Semoana-ariki, primary god of Korokoro. Serves as back rest for Ariki Tafua when he attends kava of temple.
Shelf adjacent to post, that of Semoana-ariki and Semoana-tu.
Centre post, embodiment of Pu ma, under title of Rua-eva. Serves as back rest for Ariki Taumako at kava; his title for Pu ma the allied name of Rua-ariki.
Shelf opposite, and spear above, also of Rua-eva.
Ariki Kafika occasionally attends kava, by virtue of presence of Pu ma in temple. Seating places of three chiefs a token of "weight" of Korokoro rites.
Principal elements of fariki rite were re-decoration of shelves, and anointing of post of Semoana, with performance of kava by elder of Korokoro.
Shelf of Rua-eva laid with fresh branchlets of pale and of red **kava pi**; that of Semoana re-carpeted with a little mat of cocoonut fronds, plaited to correct dimensions. Formula for re-decoration of shelves:

Kau kaina kou tae.
Tafuri ki tou fata ka fariki atu
Tou fata ka fariki atu ki se ora.
Maafuafu laui te tangata ma sauni o tou kava
Kae tu ke mau tou vae ki tou Korokoro.

I eat your excrement.
Turn to your shelf which is being carpeted
Your shelf which is carpeted for welfare.
Unfold goodness for the man preparing your kava
And stand your foot firm on your Korokoro.

The last expression conveys the desire that contact between deity and temple should remain unbroken, so that he should be at hand to protect and favour his people.

Formula for anointing the post of Semoana:

Semoana ariki
Kau kaina kou tae
Tou pou ka furufuru atu
Tafuri ki tou rau fakaariki
Tou pou ka kaukau ki se ora
Futi ki te tangata ke maafuafu laui ki runga
Ma sauni o tou kava

Ma suru o tou kau rau
Ma tatao tou taotao
Motusia ki atea ko te ngaengae
Kae maafuafu laui fuere.

Semoana ariki
I eat your excrement
Your post will be cleansed,
Turn to your chiefly name,
Your post will be anointed for welfare,
Haul on the man to be properly hale above
For preparation of your kava,
For tying of your sheet of thatch,
For covering the palm leaf covers.
Be severed away the illness
And give good health only.

The full text of this formula has been set down as it varies somewhat from the usual type. The allusion to the "chiefly name" (**rau fakaariki**) of the deity implies respect. It may be noted how incentive is given to the deity to grant the request for health by referring to the various activities in connection with his sacred house which can only then be performed by the suppliant. The taotao are the branches of cocoanut leaf which are laid, butt downwards, over the rows of thatch in order to hold them down. The term **mafuafu** (or **maafuafu**) is difficult to translate concisely. It was explained as characterising "The man in whom is lacking ills of any sort," i.e. it represents the idea of continued good health.

The above are the principal variants in the rites of re-consecration of the sacred kava-houses. It will be realised that the differences in procedure are due largely to the different deities believed to control each house, and the various material objects therein which act as their embodiment or representation. As in the case of the sacred canoes, the ritual system is extremely intricate, but in various ways links kinship groups with their clan chiefs, and at a number of points brings out the acknowledged supremacy of the Ariki Kafika.

A return may now be made to the description of the temple rites in chronological sequence.

RE-CARPETING OF NUKUORA, TAUMAKO AND TAFUA

After the ordinary sacred houses had been renovated on the one day there still remained a few of such importance that they had a special place assigned to their ceremonies in the programme of the season. Such were Tafua, Taumako and Kafika, the temples of the chiefs, Mapusanga the house of an affiliated family of Kafika, and Nukuora, connected with the Fangarere clan. The rites of the latter were performed on the day that the yam seed was buried, and in the monsoon season Tafua and Taumako

were re-carpeted on the same day. Kafika came later, while Mapusanga was re-carpeted after the Freeing of the Land which is one of the salient events in the seasonal cycle. The description of the rites of this last house will then be held over till the next chapter.

Nukuora temple rests under dual control. As the natives say, it is the house of the Ariki Fangarere, in which the Ariki Kafika makes the kava. "They merely get it ready; when the kava is to be made, they invite me to go and make the kava", the Ariki Kafika himself explained. Thus though in point of ownership it may be said to belong to the Fangarere chief, yet at the same time he acknowledges the suzerainty of the chief of Kafika. The reason is to be sought in tradition. Nukuora is the house built by Fakaarofatia, the sole survivor from the slaughter of Nga Ravenga. His mother, a daughter of the Ariki Kafika of the time, ran with her son, then a babe, to her father's home in the night, and was saved by him. Nukuora was erected on Kafika soil, on a site given to Fakaarofatia by the Ariki, and this, combined with the tie created by the act of preservation, accounts for the present overlordship. The continued interest of the Fangarere people in the house is due to the fact that their ancestor lies buried there; hence they maintain the link with their "origin". "To re-carpet the mat of (our) Ancestor," was the reason they gave me for the ritual.

The ritual itself was of the usual type. When the food had been placed in the oven the work of replacing the mats began. Plan VI shows how the principal mats were laid, and to whom.

It may be noted that the head of each mat, i.e. the broad end, lay towards the centre of the house - except those laid to the posts. The reason was that in the **fare** as distinct from the **paito fai kava** the usual distinction between **mata paito** and **tuaumu** was abandoned. "The temples in Uta here, not a **mata paito** for a distinguishing mark." In Kafika the side nearest the lake was especially **tapu** because, it was said, of the dead chiefs who lay there. This however did not apply in the same measure to Nukuora. There "**mata paito**" was made in the middle of the house." For this reason women if they entered sat round the wall on either side, and men when they slept in the house, lay with their heads towards the centre, no matter in what part of the building they might be. The importance of the centre posts as representative of the chief gods accounts largely for this attitude since in Tikopia, as elsewhere, respect is implied by orientation of head or face towards the object, whereas feet or back turned in that direction indicates lack of consideration. Great attention is paid to details of this kind. Thus when the kava of Nukuora was about to begin the man seated at the bowl raised the question of the correct position for him to sit in. "The **kava-wringer** turns his back to seaward" was the pronouncement made by an experienced listener, and the man sat accordingly. The food was brought into the house - six ordinary baskets, a bowl of pudding and a huge mass in a basket specially woven. This last was the **fonakava**, which was to be presented to the Ariki Kafika.

Some of his own family who had attended the ceremony had contributed their share to the fonakava, the food thus given having completed a circuit.

The Ariki Kafika tied on the various bark-cloth streamers of the temple. The first was bound round the principal post, for Fakaarofatia, the "chief" of the house; the second tied to the rear post, was for Toki-tai-te-kere, Te Atua i Sao. The others, eight in all, decorating opposite rafters in pairs, were for the various deities and ancestors whose mats lay on the floor beneath. These latter streamers were smaller than those attached to the main posts. A pair of long beams ran at the back of the principal post of the house from side to side, about three feet from the ground. These acted as a shelf, and were termed the fetāraro. This was the repository for a mass of Cycas leaves which were relaid by the chief when he had tied the streamers. For this reason it was known also as the fare rongorongo (Cycas house). Such shelves exist in most of the more important sacred houses, as Raniniu, Motuapi and Mapusanga, and hold venerated objects; on this account they are all fetāraro tapu. That in Nukuora was the property of Pufine ma, and the house itself was under the control of these two female deities and their brother Te Atua Pouri. The cycas leaves laid on the shelf belonged to this last deity. One of the common features of the Tikopian religious system is the parallelism which is held to exist between the realm of men and that of the gods. In this case the "cycas house" in Nukuora was believed to have as its prototype that which stands in Rangi pouri, the particular Heaven which is under the domination of Te Atua Pouri.

These preliminaries over, the kava began. The Ariki Fangarere presented an orange bark-cloth to the Ariki Kafika, who laid it before him with an obeisance. This was for the Atua i Kafika, who, though he had no direct jurisdiction over the temple, being without post or rafter therein, was nevertheless invoked as the supreme deity of the clan. The gods invoked in the kava were in the following order:

Pu ma
Futi o te kere (Atua i Fangarere)
Toki-tai-te-kere (Atua i Sao)
Mapusia (Atua i Kafika)
Tuapou (Atua i Porima)
Pufine ma
Fakaarofatia (first chief of Fangarere, and "sacred child" of Kafika)
Nga Matua (chiefly ancestors of Ariki Kafika).

The libations of kava were many "because it is the principal house of another chief." The joint interest of the chiefs of Kafika and Fangarere required that the deities of both should be recognised.

The order of libations was:

Cups: 1 & 2. - by cup-bearer to Pu ma
3. - by Ariki Kafika, to Fakaarofatia
4. - by Ariki Kafika, to Atua i Kafika
5. - by Ariki Kafika, to Nga Matua
6. - by Ariki Fangarere, to Atua i Fangarere
7. - by Ariki Kafika, to Pu Mapusanga
8. - by Ariki Kafika, to Atua i Sao
9. - by Ariki Fangarere, to his father
10. etc.- by cup-bearer, to remaining gods and ancestors.

The invocation of Pu ma, and libations to them, was a significant part of the procedure; Nukuora was the only temple in Uta where they were so invoked with no specific function. Their role, like that of the Atua i Kafika, was merely as primary gods of Kafika, coming, so to say, with the Ariki Kafika.

In the evening the "coconut kava" was performed, in the open air, on a small grass plot between Kafika temple and Kafika lasi, but close to Nukuora. **Roi** was also prepared in Kafika lasi. The following morning the **roi** was used for the "morning kava" in Nukuora. Besides myself, only four men were present, the two chiefs and two helpers. The rite was an important one, as shown by the **roi**, and also by the decoration of the Ariki Kafika with bright bands of turmeric on belly and arms. Before the kava the chief tied two thick fringes of Cordyline leaf to the beams mentioned earlier. These fringes were termed **te kara o Pufine ma.** They were described as being "Perfume of the gods, fringes of the gods". The **kara** is an esoteric name for a **titi** or fringe, an ornamental dress worn around the waist, generally by women, but sometimes worn by men, above the ordinary costume at dances or on other festive occasions. The **kara** or **titi** in this case were an offering to Pufine ma.

After the recital of the kava formula the offerings of **roi** were set out, thirteen in all, each god and ancestor having his portion placed on his mat. First of all, however, the **raurau kumete** which had been brought in from Kafika was filled and set aside. After the principal libations of kava had been poured the Ariki Kafika, his kava wringer and cup bearer, adjourned to Kafika temple taking with them the sacred dish, and poured the customary libations of kava to Pu ma and the other deities there. This, which was a highly sacred piece of ritual, was done on behalf of the yam, and the change of place was made since these yam deities have no part in Nukuora. "They have no mat or post there" as the natives said. Immediately this was over the party returned again to Nukuora and the subsidiary libations were poured to the various ancestors and secondary deities

there. This completed the ceremonies of Nukuora.

On the same day as Nukuora was re-carpeted Taumako temple and in former days Tafua - was re-consecrated also. The thatch had been prepared the day before. The ritual was of the type already described for other temples. But a special feature was the laying of two mats under the shelf which held the sacred adzes of the canoes. These mats were plaited the day before by a woman of the family of the Ariki Taumako, after the chief had tied on her a leaf necklet, for welfare. When the mats were laid the chief sat before the shelf, lifted each new mat on to his lap, made obeisance with it, and spread it out. The mats were for Tafaki and Karisi, guardian deities of the adze. In the following kava rite these two deities were invoked first; then came the Atua i Taumako, who was represented by the centre post and the mat adjoining it; and later Pusi, the reef-eel.

The rites of Tafua temple were described to me by the Ariki Tafua. The temple itself, abandoned for a decade, was in ruins in a tangled mass of undergrowth. One massive end post still stood, but apart from this only the stone pillar which was the embodiment of the Atua i Tafua remained in position. The canoe adzes had been buried by the chief beneath the floor when he forsook their rites.

The re-carpeting was in all essentials the same as that described for other temples, save that the lower part of one of the rafters and not the centre post was anointed. From this peculiarity the clan of Tafua were sometimes called "sa Raro-oka", "The People of the Lower Rafter", a term that could be applied also to "sacred children" from the clan. This timber was the dwelling of the Atua i Tafua during the ritual, while the Atua i Fangarere abode in the fesisi, the supporting post at its base. These deities were said to "climb into" their respective timbers. The timbers were rubbed with oiled leaves by the chief, who recited the following formula:

"Kau kaina fakaangafuru oru tae Raki-te-ua ma Tafito
Tafuri ki tou Raro-oka tapu
Kau kaukau atu i te pongipongi nei
Kaukau manu
Kaukau ki se ora
Tou tino manongi
Mafuke te ora
Kae mafukefuke laui
Tou singano tapu na i tou fonga fenua
Ma te tuanga o te kava
Kae tao ki raro te fakafefea o te uāroro
Ranga ko te tuakau
Ma fakaora o te fenua
Fakasuasau ifo ko tou tafā-ki-rangi."

Translation:

"I eat ten times your excrement, Raki-te-ua and Tafito
Turn to your sacred Lower-Rafter
Which I anoint on this morning.
Anoint with power,
Anoint for welfare,
Your perfumed body.
Unfold the welfare,
While unfold properly
Your sacred cocoonut there on your crest of the land
For the perpetuation of the kava.
And suppress the ills of the cocoonut;
Raise the sea's resources
For the vivifying of the land.
Rain down your skies."

The term "perfumed body" refers to the anointed timbers. It is held that the deities are pleased by the performance, and their nostrils are delighted with the aroma of oil and bruised leaves. Singano tapu, like uaroro, is an honorific term for cocoonut; fakasuasau an unusual word for rain. Both expressions are used in ritual formulae.

The subsidiary ovenhouse, Tafua lasi, was remarkable for the number of mats of deities spread therein (see Plan VII). Not only the principal gods of the chief himself, but also those of his two principal elders, of Fusi and Sao, were also represented. Then there was a group of deities known as Sa Runga, who had a mat laid for them at the oven-border, and are conceived as fairy-like folk, living on the mountain crest, descending at night to fish, and fleeing back on the approach of dawn. When the oven-house was re-carpeted the mats were laid in the order given in the Plan. It may be noted that the oven of this house is situated on the opposite side from that which is customary in Kafika lasi and the other sacred cooking houses.

Inland of Tafua stood a third house of moderate dimensions, known as Te Toka. This was recarpeted by the Ariki at his discretion any time during the ceremonial season. His people in Namo were sent to get fish from the lake, while those in Faea, on the other coast, went out torchlight fishing by night. As soon as a plentiful catch had been obtained word was sent to the Ariki and the ceremony was performed. It was in this house that the late Ariki Tafua, by name Pukenga, was buried at his death some twenty years before. (i.e. about 1910). The building was also known as Te Fare Fiti since one of the Atua Fiti, by name Meteua, whose home was said to be in Maunganefu in Vanikoro, was one of the deities there.

RE-CARPETING OF KAFIKA TEMPLE

One of the most important series of rites in connection with the temples was that for the re-carpeting of Kafika.

At this juncture it is advisable to describe the building and its furniture in some detail. The Kafika temple, being the ancestral house of the ranking chief of the island, and under the control of the supreme gods is, as can be well understood, the principal religious centre of the whole community. It is a large building measuring about twelve yards by six and rising to a height of about fifteen feet at the ridge. Formerly it was both wider and more lofty, but in the repairs consequent upon a severe hurricane which occurred some fifteen years before I arrived its dimensions were lessened for future safety. Kafika, according to tradition, has stood there since the days when men went as gods and gods as men, in that immemorial antiquity before the birth of the great **Atua** himself, the culture hero. As generation succeeded generation the **fare** was rebuilt as it showed signs of decay but preserving continuity through occupation of the one site and incorporation of parts of the former structure. The existing house was erected by Tarotu, a former Ariki, (father of Pa Vainunu) about 1900.

The rebuilding of this house is an event of the greatest interest to the whole island. I give here a brief hearsay account. People from all the clans assemble in large numbers, and those of sa Kafika and sa Fangarere collect food and prepare the ovens, while sa Tafua and sa Taumako do the actual work. The former clan has charge of the North end of the house, the latter of the South end, and their division lies at the centre post. The **fare** is of the usual shape, the ridge pole being supported on three huge posts. Every timber of any structural importance in the house has its own special sanctity. The ridge-pole - in the present building a trunk of **poumuri** given from the land of Pa Tavi - is usually termed **taufufu.** For Kafika, however, it bears an additional title, Te Fakasiva. When this is hauled into position and settled on the tops of the supporting posts the assembled crowd gives a loud shout, expressive of the safe completion of an onerous task. The tops of the posts are slightly hollowed to receive it, but the real means of security is the **sunu**, the elaborate crossed sinnet-lashing which is the pride of the craftsman. Only a real expert is competent to achieve such work. The central post is that of the Atua i Kafika, and the lashing is termed **Te Sunu Nga Matua** - the lashing of the Elders. It is **tapu** for any man of Kafika family to make these lashings; the work may be done only by the family group of Rarovi or by those who are immediately descended from Rarovi. Thus for the present house, the central **sunu** was done by Pae Ava Kofe and Pa Vangatau, brothers of Taumako clan, whose mother was from Rarovi family. The lashing of the post at the South end of the building is termed **Te Sunu Nga Ravenga** and it is the function of sa Taumako to see to it. Pa Vangatau

and his brother's son Pa Veterei were responsible for that in the present building. The lashing of the post at the North end - the post of the kava bowl - was the duty of sa Tafua, and was called "Te Sumu Matavaru" - "The Eight-eyed Lashing". That standing in 1928 was the work of Pa Akitunu, an expert, dead at the time of my visit. The builders are fed by the people of Kafika while the work is in progress, and on its conclusion are given presents of food and valuables, including bark cloth and pandanus mats.

A curious feature of Kafika which is not found in other temples is a short stout post standing beside the supporting pillar at the South end of the house. A piece of vine is lashed to them both, and holds the **koso tapu**, the sacred digging stick used in the yam rites. This post commemorates the end of the friendship and rivalry of the Atua i Kafika and his companion Te Samoa. After various feats of emulation, the Atua began to build or rebuild his temple. He went and cut down a **poumuri tree** for a post, then brought it and left it in charge of Te Samoa while he dug the hole. Standing at the bottom he told his friend to lower down the tree on top of him and when he did so, sprang up through the roots and escaped, thus proudly demonstrating his agility and bravery. The he told Te Samoa to go and dig the hole. The latter did so then in his turn called out in emulation to the Atua to let down the tree. Te Samoa was hoping to follow his rival's example, and shoot up through the gaps in the interlacing roots. The latter, however, foreseeing his intention, twirled the trunk round as he lowered it. Te Samoa was trapped, and the tree descended on his head. To his cry for relief the Atua called "Sleep then friend! Thy post shall obey thee." Then he filled in the hole and erected the house. Hence the post is called **Te pou te Samoa.** It was said that the timber now standing was the original **poumuri**; if true it was set in position over 250 years ago. According to one informant the bones of Te Samoa are disinterred when the temple is rebuilt and laid at the base of the post again; it was acknowledged that such was not done for the present structure but that the elders maintain such to have been the practice.

When in the course of setting up the timbers the first rafter is put in position this event also is signalised by a shout from the assembled people. The rafter is situated above the **tinai Ariki** (see below) and is called "Te Oka o Nga Ariki" - The Rafter of the Chiefs. Its name is said to refer to the ancestors who lie buried beneath the floor. Other rafters have names from various gods of the house. These are "Te Oka o Pu ma", "The Rafter of Pu ma"; "Te Oka o Fanau ", The Rafter of the Brethren"; "Te Oka o te Atua lasi", "The Rafter of the Great Deity", i.e. Te Atua i Fangarere. "All the gods are complete all together in the house" I was told.

The **tinai Ariki**, mentioned above, is a large mound of sand occupying the greater part of the south eastern quarter of the house, and covered with special long mats. Its proportions are impressive in the

dim light of the house, and the importance due to its size is accentuated by the fact that it is the place towards which the most sacred ritual, as that of the **raurau kumete** is oriented. It is held to be the seating place of Pu ma, or "Nga Ariki", "the Chiefs", as they are called in this house when they descend to be present at the kava. In ordinary times they are considered to be absent; they are present only for the "Work" or for other ceremonies. The mound is theirs and as such is sacred. When it is re-sanded it is believed that if a stone were to fall on the heap it would fall "to the realm of the gods" and if a person were to stand on it he likewise would sink from sight. "It is termed the ocean". This accountsfor the precautions presently to be described.

On one side of the **tinai Ariki** near the centre of the house stands the **Kaufata**, a kind of open crate of bamboo about four feet long. As a material object in the temple it is held to be the property of Pu ma - though constructed by the Atua i Kafika, according to one informant. It has its counterpart, however, in the realm of the gods and this is used in times of epidemic by malevolent **atua**. It is believed that they travel with it along the beach paths and snatch the spirits of any mortals they encounter therein, putting them into the **Kaufata** as container, wherein these people must die. The passing of this ghostly receptacle is a time of dread for all in the villages, and they cower close in their houses lest their souls be reft from them. The wooden structure in the house, according to Pa Vainunu, is correctly known as **Te Vaka a Kofe** (The vessel of bamboo); its spiritual counterpart above is the **Kaufata**. This latter term, however, is commonly used for both the material and the immaterial object. The vessel itself is a flimsy structure. I was told that when it needs repair the Ariki Kafika alone performs the task. No one else may remain in the building with him; all the people stay outside while he relashes it. To accommodate it during the repair and re-carpeting of the temple two pegs are lashed to rafters on the side of the house, and on these it is suspended. The Ariki alone lifts the **Kaufata** to and from these supports, owing to its sacredness.

On the same side of the house as the **tinai Ariki** and the **Kaufata** - i.e. towards the lake, stands the **fare toki**, the adze house, constituted by a pair of beams under the eave, on which rest the adzes and the "sacred things."

In the centre line of the house but near the rear, or north end, stands the **tokotu**, a staging of a type mentioned already. The **tokotu** of Kafika is said to be of great age. Originally it was undercut in notches as that of Resiake (which is a recent replacement), but this section of the timber has now sunk deeply into the ground. Elderly men told me that Pu te Roma, who lived many generations ago, was famed as an expert in the manufacture of **tokotu**, and constructed most of these now existing in the various temples.

The presence of these objects, some affiliated with gods, others with ancestors, most of them sacred, all of great age or reproductions of ancient things, is one of the factors accounting for the reverence displayed by the Tikopia when they enter this building.

As in the case of the other sacred houses there is no indiscriminate renovation of the building. Different sections "belong" to different family groups, who lay down their mats on the floor and replace rotten thatch above. Unlike most of the houses, however, these divisions are marked off by rafters, making for more rigid compartments than usual. Plan VIII indicates these spheres of influence as I noted them in 1929. The kinship groups concerned were those of the chief himself (sa Kafika proper) sa Fangarere, Sa Rarovi, sa Porima and sa Tavi. Sa Kafika had the south end of the temple, where the chief's father and other ancestors were buried. This end is known as **te imaki tapu** for this reason.

The first day of the ceremonies of Nukuora marked the virtual beginning of those of Kafika, in that the initial piece of thatch for repairing the house was then formally pinned together. The expression used was "the leaf is stolen". A man of the clan went out early in the morning before the land was properly light, cut a single branch of the sago palm and returned with it. This was made up by the Ariki Kafika during the day into a sheet or two of thatch. The term "stolen" is only a figure of speech; the branch was actually taken from the orchard of the Ariki himself, and natives were emphatic that there was no idea of theft from either the Ariki or the deity in charge of the orchard. Pae Sao said, "Not stolen from orchards (in general), stolen from our own orchard; a custom it is from formerly." Later the sheet of thatch was sacralised by a small kava ceremony made formerly with the **fonikava** of Nukuora as basis, or nowadays with that from Taumako. About midday occurred the investiture of a woman from the family of the chief, her duty being to plait the mat for the sacred adze and "sacred things" of Kafika. This piece of ritual was not elaborate, taking place in the dwelling house.

On the following morning, that is, the concluding day of the Nukuora rites, the bulk of the thatch for the temple of Kafika was prepared. This work was termed "the great leaf pinning of Kafika", and was treated primarily as an economic task. Neither the Ariki Fangarere or the Ariki Kafika scrupled about assisting the workers.

In the evening occurred one of those picturesque features of the ritual on which the natives themselves love to dwell in narration - **Te Asunga One**, The Scooping of the Sand. It is a frequent practice of the Tikopia in re-furbishing the graves of their ancestors to bring a basket or two of white coral sand from the beach and spread it on top to give the

place of burial a neat and cleanly appearance. In the case of the Kafika temple this has been elevated into a ritual procedure, surrounded with severe tapu. In the monsoon season a dozen women, of Kafika or married out of that clan, assembled at the time when the sun was low over the western hill crest and proceeded to Potu sa Kafika, where they each plaited a small basket from fresh coconut leaf. They then set out when the sun had disappeared behind the hills, going in single file along the beach path round the bluff of Fongo-te-Koro till they reached the level expanse of Namo. Arrived at Suakava, the canoe yard of the sacred vessel of the Ariki Tafua, they halted and spread out in line along the edge of the beach, where the low bank of coral boulders met the sand. Facing up towards the canoe shed they sat down in groups of three or four and scooped out several large holes with their hands. It is from this that the rite takes its name. The sand taken out was used to fill the baskets. While this was in progress no one approached them or called out to them nor did they chatter among themselves, save to pass the few necessary comments on their work. For a man, in particular, to have interfered with them would have been the gravest breach of religious etiquette;[1] he would be certain, according to the natives, to have brought on himself death, or at the least severe illness. When the baskets were full the women rose all together and walked in single file up to the canoe shed, where they stood for a moment. A man of Kafika clan approached the leading girl in the line and silently handed her a large mat, then retired without a word. She advanced to the canoe shed, laid down the mat, and set her basket upon it, after which the other baskets were passed to her along the line and stacked in one by one. This was done deliberately without haste. Another mat was laid on top covering the heap, and the women then withdrew, as they came, in single file, and walked off the canoe ground. Then they sat down in a group and discussed where they would spend the night. They could elect to sleep together in a single house, or go each to her own dwelling. The decision was specifically stated by the men to be taken upon their personal preference. A reasonable interpretation seems to be that the traditional privilege of spending the night together undisturbed emphasises their exclusiveness, increases the amount of public attention given to them, and to some extent allows them an assertion of their female group independence.

In the monsoon season the women went as described to scoop the sand in Namo, and set it in the canoe shed of Suakava; in the season of trade-winds, the sand was scooped out in Ravenga at Maraniniu; the canoe court of the Ariki Taumako where the shed of his sacred vessel Te Rurua stood.

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[1] I received permission to observe the proceedings only on condition that I did not set foot on the canoe ground and made no attempt to talk with the women - conditions which of course I kept.

Alternation is thus made between Tafua and Taumako clans for the provision of material for the Kafika ritual. This is yet another instance of the close interrelation maintained between the autonomous clans in the religious system.

The sand thus obtained was no ordinary material. It was that of the gods Pu ma, and was used on the following day to spread on the **tinai Nga Ariki**, their sacred mound in Kafika house. The removal of it was the duty of women alone, since the task was under the jurisdiction of the **Atua fafine**, the Female Deity of the clan. She in fact is held to enact the spiritual counterpart of the work of the women. Natives explained it thus:

> "**E ngafua e te Atua fafine. Te Atua fafine e au o asu te one; tera e poi ma nga fafine; e au ko nga fafine i a tangata, kae au ko ia i a nga atua o asu ko te one. Te atua nga fafine e o ma ko ratou.**"
>
> "It is grasped by the Female Deity. The Female Deity comes to scoop up the sand; that is, goes with the women. The women come among the men, while she comes among the gods to scoop up the sand. The deity of the women goes together with them."

More clearly it is meant that the goddess of the women, the Female Deity, accompanies them on the task and that she duplicates in the realm of gods on the spiritual plane, what they perform in the realm of men, on the earthly plane. As in the case of "Plucking the Repa", the deity "assists in the work," though of course remaining invisible all the while. This antithesis, and yet parallelism, between the realm of men (**i a tangata**) and that of the gods (**i a nga atua**) is a constantly recurring feature of Tikopia discussion on religious matters.

Out of respect to their patroness and the sanctity of their task the women are supposed to wear clean new bark cloth skirts for the occasion. When I saw the procedure this rule was followed by only one or two of the party, the reason being given, "because the land is under restriction; therefore they gird cobwebby; they are girded with anything poor." Mourning for the recent death of relatives was the reason; new clothing might savour of a festive spirit alien to that of their grief. Hence they girt themselves with their usual garments dirty, frayed and ragged like a spider's web from use.

The association of the scooping of the sand with the Female Deity is the explanation also of the **tapu** imposed on the presence or interference of men.

The next morning, at dawn, the women rose, assembled at the canoe ground and, taking their baskets of sand, carried them round the lake to Uta and set them outside the temple of Kafika, where they waited till the re-carpeting.

While some people prepared food for the oven others repaired the thatch of the temple. When this was done they left the building, and the Ariki Kafika came alone to perform the preliminary ritual. (I was allowed to stay with him and watch.) First he "bound the post". For this a mat threaded with a length of young palm frond was passed in to him through the sacred doorway at the northern end of the building. He wrapped the mat round the centre post, with a short formula appealing for efficacy and welfare. Then he lifted the Kaufata on to pegs on the wall, and sat down in his usual place.

Meanwhile the crowd outside had been getting ready. Mats had been collected for the **inaki**, and each of the women concerned with the sand-digging the previous night had donned a kind of collar or ruff by slipping over her head a torn leaf of **rau tea**. A few of them had also a fillet of green leaf round the brow. These were their insignia and protection for the sacred task to come. New skirts were also donned for the occasion. The women crawled into the house by the door at the south end, led by Nau Kafika, the wife of the chief, and squatted under the eaves. With the assistance of one or two men on the other side of the house they removed the long mats which covered the **tinai ariki** and passed them out under the eaves. A pliant rib of a coconut leaf stripped of its fronds was now passed in and with it the wife of the chief smoothed over the top of the mound. The baskets of sand were then brought and the material was scattered on the mound with a sprinkling action. As this was done the crowd sat silent in the house; the Ariki alone murmured:

"Riaki otou Tinai Ariki
Ki te one mai Suakava"

"Scatter your Tinai Ariki
With the sand from Suakava."

This was an invocation to the gods Pu ma; an appeal for their approval. (In the trade-wind season the name of Maraniniu was substituted for that of Suakava.) The whole operation occupied several minutes; it was very tapu and was watched with great interest by all. It was held that in the sprinkling of the sand the wife of the chief represented the Atua fafine, who was actually embodied in the mortal woman. "The Female Deity stands after the manner of the gods; is not discovered" (i.e. is invisible). She was regarded as preparing the place for the mats of Pu ma.

When the sand was spread new mats of great length, formed by tying ordinary ones together in pairs, were laid over the mound, the object being to avoid setting foot upon the sacred place during the process of re-carpeting it. The remainder of the mats for the rest of the house were brought in by degrees and the floor was completely re-covered on the principles described earlier. (see Plan VIII). One mat termed te matua tapakau, the principal mat, was laid at the foot of the shelf of the sacred adze. All the women now retired from the building, followed by the men, and the Ariki again remained alone to complete the work. (The men tried to induce me to go too, but the chief let me stay.) He removed the binding of the central post and laid it at the foot, on the south side. This was the mat of Te Atua i Kafika. Another mat was brought and laid at the north side of the post; this was for Te Atua lasi. The sacred digging stick of the yam was set in position at the end of the house, the Kaufata crate was lifted down to its place on the mound of the gods, and the vestments of the temple were deposited on the tokotu staging. In conclusion the epa, a small pandanus leaf mat, was laid on the large cocoanut leaf mat of the Atua lasi and covered with some Cycas leaves. This mat lies there always as an offering to this deity that he may avert from the land illness, disease, in particular epidemics, over which he has special control. The sacredness of all these objects is the reason why the presence of the common people was not desired at this time.

The practical side of the seasonal "spring-cleaning" and repair of the temple was now over, but the consecration of this work remained. The chief said to me "It is finished", and went to bathe. Then he rubbed his chest and arms with aromatic leaves, and sat in his house till the oven was ready. After a while he was reminded that he had forgotten to re-carpet the shelf of the oven-house, Kafika lasi, so did it. He laid on the shelf a leaf of the umbrella palm, and strewed aromatic leaves on it. This was for Te Atua Fiti, to whom the shelf was dedicated. A bunch of a small variety of areca nut was also added, for the betel-chewing of the god.

The oven was now uncovered and the food taken to the temple where the chief and the men of the clan, a score in all, assembled for the kava. First the chief went with oil and aromatic leaves to anoint the central post.

"I eat your excrement, my sacred Chief" he began and continued the invocation in the usual manner. He then renewed the cycas leaves on the epa mat, and laid the old ones on the adze shelf. On returning to his seat he rubbed his body and arms with the oiled leaves as a prophylactic measure, as did the Ariki Fangarere also. The kava was then begun, the usual rites, including those of the

raurau kumete, being performed. Since this was the occasion of the re-carpeting of the temple, however, the **fonakava** had been prepared for the Ariki from his own food supplies. This was carried up and stood beside the **raurau kumete** in formal offering to the gods. Such ceremonial items were not omitted, even, when as in the present case, they practically involved the presentation of food by a man to himself. It was held that the gods were looking on, ever watchful for their offerings. As the kava was of special importance on this day a large bunch of areca nut was brought, and set up opposite the centre post. While the food portions were being allotted the Ariki rose and with hands clasped in front of him in humility went to the bunch, plucked off a nut and laid it at the foot of the post, saying

"Prepare a betel wad for yourself"

He was addressing the Atua i Kafika.

After the requisite libations had been poured a hearty meal was eaten by the crowd. It was now about 4 p.m.

The single piece of thatch may be remembered, the "sacred leaf" which was "stolen" and prepared two days before. Normally this would be inserted in the roof above the **inaki tapu**. In the monsoon season of 1928 however, on my inquiring for it at the end of the day, the Ariki suddenly recollected that it had been forgotten and was lying out among the trees at the back of the house. This was regarded with amusement and not as a serious mishap; the Ariki announced his intention of using it for the repair of his own dwelling house. This is an instance of how the ceremonial machine does not always work smoothly and with automatic precision. Since the functioning of the ritual system depends upon men such minor adjustments have frequently to be made. (Compare a similar lapse in the yam-planting noted on page 129.)

In the trade-wind season the "work" of Kafika finished on the day of the re-carpeting. In the monsoon period, however, it continued for two more full days, being characterised mainly by extensive food preparation. For the first of these the responsibility was assumed according to tradition by the family group of Rarovi; for the second the onus lay on the clan of Taumako. The rites in each case were termed the **fakaoatea** and were analogous to that already described in the case of Resiake. The **fakaoatea**, so called because the food is ready about midday, is a kind of finalisation or clinching of the ceremony already performed, and the more important the ceremony the more numerous the **fakaoatea** are likely to be, though there is no direct correlation along these lines.

A characteristic feature of the Kafika "work" was the obligation of the group whose **fakaoatea** it was on the morrow to send along a bunch of mature green bananas, fit for cooking, together with a load of firewood, on the preceding evening. These were brought by two men and stood up by the wall of the house. The expression is **Te futi e fakatu** - "the banana is stood up." On the first evening it is **Te futi Nga Matafare**, on the second **Te futi Pa Taumako**; Nga Matafare being the honorific title for the family of Rarovi. If the head of either of these groups has no bananas ready for the appointed day then he obtains them from the orchard of one of his relatives; if that fruit should be lacking entirely then breadfruit, or even **taro**, may be substituted. The Ariki and his people are ignorant of the type of the food that will be sent each evening. "We do not know whether the banana or whether the breadfruit will be brought." The term **futi** (banana) is still retained however for the food, no matter what may be its nature; it is the form and not the substance of the gift that is important. But on this occasion it was a bunch of bananas. Early the next morning while it was still dark, the oven was prepared in Kafika lasi by a couple of young men, relatives of the chief, and the banana was set therein. This operation was timed as nearly as possible that the food might be cooked about dawn, for the performance of the early morning kava.

The kava was performed about 5 a.m. (by my reckoning). Only the Ariki Kafika, the Ariki Fangarere and four of their young relatives were present. The special feature of this rite was the "Washing" (**fakaramu**) of the temple. The Ariki Kafika laid on the palm of his hand a Cordyline leaf, set thereon a water-bottle, withdrew the stopper and knelt down. Then he recited a formula calling upon the Ariki Fangarere to confirm the rite he was about to perform, that it might bring welfare. Rising, he went with prancing steps along the temple, jerking the bottle freely from side to side, and sprinkling the water in all directions. At the end of the building he turned, replaced the stopper, walked back to the centre post, knelt in obeisance to the Atua i Kafika and hung the bottle at the base of the post. This performance was analogous to that which took place during the canoe rites; its object was to secure general prosperity. The chief described it to me succinctly "Sprinkling of the land to live; that man may live; that food may live." He concluded by saying "What I have done, friend, very great is its weight."

The chief then anointed the centre post again, laid a dilapidated **kie** mat as an offering before the Atua i Kafika, by the centre post, and performed the kava, with the elaborate rites of the **raurau kumete**.

This was the day of the **fakaoatea** of Pa Rarovi, and his "house" prepared a large quantity of food. In accordance with Tikopia custom the Ariki Kafika ordered a contribution of raw breadfruit to be sent over to this man from the Kafika orchards, though he, the chief, was to be the recipient of the food when cooked. It is significant that the contribution was made at a time when the chief and Pa Rarovi were privately by no means on the best of terms. When I asked the chief if he was obliged to do this he replied "It is made at our own wish"; that is, omission of it would have been a breach of etiquette, but not of definite obligation.

After the early morning ceremony described above, the Ariki remained in the house and was joined shortly after sunrise by those of his elders who desired to participate in the "Work". Meanwhile preparations were made in Rarovi, a couple of hundred yards inland, for the **fakaoatea**. When the food was cooking and it was desired to express the necessary coconut cream the hibiscus stick from which the bark was to be stripped was brought to Kafika that the Ariki might touch it. If he had been absent at the time it would have been laid on his seating mat for an instant, then withdrawn. This was said to be a traditional practice of unknown origin; and its basic idea to be to secure contact with the **manu**, the efficacy of the chief.

When the food was finally ready - it consisted of two bowls of **masi** with two baskets of breadfruit and taro - it first had the kava performed over it by Pa Rarovi, with preliminary libations to his own deities. It was then carried to the Kafika, to be ceremonialised by the Ariki. This was done by the ordinary kava of the temple including the formula over the stem, and the rites of the **raurau kumete**, after which the food was shared out among the party. The quantity was sufficient for each to have a parcel to carry home with him.

Late in the day, when the sun was sinking, a double ceremony was performed - "the evening kava inside the house" and "the evening kava of outside." The first theoretically was made with libations of fresh coconuts, provided by the donor of the **fakaoatea**;[1]

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[1] The Ariki Taumako followed the custom, but Pa Rarovi in recent years had ceased to provide this gift of coconuts, which was a cause of offence against him in the mind of the Ariki. He had become 'tired'. Lapses of this kind sometimes occur, more especially in minor details of ceremonial, since individual sense of obligation of the successive office-holders may vary greatly. On the other hand, a practice which has long fallen into disuetude may be revived by an unusually energetic man, either from devotional interest or from the desire to attract public attention. Such differences cumulatively help to account for the slow change in ritual which must take place through the generations.

for the second, which took place in the open grass plot between the houses, the kava bowl was prepared. In each case the food portions were provided from household food baskets the contents of which then served as the evening repast for the group. Each of the chiefs and assembled elders had his own separate food basket in front of him for the ceremony; such was the custom. (The following day, in addition to the coconuts, a couple of baskets of food were sent in by the Ariki Taumako. These were termed **te vai**, (the water), or **te inu** (the drink), and were greatly appreciated.) In the evening the banana bunch for the next day was brought and stood up against the wall of the house.

The following morning saw a repetition of the ceremonies of the preceding dawn. This was the **fakaoatea** of Pa Taumako, which meant that this clan under their chief were busily engaged in preparing the food. This was a busy time for Kafika also. According to the modern sequence of events Taumako is re-carpeted on the same day as Nukuora, and its **fonakava**, which is presented to the Ariki Kafika, is a huge mass of food of the type already described in Ch. III as Te Ara o Pu. It is in fact the second of the presentations to be made. Ordinary **fonakava** and **fakaoatea** are not reciprocated, but custom requires that the **ara** be repaid in kind. On the day of the **fakaoatea** of Taumako, therefore, the people of Kafika took the opportunity to make their return gift. As both the **ara** and its reciprocal have already been dealt with in full in Chapter III this reference will suffice here. The remainder of the day's rites followed the form of those of the preceding day. In the evening the "banana" of sa Kafika was set up against the wall of the temple. The next morning the oven was again prepared in darkness and the kava made at dawn, but this time it marked the end of the "Work" of Kafika. Then came the Freeing of the Land, to be described in the next Chapter.

One feature of the Kafika rites was that the chief and a few of his men followers spent the greater part of each day in the building, going out only for a short time to bathe. Hour after hour they sat, talking, smoking and chewing betel. During the "work" of Resiake the men were accustomed to sleep in the house at night, and to recline during the day time if they chose. This was not the practice in Kafika, where the men left at night in order to go and sleep in their houses. During the day, moreover, it was most strictly **tapu** to lie down at full length in the temple. Everyone sat upright either with legs crossed or feet stretched out in front. The prohibition of reclining is a greater hardship than one might imagine, since it does not allow of short periods of relaxation which relieve the strain of the unsupported upright position. Even a small post at one's back is no permanent relief. By the end of the second day several of the family heads, who were elderly men, began to complain of the ache of their "broken backs". If overcome by the desire for rest or sleep one might leave the temple at any time and go and lie down in Nukuora or another

of the adjacent houses, but such a shirking of obligations would be hardly consistent with the dignity of an elder, so most of them adopted a stoic attitude. A touch of humour was given on the morning of the concluding day by one of the younger men who was not of the party in residence. The kava ceremony being over at an early hour, he suggested with a grin that the assembly of elders go back and finish the day in the house. The answer was a very decided negative from the Ariki!

The tapu against lying down in Kafika house was said by the Ariki to be of comparatively recent origin, and to have been instituted by a Chief of the clan. In former times it was not uncommon for the principal men of the island to harbour murderous thoughts towards one another. On a certain occasion, he said, the elder of Rarovi, while lying on his mat in the building, kept watching the Ariki Kafika to see whether he was awake or asleep, that he might catch him off his guard and kill him, thus securing the chieftanship for himself. This unsettled the nerves of the Ariki who gave orders, in consequence, that when the "Work" was performed in the temple all the people should keep sitting up, and this custom has been continued by his successors to the present day. This explanation has the air of a rationalisation, but is now believed by the natives to be the cause of the tapu. Another custom of the "Work" of Kafika temple is to keep a fire going all the time that the party is in residence there. It was lit each morning as soon as anyone arrived, and was kept alight throughout the day. A peculiarity of the fire was that it was fed not with wood, but with the husks and shells of the coconuts used many days ago for the poroporo rite of the yam. When the flesh had been extracted from the nuts the remnants were stored in a corner of the temple, by the inland door, for this occasion. The fire was described as "the fire of the yam", but the exact nature of its connection with the yam rites (apart from the origin of the fuel) was vague, and nothing definite was known of its ritual value. It was kindled "for the smoking of the house", but no reason could be given for this.

This account has not covered all the temple rituals, but since some of them take place after the Freeing of the Land it seems more convenient to preserve the chronological order, and describe them in the next Chapter.

Sketch of the Raurau Kumete.
(about 2 ft. long)

CHAPTER VI

FREEING THE LAND.

It will be remembered that the initial ceremony of the seasonal Work, the "Throwing of the Firestick", plunged the whole of the island into a state of tapu which prevented the people from dancing, from shouting loudly, and even from sitting in groups on the bench in the evening for general conversation. This tapu was most intense during the period of the yam ritual, and in fact was said to have its foundation in this. The removal of the tapu constitutes a restoration of freedom, and is marked by the performance of all those things which have been interdicted. Loud shouting, conch-blowing and other penetrating noises are indulged in, people emerge once more from their seclusion, and dancing begins among the young folk that very evening.

The ceremony of "freeing the land" is called "**fakatanga o fenua**", **tanga** being the term of opposite significance to **tapu**. The expression "**Te kere e masofa, e tanga fakalaui**", applies to the freeing of the soil from restrictions likewise. The "freeing of the land" takes place a couple of days before the yam is planted, and after dark that same night the burning-off of the yam cultivation is done by the women.

The morning of the appointed day was one of great excitement. From earliest dawn the children were awake, and told by their parents that to-day the land was free, they ran about through the village between the houses, shrieking at the topmost pitch of their voices. When the sun got up the din increased as adults, too, showed off their lung power. "**Iōfu! Iōfu! Iōfu!**" rang along the shore, and was answered by similar whoops from the hill slopes round the lake, whither people were by this time dispersing to their work in the cultivations. Mingled with the high pitched notes of the voices was a dull hollow boom, caused by beating the buttresses of the Tahitian chestnut tree. This was the **pakū** of timber, in contrast to the human **forua**, both conventional means of expression. The noise continued spasmodically for an hour or so, after which only an occasional yell was given according to some person's fancy.

During this time the Ariki and his attendant elders were gathered in Kafika temple where they performed the final kava of the building just after sunrise. After this was over they sat and talked, discussing chiefly the fishing of the previous night, since fish were a necessary part of the **fakatanga** offerings. If the sea had been too rough for the canoes to go out, then nets would have been set in the lake. Actually, however, in this case a breakdown in the organisation

occurred. It was the duty of the family of the Ariki, who were living in Tai, to go out the evening before and procure a catch. They were feeling slack, however, and failed to do this. When a youth arrived as messenger from the head village he was at once asked for details of the fishing. He replied that two canoes from the village of Taumako had gone out, but none from the Kafika village. The Ariki was very annoyed. "May their fathers eat filth! Excrete in their gullets! No fish for the **fakatanga**?" The Ariki Fangarere, sitting with him, also chimed in "Shall the **fakatanga** be abandoned?" Then the Ariki asked how many fish had been secured by the Taumako canoes and on being told - seven and ten respectively - began to be appeased. For etiquette ensured that the best portion of the catch would be sent along for the rite.

The Ariki then gave instructions to several youths to begin the preparations for the more formal celebration of the **fakatanga**. They must return to Tai, collect a crowd of boys, then break down a number of coconut fronds and return, whooping as they came, by the path round the lake to Uta. On this mission they departed.

The breaking or cutting of coconut leaves was a further sign that the **tapu** had been removed - it was a subsidiary element of the ritual directly related to the ceremonies of Kafika temple. "When the land is **tapu** not a man shall go and cut cocoanut leaf. Now it is freed for cocoanut leaf, and we carry coconut leaf hither," the chief explained to me. Once cocoanut leaves had been cut and laid on the roof of the temple the leaf became **tapu** for all the people, a state of affairs which lasted for four days. No one might cut the leaf either wantonly or for utilitarian purposes, even so much as to cover the thatch of his house or to make baskets. For the various meals of the ceremony dry baskets only were used; no fresh ones were made. This observance was correlated with a belief that to cut cocoanut leaf at this time was to invite one of the dreaded storms which sometimes arise in this season and cause considerable damage. The completion of the ceremonies of Kafika removed this ban. Hence on the evening before, the Ariki said to his family as they were leaving Uta for the beach village, "You go and sleep, then wake to go out in the sea to make free the land. We here will sit and wait. If you shall sit, and not go out to sea, then let someone come and break hither the cocoanut leaf and bring it with him to Uta here, that we may know." In other words he gave instructions that the freedom of the land was to be marked by the cutting of cocoanut fronds, if by nothing else.

This was the task of the youths already mentioned. After an interval of an hour or so they could be heard returning, with yells and shrieks and the blowing of rough trumpets made from rolls of pandanus leaf. At last they emerged on to the Marae. They were walking in single file, the foremost carrying cocoanut leaves cut in Tai, the others a fish tied to a stick, or a bread-fruit plucked as they came along, and all were shouting vociferously.

All were clad in ordinary costume. They ceased their yells, then laid down their burdens close to the path which ran across the centre of the Marae, and went to squat down at a distance at the side of the temple of Taumako. The Ariki girt with his cincture, came down from Kafika and went over to where the food had been laid. Squatting down he uttered a formula, the announcing (**fakaari**) of the fish and breadfruit to the other chiefs.

> "**Pa Tafua, Pa Taumako, Pa Fangarere**
> **Totou kaupure na**
> **Fakasaosao mai ki te fenua e**
> **fakatanga mai i te pongipongi.**"
>
> "Pa Tafua, Pa Taumako, Pa Fangarere
> your assemblage of Elders there
> Countenance me in the land which
> is freed this morning."

After thus figuratively appealing to the other chiefs for confirmation of his act in removing the tapu he turned to the food and divided it into portions. These were allotted to the principal clan deities, each of whom had a stone slab in the Marae at which his special offering was deposited on this and similar occasions. There were five portions, of which the first, with the coconut leaves, was carried by an assistant and placed at Mua faitoka, in front of the sacred house Rarofiroki.[1] This was for the Atua lasi of Fangarere. "There is your share, **Futi o te kere**" murmured the Ariki as he handed it to the attendant, calling upon his own name for the deity. The next was set for Pu ma, and the others for Raki te ua, Sakura and Na-Anuta (gods of the island of Anuta, seventy miles away) each with a similar utterance. All the clans were thus embraced in the rite. Sometimes the Female Deity is also included in the division of offerings under the name of Rua nofine.

"Conveyed that they may look at it," was the expression used for these offerings. They were made that the various deities, each seeing his portion placed by his stone, might be satisfied that they were not forgotten when the land once more reverted to its mundane state.

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[1] A description of Marae and its ritual features will be given in Volume II.

When this was finished the Ariki rose, collected the sticks with which the fish and breadfruit had been carried and walked down the path towards the group of youths. These stood up and as the Ariki looked meaningly at them they gave a single united shout. They then dispersed and went to their own houses. This marked the carrying of the **fakatanga** from the shore inland to Uta, the sacred district, the heart of the island. The land was now completely free from its special **tapu**.

The food offerings were carried to the houses of the respective Ariki who were in residence in Uta; if they had not been, then to the house of the Ariki Kafika alone, for consumption. Food had been cooking in the oven meanwhile, and was now taken out for the performance of the kava. This was a minor ceremony with libation of the usual type. "The Work is finished" said the Ariki, at its completion.

This de-sacralising ritual was performed in the monsoon season only; in the trade-wind it was omitted by custom, and the actual planting of the yam marked the freeing of the land. The reason, it was alleged, was that in the monsoon alone was there danger of high winds and storms. But there was some inconsistency in the statements of natives in the matter of the duration of this **tapu**. The basis of the whole period of restriction from the Throwing of the Firestick to the Freeing of the Land lies in the deference paid to the sacred yam. This is made clear by a body of explicit statements as well as by the behaviour of the people. Thus:

> "The origin of things that are done, the yam only. Works of the **tonga**, originate in the yam, works of the **raki**, originate in the yam. Originate in him, because he is the chief who is superior."

In other words, the ceremonial cycles of both seasons, (including their **tapu**) have their foundation in the yam, that is in Te Atua i Kafika, its controller, who is the supreme chief and deity of the island.

In enlarging upon this point it was said that while the yam is above ground the land is **tapu**; it is only when it has been planted and buried out of sight that restrictions are abolished. Thus the ariki will then say "Go and make dances; the yam has been planted; has become lost down below." People are then at liberty to dance, sing and play as they please. In this the ceremonies of the **raki** and of the **tonga** do not quite agree. In the latter the disappearance of the yam beneath the soil coincides, as in native theory it should, with the removal of restrictions. In the **raki**, however, it follows the "freeing of the land" with an interval of a full day between, so that actually the license of noise is regained before the yam is

planted. This lack of coincidence between theory and practice was not satisfactorily explained by the natives, who were content to follow traditional modes of thought and action without analysing carefully the relations between them.

The day of the "Freeing of the Land" saw the continuance of the ceremonies of the sacred houses, a number in Tai being renovated and recarpeted on this occasion, including Raniniu, an important house of the Ariki Taumako, and Notoa, the dwelling of Pae Sao. The next day others in the beach villages were celebrated, including Vangatau and Veterei, both under the control of the Ariki Taumako, who went upon invitation and performed the kava therein. Meanwhile the Ariki Kafika had gone back to the work of the yam, this day being its **fakaora**. The following morning the yams were planted, and no houses were re-carpeted on this day, because of the **tapu**. It was believed that if the prohibition were disregarded a storm would burst, unroof the offending house, and others also. Such a consequence, it was said, had actually happened in former times. The next day was the **soani** to which completed the activities in connection with the yam and freed the Ariki Kafika from restriction. Now he could go abroad freely once again and dwell once more in house by the shore.

RE-CARPETING OF MAPUSANGA

The day following the chief attended the re-carpeting of Mapusanga, the last of the temples to be celebrated in the monsoon season. The ceremonies occupied but the single day. A feature of note in Mapusanga - as also in Raniniu - was the **kara**, a fringe made from Cordyline leaf split and joined, similar to that described for Nukuora, but much larger, the kara of Mapusanga being six feet long with a fringe eighteen inches deep. Its preparation was a formal matter. Two women, young and unmarried, went in the morning to Rakisu, the plain at the south end of the island, and brought back a load of yellowed leaves. They then sat down on the **Tuaumu** side of the house and split them, finally plaiting them together in the requisite form. This work lasted several hours, and during it no one might speak to them. The men, who were engaged in preparing food, sat in the house and talked among themselves, but ignored the women, who went quietly on with their work. Children who intruded were chased out again with the remark that the **kara** was being made; "It is **tapu**."

The **kara** of Mapusanga was said by Pa Tarairaki, immediate owner of the temple, to be that of Pu ma. That of Raniniu, where the same procedure obtains was said, by the Ariki Kafika, to belong to Pu Veterei, a former Ariki Taumako. After his death, it was said, he

went to reside in Narumea, a land beneath the sea, and from there returned with a bevy of atua to be represented in Raniniu. Hence the cordyline fringe in that house is termed "Te kara sa Ngarumea." But according to Pa Motuata, of Taumako, there are two fringes in Rariniu. One belongs to Pa Raniniu, a still-born brother of Pu Veterei, who is buried under a raised mat in the temple; the other, of sa Ngarumea, is that of Pu Veterei.

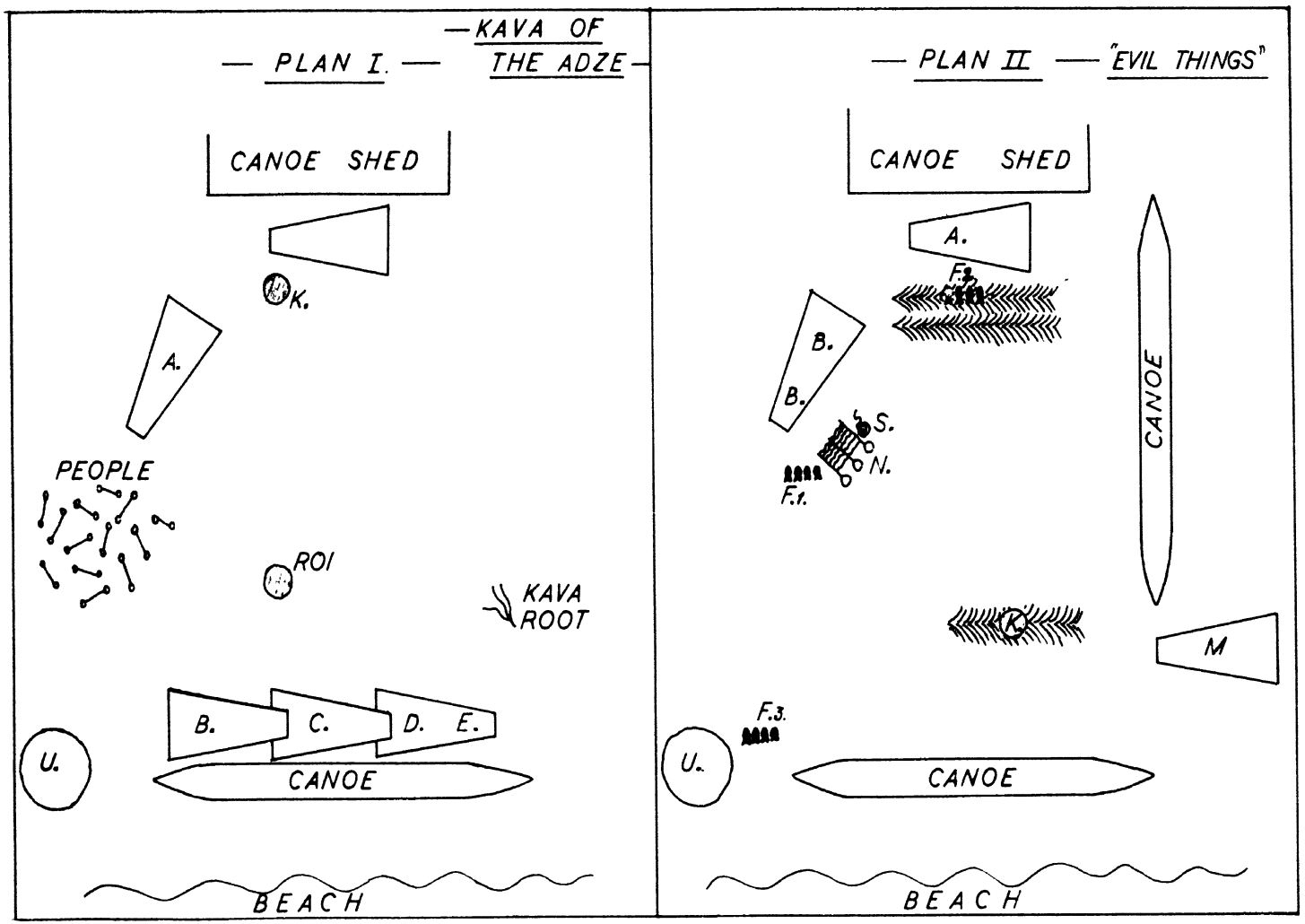
As part of the ornamental furniture of the Mapusanga a spear was hung up along one of the side beams. It was an ancient weapon of different shape from those of Tikopia, with spikes close-set behind the head and a much lighter and thinner shaft. It was said that formerly long spines of bone were set at the end of its wooden barbs, in which case it would be very similar to a typical weapon of the Western Solomons. However, tradition relates that this spear was one of a group of seven which came ashore in company with a woman from Nanumanga, a land to the north. Her canoe was lost at sea, and she drifted to land. One of the spears was in Vaisakiri, one in Resiake, one in Rangateatua, the dwelling of the Ariki Fangarere, and one in Mapusanga, while the others, formerly hung in Tafua and affiliated houses, had perished. (It is interesting to note the manner in which these weapons have been absorbed into the Tikopia religious system, being taken over by the various chiefs and made to serve as embodiments of their respective gods.)

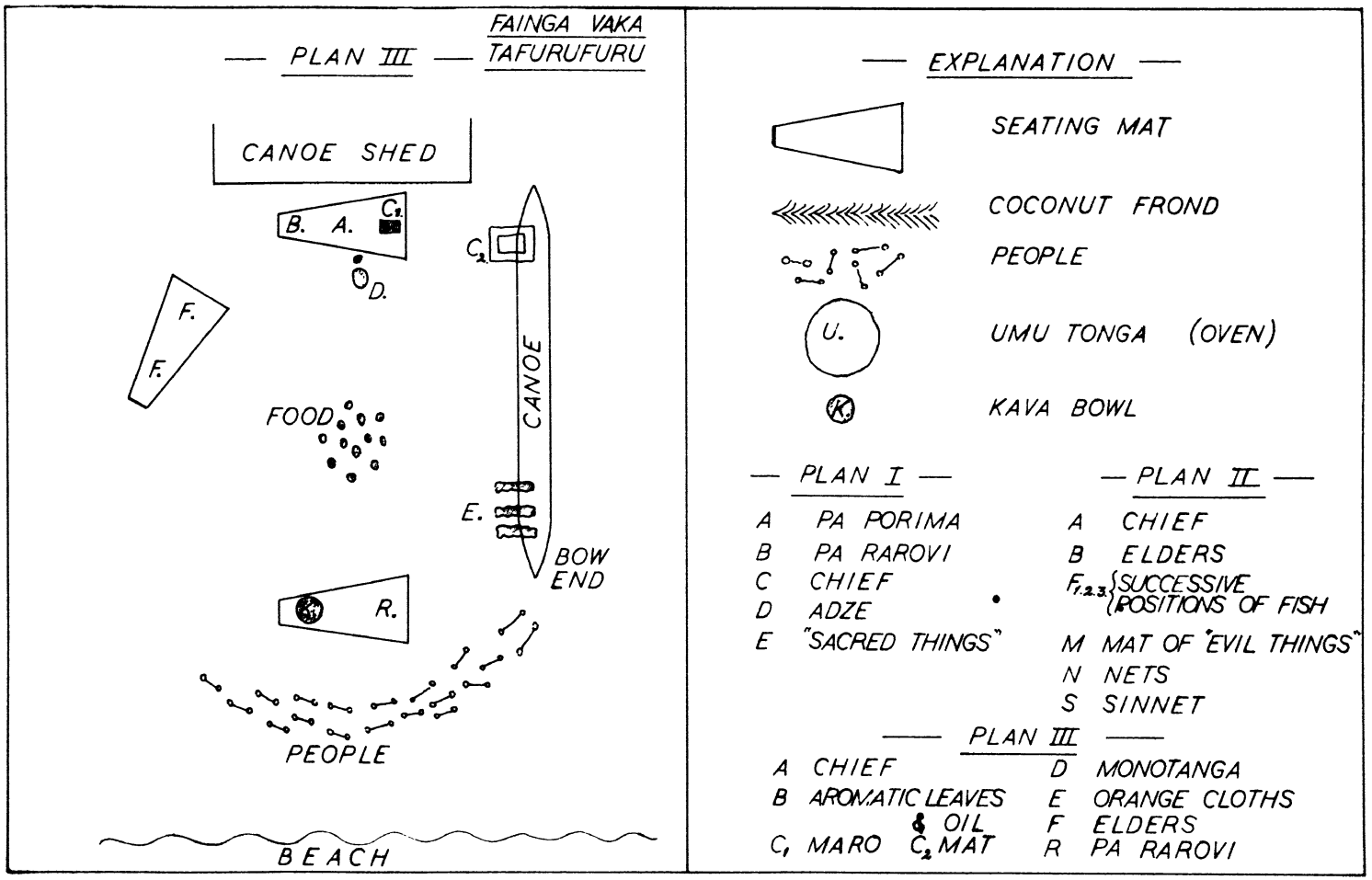
When the oven had been covered with its mass of food the replacement of the mats of the house took place. At the same time the spear was taken down and, with a sacred shell trumpet, was washed in the sea. The shell was then blown a number of times on the way up from the beach and also outside the eaves of the house, thus giving the signal that the food was cooking. Both these sacred objects were then deposited on a mat in the house. Later, when the oven was uncovered, a messenger went over to Uta to summon the Ariki Kafika. All preparations were made for him, the **fonakava** and other food baskets were placed before his seat, and a man sat behind the kava bowl. The chief entered, seated himself for a moment, then went and hung up the spear and the shell trumpet. He then lifted down the **kara**, which had been folded in a mat, and rolling it up tightly, poured a few drops of oil in it. Rubbing the fringe round in his hands to impregnate it thoroughly he tossed it on a mat, then, after putting on a necklet of Cordyline leaf, he tied up the new **kara** in place of the old ones hanging from the roof. A couple of smaller fringes were spread out on a mat near the rear end of the house by Pa Rarovi, after which both men rubbed their bodies and arms with oiled aromatic leaves. These subsidiary fringes were, one for a former

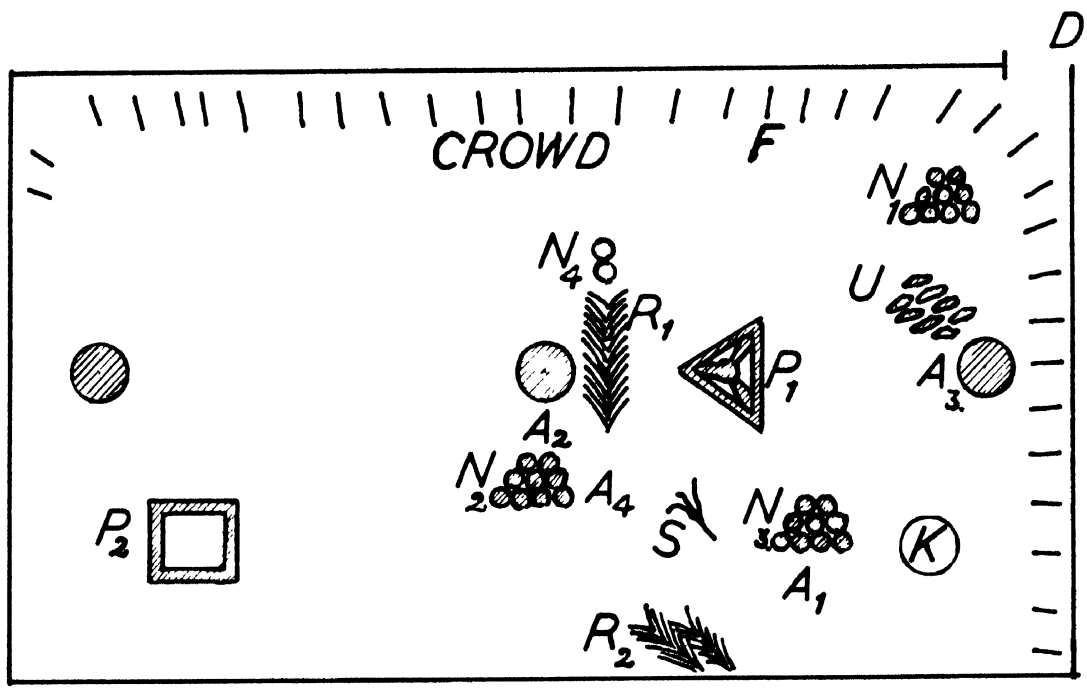
Ariki Kafika who was lost at sea, and the other for Pu Veterei, the Ariki Taumako mentioned above.

This completed the decoration of the house, and the **kava** ritual followed. This was the same as performed for the Kafika temples in Uta, save that a final libation was poured to Te Atua i te ava, Tupua fiti, the adze deity of Fangarere, who was invoked only in the kava of Tai. A meal concluded the events of the day, after which the **fonakava** was carried to Uta by canoe and left at the house of the Ariki Kafika. It may be noted that the closeness of the kinship between the people of Mapusanga "house" and the chief - they are all "the one family" - did not release them from the obligation of making the ritual basked of food and presenting it to the chief. Since he was the suzerain of the temple and they were its immediate owners, they complied with the general custom of the **fonakava**.

In the evening, a formal announcement was sent by the Ariki Kafika to each of his fellow chiefs, summoning them to attend the following morning at Rarokoka, a small open glad in Uta. There in former times an annual proclamation was delivered by the Ariki Tafua. This will be discussed in Volume II, Chapter VII.


— KAVA OF
— PLAN I. — THE ADZE —
CANOE SHED
K.
A.
PEOPLE
ROI
KAVA ROOT
B.
C.
D.
E.
U.
CANOE
BEACH
— PLAN II — "EVIL THINGS"
CANOE SHED
A.
F.2.
B.
B.
S.
N.
F.1.
CANOE
K.
M
F.3.
U.
CANOE
BEACH


FAINGA VAKA
— PLAN III — TAFURUFURU
CANOE SHED
B. A. C2
C1
D.
F.
F.
FOOD
CANOE
E.
BOW END
R.
PEOPLE
BEACH
— EXPLANATION —
SEATING MAT
COCONUT FROND
PEOPLE
U.
UMU TONGA (OVEN)
K.
KAVA BOWL
— PLAN I —
A PA PORIMA
B PA RAROVI
C CHIEF
D ADZE
E "SACRED THINGS"
— PLAN II —
A CHIEF
B ELDERS
F1,2,3 {SUCCESSIVE POSITIONS OF FISH
M MAT OF "EVIL THINGS"
N NETS
S SINNET
— PLAN III —
A CHIEF
B AROMATIC LEAVES & OIL
C1 MARO C2 MAT
D MONOTANGA
E ORANGE CLOTHS
F ELDERS
R PA RAROVI



A_1 Ariki—usual seat.

A_2 Ariki—stands at centre post.

A_3 Ariki—sits facing ufi; back to back post.

A_4 Ariki—sits before pile of coconuts.

F Ariki Fangarere.

K Kava bowl.

S Kava stem.

U Ufi.

House post.

N_1 Coconuts—first position.

N_2 Coconuts—when carried forward as offering and kava poured.

N_3 Coconuts from which libations are poured.

N_4 Offering of coconuts near centre post.

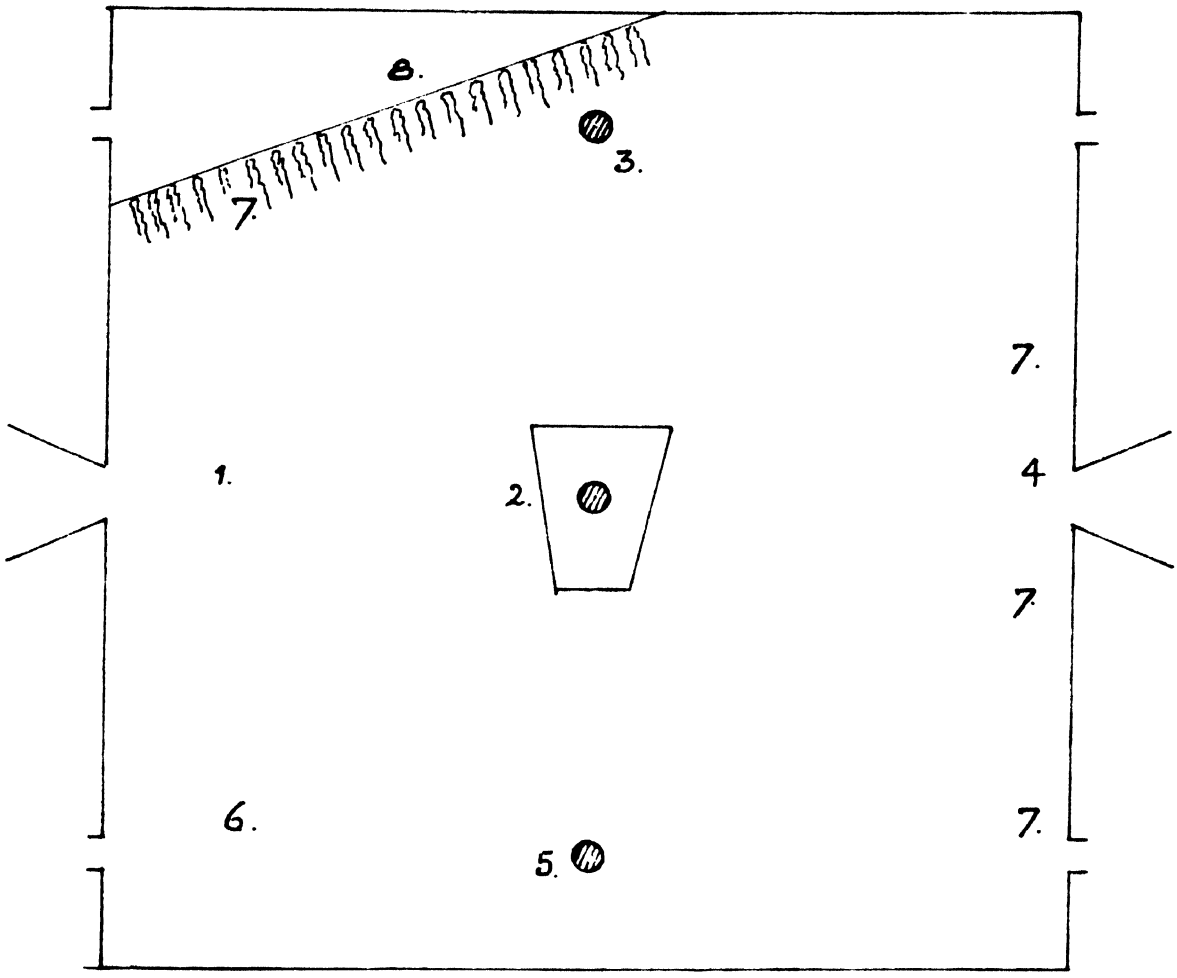
P_1 Prism formed from triple-branched stem—*toko tu*.

P_2 Erection of bamboo—*fakatu*.

R_1 Coconut leaf frond new laid by centre post.

R_2 Old coconut leaf frond.

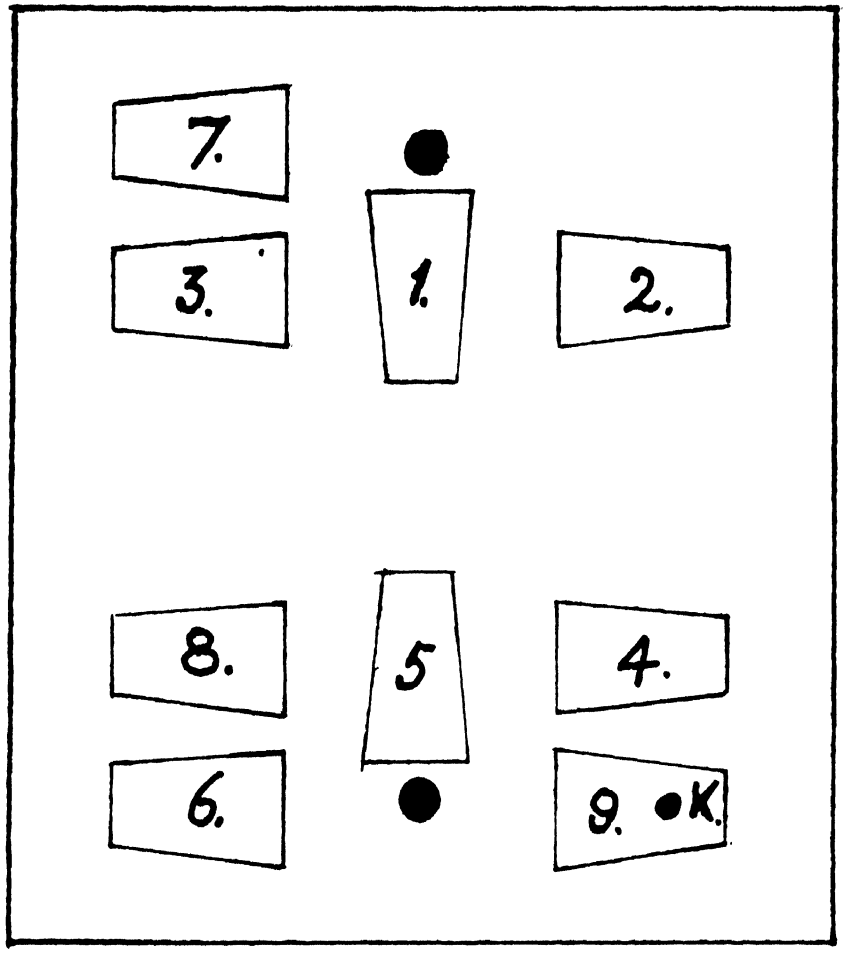
PLAN IV. KAVA OF THE COCONUT



Order of Ties & Decorations in Resiake Temple

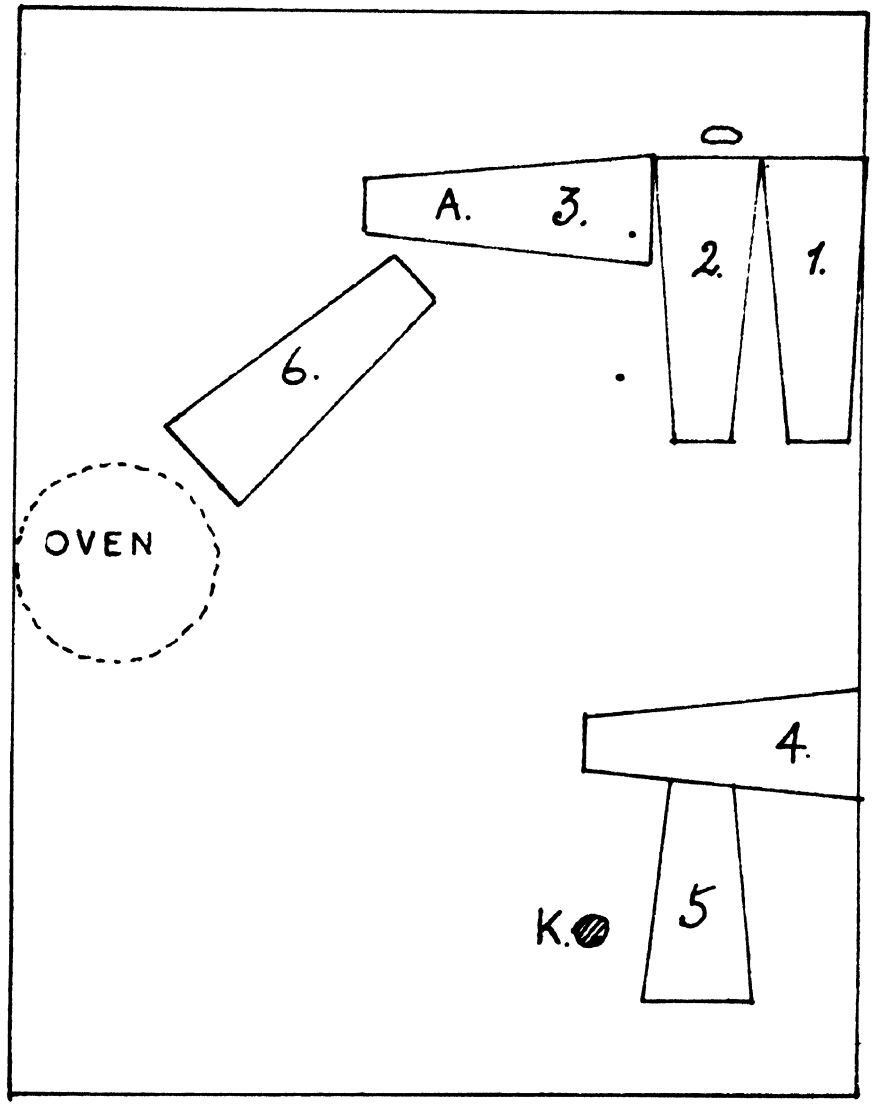
1. Atua I Fangarere.
2. Atua I Kafika.
3. Atua I Taumako.
4. Pu Ma.
5. Atua I Sao.
6 Atua I Te Vai.
7. Late Ariki Taumako.
8. Fare Fiti.

PLAN V. PLAN OF RESIAKE FARE—WITH DECORATIONS



PLAN VI. INAKI MATS IN NUKORA TEMPLE

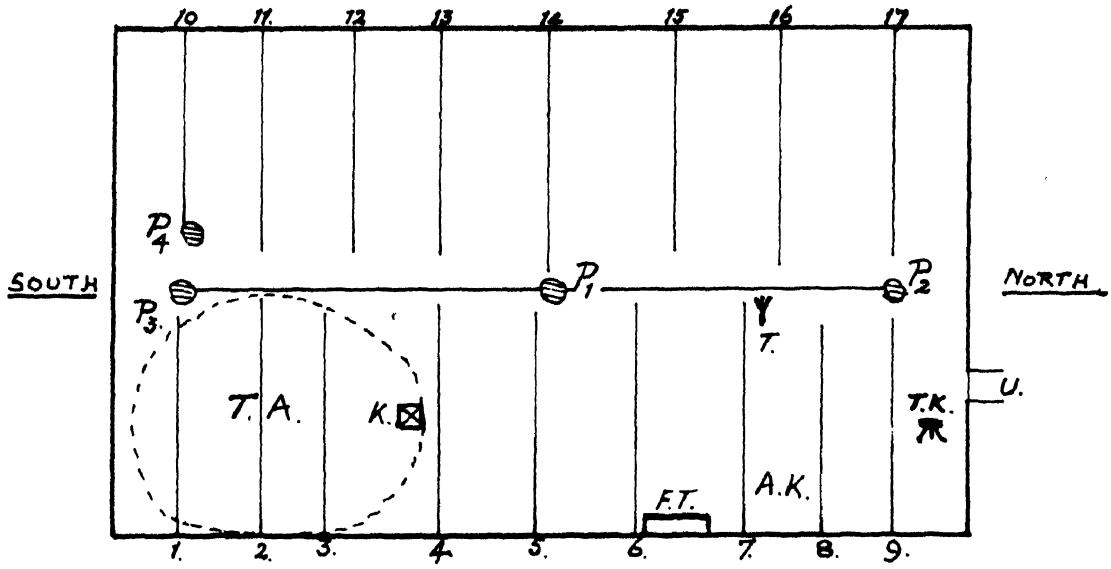
1. Mat of Fakaarofatia, "the first chief of Fangarere, the chief whose is the house." This, in the form of two mats tied together at the edges, was provided by Pa Nopu and Pa Fenumera, men of importance in the clan.
2. Mat of the father of the present Ariki Fangarere, provided by the chief's own family.
3. Mat of Mourongo, son of a former Ariki Kafika, the ancestor of the family of Vainunu, from whom they branched off from Kafika; hence his mat was provided by Pa Vainunu.
4. Mat of Pa Mapusanga (his personal name being Tariariki), eldest son of a former Ariki Kafika, but who did not succeed his father owing to his untimely loss at sea. This mat was provided by Pa Tariariki, one of the family which has branched off from this man.
5. Mat of Te Atua i Sao, who is represented by the rear post, which is specifically that of the guardian of the kava bowl.
6. Mat of the Atua Fafine, the female deity of Kafika.
7. Mat of Pufinema, female deities who have their basis in the family of Porima.
8. Mat of Te Atua pouri, who is the principal deity of the elder of Porima.
9. Mat on which the kava bowl stands.



PLAN VII. RECARPETING OF TAFUA LASI

1. Te Atua I Tafua.
2. Tuna.
3. Kaufirifiri.
4. Tarikotu.
5. Toki Tai Te Kere.
6. Sa Ruŋa.

A. Seat of Ariki.
K. Kava Bowl.



PLAN VIII. KAFIKA FARE

P_1	Centre Post.	T.A.	Tinai Ariki Mound.
P_2	North Post.	F.T.	Fare Toki Adze Shelf.
P_3	South Post.	K.	Kaufata Crate.
P_4	Post of te Samoa.	T.	Tokotu Stage.
U.	Sacred Doorway.	A.K.	Usual Seat of Ariki Kafika.
		T.K.	Kava Bowl.

SECTIONS OF FARE MARKED OFF BY RAFTERS.

1–3; 10–12.	Sa Kafika, Paito Ariki: Immediate kin of the Chief.
4–6	Sa Tavi.
7–9	Sa Porima.
13–16	Sa Fangarere.
17– and North end of the House.	Sa Rarovi.

Plate Ia.
Throwing Offerings at a typical Kava Rite.
(The Ariki Taumako officiating outside Resiake Temple.)

Plate Ib.
The Canoe-Shed of Peru-i-te-vai repaired.

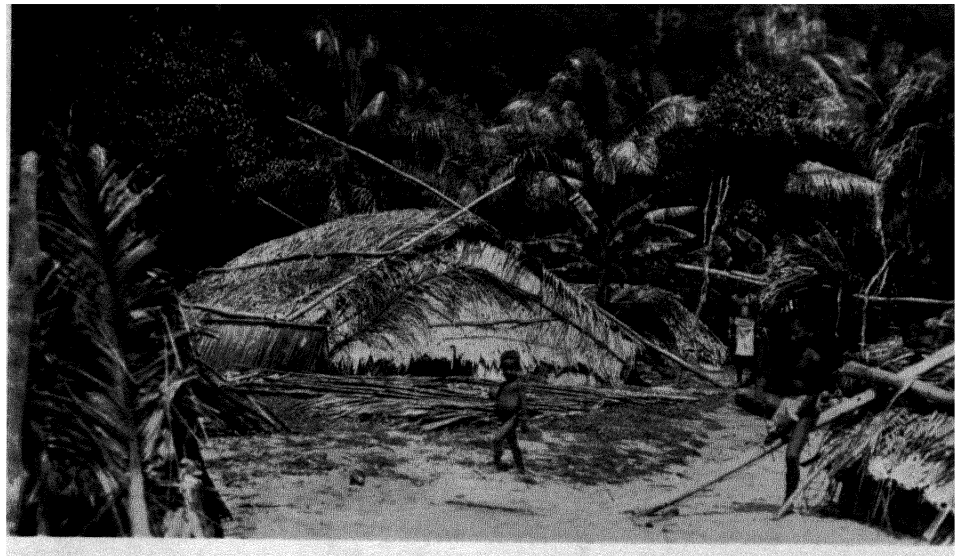


Plate IIa.
The Temple of Mapusanga.

Plate IIb.
Bringing in the Inaki Mats to Resiake Temple.

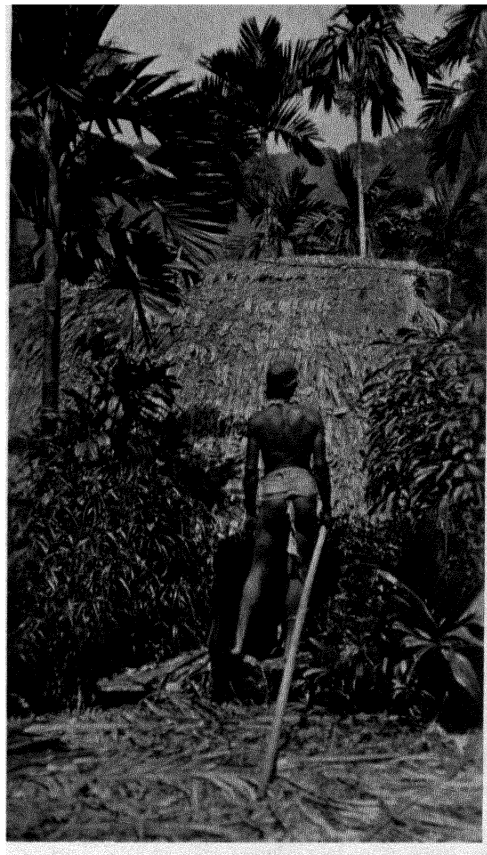


Plate IIIa.
Thatch for the Repair of
Taumako Temple.

Plate IIIb.
Carrying the Ara o Pu.
(Note the stones in the path.)